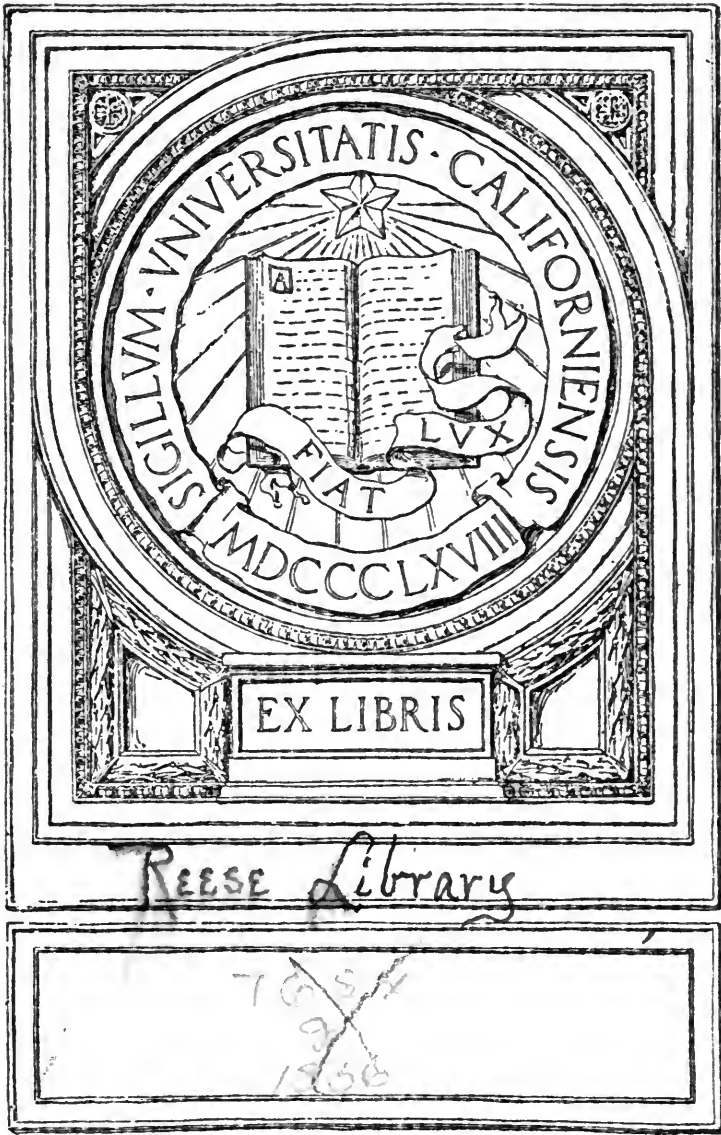


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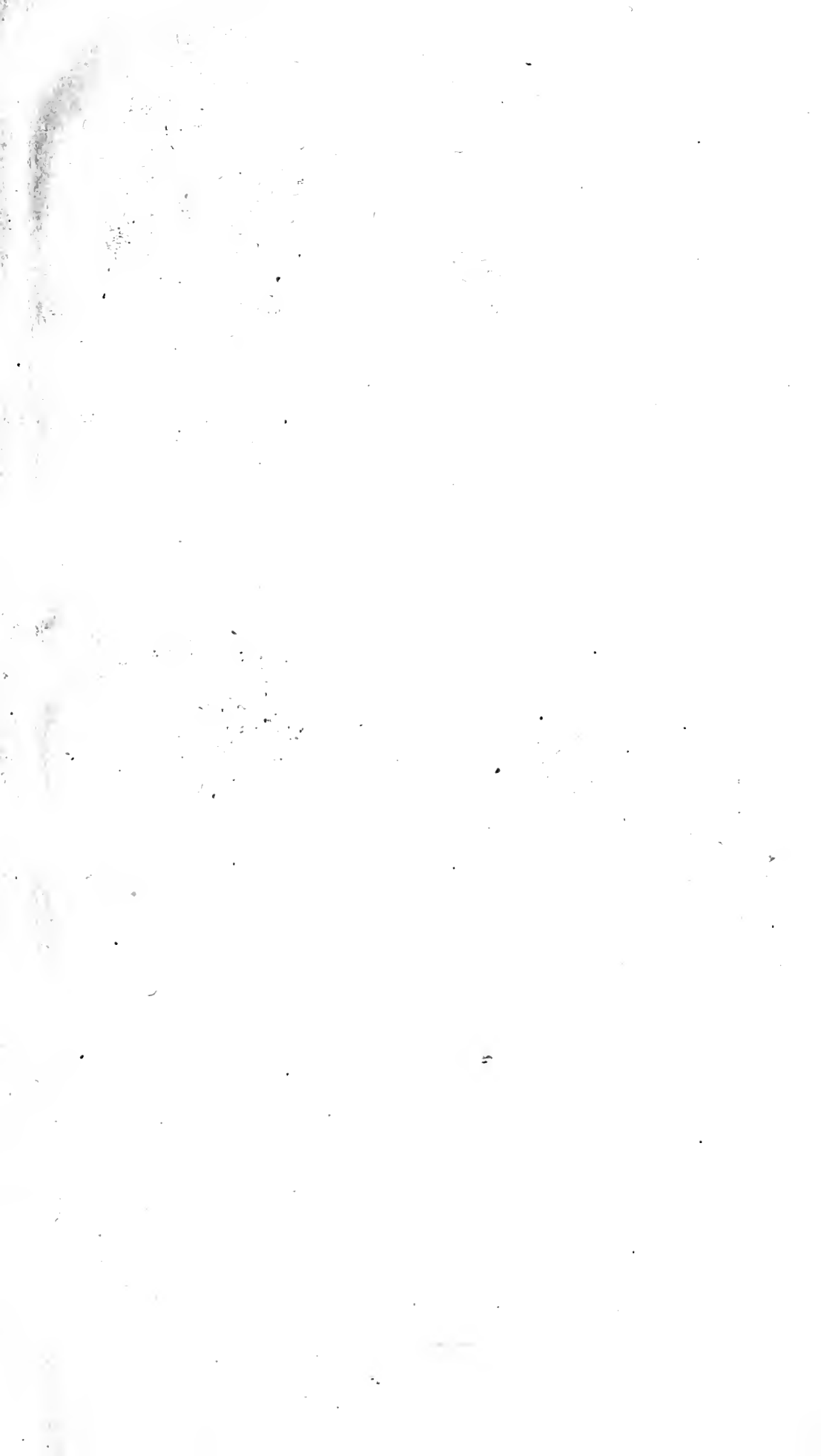
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THE
GERMANIA AND AGRICOLA,
AND ALSO
SELECTIONS FROM THE ANNALS
OF
TACITUS.

WITH
ENGLISH NOTES, CRITICAL AND EXPLANATORY.

BY

CHARLES ANTHON, LL.D.,

PROFESSOR OF THE GREEK AND LATIN LANGUAGES IN COLUMBIA COLLEGE,
NEW YORK, AND RECTOR OF THE GRAMMAR-SCHOOL.



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P R E F A C E.

THE "Germania" and "Agricola" of Tacitus were published, some years ago, by the editor of the present work, with English notes and other subsidiary matter, as a text-book for the younger classes in our colleges. The number of editions through which the volume has since passed affords a very flattering proof, that the mode of annotation adopted in it has been found, when fairly tested, to be the only one that can prove of any real service to the student. It certainly is the only one that can relieve classical instruction from the opprobrium, under which it too often justly labors, of being little more than a mere ringing of a few unmeaning changes upon the letters and syllables of some academical horn-book.

Encouraged by the success which has attended his previous efforts, the editor has been induced to prepare a new work, which, while it retains in a condensed form all that was important in its predecessor, shall at the same time furnish the student with a more extensive course of reading from the same author, and make him still more familiar with the peculiarities of the style of Tacitus. With this view, two entire books of the Annals and some portion of a third one have been added to the "Germania" and "Agricola." Should the system of annotation pursued in the part thus added prove acceptable, the ed-

itor will, at no distant day, prepare a complete edition of both the Annals and History.

The basis of the present work, as far as the end of the First Book of the Annals, is the English edition of Dr. Smith, published in 1840, and of which a reprint appeared in 1850. The notes to Smith's edition are principally selected from the commentaries of Ruperti, Passow, and Walch, and, as far as they go, are well adapted to the purposes of explanation. It has been the object of the American editor, however, to render these notes still more useful by additional selections from the works of other scholars, and by a more frequent translation of difficult or obscure passages. Every obstacle, indeed, of this kind has been honestly encountered, even if the result may not always have proved a successful one. One great defect in the English edition is the omission of almost all special reference to the authorities whence the notes have been obtained. The American editor has endeavored to supply this deficiency, as far as lay within his power, more particularly in the commentary on the "Germania." The notes on the "Agricola," in the English edition, are pretty much one continuous selection from the excellent commentary of Walch, to which, however, the American editor has added much valuable matter, as well from the same source as from the observations of Ritter and Wex. The notes of Walch on the Agricola consist, in the original German, of more than three hundred closely printed octavo pages, and form one of the most useful commentaries ever published upon any classical author.

But though important materials have been obtained from the sources just mentioned, others equally valuable have been procured from the edition of the Annals by Nipperdey, the notes to which have been translated by the Rev. Henry Browne, and are published in the series of Arnold's Classics. Nipperdey's work forms one of the collection of Haupt and Sauppe, now in a course of publication from the Leipsic press. His notes, as translated by Browne, have constantly been compared with the German original, and many important errors have been corrected. They have not, however, been slavishly followed in the present work. Their form has very frequently been altered, and their substance has on numerous occasions been materially enlarged. Sometimes, again, Nipperdey's conclusions have not been admitted, but others have been adopted in their place, which appear more consistent with sound interpretation. Translations are also given, as in the previous part of the work, of all the obscure and more difficult passages.

The "Remarks on the Style of Tacitus," appended to the English edition, and reprinted in the present work, are translated from the Dissertation of Bötticher, "*De Vita, Scriptis, ac Stilo Taciti*," Berlin, 1834, and form a very excellent introduction to the study of the style and writings of the historian.

The Geographical Index was confined in the previous work to the "Germania." It has now been greatly enlarged, and embraces all that is important, in a general point of view, in the "*Agricola*," and in that portion of the Annals contained in the present volume.

It remains but to give a list of the different editions of Tacitus, as well as of the other subsidiary works from which aid has been obtained in preparing this work.

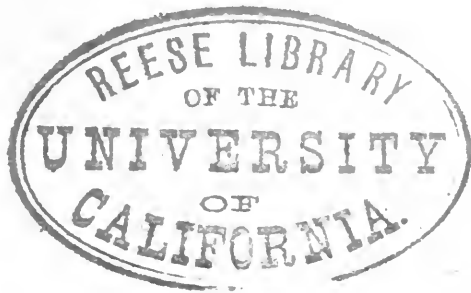
1. Taciti Opera, ed. Brötier, Glasg., 1796, 4 vols., 4to.
 2. Taciti Opera, ex recensione Ernesti, ed. Oberlin, Oxon., 1813, 4 vols., 8vo.
 3. Taciti Opera, ed. Walther, Hal. Sax., 1831, seqq., 4 vols., 8vo.
 4. Taciti Opera, ed. Imm. Bekker, Lips., 1831, 2 vols., 8vo.
 5. Taciti Opera, ed. Exeter, Bipont., 4 vols., 8vo.
 6. Taciti Opera, ed. Naudet, Paris, 1820, 5 vols., 8vo. (Lemaire's Collect.)
 7. Taciti Opera, ed. Valpy (In Us. Delph.), Lond., 8 vols., 8vo.
 8. Taciti Opera, ed. Ritter, Cantab., 4 vols., 8vo, 1848.
 9. Taciti Opera, ed. Doederlein, Halis, 2 vols., 8vo, 1841-7
 10. Taciti Opera, ed. Dübner, Paris, 1848, 12mo.
 11. Taciti Opera, ed. Ruperti, Hannov., 4 vols., 1834.
 12. Tacitus, erkläert von Nipperdey, Leipz., 1851 (with the notes in English, y Browne, Lond., 1852, 12mo).
-
13. Phil. Cluveri Germaniæ Antiquæ lib. iii., Lugd. Bat., ap. Elz., 1616, fol.
 14. Taciti Germania, vollständig erläutert von Dilthey, Braunsch., 1823, 8vo.
 15. Taciti Germania, ed. Gerlach, Basil., 1835, 8vo.
 16. Taciti Germania, ed. Weishaupt, Solod., 1844, 8vo.
 17. La Germanie de Tacite, par Panckoucke, Paris, 1824, 8vo.
 18. Tacitus's Agrikola, ed. Walch, Berlin, 1828, 8vo.
 19. Taciti Agricola, ed. Dronke, Fuldæ, 1834, 8vo.
 20. Taciti Agricola, ed. Becker, Hamburg, 1826, 8vo.
 21. Germany and Agricola of Tacitus, ed. Barker, Lond., 1824.
 22. Tacitus's Germany, Agricola, &c., ed. Smith, Lond., 1850.
 23. The Germania of Tacitus, by Latham, Lond., 1851, 8vo.
 24. Taciti de Vita et moribus Agricolæ, ed. Wex, Brunsv., 1852, 8vo.
-
25. Des C. C. Tacitus sämtliche Werke übersetzt von Bötticher, Berlin, 1834, 2 vols., 8vo.
 26. Lexicon Taciteum, scripsit Guil. Bötticher, Berolini, 1830, 8vo.
 27. Tacite, traduit par Dureau de Lamalle, ed. Noël, Paris, 1828, 6 vols., 8vo.

28. *La Vie d'Agricola, et des Mœurs des Germains*, par M. l'Abbé de la Bleterie, Paris, 1788, 12mo.
29. *Germany and Agricola of Tacitus*, by John Aikin, M.D., 4th ed., Oxford, 1823, 12mo.
-
30. Mannert, *Geschichte der alten Deutschen*, &c., Stuttg., 1829, 8vo.
31. Adelung *aelteste Geschichte der Deutschen*, Leipz., 1806, 8vo.
32. Menzel, *Geschichte der Deutschen*, Stuttg., 1837, 4to.
33. Luden, *Geschichte der Deutschen*, Gotha, 1825, 2 vols., 8vo.
34. Mannert, *Geographie der Griechen und Römer* (vol. ii. and iii.).
35. Schirlitz, *Handbuch der alten Geographie*, Halle, 1837, 8vo.
36. Kruse, *Archiv. für alte Geographie*, &c., Breslau, 1821, seqq., 12mo.
37. Kruse, *Deutsche Altherthümer*, Halle, 1824, seqq., 12mo.
38. Klemm, *Germanische Alterthumskunde*, Dresden, 1836, 8vo.
39. Reichard, *Sammlung kleiner Schriften*, &c., Güns, 1836, 8vo.
40. *Böhmens heidnische Opferplätze, Gräber*, &c., Prag., 1836, 8vo.
41. Barth, *über die Druiden der Kelten*, Erlangen, 1826, 8vo.
42. Graff, *Althochdeutscher Sprachschatz*, &c., Berlin, 1834-8, 4 vols., 4to.
43. Du Cange, *Glossarium mediæ et infimæ Latinitatis*, ed. Henschel, Paris, 1840, seqq., 4to.
44. *Smith's Classical Dictionary*, Lond., 2d ed., 1853, 8vo.

C. A.

Col. College, Sept. 1st, 1853.





LIFE AND WRITINGS OF TACITUS.*

"CAIUS CORNELIUS TACITUS was probably born in the reign of Nero, but neither the place of his birth, nor the exact date, is known, nor is any thing ascertained of his parentage. There is no reason for supposing that he belonged to the illustrious patrician gens of the Cornelii, nor any evidence of his having been born at Interamna, in Umbria (the modern *Terni*), as is sometimes stated. The few facts of his life are chiefly collected from his own works, and from the letters of his friend, the younger Pliny. Tacitus was about the same age as Pliny, but the elder of the two. Pliny was born about A.D. 61, in the reign of Nero, which commenced A.D. 54. A passage of the elder Pliny (*H. N.*, vii., 16) speaks of a son of Cornelius Tacitus, the procurator of the emperor in Belgic Gaul. Lipsius concludes that this Cornelius Tacitus was the historian; but as Pliny died in A.D. 79, it seems hardly probable that the passage can apply to him. It has been conjectured that the procurator was the father of the historian.

"Tacitus states that he owed his first promotion to Vespasian, and that he was indebted for other favors to his successors, Titus and Domitian (*Hist.*, i., 1). In the year A.D. 77, C. Julius Agricola, then consul, betrothed to him his daughter; and the marriage took place after Agricola's consulship. Tacitus does not state what places he filled under Vespasian and Titus, but in the reign of Domitian he informs us that he assisted as one of the Quindecimviri, at the celebration of the Ludi Sæculares, which event took place in the fourteenth consulship of Domitian (A.D. 88). At that time he was also prætor (*Ann.*, xi., 11). He was not at Rome when his father-in-law, Agricola, died there (A.D. 93), in the reign of Domitian; but it is too much to affirm, as some have done, that he was an exile during the time of this emperor. It has already been shown that he was at Rome in A.D. 88. A passage in his Life of Agricola (c. 45) rather leads to the inference that he was at Rome during many of the atrocities which Domitian perpetrated after the death of Agricola, though he had been absent from Rome for four years prior to Agricola's death. On the decease of T. Virginius Rufus, in the reign of Nerva (A.D. 97),

* *Penny Cyclopædia*, vol. xxiii., p. 504, seqq.

he was appointed Consul Suffectus, and Pliny enumerates it as the crowning event to the good fortune of Virginius, that his panegyric was pronounced by the Consul Cornelius Tacitus, the most eloquent of speakers.

“ Tacitus is recorded by his friend Pliny as one of the most eloquent orators of his age. He had already attained to some distinction as an advocate when Pliny was commencing his career. In the reign of Nerva, Pliny and Tacitus were appointed by the senate (A.D. 99) to conduct the prosecution of Marius Priscus, who had been proconsul of Africa, and was charged with various flagrant crimes. On this occasion Tacitus replied to Salvius Liberalis, who had spoken in defence of Priscus. His reply, says Pliny, was most eloquent, and marked by that dignity which characterized his style of speaking. (*Plin., Ep., ii., 11.*)

“ The contemporaries of Tacitus were Quintilian, the two Plinies, Julius Florus, Maternus, M. Aper, and Vipsanius Messala. He was on terms of the greatest intimacy with the younger Pliny, in whose extant collection of letters there are eleven epistles from Pliny to Tacitus. In one of these letters (vi., 16) Pliny describes the circumstance of the death of his uncle, Pliny the elder, and the letter was purposely written to supply Tacitus with facts for his historical works. It is not known when Tacitus died, nor whether he left any children. The Emperor Tacitus claimed the honor of being descended from him, but we have no means of judging of the accuracy of the emperor's pedigree; and Sidonius Apollinaris (*Ep., lib. iv., ad Polemium*) mentions the historian Tacitus among the ancestors of Polemius, a prefect of Gaul in the fifth century of our era.

“ The extant works of Tacitus are the ‘Life of Agricola,’ ‘the Treatise on the Germans,’ ‘Histories,’ ‘Annals,’ and the ‘Dialogue on Orators; or, the Causes of the Decline of Eloquence.’ None of his Orations are preserved.

“ The ‘Life of Agricola’ is one of the earliest works of Tacitus, and must have been written after the death of Domitian (A.D. 96). The Proœmium, or Introduction to it, was written in the reign of Trajan, and the whole work probably belongs to the first or second year of that emperor's reign. As a specimen of biography, it is much and justly admired. Like all the extant works of Tacitus, it is unencumbered with minute irrelevant matter. The life and portrait of Agricola are sketched in a bold and vigorous style, corresponding to the dignity of the subject. The biographer was the friend and son-in-law of Agricola, whom he loved and revered, but he impresses his reader with a profound conviction of the moral greatness of Agricola, his courage, and his prudence, without ever becoming his panegyrist.

The 'Life of Agricola' was not contained in the earliest editions of Tacitus.

"The 'Germany' of Tacitus has been the subject of some discussion as to its historical value. The author does not inform us whence he drew his materials for the description of the usages of these barbarians, many of whom could only be known by hearsay even to the Roman traders and adventurers on the frontiers of the empire. The work contains numerous minute and precise details, for which it must be assumed that the writer had at least the evidence of persons conversant with the German tribes on the frontiers; and there is nothing in the description of Tacitus which is substantially at variance with what we know of the early Germans from other sources. The soundest conclusion is, that the picture of the Germans is in the main correct; otherwise we must assume it to be either a mere fiction, or a rhetorical essay founded on a few generally known facts; but neither of these assumptions will satisfy a careful reader.

"The 'Histories,' which were written before the 'Annals,' and after the death of Nerva, comprehended the period from the accession of Galba to the death of Domitian; to which it was the author's intention to add the reigns of Nerva and Trajan (*Hist.*, i., 1). There are only extant the first four books and a part of the fifth, and these comprehend little more than the events of one year, from which we may conclude that the whole work must have consisted of many books. Unfortunately, the fifth book contains only the commencement of the siege of Jerusalem by Titus.

"The 'Annals' comprehended the history of Rome from the death of Augustus to the death of Nero, a period of fifty-two years, which ended with the extinction of the Julian house in Nero. A part of the fifth book of the 'Annals' is lost; the seventh, eighth, ninth, tenth, the beginning of the eleventh, and the end of the sixteenth and last book, are also lost. These last portions comprehended the whole reign of Caligula, the first years of Claudius, and the last two years of Nero's reign. It is said that the preservation of the historical works of Tacitus is due to the Emperor Tacitus (*Vopisc.*, *Tacit.*, 10), who caused them to be transcribed ten times a year, and copies to be placed in the libraries. But the works of Tacitus, and more particularly the 'Annals,' were neglected during the decline of the empire, and few copies of them were preserved. The first five books of the 'Annals' were not found till the beginning of the sixteenth century, when they were discovered in the Abbey of Corvey, in Westphalia, and published at Rome, in 1515, by Philip Bervaldus.

"The Dialogue on the Decline of Eloquence may have been written in the reign of Vespasian: it is at least probable that it is an early

work of Tacitus. It has been sometimes doubted if it is by Tacitus, but the style is in favor of the common opinion, though it presents in many respects a marked contrast to the 'Annals,' the work of his mature years. Messala, one of the speakers, attributes the decline of oratory to the neglect of the arduous method of study adopted by the older orators, who learned their art by attaching themselves to some eminent speaker, and by experience in the actual business of life: in Messala's time, the school of the rhetoricians was the only place of discipline for the young. But Maternus, another speaker, indicates more truly the causes of the decline of eloquence, by a reference to the political condition of the Romans, and the suppression of their energies under the empire, as compared with the turbulent activity of the Republican period.

"The 'Annals' of Tacitus are the work of his riper age, on which his historical reputation mainly rests. Though entitled Annals, and in general sufficiently true to the chronological order of events, the title of Annals conveys no exact notion of the character of this work. The writer moulded the matter of his history, and adapted it to his purpose, which was not a complete enumeration of the domestic and foreign events of the period, but a selection of such as portrayed in the liveliest colors the character of the Romans. The central figure in this picture is the imperial power, and the person who wielded it, the Princeps, and every event is viewed in relation to him. The notion of the Romans of the age of Tacitus is inseparably associated with the notion of the government of one man. The power that had been founded and consolidated by Augustus had been transmitted through many princes, few of whom had distinguished themselves by ability, and some had sullied the purple with the most abominable crimes. Yet the imperial power was never shaken after it was once firmly established, and the restoration of the old Republic was never seriously contemplated by any sober thinker. The necessity of the imperial power was felt, and the historian, while he describes the vices and follies of those who had held it, and often casts a glance of regret toward the Republican period, never betrays a suspicion that this power could be replaced by any other, in the abject and fallen state of the Roman people. It is this conviction which gives to the historical writings of Tacitus that dramatic character which pervades the whole, and is seen in the selection of events, and the mode in which they are presented to the reader. It is consistent with this that the bare facts, as they may be extracted from his narrative, are true, and that the coloring with which he has heightened them may often be false. This coloring was his mode of viewing the progress of events, and the development of the imperial power:

the effect, however, is, that the reader often overlooks the bare historical facts, and carries away only the general impression which the historian's animated drama presents.

“ Tacitus had formed a full, and, it may be, a correct conception of the condition of the empire in his own time, and the problem which he proposed to himself was, not only to narrate the course of events from the close of the reign of Augustus, but to develop their causes. (*Hist.*, i., 4.) For his ‘Annals,’ at least, he could claim, as he does, the merit of strict impartiality: he lived after the events that he describes, and, consequently, had no wrongs to complain of, no passions or prejudices to mislead him. (*Ann.*, i., 1.) He observes, also, in the commencement of his ‘Histories,’ that neither Galba, Otho, nor Vitellius had either conferred on him any favor or done him any injury. To Vespasian, Titus, and Domitian he acknowledges his obligations. The reign of Domitian is, unfortunately, lost; but we may collect from the expressions in the ‘Life of Agricola’ (c. 43, 45, &c.) that the favors which Tacitus had received did not save this contemptible tyrant from the historian's just indignation.

“ The tone which characterizes the historical works of Tacitus is an elevation of thought which had its foundation in the moral dignity of the writer, and the consciousness of having proposed to himself a noble object. He was a profound observer of character: it was his study to watch the slightest indications in human conduct, and by correctly interpreting these outward signs, to penetrate into the hidden recesses of the heart. His power of reaching those thoughts which are often almost unconsciously the springs of a man's actions, has, perhaps, never been equalled by any historical writer. Tacitus had lived through a time when the value of the lessons of philosophy had to be tested by their practical application, and his historical studies carried him through a period in which the mass were sunk in sensuality, and the really good and great had no consolation but in the consciousness of their own thoughts. Though he appears to belong to no sect of philosophers, his practical morality was of the Stoic school, the only school which, in those degenerate times, could sustain the sinking spirits of the Romans, and which, even under favorable circumstances, guided the conduct of the wise Cornelius, the noblest man that ever possessed sovereign power. The religious opinions of Tacitus partook of the character of his age: he had no strong convictions, no settled belief of a moral government of the world: his love of virtue and his abhorrence of vice were purely moral; they had no reference to a future existence. (*Ann.*, iii., 18; vi., 22.) In one of his earliest productions he hopes, rather than expects, that the souls of the departed may still live, and be conscious

of what is passing on earth. (*Agric.*, 46.) But in his latest writings there are no traces that his hopes or his wishes had ever ripened into a belief.

“ The style of Tacitus, especially in his ‘Annals,’ is the apt expression of his thought: concise, vigorous, and dramatic. He has, perhaps, attained as great a degree of condensation as is compatible with perspicuity; sometimes his meaning is obscured by his labor to be brief. His historical works are especially works of art, constructed on a fixed principle, and elaborated in obedience to it. He loves to display his rhetorical skill, but he subdues it to his dramatic purpose. It is a fault that his art is too apparent, that his thoughts are sometimes imperfectly or obscurely expressed, that he affects an air of mystery, that his reflections on events are often an inseparable part of them, and, consequently, the impressions which it is his object to produce can only be rectified by the vigorous scrutiny of a matured mind. Yet those who have made Tacitus a study generally end in admiring him, even for some of those qualities which at first repelled: almost every word has its place and its meaning, and the contrast between the brevity of the expression and the fullness of the thought, as it marks the highest power of a writer, so it furnishes fit matter for reflection to those who have attained a like intellectual maturity.

“ Tacitus must have had abundant sources of information, though he indicates them only occasionally. He mentions several of those historians who lived near his own time, as Vipsanius Messala and Fabius Rusticus; he also speaks of the memoirs of Agrippina and others. The *Orationes Principum*, the *Fasti*, the Acts of the Senate, and the various legislative measures, were also sources of which he availed himself. It has been already intimated that the minute detail of events was often foreign to the purpose of Tacitus, and, accordingly, he is sometimes satisfied with giving the general effect or meaning of a thing, without aiming at perfect accuracy. Thus we can not always collect with certainty from Tacitus the provisions of the *Senatus Consulta* of which he speaks; and for the purpose of any historical investigation of Roman legislation, his statements must sometimes be enlarged or corrected by reference to other sources, and particularly to the ‘Digest.’ ”

STEMMA

OF

THE FAMILY OF AUGUSTUS.

As the relations of the members of the Augustan family are exceedingly intricate, and a knowledge of them is essential for understanding many parts of Tacitus, a stemma of the family is subjoined, drawn up by Lipsius.

C. Octavius, the father of Augustus, was married twice. By his first wife, Ancharia, he had Octavia the elder ; by his second wife, Atia (the daughter of Atius Balbus and Julia, the sister of Julius Cæsar), he had Octavia the younger, and C. Octavius, afterward Augustus. It is doubtful from which of the daughters the following progeny springs.

II. Augustus had no children by his other wives; by Scribonia, daughter of L. Scribonius Libo, he had one daughter, *Julia*. *Julia* was married three times:

a. By M. Marcellus, son of C. Marcellus and Octavia—had no progeny.

- b. By M. Vipsanius Agrippa.
1. *Caius Caesar*, adopted by Augustus, m. Livia, sister of Germanicus, died A.D. 4.
 2. *Lucius Caesar*, adopted by Augustus, betrothed to *Æmilia Lepida*, died A.D. 2.
 3. *Julia*.
By L. *Æmilius Paulus*, son of the Censor.
 1. *M. Æmilius Lepidus*, m. Drusilla, dr. of Germanicus.
 2. *Æmilia Lepida*.
 - a. Betrothed to Claudius.
 - b. By Ap. Junius Silanus.
 1. *L. Silanus*.
Betrothed to Octavia, dr. of Claudius.
 2. *M. Silanus*.
Proconsul of Asia.
 3. *Junia Calvina*.
m. son of Vitellius.
 - c. By Drusus, son of Germanicus? } None.
 4. *Agrippina*.
By Germanicus.
 1. *Nero*, m. Julia, dr. of Drusus, son of Tiberius (*Annal.*, vi., 27).
 2. *Drusus*, m. *Æmilia Lepida* (*Annal.*, vi., 40).
 3. CAIUS CALIGULA.
 4. *Agrippina*,
By Cn. Domitius, } NERO.
 5. *Drusilla*, m. L. Cassius and M. *Æmilius Lepidus*.
 6. *Livia*, or *Livilla*, m. M. Vinicius and Quinctilius Varus?
 5. Agrippa Postumus, adopted by Augustus, put to death by Tiberius, A.D. 14.
- c. By Tiberius, had none.

III. Augustus, after divorcing his former wife, Scribonia, married Livia Drusilla, by whom he had no children. Livia, however, had been previously married to Tiberius Claudius Nero, by whom she had two sons, Tiberius, afterward emperor, and Drusus, who was born three months after her marriage with Augustus.

1. TIBERIUS NERO, adopted by Augustus.

- | | | | | |
|--|---|---|---|--|
| <p>a. By Vipsania Agrippina, gr. dr. of Atticus.</p> | } | <p><i>Drusus,</i>
By Livia, sister
of Germanicus.</p> | } | <p>1. <i>Ti. Gemellus</i>, killed by Caligula
(<i>Suet., Cal., 25</i>).</p> <p>2. — <i>Gemellus</i> (<i>Ann., ii., 84; iv., 15</i>).</p> <p>3. <i>Julia</i>.</p> |
| | | | | <p>a. By Nero, son of Germanicus. } None.</p> |
| | | | | <p>b. By Rubellius Plautus (<i>Ann., vi., 27</i>). } <i>Rubellius Plautus</i> (<i>Annal., xvi., 10</i>).</p> |
| <p>b. By Julia, dr. of Augustus.</p> | } | | | <p>None.</p> |

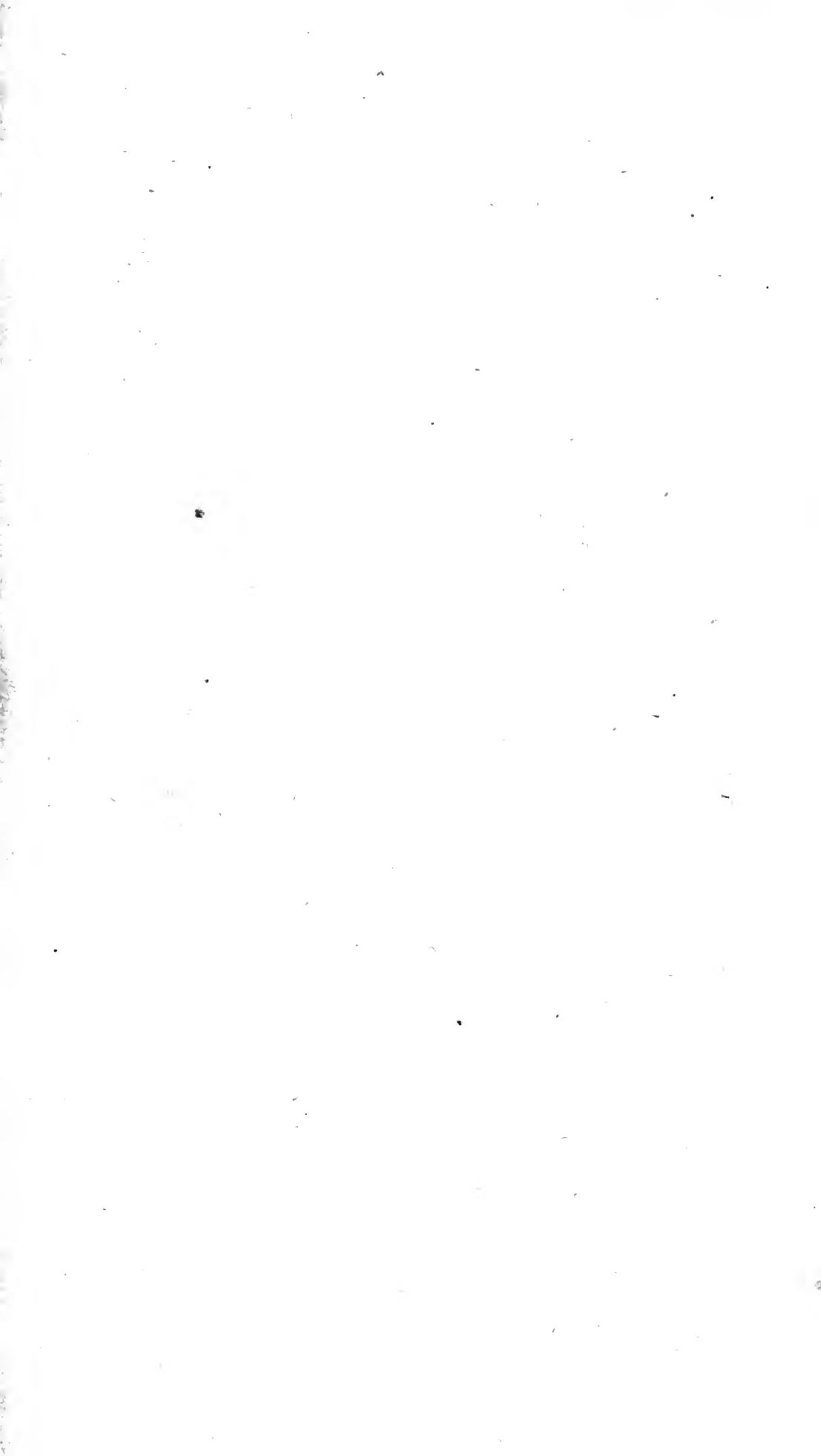
2. DRUSUS.

- | | | |
|--------------------------------|---|-------------------|
| <p>By Antonia the younger.</p> | } | <p>See above.</p> |
|--------------------------------|---|-------------------|

R E M A R K S

ON THE

STYLE OF TACITUS.





REMARKS
ON THE
STYLE OF TACITUS.

TRANSLATED* FROM THE LATIN OF WILHELM BOETTICHER.

TACITUS generally preserved in his language the usage of former writers, and chiefly of the historians; and only departed from it in such a degree as to improve and increase certain peculiarities which the ancient writers sometimes display in single instances, and in which they, too, have mostly followed the language of the poets. It is true, he adopted the usage of his age, and indulged his own peculiar genius in new constructions, and in the formation of compound words; but he never, in these instances, transgressed the laws of his native tongue: like a great legislator, who best provides for the common welfare by retaining, on the one hand, the customs of antiquity, while he also employs his own genius in inventing laws which are better and more suited to the demands of his age.

There are, indeed, many passages in his writings which are rendered obscure by a conciseness almost intricate and abrupt; many which, departing from the common mode of speech, call for much attention in the reader. But just as the milk like exuberance of Livy and the wonderful clearness of Cicero delight the minds of their readers, and gratify them with a pleasure which is presented, as it were, spontaneously, and obtained by no great labor; so the brevity of Tacitus, obscure, indeed, but never unpleasing, never impenetrable to the edge of genius—while it calls forth all the reader's strength, and never suffers his mind to be inactive, but always engages him more and more in new efforts to imbibe deeply the loftiest and most beautiful sentiments—fills and pervades with a joy assuredly not inferior, nay, imperishable, the minds of those who come to the perusal of the works of Tacitus, not as to thickets bristling with thorns, but as to a consecrated grove, glimmering with a doubtful but holy light.

Now the laws which Tacitus has followed in the composition of his writings, and the sources from which chiefly all those things proceed which constitute the peculiarity of his style, may be most conveniently referred to *variety*, which we may also call *copiousness*; to *brevity*, on which the *force of language* depends; and to the *poetical complexion*

* By Mr. Philip Smith, B.A., University College, London.

*of his narrative.** This three-fold division, therefore, we shall carry out in such a manner as, by observing some certain order, to enumerate all the peculiarities of the style of Tacitus, either as examples of the variety, or of the brevity, or of the poetical complexion, by which his style is marked; but with this restriction, that many peculiarities can not be described in words and brought under rules; and we think it sufficient to have collected here examples of each kind, and thus to have pointed out to the students of Tacitus the road by which they may arrive at a fuller knowledge of that writer.

ON THE VARIETY OF THE STYLE OF TACITUS.

Of all writers, Tacitus has taken most pains to vary both single words and the composition of sentences. In this quality he was preceded chiefly by Livy and Sallust. And the care of Livy, in this respect, indicates copiousness and exuberance; but that of Sallust an affectation of antiquity. The reason of this peculiarity Tacitus himself plainly enough declares. For he says that "his labor was in a restricted space, and inglorious;" that "the positions of nations, the *vicissitudes* of battles, the triumphant deaths of generals, interest and refresh the minds of readers; but he had to *string together* cruel mandates, *perpetual* accusations, treacherous friendships, the ruin of innocent men, and causes which had the *same* issue, things strikingly *similar even to satiety.*"†

It is not, therefore, to be wondered at that, in collecting the memorials of past events, he should have taken pains to acquire that variety which presented itself spontaneously to the writers of the old republic, in order to avoid burdening and wearying the minds of his readers by expressing in the same words events perpetually recurring. As to the fact that for this very end he used certain ancient forms and words, and interspersed them in his narrative, we know that though he retained as much of all ancient things as was proper and becoming, yet he did not despise the more polished style of his own age.‡

* But it must be observed that, in many passages, all these qualities are united; so that in his very brevity there appear at the same time variety and a poetical complexion.

† Annals, iv., 32, 33: "Nobis in arto et inglorius labor." "Situs gentium, *varietates* proeliorum, clari ductum exitus retinent ac redintegrant legentium animum: nos sæva jussa, *continuas* accusationes, fallaces amicitias, perniciem innocentium, et *easdem exitu causas* conjungimus, obvia *rerum similitudine et satietate.*"

‡ See the *Dialogus de Oratoribus*, c. 22: "Variet compositionem; nec omnes clausulas uno et eodem modo determinet." And c. 18: "Non esse unum eloquentiæ vultum," &c

The following are examples of his variety :

I. HIS MODES OF WRITING WORDS ARE VARIOUS.

a. *Inrumpere* and *irrupere*, *adstitit* and *astitit*, *adlicere* and *allicere*, *adpellere* and *appellere*; *colloqui*, *colligere*, and *conloqui*, *conlectus*; *offundere* and *obfundere*; *accelerare*, *accolere*, *accursus*, and *aaccelerare*, *adcolere*, *adcursus*.

b. *Cotidie* and *quotidie*; *promiscus*, *promisce*, and *promiscuus*, *promiscue*; *abisse* and *abiisse*, *epistula* and *epistola*; *volgus*, *volnus*, *voltus*, *convolsus*, *revolsus*, *mavoltis*, and *vulgus*, *vulnus*, &c.; and also, in some places, *sævom*, *pravom*, *alvom*, *captivom*, *donativom* *avonculo*, for the common *sævum*, *pravum*, &c.; *tegumen*, *tegimen*, and *tegmen*; *balnea* (*balnea*) and *balineæ*; *claudere* and *cludere*; *inclutus* and *inclitus*; *quotiens*, *totiens*, *viciens*, *septuagiens*, and *quoties*, *toties*, &c.; *transmittere*, *transnatare*, and *tramittere*, *tranatare*; *vinculum* and *vinclum*; *Hercule* and *Heracle*; *libido*, and once *lubido*; *altissimus*, *optumus*, *optumates*, *proxumus* (these examples are found each only once in Tacitus), and *altissimus*, &c.; *monimentum* and *monumentum*; *decumus* and *decimus*, &c.; *urgere* and *urguere*, *intellègere* and *intelligere*, *oreretur* and *oriretur*, *poteretur* and *potiretur*, *detractare* and *dretrectare*.

II. WORDS ARE VARIOUSLY INFLECTED.

a. *Tigranen*, *Tigranem*, *Lirin*, *Turesim*; the accusative plural ending in *īs* of participles and adjectives chiefly, less frequently of substantives, is interchanged with the common form; as, *imminentis*, *omnis*, *tris*, *navis*; the genitive which ends in *um* with the common termination in *orum*; *deum* (very rarely *deorum*), *liberum*, *posterum* (*Annal.*, iii., 72), *quindecimvirum* (*Annal.*, vi., 12); *parentum* and *parentium*. By a poetical usage received from the writers of the Silver Age, we read in *Annal.*, iv., 41, *salutantum* for *salutantium*, and several examples of the same kind occur repeatedly. *Cai*, *Cnei*, *Cæselli*, *Patulei*, *Rubelli*, *Pacari*, but *Tiberii*, *Pompeii*, &c.; *di*, *dis*, *dii*, *diis*, and *deis*; *quibus*, and not less frequently *quīs*. The dative ending in *u* is very frequent in Tacitus, as well as the common termination; as, *luxu*, *nuru*, *metu*, *decursu*, *cruciatu*. Cæsar, who uses that form more frequently, generally gives nothing else but *magistratu*, *equitatu*, *exercitu*.

b. Heteroclite and defective words: *plebes*, *plebei* (gen. and dat.), and *plebs*, *plebis*, *plebi* (so in Cicero, Livy, and other former writers); *juventa*, *senecta*, (*senium*), poetical words, and *juventus*, *senectus* (after Livy's example); but *juventus* in Tacitus always means *youths*, *juventa* no less constantly *the age of youth*; nouns are both of the first and fifth declension in the nominative (as is usual), in the accusative,

and in the ablative cases: *materia* and *materies*, *mollitia* and *mollities*, *duritia* and *durities* (so, also, in Cicero), with an obsolete genitive, *Annal.*, iii., 34, *multa duritie veterum in melius et lætius mutata*, unless it is better to take *duritie* for the ablative, with *ex* understood. *Oblivio* and (*Hist.*, iv., 9) *oblivium* (the plural *oblivia* occurs frequently in the poets), *obsidio* and *obsidium* (so Varro, Plautus, Sallust), which in Tacitus, indeed, is the same as *obses*, *Annal.*, xi., 10, *Meherdaten—obsidio nobis datum*. So he uses *consortium* for the common *consortio* (as *Liv.*, iv., 5); *alimonium*, *Annal.*, xi., 16, after Varro's example; but Plautus, Suetonius, Gellius, Apuleius, use *alimonia*, æ. *Eventus* and (what is not an uncommon word with Cicero) *eventum*, *Annal.*, iv, 33, *plures aliorum eventis docentur*; *prætextu* and (*Hist.*, ii., 100; iii., 80; as in Seneca and Suetonius) *prætexto*; *Vologeses*, genitive *Vologesis* and *Vologesi*, dative *Vologeso*, accusative *Vologesen*, ablative *Vologese*. Add to these *decus* and *decor* (as in the writers of the same age); *sonos* and (the poetical form) *sonor*; *honos* and *honor*; *satietas* and (Sallust) *satias*; *sexus* and (Sallust, Livy) *secus*; *munera* and *munia* (and this frequently); *muri* and *mænia* (compare *Hist.*, iii., 30, near the end); *gratia* and *grates*; *exanimus*, *exanimis*; *semermus*, *semermis*; *inermus*, *inermis*; *claritudo*, *claritas*; *firmitudo*, *firmitas*.

c. Heterogeneous words: *loci* and *loca*, where they refer to a country, are used indifferently by Tacitus; other writers, less frequently, use *loci*. In *Annal.*, xv., 32, *loci* are the seats in a theatre; on the other hand, Livy and Vellius call them *loca*. Arguments, which are treated of in a debate or speech, and also passages or sentences of speeches or books, are called by all writers, and Tacitus likewise, *loci*. Some names of cities ending in *a* are both feminine and neuter; *Artaxata*, *Hierosolyma*, and others.

III. The following examples will prove how great is the variety and copiousness of Tacitus IN THE ACTUAL USE OF WORDS.

a. The word *auris* is used by no writer so often and so variously; for he gives *aures præbere*, *adire*, *perstringere*, *advertere*, *imbuere*, *vitare*, *polluere*, *obstruere*, *verberare*, *offendere*; *ad aures conferre*, *pervenire*; *auribus obtemperare*, *auribus non satis competere*, *aures respuunt*, *agnoscunt aliquid*; *diversitas*, *fastidium aurium*; *oratio auribus iudicum accommodata*; *diversissimarum aurium copia*; *cognitæ populi aures*; *aures adrectiores*, *trepidæ*, *lentæ*, *promptæ*, *pronæ*, *superbæ*, *æquæ*, *apertæ*, *ita formataæ*. Two reasons may be given why Tacitus so often used this word: first, because he was an orator, on which account most examples of it are furnished by his Dialogue concerning Orators; and, therefore, Cicero, also, and Quintilian often use this word:

secondly, because, in describing times which, to use his own words, had destroyed by prosecutions the intercourse of speaking and hearing, and recalled the recollection of the well-known ear* of the tyrant Dionysius, he was able, by the use of this mode of speech, to express with the greatest propriety and effect many things which belonged to the wicked arts of tyranny and slavery.

b. There is generally a variety of the same kind in describing hidden and secret things. Thus *palam* are opposed *secreto, intus, domi, per occultum, per occulta, in occulto, privatim, furtim, secretis criminationibus, occultis nuntiis, inter secreta convivii, voto; Annal., xvi., 7, mortem Poppææ ut palam tristem, ita recordantibus lætam; Hist., i., 10, palam laudares; secreta male audiebant; propalam—secretis nuntiis, secretis promissis.*

c. Since Tacitus had to mention frequent deaths, he has in these, also, used very great variety: *relinquendæ vitæ certus; finis sponte sumtus, quæsita mors; suo ictu mortem invenire, finem vitæ sibi ponere, sumere exitium, voluntario exitu cadere, sua manu cadere, mortem sponte sumere, se vita privare, se ipsum interficere* (and *interfectus* also is used in a rather unusual way of voluntary death in *Annal., i., 2, interfecto Antonio*: compare *Hist., i., 53, occiso Nerone*), *voluntate exstingui, vim vitæ suæ adferre, vitam abstinentia finire, egestate cibi perimi, venenum haurire, gladio incumbere, senili manu ferrum tentare; venas, brachia exsolvere, resolvere, abrumpere, interscindere, abscindere, interrumpere, incidere, aperire rursus; levem ictum venis inferre; defungi, exstingui, obire, concedere, oppetere, finire, fato fungi, fato obire, fato concedere, morte fato propera auferri, mortem obire, mortalitatem explere, finem vitæ implere, supremum diem explere, concedere vita, cedere vita, vitam finire; mors (mortes), obitus, excessus, finis; Dial., 18, fatalis et meus dies.*

d. *Propinqua vespera, flexo in vesperam die, vesperascente die, in-umbrante vespera, præcipiti in occasum die, extremo die, sero diei, obscuro diei.*

e. Those phrases, also, are changed which it is the usual custom not to alter; as, *aqua et igni interdicerere* (*Annal., iii., 38; iv., 21*), *aqua et igni arceri* (*Annal., iii., 50*), *aqua atque igni prohiberi* (*Annal., xvi., 12*).

f. Particles are varied more frequently than in other writers: *haud* and *non, haudquaquam, nequaquam; dein, deinde; exin, exinde; proin, proinde; modo—modo* and *interim—quandoque, modo—nunc, modo—ecce nunc; erga, and, with the same signification, contra, adversus, in; penes* and *ad, in, apud; juxta* and *ad, apud*. They serve for a transi-

* A combination of passages, by which Dionysius is said to have been able to overhear the words of his captives as he sat in his palace.

tion: *his atque (ac, et) talibus, his et pluribus, ceterum, dehinc, hinc, ad hoc, ad hæc* (besides) *ac, et, inter quæ, interea, per idem tempus, sub idem tempus, interim, simul, proinde, exinde, deinde, igitur* (seldom itaque) *ergo, at, at Hercule (Hercle).*

IV. Tacitus is also remarkable for great copiousness and variety of words; because, besides the words received in common use, he likewise frequently uses such as are found only in single passages in the writers of the former age; because, too, he adopted those words with which the poets of every age, and the writers of his own time, enriched the Latin tongue; and, lastly, because he himself discovered and composed many new words; as, *centurionatus, exstimulator, instigatrix, inturbidus, quinquiplicare, præposse, providere, pervigere, superstagnare, superurgere.* And he followed the same plan IN THE MEANINGS OF WORDS, not only combining the different senses which they had at different times, but also referring them, according to his own taste, to other things which bore some degree of affinity to the things which other writers had used those words to express. Of this I will give the following examples:

a. As in Cicero we read *adducere habenas*, in Seneca *adducere vultum ad tristitiam*, in Quintilian *adducta frons*; so in Tacitus, with a slight change in the meaning of the word, *Annal.*, xii., 7, *adductum* (i. e., *severum, rigidum*) *et quasi virile servitium*; xiv., 4, *familiaritate juvenili—et rursus adductus*; and Tacitus alone appears thus to have used the adverb, *adductius (regnari, imperitare)*, in *Germ.*, 34, and *Hist.*, iii., 7.

b. *Expedire*, 1. As in its common use, is the same as *præparare, parare, as arma, alimenta, iter, concilium*; *Annal.*, xiv., 55, *qui me non tantum prævisa, sed subita expedire docuisti*, concerning facility of speech. 2. Then in the same sense as *exponere*: examples of this meaning are furnished by Terence, Virgil, and other poets; *Annal.*, iv., 1, *nunc originem, mores—expediam*, and so frequently. 3. Tacitus alone appears to have used it absolutely for *expeditionem suscipere*; *Hist.*, i., 10, *nimiæ voluptates cum vacaret; quotiens expedierat magnæ virtutes*; chap. lxxxviii., *multos—secum expedire jubet*; but exactly in the same way, *ducere* is used for *ducere exercitum*, not only by Tacitus, but much oftener by Livy.

c. *Externus*, besides its common use, in which it simply applies to foreign nations; as, *Annal.*, xi., 16, *ire externum ad imperium*, is also in Tacitus synonymous with *hostilis*; *Hist.*, iv., 32, *ut absisteret bello, neve externa armis falsis velaret*; iii., 5, *ne inter discordias (Romanorum) externa molirentur.* In the same manner *diversus* is used by Tacitus of things relating to enemies and opposing parties; as, *Annal.*,

xiv., 30, *stabat pro littore diversa* (the hostile) *acies*, *Hist.*, iii., 5, *ne majore ex diverso mercede* (received from their adversaries) *jus fasque exuerent*; and *diversus* is generally synonymous with *alienus*, *abhorrrens ab aliqua re*: *Annal.*, ii., 2, *diversus a majorum institutis*; vi., 33, *diversa induere* (espouse different sides; but thus Livy, also, speaks of *diversi auctores*).

V. IN THE GRAMMATICAL CONSTRUCTION OF WORDS the very great variety of the style of Tacitus is discovered.

a. The singular and plural numbers are interchanged: *miles*, *eques* (used, also, of those who are of equestrian rank), *veteranus*, *legionarius*, and *milites*, *equites*, &c., and more often, indeed, than in former writers: *Annal.*, vi., 35, *cum Parthus—distraheret turmas, Sarmatæ—contis gladiisque ruerent*; *Hist.*, iii., 59, *Samnis Pelignusque et Marsi*. The plural, used for the sake of majesty, is often joined with the singular: *Annal.*, iv., 11, *ut peterem ab iis, quorum in manus cura nostra venerit*, &c., *Agr.*, 43, *nobis nihil comperti adfirmare ausim*.

b. Different cases are joined together: *Annal.*, xii., 29, *legionem—pro ripa componeret, subsidio victis et terrorem adversus victores*; *Hist.*, i., 53, *corpore ingens, animi immodicus*; *Annal.*, xv., 59, *nomen mulieris Arria Galla, priori marito Domitius Silus*: and the same cases with different significations: *Germ.*, 35, *occidere solent, non disciplina et severitate, sed impetu et ira*; *Hist.*, ii., 22, *molares ingenti pondere ac fragore provolvunt*.

c. The dative, accusative, genitive, and prepositions are used in the same kind of construction: *promptus rei, in rem, ad rem; inrumperere terram, in terram, ad terram*; *Annal.*, xiv., 38, *cujus adversa pravitate ipsius, prospera ad fortunam rei publicæ referebat*, unless you prefer taking this as a zeugma; xii., 55, *vim cultoribus et oppidanis ac plerumque in mercatores—audebant*; *Annal.*, iv., 1, *sui obtegens, in alios criminator*; xiii., 21, *ultionem in delatores et præmia amicis obtinuit*. (See below, on the Brevity of the Style of Tacitus, iii., 1.)

d. There is the greatest variety in the mode of comparison. 1. The usual construction *quo—tanto, quanto—tanto, scite magis quam probe, avidius quam consultius*. 2. The positive, or other words which have its force, is used for the comparative in almost the same manner as we read in *Agr.*, 4, *vehementius quam caute*: *Annal.*, i., 68, *quanto inopina, tanto majora offunduntur*; c. 74, *quantoque incautius efferverat, pænitentia patiens tulit* (compare Livy, i., 25, *Romani—Horatium accipiunt eo majore cum gaudio, quo prope metum res fuerat*); iv., 67, *quanto intentus olim—tanto resolutus*. Compare Livy, xxi., 48, *quantum elatus—tantum anxius*. 3. *Tanto* is transposed; *Annal.*, i., 81, *speciosa verbis—quantoque majore libertatis*

imagine tegebantur, tanto eruptura ad insensius servitium. 4. *Tanto* or *eo* is omitted: *Annal.*, ii., 5, *quanto acriora—studia militum et aversa* (see No. 2) *patrui voluntas, celerandæ victoriæ intentior*; *Hist.*, iii., 58, *quanto quis clarior, minus fidus.* Compare *Livy*, xxv., 38, *quo audacius erat (consilium) magis placebat.* 5. *Plura* is omitted: *Annal.*, iii., 5, *tanto plura decora mox tribui par fuisse, quanto prima fors negavisset.* 6. *Eodem actu* is put for *tanto*; *Hist.*, i., 12, *qui in dies quanto potentior, eodem actu invisior erat.* 7. *Quam* is used alone, meaning *more than, magis* or *potius* being omitted: *Hist.*, iii., 60, *prædæ quam periculorum socius*; *Annal.*, iv., 61, *claris majoribus quam vetustis.* Compare *Livy*, vii., 8, *multiplex quam pro numero damnus est.* 8. Also the more uncommon construction, *Annal.*, iii., 8, *quem haud fratris interitu trucem, quam—æquiores sibi sperabat,* put for *non tam—quam, or tantum abest ut—ut.*

e. Adjectives and genitive cases are mixed together: *Annal.*, ii., 3, *Armenia—inter Parthorum et Romanas opes infida*: xii., 14, *ex quis Izates Adiabeno, mox Acbarus Arabum cum exercitu abscedunt.*

f. Verbs are variously and, indeed, rather uncommonly constructed: *fungi officiis* and *officia, potiri flagitii, honoribus, regiam* (by archaism), *adipisci aliquid* and *rerum, dominationis* (so in Tacitus alone); *præsiderè alicui rei* and (what there seems to be no example of in other writers) *Medos, Pannoniam: jubere alicui tributum; Germanos—non juberi, non regi*; *Annal.*, xi., 32, *jussit ut Britannicus et Octavia—pergerent*; xiii., 15, *Britannico jussit exsurgeret*; chap. 40, *quibus jusserat ut—resisterent.* Compare *Terence, Andria*, ii., 5, 1, *me iussit—observarem*; Cicero also, *Livy*, and others sometimes join this verb with the dative. So with many verbs is joined the infinitive and *ut, ne, quod*; also, the preposition *ad* and the particle *ut* are interchanged; e. g., *Annal.*, ii., 62, *haud leve decus Drusus quæsit illicitiens Germanos ad discordias, utque fracto jam Maroboduus usque in exitium insisteretur.* The historical present and perfect are joined together: *Annal.*, ii., 7, *Cæsar—jubet; ipse—sex legiones eo duxit*; c. 20. *Seio Tuberoni legato tradit equitem campumque; peditum aciem ita instruxit ut, &c.*; i., 39, *perduci ad se Plancum imperat, recepitque in tribunal.*—"There are those who ascribe such things to negligence in the author. But he seems to me to have thus adjusted them designedly, like a skillful workman, so as to distinguish wisely and with a polished taste what words should flow with a more animated, and what with a more tranquil course."—(*Walther on the Annals*, ii., 7.) In the same way he places together the historical present, the historical infinitive, and the perfect: *Annal.*, iii., 20, *Eodem anno Tacfarinas—bellum in Africa renovat, vagis primum populationibus—dein vicos excindere, trahere graves prædas, postremo—cohortem*

Romanam circumscedit; xii., 51, *conjux gravida—toleravit*; post—*ubi quati uterus et viscera vibrantur, orare ut, &c.*; xv., 27, *simul consilio terrorem adjicere, et Megistanas Armenios—pellit sedibus, &c.*

g. There is great variety in the syntax of particles: *Annal.*, i., 2, *per acies aut proscriptioe cadere*; ii., 70, *ea Germanico haud minus ira quam per metum accepta*; *Annal.*, xi., 32, *ut quis reperiebatur in publico aut per latebras*; iv., 51, *nox aliis in audaciam, aliis ad formidinem opportuna*.—*Germ.*, 20, *sorum filiis idem apud avunculum qui ad patrem honor*; *Annal.*, vi., 22, *tristia in bonos, leta apud deteriores esse*.

VI. CONSTRUCTIONS OF DIFFERENT KINDS ARE OFTEN MINGLED TOGETHER; and after beginning with some one form of speech, he passes abruptly, and without regarding the law of uniformity, to another. Thus very often the passive and active voices are mixed up together: *Annal.*, vi., 44, *nil omisum quo ambiguos illiceret, promti firmarentur*; iv., 44, *Albim transcendit, longius penetrata Germania quam quisquam priorum*. Compare *Livy*, xxii., 6, *quæ Punica religione servata fides ab Hannibale est, atque in vincula omnes conjecit*.—The accusative, the accusative with the infinitive, the finite tenses of the verb and particles, are mingled together: *Annal.*, xv., 50, *dum scelera principis et finem adesse imperio, deligendumque qui—succurreret inter se—jaciunt*; *Hist.*, iv., 4, *promsit sententiam ut honorificam in bonum principem, ita falsa aberant*. (Compare *Annal.*, iii., 30, *fato potentia—an satias capit*.) *Annal.*, iv., 38, *quod alii modestiam, multi, quia diffideret, quidam ut degeneris animi interpretabantur*. Compare *Sallust's Catiline*, 10, *avaritia—superbiam, crudelitatem, deos neglegere, omnia venalia habere edocuit*.—The participle, gerund, finite tenses of the verb, and particles are placed together: *Annal.*, i., 62, *quod Tiberio haud probatum, seu cuncta Germanici in deterius trahenti, sive—credebat*; iii., 31, *absentiam—meditans, sive ut—impleret*; xiii., 11, *orationibus, quas Seneca testificando quam honesta præciperet vel jactandi ingenii—vulgabat*; c. 47, *socors ingenium ejus in contrarium trahens callidumque et simulatorem interpretando*. He passes from what is called the oblique narration to the direct (as *Livy*, i., 13, 47, 57): *Annal.*, iv., 40, *ad ea Tiberius—principum diversam esse sortem; falleris enim Sejane, &c.*; *Hist.*, iii., 2, *ad ea Antonius Primus—festinationem ipsis utilem*. “*Duæ tunc Pannonicæ ac Mæsicæ alæ perrupere hostem,*” &c. See, also, the heads *Syllepsis* and *Zeugma*, in the remarks on the Brevity of his Style, V.

VII. IN THE POSITION OF WORDS, Tacitus indulges in variety above other writers, following chiefly the practice of his own age, and he

even sometimes inverts those phrases which other writers are wont to preserve constantly in a certain order; as, *Annal.*, xi., 35, *consulto senatus*. (See above, III., e.)

a. Cognomens, or agnomens, are even PLACED BEFORE names; and in the same way, a term signifying the dignity and office with which any one is endowed, is expressed before the name itself, as *Agrippa Postumus* and *Postumus Agrippa*, *M. Annæus Lucanus* and *Lucanus Annæus*, *Asinius Pollio* and *Pollio Asinius* (thus Cicero, also, has *Pollio Asinius*), *Antonius Primus* and *Primus Antonius*; *dictator Cæsar* and *Cæsar dictator* (as in Cicero, *rex Deiotarus*; in Livy, *rex Prusias*); *imperator Augustus*, *Augustus imperator*; but when this dignity was perpetual, from the age of Julius Cæsar downward, the title of *imperator* (as before, in general, that of *dictator*) used to be placed before the proper name. Compare *Suctonius* (*Cæs.*, 76), *honores nimios recepit—prænomen imperatoris*. So, besides the common arrangement, *prætor Antistius*, *procurator Marius*, *augur Lentulus* (as in Livy we have *consul Æmilius*, *consul Sulpicius*). Add to these, *tribunus plebis*, and *plebei*, and *plebis (plebei) tribunus*.

b. Together with the common order of the particles we find an ANASTROPHE of the prepositions and conjunctions after the manner of the poets, which is admitted also, though less often, by other writers, chiefly of the Silver Age: *Amisiam et Lupiam amnes INTER, disjectas inter et vix pervias arenas, sedes inter Vestalium: præturam INTRA stetit, unum INTRA damnum*; and thus are used *super, extra, ultra, contra, penes, propter, juxta, apud, ad*, and *ab*: *Annal.*, v., 9, *vanescere QUAMQUAM plebis ira* (so Cicero); *Annal.*, i., 5, *acribus NAMQUE custodiis domum—seperat* (so Livy very often); *Annal.*, ii., 15, *classem QUIPPE* (Cicero); *Hist.*, ii., 17, *inritabat QUIN ETIAM* (Capitolinus); *Dial.*, 6, *illis QUIN IMMO* (in other writers very rare, and every where having the first place); *Annal.*, xi., 30, *frueretur IMMO iis* (Plautus); *Germ.*, 30, *durant SIQUIDEM colles* (Pliny the elder).

c. With the remarks we have made above (VI.) on the mixture of constructions may be compared the Synchronism, which Quintilian calls *a mixture of words*, and of which Livy likewise furnishes not a few examples: *Annal.*, i., 10, *Pompeianarum gratiam partium*; xii., 65, *seu Britannicus rerum seu Nero potiretur*; xiv., 2, *tradit Cluvius ardore retinendæ Agrippinam potentiæ eo usque provectam, ut, &c.*; c. iv., *pluribus sermonibus, modo familiaritate juvenili Nero et rursus adductus—tracto in longum convictu, prosequitur abeuntem*; iii., 42, *inconditam multitudinem adhuc disjecit*, that is, *inconditam adhuc*. You may also refer Tmesis to this head: *Annal.*, xiii., 50, *acri etiam populi Romani tum libertate*; *Dial.*, 31, *neque enim dum arte et scientia, &c.*, that is, *nondum enim*; *Hist.*, i., 20, *at illis vix decumæ super portiones erant*.

ON THE FORCE AND BREVITY OF THE STYLE OF
TACITUS.

All agree, without any hesitation, that the peculiar character of Tacitus's style is seen most in the concise brevity of his language; and those who have looked into it more closely, till they have even explored all the inmost recesses of his sometimes abrupt diction, prefer Tacitus to all other writers for this very reason, and admire the divine aspect of his genius, which, the nearer they approach it, and the more intently they hang upon its contemplation, so much the more deeply penetrates the minds of the beholders. But if you ask whence proceeds and what means that taciturn brevity, and wherefore it is that you are sometimes moved by it in the inmost corner of your heart, seek the answer from actual life, both that of Tacitus and your own. Many were then (as now they are, if we would honestly confess it) the faults, the vices, the crimes of men, with but rare examples of substantial, well-trying virtue; great were envy and the ignorance of right; many were the mockeries that were made of the affairs of men, and the empty dissensions of the populace; while but very few then, as in our own time even by no means all, were seeking better and higher things. And as it by no means becomes us, who are blessed with the hopes and consolations of the Christian faith, to mourn over those things which are faulty in our own age with the same grief as that with which we behold a Roman, who accounted nothing to be loftier and grander than the hereditary glory and majesty of his country, mourning over the common corruption of all things, and over the republic falling headlong to ruin; so we surely can not blame in Tacitus that kind of bitter pleasure, and that indignant sparing of words, by which, that he might not, like Suetonius, impose too heavy a burden on his own and his readers' sense of shame by narrating every thing at length with a disgusting loquacity, he has generally conveyed a deeper meaning than his words express.*

I. And, first, in the very COLLOCATION OF HIS WORDS there is a certain force and brevity: *non* is sometimes separated from its verb and placed first, to increase the force of the sentence; as, *Annal.*, vi., 32,

* The most important passage for discovering the feelings from which this peculiarity of the style of Tacitus proceeded is that in the *Germania* (33), where, with as deep emotion as he has ever shown, he says, *maneat quæso duretque gentibus, &c.* Compare, also, *Annal.*, iii., 55, at the end, and *Agr.*, 2, 3: *dedimus profecto grande patientiæ documentum—adempto per inquisitiones et loquendi audiendique commercio, &c.—prope ad ipsos exactæ atatis terminos per silentium venimus.*

sed non Tiberius omisit incepta; chap. xxxviii., *non enim Tiberium, quamquam triennio post cædem Sejani—tempus, preces, satias mitigabant*; *Hist.*, ii., 70, *at non Vitellius flexit oculos*. Frequently a word is placed first, to imply tacitly the converse of what is stated; as, *Annal.*, iii., 2, *miserat duas prætorias cohortes Cæsar*, but did not come himself. Not unfrequently some particle is implied in the word which is put first; as, *Annal.*, ii., 39, *vivere (adhuc) Agrippam*; chap. xl., *postremo dat negotium Sallustio (tandem certus consilii)*.

II. The force of the language depends often on SINGLE WORDS.

a. ON FREQUENTATIVES, which are repeatedly used by Tacitus (and Sallust): some, indeed, he alone employs, as *infensare, redemtare*; in contemporary authors, also, and the writers of a later age, we find *appellitare, adsultare, auctitare, despectare, suspectare (i. e., suspectum habere), emtitare, mansitare, prætentare*. But it must be well observed, that it is not always the force of the language which depends on these words; but that they also often express an attempt, and that a vain one (as *loqui cæptare*), and in this way, also, assist the brevity of the style.

b. On single words put ABSOLUTELY: *Hist.*, iii., 55, *Latium (i. e., jus Latii) externis dilargiri*; *Annal.*, ii., 32, *saxo (Tarpeio) dejectus est* (compare iv., 29, *robur et saxum aut paricidarum pœnas minitari*). *Agr.*, 22, *nec—unquam per alios gesta avidus interceptit*, that is, through greediness of praise and glory. *Hist.*, v., 1, *occupare principem adhuc vacuum*, that is, not yet engaged by another, whose favor does not yet incline to any one; so we have *mulier vacua*, *Annal.*, xiii., 44, *vacuus adulter*, xi., 12. *Hist.*, i., 76, *ne Aquitania quidem—diu mansit*, that is, continued faithful. *Annal.*, ii., 33, *excessit Fronto* (that is, went beyond, or digressed from, the subject before the senate), *et postulavit*, &c. (Compare *Quintil.*, iii., 9, 4, *egressio, vel, quod usitatus esse cœpit, excessus*.) *Dial.*, 21, *videtur mihi inter Menenius—studuisse*, after the manner of the Silver Age, in which *studere* is used absolutely for the study of the art of rhetoric.

c. ON THE MEANING of the words themselves: as examples of which we may adduce *rimari, introspicere, dispicere, gliscere (adolescere, crescere, augeri, and augere with a passive signification), sævus, atrox, ferox, trux, truculentus, grandis, ingens, enormis*, all which words he uses oftener than other writers.

III. BY AN UNUSUAL MODE OF USING NUMBER, CASES, ADJECTIVES, MOODS, AND PARTICLES, the language is rendered more effective and concise.

a. THE PLURAL, chiefly of those nouns which are called abstract,

expresses various kinds and modes of action: *Annal.*, i., 74, *formam vitæ iniit, quam postea celebrem miseræ temporum et audaciæ hominum fecerunt*; xiv., 4, *ferendas parentium iracundias*; *Germ.*, 2, *ipsos Germanos indigenas crediderim, minimeque aliarum gentium adventibus et hospitibus mixtos*.

b. There is a peculiar force and brevity in the use of the GENITIVE (concerning the NOMINATIVE put absolutely, see below, under ELLIPSIS, b. a. *dolor, ira*): *Annal.*, xv., 36, *non longam sui absentiam et cuncta in republica perinde immota ac prospera fore* (*sui* refers to Nero, whose great idea of his own importance is plain from all accounts); xi., 24, *conditor nostri Romulus*; ii., 54, *nostri origo* (a Roman is speaking). The genitive plural expresses custom: *Annal.*, ii., 1, *Phraates—cuncta venerantium officia ad Augustum verterat* (which are wont to be offered by those who reverence their prince); vi., 40, *supplicia civium effugit* (by which citizens are wont to be affected). To express the dispositions and peculiarities of men, the genitive is used more frequently than in other authors, and in a still more unusual way in the plural number: *Annal.*, iv., 31, *Tiberius compositus alias et velut eluctantium verborum*. The partitive genitive is used more extensively than in other writers, and its use increases the force and perspicuity of the narrative; the same remark applies to the genitive joined with pronouns. *Annal.*, xii., 17, *navium quasdam circumvenere barbari præfecto cohortis et plerisque centurionum interfectis*; chap. xviii., *Romanorum nemo id auctoritatis aderat, ut, &c.* So we find *id temporis, solitudinis, honoris, Hist.*, iv., 23, *neque unquam id malorum—ut, &c.* *Ingens rerum, præcipuus circumveniendi, primus luendæ pænæ*. (See below, where Græcisms are treated of.) The genitive, which is called objective, is joined with the subjective: *Hist.*, iii., 10, *ut proditionis ira militum*; *Annal.*, xii., 26, *Britannici fortunæ mæror* (*Cicero canum adulatio dominorum*). To this class belongs that very difficult passage, *Annal.*, xv., 61, *itur etiam in principis laudes repetitum venerantium*; by those who revered the prince on account of his wife's restoration; compare xi., 23, *et studiis diversis apud principem certabatur adseverantium, non adco ægram Italiam; ut, &c.* Compare, ON THE POETICAL COMPLEXION OF THE STYLE OF TACITUS, III., a. The genitive of the passive participle in *endus*, joined with the same case of the substantive (or of the gerund with the case which belongs to the verb), the word *causa* being omitted, is used by no writer oftener than by Tacitus, in his strong desire of brevity, to express the end which any one pursues: *Annal.*, ii., 59, *Ægyptum proficiscitur cognoscendæ antiquitatis*; iv., 2, *neque senatorio ambitu abstinebat clientes suos honoribus aut provinciis ornandi*. Of the same kind are genitives joined with substantives: *Hist.*, iii., 40,

agendi tempora consultando consumsit; chap. l., *Silvanum socordem bello et dies rerum verbis terentem*; *Annal.*, i., 58, *non hic mihi primus erga populum Romanum fidei et constantiæ* (sc. ostentandæ) *dies*.

c. Very similar is the use of the DATIVE, which Tacitus has employed more frequently than any other writer, and in a more varied manner, to express an end and advantage, and that, too, in such a way that in this mode of speaking, also, he has respect to brevity: as it is commonly said, *triumvir reipublicæ constituendæ, dividendis agris, comitia regi creando*, so *Annal.*, vi., 37, *cum ille equum placando anni adornasset*; chap. xliii., *ubi data fides reddendæ dominationi venisse, adlevatur animum*; *Hist.*, iii., 20, *num—cetera expugnandis urbibus (utilia) attulissent*; *Annal.*, xiv., 3, *additurum—defunctæ templum et aras et cetera ostentandæ pietati* (compare *Livy*, xxx., 6, *quæ restinguendo igni forent portantes*); *Annal.*, ii., 57, *amici accendendis offensionibus callidi*; *Annal.*, xiv., 59, *reperitus est—nudus exercitando corpori*. *Annal.*, xii., 46, *diem locumque fæderi accepit*; i., 51, *incessit itineri et prælio*. To the same class belong *obtentui, ostentui, inrisui, derisui, usui, melui, despectui, potui, victui, vestitui, indutui, visui, venatui esse*, which are for the most part rare in other writers. For the rest, see below, where Græcisms are treated of.

d. The ACCUSATIVE is often joined with verbs which express motion without a preposition, after the manner of the Greeks and of the poets; as *ripam accedere* (Cicero), *oppidum intrumpere* (Cæsar, Sallust), *incursare Germaniam* (Livy), *involare castra* (Cicero, *rostra advolare*), *advolvi genua* (Sallust), *incidere locum, incidere aliquem* (in aliquem), *adventare propinqua Seleuciæ*, *Annal.*, vi., 44; *propinquare campos* (Sallust), *eniti aggerem* (Livy), *escendere suggestum* (Cicero, Livy, and others), *evadere angustias* (Livy), *elabi pugnam, egredi tentoria* (Sallust), *exire lubricum juventæ*. This remark applies to the following passages, which depart from common usage: *Hist.*, iv., 76, *Germanos—non juberi, non regi*; i., 16, *gentibus, quæ regnantur* (Pliny the elder); *Annal.*, iii., 39, *is proximum exercitum præsidebat*; *Germ.*, 43, *vertices montium—insederunt*; *Annal.*, xi., 20, *insignia triumphî indulgere, i. e., concedere*; as if it were to indulge any one with them, and so to yield them (Juvenal, *se indulgere, i. e., permittere alicui*); similarly Tacitus uses *propugnare, potiri, fungi, vesci, disserere, fremere aliquam rem*; but he likewise, that thus he might add force to the narrative, has sometimes used prepositions where the common language employs the accusative: *Hist.*, iv., 48, *ea de cæde quam verissime expediam*; *Germ.*, 34, *reverentius visum de actis deorum credere quam scire*. Concerning the ABLATIVE of substantives put absolutely, see below, where the participle is treated of.

e. Brevity is promoted by ADJECTIVES which, when joined to sub-

stantives, have the force of genitives, or of other constructions, chiefly in expressing those things which belong to lands, cities, or men: *Annal.*, iii., 43, *Trevericus tumultus*; iv., 20, *provincialia uxorum crimina*; xv., 23, *Actiaca religio*; iv., 3, *municipalis adulter*; *Hist.*, iv., 15, *Caianæ (Caii imperatoris) expeditiones*; *Annal.*, i., 6, *novercalia odia*; chap. vii., *uxorius ambitus*; *senilis adoptio*; 33, *muliebres offensiones*; iv., 2, *senatorius ambitus*, objectively, as chap. lxii., *municipalis ambitio*; xii., 51, *metus hostilis*; ii., 44, *vacui externo metu*; *Dial.*, 29, *histrionalis favor*. No one has oftener used this manner of speaking; but many similar examples are also found in the older writers, as in *Cicero, pro Lege Manilia*, xii., *Ostiense incommodum*; *Cæs., B. C.*, ii., 32, *Corfniensis ignominia*; *Cic. Fam.*, ii., 17, *metus Parthicus*, objectively.

f. The INFINITIVE is very frequently used by Tacitus for the sake of this same brevity and force. The infinitive, which is called historical, is used oftener than by other writers (as Livy and Sallust; see, ON THE VARIETY, &c., V., f.); and it is joined also with particles, and not only with demonstrative particles, as is the custom of other writers, but even with copulatives: *Hist.*, iii., 10, *ubi crudescere seditio et a conviciis ac probris ad tela et manus transibant injici catenas Flaviano jubet*. *Annal.*, xi., 34, *jam erat in adpectu Messallina—cum obstrepere accusator, &c.* Sometimes it includes in itself *velle* and *posse*, or *solere*: *Hist.*, v., 15, *Civilis instare fortunæ, Cerialis abolere* (sc. volebat) *ignominiam*; *Germ.*, 7, *in proximo pignora, unde feminarum ululatus audiri, unde vagitus infantium* (sc. possunt). Compare the similar use of the indicative, subjunctive, and participle below (h. i.). By no writer is the infinitive oftener joined with verbs, which are commonly constructed with the particles *ut, ne, quominus, quod*, or in some other manner. Thus we find used in the older writers also, but less frequently, *hortari, impellere, præcipere, permittere, postulare, imperare, monere, maturare, prohibere, instare, erubescere, consentire, destinare, pergere*, as *Annal.*, xi., 4 (Livy, and others), *pergitque—addere reos equites Romanorum*; chap. xxxiv., *instabat—Narcissus aperire ambages*. A similar use of the following words is adopted by the poets: *suadere, incumbere, mandare, orare, urgere, ambiri, accingi, arcere, persistere, dare, adigere, deesse*; as *Hist.*, iii., 58, *nec deerat ipse voltu, voce, lacrimis misericordiam elicere* (but the common construction is, *Annal.*, xiv., 39, *nec defuit Polyclitus quominus—incederet*). Tacitus alone appears thus to have used *percellere, perpellere, æmulari, censere, nuntiare, denuntiare, scribere* (i. e., nuntio, scripto imperare), *impetrare, inlicere, inducere* (i. e., permovere), *componere, pangere, obsistere* (*Germ.*, 34, *obstitit Oceanus (τῶ) in se simul atque in Herculem inquiri*), *inlacrimare* (*Annal.*, ii., 71), *inlacri-*

mabunt (τῶ) *quondam florentem—muliebri fraude cecidisse*. See, ON THE POETICAL COMPLEXION, &c., III., c., γ. To the verbs *deferre* and *incusare*, the infinitive is joined in the place of a genitive or of the particle *quod*; *Annal.*, ii., 27, *Libo Drusus defertur moliri res novas*; iii., 38, *neque minus Rhæmetalcen—incusans popularium injurias inultas sinere* (compare below, ON GRÆCISMS). On the other hand, *quod* and *ut* are sometimes employed in a more unusual manner for the accusative with the infinitive: *creditum quod—voluisset; quibus jusserat ut—resisterent*. See above, d., near the end.

g. The INDICATIVE is often, even in the *obliqua oratio*, joined to the particle *dum*; as *Annal.*, ii., 81, *Piso oravit uti traditis armis maneret in castello, dum Cæsar cui Syriam permetteret consulitur*. Former writers have seldom spoken thus; and so, in general, the indicative is found more frequently in Tacitus than in other historical writers, when sentences are inserted in the *obliqua oratio* as if they proceeded from the mind of the writer himself; as, *Hist.*, iv., 16, *se cum cohorte, cui præerat—tumultum compressurum*. No one, moreover, has oftener used the indicative for the subjunctive, in that kind of sentences which indicate that that which is implied in the condition had almost happened, as we have it in Livy, who not unfrequently speaks thus: iii., 19, *nunc nisi Latini—arma sumsissent—deleti eramus*, we were lost. Generally *nisi*, more rarely *si*, joined with the pluperfect, and sometimes with the imperfect, begins the condition, and the idea which is limited by it oftener precedes than follows in the imperfect, the pluperfect, and sometimes the perfect: *Annal.*, xi., 10, *reciperare Armeniam avebat, ni a Vibio Marso—cohibitus foret*; i., 63, *trudebanturque in paludem—ni Cæsar—legiones instruxisset*; *Hist.*, i., 16, *si immensum imperii corpus stare—sine rectore posset, dignus eram, a quo res publica inciperet*. *Annal.*, xi., 37, *ni cædem ejus—properavisset, verterat perniciës in accusatorem* (thus Cicero, *præclare viceramus, nisi—Lepidus recepisset Antonium*). *Hist.*, i., 64, *prope in prælium exarsere, ni Valens—admonuisset* (thus Livy, ii., 10, *pons iter pæne hostibus dedit, ni unus vir fuisset*). Instances conformed to the common usage of the language are less frequent in Tacitus.

To the same class belongs the ENALLAGE OF THE IMPERFECT FOR THE PLUPERFECT, which is also used by the older writers, as *Annal.*, xii., 37, *si statim deditus traderer* (traditus essem, fuisset), *neque mea fortuna, neque tua gloria inclaruisset*. Compare *Hist.*, i., 48, *Piso* (interfectus) *unum et tricesimum ætatis annum explebat*. In the USE OF TENSES in general there is great force. The historical present is very frequently used (take as an example of all the rest, *Annal.*, i., 21): following the writers of the former age, chiefly the poets, he

uses the perfect with the force of the Greek aorist, 1. To express custom: *Agr.*, 9, *haud semper errat fama; aliquando et elegit*. 2. In the place of the pluperfect; *Hist.*, i., 53, *hunc juvenem Galba—legioni præposuit; mox—ut peculatorem flagitari jussit* (præposuerat, jusserat olim). 3. The infinitive present for the infinitive future: *Annal.*, ii., 34, *Lucius Piso—abire se et cedere urbe—testabatur*. 4. The perfect for the infinitive future; iv., 28, *non enim se cædem principis—uno socio cogitasse* (he would not have thought of it), and Cicero furnishes a very similar example, *Phil.*, ii., 3.

b. The SUBJUNCTIVE has not unfrequently a pregnant sense, involving *posse, velle, opus esse* (compare the remarks on the historical infinitive and the participle). We find examples of the same thing in Cicero, Livy, and others: *Agr.*, 17, *cum Cerialis quidem alterius successoris curam famamque obruisset* (obruui potuisset), *sustinuit quoque molem Julius Frontinus; Annal.*, i., 11, *Tiberioque etiam in rebus quas non occuleret* (occulere vellet)—*obscura verba; Agr.*, 22, *ex iracundia nihil supererat; secretum et silentium ejus non timeres* (non erat causa cur timeres). To which the common phrase *tum cerneres, crederes*, approaches very nearly. There is a similar but less frequent use of the indicative: *Annal.*, iv., 40, *si dubitatione Augusti movemur* (nos moveri fas est), *quanto validius est, quod, &c.*; ii., 34, *Lucius Piso—abire se et cedere urbe* (cessurum), *victurum in aliquo abdito et longinquo rure testabatur; simul curiam relinquebat, i. e., in eo erat ut relinqueret*. Compare *Hist.*, i., 46, *militare otium redimebant*.

i. The PARTICIPLE does much to increase force of language and concise brevity of style, and its use is more varied in Tacitus than in other writers.

a. The perfect participle of deponent verbs is put indefinitely (*ἀοριστῶς*) for the present participle, as *ratus, veritus*, and others are even in the ordinary language; *Hist.*, ii., 96, *in hunc modum etiam Vitellius apud milites disseruit prætorianos nuper exauctoratos insectatus*; and, also, as Livy had used it before, for the future passive participle, which has the force of a present participle: *Annal.*, xvi., 21, *Nero virtutem ipsam excindere concupivit interfecto* (interficiendo) *Thrasea Pæto*. The present participle not unfrequently expresses an attempt (compare the remarks on the subjunctive and historical infinitive): *Hist.*, ii., 18, *retinenti duci tela intentare*. It is used for the infinitive: *Annal.*, xiii., 50, *sublatis portoriis sequens* (thus Cicero uses *consequens*, but with *esse* added) *ut tributorum abolitio expostularetur*. Likewise for a substantive: *Annal.*, iii., 40, *disserebant de—superbia præsentium, i. e., præsidum*. Compare *Sen.*, *Clem.*, 19, *nihil magis decorum regenti quam clementia*. There is a similar brevity (*βραχυλογία*) in the use of the future participle active: *Annal.*, vi.

3, *incusabatur facile toleraturus exsilium delecta Lesbo* (quod facile toleraturus esset): *Hist.*, ii., 74, *ceteræ—legiones secutura sperabantur* (sperabantur fore ut sequerentur). The perfect passive participle is used for the finite tenses of the verb: *Annal.*, vi., 32, *cupitum et Tiberio, i. e.*, cupiebat; and so it takes the place of a substantive (as in Plautus); *Annal.*, iv., 3, *nepotes adulti moram cupitis adferebant*. The neuter of the future passive participle is joined with the verb *habere*, after the manner of the Silver Age (like the perfect participle, *oratum te habeo*, and as we read in Cicero, *ædem tuendam habere*): *dicendum, respondendum, nubendum habere*.

β. Oftener, and still more boldly than other writers, he uses the perfect passive participle in the place of an abstract substantive, when it refers even to inanimate objects: *Annal.*, i., 8, *cum occisus dictator Cæsar—pulcherrimum facinus videretur*; *Annal.*, vi., 27, *genus illi decorum, vivida senectus; et non permessa provincia dignationem addiderat*. Compare *Livy*, xxvii., 37, *liberatas religione mentes turbavit rursus nuntiatum, Frusinone infantem natum esse quadrimo parem*.

γ. Adjectives ending in *ilis* are expressed by perfect passive participles; in the same way adjectives which indicate a certain ease and perpetuity are expressed by future active participles, and others, also, by future passive participles: *Agr.*, 18, *nihil arduum aut invictum credere* (so Sallust); *Annal.*, i., 28, *noctem minacem et in scelus erupturam fors lenivit*; iv., 38, *pulcherrimæ effigies et mansuræ* (lasting, enduring); *Dial.*, 22, *firmus sane paries et duraturus*; *Annal.*, ii., 38 (so *Livy*, the poets, and the writers of the Silver Age), *quamvis domus Hortensii pudendam ad inopiam delaberetur* (fœdam, turpem; but it is easily perceived that the participle is more forcible); *Hist.*, iii., 84, *pudenda latebra semet occultans*.

δ. Ablatives which are called absolute are used in an unusual way, and generally elliptically; but examples of the same thing are not wanting in the older writers. The most uncommon case is that of the future active participle employed in this way: *Hist.*, ii., 32, *inrupturis tam infestis nationibus*. Very often the participle of the substantive verb (ὄν) must be supplied, as it were, in thought, when a substantive is found (put absolutely) joined with an adjective or with a pronoun: *Hist.*, iii., 26, *incipere oppugnationem—arduum, et nullo juxta subsidio anceps*; *Annal.*, xi., 23, *suffecisse olim indigenas consanguineis populis*; that is, when yet the nations of Italy were of the same race as the Romans; *Livy*, xxxvi., 6, *labante—disciplina et multorum eo statu, qui diuturnus esse non posset*. The ellipsis is harsher when the adjective or substantive is used alone in this manner: *Annal.*, i., 6, *juxta periculosa ficta seu vera promeret, i. e., cum*

juxta periculosum esset (as Livy; so *dubio, incerto, sereno*); *Annal.*, iv., 5, *initio ab Syria* (in other passages we read *initio—orto*; as, *Hist.*, iii, 44, *initio—a prima Adjutrice legione orto*); iii., 28, *dedit jura, quibus pace et principe uteremur*; i., 59, *aliis gentibus ignorantia imperii Romani inexperta esse supplicia*. Compare *Cæsar*, *B. C.*, ii., 23, *Cæsar's naves ejus fuga se receperunt*. Like this is the use of the ablative of substantives in the place of an adverb, as in the older writers, also, *casu, consensu, nomine, ratione, judicio* (as if *adhibito* were to be added), and similar words are found: *Annal.*, i., 59, *non enim se prodicione—sed palam—bellum tractare*; *Dial.*, 25, *solum inter hos arbitror Brutum non malignitate nec invidia, sed simpliciter et ingenue judicium animi sui detexisse*; *Annal.*, xiv., 5, *Acerronia imprudentia (cum imprudenter ageret)—navalibus telis conficitur*, which serve, as it were, for a transition to that use of the ablative in which, oftener than in other writers, it is used by itself, without the participle which is commonly joined with it (*ductus, commotus*), to express a reason; *Annal.*, i., 57, *juvenis conscientia cunctabatur*; *Hist.*, i., 63, *non ob prædam aut spoliandi cupidine, sed furore et rabie*; *Annal.*, xii., 10, *non se fœderis ignaros, nec defectione a familia Arsacidarum venire*. The perfect passive participle is put absolutely, the substantive being omitted much oftener in Tacitus than in the older writers: *Annal.*, i., 35, *strictum obtulit gladium addito acutiorem esse*. Thus *adjecto, cognito, intellecto, comperto, audito, explorato, nuntiato, quæsito, pensitato, prædicto, credito, distincto, repetito, certato, disceptato, expectato, interdicto*, are found in this writer, and, what is very rare in other authors, even without the addition of any words to hold the place of the object: *Annal.*, xv., 14, *et multum invicem disceptato*. *Monobazus—testis—adhibetur*.

k. The SUPINE, which no writer uses more frequently than Tacitus, is used both in the accusative and ablative, for the sake of brevity; for example, *ultum, perditum, raptum, inclusum ire, oppugnatum venire*; *pudet dictu* appears to be used by Tacitus alone. *Missu, admonitu alicujus*, and similar phrases, are not without example in former writers.

1. Great power lies in the use of PREPOSITIONS when they are put, according to a rather unfrequent usage, for a simple case (sometimes, but not so often, the genitive or another case is used, contrary to the common mode of speech, in place of a preposition; as, *Hist.*, i., 46, *ne vulgi largitione (in vulgus) centurionum animos averteret*). For example, *Annal.*, xii., 25, *adoptio in Domitium—festinatur*; xi., 25, *isque illi finis inscitæ erga domum suam fuit* (in things relating to his house); *Hist.*, ii., 56, *in omne fas nefasque avidi aut venales*; *Annal.*, iii., 24, *Silanus in nepti Augusti adulter*; xv., 44, *in crimine incendi*

—*convicti sunt*; i., 12, *addidit laudem de Augusto*; *Hist.*, i., 67, *de cæde Galbæ ignari*; *Annal.*, ii., 39, *forma haud dissimili in dominum erat*; *Agr.*, 12, *nec aliud pro nobis utilius*. Compare, ON THE VARIETY OF THE STYLE OF TACITUS, V., c., and ON THE POETICAL COMPLEXION, &c., III., d., γ.

IV. Frequently, in THE COMPOSITION OF A SENTENCE, a deeper sense lies hid when, the form of expression not being perfect and precise, and the ordinary connection of words being neglected, the feeling alone with which the soul of the writer is moved, and the thought which he has conceived in his mind, are expressed by a structure of the sentence which is called PREGNANT. There are, indeed, such passages in the writers of the former age also, chiefly in Livy; but not so used as to form an essential feature of their style. *Hist.*, iii., 49, *primus Antonius nequaquam pari innocentia post Cremonam (incensam) agebat*; *Annal.*, iv., 40, *posse ipsam Liviam statuere, nubendum post Drusum (mortuum), an in penatibus isdem tolerandum haberet*; *Annal.*, i., 39, *jus legationis (violatum) atque ipsius Planci—casum—facunde miseratur*; *Agr.*, 18, *qui classem, qui navis, qui mare expectabant*; that is, the violence of the sea, and the aid to be gained from thence; *Annal.*, ii., 40, *offerant pecuniam, fidem atque pericula polliceantur*; that is, to share the danger; *Hist.*, iv., 59, *ceteros, ut quisque flagitium navaverat* (that is, had exerted himself in perpetrating wickedness, as in Cicero we have *navare rempublicam*) *præmiis attollit*. The prepositions *in* and *ad* are often used to form a pregnant sense: *Annal.*, i., 55, *dissidere hostem in Arminium ac Segestem*; that is, they quarreled to such a degree that some went over to the side of Arminius, and others to that of Segestes; chap. lvii., *uxor Arminii—neque victa in lacrimas* (that is, so as to shed tears), *neque voce supplex*; iii., 19, *ceteris ad dicendum testimonium exterritis*; that is, so as to utter their testimony. Compare *Livy*, ii., 40, *Coriolanus—consternatus ab sede sua cum ferret matri obviam complexum*; and vii., 42, *multitudinem ad arma consternatam esse*.

V. Nearly allied to these examples are the forms of speech to which the Greek grammarians have applied the terms *σύλληψις* and *ζευγμα*, in which words that refer to different kinds of things, or to different persons, are joined together, and included in one and the same kind of construction. Compare, ON THE VARIETY, &c., V., b., near the end.

a. The term SYLLEPSIS I would apply chiefly to those passages in which things of an entirely different nature are mentioned in connection with each other; as, *donec ira et dies permansit; quia dis-*

stimulationem nox et lascivia exemerat; ubi nocte ac lætitia incaluisse videt; mixti copiis et lætitia; Germania a Sarmatis Dacisque mutuo metu aut montibus separatur; tribuni cum terrore et armatorum catervis volitabant. In all these cases some affection of the mind is so connected with things not pertaining to the mind, that, on account of this very difference between the two notions, you would expect them to be differently expressed, either by the use of words which properly belong to each, or, at least, by some variation in the construction of the sentence. To this head I would also refer those passages where the preposition *in*, joined with an accusative, includes at the same time the ablative or some other sense; *Germ.*, 46, *in medium relinquam, i. e., in dubium vocatum relinquam in medio; Annal.*, iv., 25, *aderant semisomnos in barbaros, i. e., aderant et irruebant* (see below, ON THE POETICAL COMPLEXION, &c., III., c., γ .): and, moreover, those in which the same word refers to different things, all of which might be joined with it according to the usage of the language; as, *Hist.*, iii., 41, *ut—Gallias et exercitus et Germaniæ gentes novumque bellum ciceret.* Compare, also, *Hist.*, ii., 56, *in omne fas nefasque avidi*; that is, greedy of all things, whether it were right or wrong to desire them.

b. The term ZEUGMA applies to those cases in which a verb that only suits the words immediately preceding it, and not also those which are more remote, is yet made to embrace the latter as well as the former within the same kind of construction, some similar verb being, as it were, implied in the one used: *Annal.*, vi., 21, *tum complexus eum Tiberius præscium periculorum (esse fatetur) et incolumem fore gratatur*; chap. xxiv., *ut, quemadmodum nurum filiumque fratris et nepotes (interfecisset) domumque omnem cædibus complevisset, ita, &c.*; *Germ.*, 2, *quoniam qui primi Rhenum transgressi ac nunc Tungri (vocentur), tunc Germani vocati sint*; chap. xxxvi., *ita qui olim boni æquique Cherusci (vocabantur) nunc inertes ac stulti vocantur*; *Annal.*, i., 58, *quia Romanis Germanisque idem conducere (putabam) et pacem quam bellum probabam*; xiii., 56, *desse nobis (potest) terra in qua vivamus, in qua moriamur non potest*; *Hist.*, i., 8, *vir facundus et pacis artibus (expertus), bellis inexpertus.* But the zeugma is not always in the verb, but sometimes, also, in a word joined to it; as, *Annal.*, ii., 73, *et erant qui (Germanici) formam, ætatem, genus mortis, ob propinquitatem etiam locorum, in quibus interiit, magni Alexandri (formæ, ætati, et) fatis adæquarent.*

VI. The figure which is properly called ELLIPSIS is met with extensively in Tacitus, and has very great power in augmenting the brevity and conciseness of his language. In the plays of the come-

dians, also, and in the letters of Cicero, this form of expression is often met with. A few examples of each case of it will suffice.

a. NOUNS are omitted: *Papia Poppæa* (lex), *Sulpicia* (gens), *postero* (die), *octingentesimo post Romam conditam* (anno), *ad duodecimum* (lapidem), *laureatæ* (litteræ), *Piræus Atticæ oræ* (portus), *Apicata Sejani* (uxor), *pretium est* (operæ). Also, PRONOUNS: the substantive pronoun, *Annal.*, i., 35, *si vellet imperium, promptos* (se) *ostentavere*: the demonstrative pronoun; iv., 60, *gnarus præferocem* (eum esse): the relative pronoun; *Annal.*, vi., 7, *Seius Quadratus*, (cujus) *originem non repperi*; chap. xxxvi., *quïs neque boni intellectus neque mali cura, sed* (qui) *mercede aluntur*. There are examples, also, in older writers of the omission of the relative in those phrases which are placed in apposition with the principal sentence, either to afford an explanation or to express the intention: *Annal.*, vi., 10, *L. Piso pontifex*, (quod) *rarum in tanta claritudine, fato obiit*; i., 3, *Augustus, subsidia dominationi* (quæ essent) *Claudium Marcellum—Marcum Agrippam—extulit*.

b. VERBS are omitted.

a. The infinitive of the SUBSTANTIVE VERB; and in several passages this construction is such that the accusative or nominative appears to be simply joined with the verb on which the accusative with the infinitive depends: *Hist.*, ii. 82, *sufficere videbantur adversus Vitellium pars copiarum et dux Mucianus et Vespasiani nomen ac nihil arduum fatis* (τὸ nihil arduum esse); *Annal.*, i., 73, *deorum injurias dis curæ*. But even the indicative and subjunctive moods of this verb are omitted oftener than in former writers; and the indicative chiefly in those passages which express the more vehement emotions of the mind: *Annal.*, ii., 82, *at Romæ, postquam Germanici valetudo percerebruit—dolor, ira*; *Hist.*, ii., 29, *ut vero deformis et flens et præter spem incolumis Valens processit, gaudium, miseratio, favor*; iv., 46, *ut vero huc illuc distrahi cæpere, metus per omnes et præcipua Germanici militis formido*. *Annal.*, i., 65, *cum—apud Romanos invalidi ignes, interruptæ voces* (essent), *atque ipsi passim adjacerent vallo*.

β. POSSE, FACERE, AGERE, VERERI, VENIRE, IRE, SE CONFERRE are omitted; as, *Annal.*, xiii., 41, *Artaxata—solo æquata sunt, quia nec teneri* (poterant), *sine valido præsidio—nec id nobis virium erat, &c.*; *Agr.*, 19, *nihil per libertos servosque publicæ rei* (actum); *Annal.*, i., 47, *quos igitur anteferet? ac* (verendum) *ne postpositi contumelia incenderentur*; xiv., 8, *anxia Agrippina quod nemo a filio* (veniret) *æ ne Agrinus quidem* (rediret).

γ. Very often VERBS OF SENSE AND SPEECH are omitted; as, *Agr.*, 33, *exceperere orationem—alacres*; *jamque agmina et armorum fulgores audentissimi cujusque procursu* (conspiciebantur); *Annal.*, i., 7, *vul-*

tuque composito, ne læti (viderentur) excessu principis neu tristiores primordio, lacrimas, gaudium—miscabant; chap. xxxi., non unus hæc (dicebat)—sed multa seditionis ora vocesque.

c. PARTICLES are omitted by no other writer more frequently: *Annal.*, xiv., 8, *respicit Anicetum (a) trierarcho—comitatum; iii., 19, is finis fuit (in) ulciscenda Germanici morte; i., 12, (ex) vultu offensionem conjectaverat; xiv., 40, tabulas (cum) iis quos memoravi et aliis minus illustribus obsignat; Agr.*, 35, *ne simul in frontem, simul et (in) latera suorum pugnaretur; Annal.*, iii., 30, (incertum est) *fato potentia raro sempiternæ, an (quia) satias capit, &c.* So *quod, cum* (followed by *tum*), *licet, magis, tantum, tanto, eo, potius, alii, hinc, primum, modo, aliquando, ut, ita, tamen, sed* are omitted in many places. Whole sentences are omitted before the particles *nam* and *enim* (just as in the Greek writers γάρ is used in the same way): *Annal.*, xiv., 44, *at quidam insontes peribunt!* (and no wonder; nec mirum) *nam et ex fuso exercitu—etiam strenui sortiuntur!* chap. xiv., *nam et ejus flagitium est qui, &c.* To the same head belongs the figure ASYNDETON, so much used by Tacitus: *Hist.*, i., 3, *futurorum præsgia, læta, tristia, ambigua, manifesta; chap. lxxiii., consulari matrimonio subnixa, et apud Galbam, Othonem, Vitellium inlæsa; Annal.*, iii., 26, *vetustissimi mortalium—sine probro, scelere coque sine pæna—agebant; Hist.*, iv., 75, *eum, qui attulerat, ipsas epistolas ad Domitianum misit.*

VII. To this law of brevity some forms of expression appear to be opposed, which, however, in reality, increase the force and liveliness of the narration.

a. The figure which is called by Quintilian ANADIPLOSIS, or adjection; that is, the repetition or even more frequent reiteration of the same word (chiefly of particles) with a certain force. This is generally so managed that the repetition answers the purpose of an omitted copulative conjunction, only that it has greater power: *Annal.*, i., 7, *miles in forum, miles in curiam comitabatur; Hist.*, i., 50, *mansisse Caio Julio, mansisse Cæsare Augusto victore imperium; Annal.*, ii. 82, *statim credita, statim vulgata sunt; Dial.*, 40, *apud quos omnia populus, omnia imperiti, omnia (ut sic dixerim) omnes poterant; nostra quoque civitas, donec erravit, donec se—confecit, donec nulla fuit in foro pax, nulla—concordia, nulla—moderatio, nulla—reverentia, nullus—modus, tulit, &c.* This passage is a clear proof that it was chiefly as an orator that Tacitus used this mode of expression, as there are very many examples of it in Cicero and Quintilian, but few in the historical writers, if you except Livy, who affects the style of an orator.

b. Words which are commonly called *SYNONYMOUS*, but which, in truth, are of such a nature that the one augments, explains, and amplifies with a new sense the signification of the other. Generally, substantives, of which Tacitus is very fond, are constructed in this manner: *seditio et turbæ, fulgor et claritudo, dolor et ira, odium et invidia, modestia et pudor, sanguis et cædes, vires et robur. Veteres et senes, antiqui ac veteres*, do not so much belong to this head, as they do not express the same things. Of adjectives, adverbs, and verbs so used, the number is less. The following are examples: *incertum et ambiguum, immotum fixumque, turbide et seditiose, temere ac fortuito, occultare et abdere, pollui fædarique.*

c. The figure called in Greek *ἐν διὰ δυοῖν* (*Hendiadys*), of which we have an example in the well-known passage, *pateris libamus et auro*. But the examples of this figure which are found in Tacitus (and they are very many) prove that there is a greater power in substantives and adjectives, constructed after this manner, than in the usual form of speech: *Agr.*, 16, *nec ullum in barbaris sævitæ genus omisit ira et victoria* (this has greater force than *ira victoris*; it is anger and the license of victory, rather than of the conquerors); *Germ.*, 33, *super sexaginta milia—oblectationi oculisque ceciderunt* (not simply *oblectationi oculorum*, but for our entertainment and the mere pleasure of the spectacle). The copulative conjunction often serves for an explanation: *Annal.*, i., 40, *incedebat muliebre et miserabile agmen* (not *miserabile mulierum agmen*, but a troop consisting of women, and for that reason chiefly miserable).

d. As to the examples of *PLEONASM*, they proceeded less from the genius of Tacitus than from the common usage of the Latin language, nor do they detract in any measure from the brevity of the discourse; since none of the old writers has given offence by thus, as it were, expressing things abundantly. But there are also many among these passages of such a kind that the one word adds something to the meaning of the other. Thus, *mare Oceanum* is spoken of just as *Rhenus amnis*; *corpus* in all writers (contrary to the usage of our language) is used pleonastically in such passages, *corporis morbus, corporum verbera, libera corpora* (*liberi homines*): *ante prævidere, ante prædicere* are also used in the older writers; *ipse solus*, *Germ.*, 38, and *Dial.*, 5, and *solus et unus*, *Dial.*, 34, are explained by referring to the Greek *αὐτὸς μόνος*, and also to that passage of Cicero, *Verr.*, i., 2 (*quod ipsis solis satis esset*).

ON THE POETICAL COMPLEXION OF THE STYLE OF
TACITUS.

That there was among the Greeks in the most ancient times a great resemblance between the poets and the historical writers, is sufficiently proved by that well-known comparison in which we are wont to speak of Homer, the father of epic poetry, as an author resembling Herodotus, while we call the latter the Homer of history. Among the Romans the plan of composing history was different; for, having at first attended only to the registering of annals, and having thus been accustomed to set more value on the facts themselves, than on the expression of the feelings which move the mind in narrating and judging of the several events, when afterward they were led on, chiefly by the example of the Greeks, to aspire to more perfect skill in the art of writing history also, they then sought more after the ornaments of rhetoric than of poetry. And thus, indeed, you would justly mention Titus Livius as the most perfect model among all the Roman historians, and as the author who chiefly establishes the ability of the Romans for that species of composition, and, above all, as far excelling those writers who, like Lucan, Silius, and others, by doing little more than narrating events in stiff language, lessened the gravity of epic verse and hurt the dignity of history, while they in vain affected poetical language in order to ornament their records of bare facts. Tacitus alone, among all these writers, is worthy to be compared with those Greeks; because he sought not poetical ornaments from without, but was strong in the power of his own genius, and in the innate poetical sublimity of his mind. And as Herodotus presents to us the likeness of the epic, so does our author chiefly that of the lyric and dramatic muse, by arranging every event he records after the manner of a tragic poet, and in all things expressing the impulses of his own mind, nay, even the inmost feelings of his soul. When, as we read his annals and histories, we see the efforts made by men worthy of a better age against the cruelty of princes and the common corruption of manners falling fruitless to the ground, but yet perceive, at the same time, that there can be good and brave men even under evil rulers; when we behold fortune, fate, nay, the gods themselves, ruling in a wonderful and ever inscrutable manner the divers chances of human events; as we contemplate in his books of annals the fatal extinction of the Julian race, and in his histories the mighty efforts to establish anew an empire already desolate and falling; do we not seem to ourselves to be reading some tragic composition, such as those of Æschylus, Sophocles, Euripides? is not the mournful image of a Niobe presented before our eyes? are not our souls per-

vaded with a kind of horror as at the sight of a Laocoon attempting in vain to burst the frightful knots of serpents? Surely it is a design worthy of the dignity of the Roman Empire, to expend all the resources of so profound a skill in setting forth what was the fate and what the chances of events, through which the power of a "people, now for a long time most mighty, destroyed itself;" what were the vices both of citizens and rulers, which provoked the vengeance and punishment of the immortal gods, so that that mighty imperial structure began to fall to ruin. Behold a second Scipio, not sitting among the ruins of proud Carthage when she had just fulfilled her destiny, but on the soil of Rome herself, even now sinking to destruction, and prophesying with gushing tears the ruin of his country! See him meditating, not with a factitious and far-fetched effort, but under aspects which to such a mind present themselves spontaneously, upon the image of his country, before so excellent and so perfect in all its parts, now distorted and ruined! And we see that he practiced no less art than Sophocles used in his divine tragedies, in arranging every several part, and assigning its own place to each. After prefixing, both to the histories and to the books of annals, a prologue, in which not only the argument of the whole work, but its entire plan and character, are briefly shadowed forth, he then leads the minds of his readers, now with a quickened, and now with a slackened and restrained pace, through all the stages of the action, which are meted out in a manner fit and suitable to the things themselves and to the laws of art; and he so depicts the natures and characters of men, and of the actions performed by them; he so portrays real life, even in its most varied and troubled forms—whether he writes of battles and the storming of cities, or whether of things done in the palaces of princes, and the houses of private men—that all these things we seem to behold with our own eyes, and to be present at them ourselves. But these are matters of such a kind that their nature can be less easily described than conceived in the mind itself. We shall proceed to illustrate, by examples, those points alone which belong to the poetical form of the language itself.

I. Among these examples, the COLLOCATION OF THE WORDS themselves first claims our attention. For, in some passages in Tacitus, either whole or half verses are found: *Annal.*, i., 1, *Urbem Romam a principio reges habuere*; xv., 73, *donec consensu patrum deterritus est, ne*; *Germ.*, 18, *bellorum casus putet, ipsis incipientis*; chap. xxxii., *præcellunt*; *nec major apud Catos peditum laus*; chap. xxxix., *auguriis patrum et prisca formidine sacram*. But Cicero has already observed that verses often fall, also, from the pens of writers through

carelessness, of which there are examples in Livy and many other authors: Livy, moreover, as well as Tacitus, begins the preface to his books of histories with an hexametrical exordium. And, indeed, this circumstance, especially when two principal writers agree in it, I can not believe to have fallen out at a venture; but in the case of Tacitus especially, to whose language gravity (*σεμνόν*) is said peculiarly to belong, I should suppose, not, indeed, that he took pains to frame a verse in the very outset of his work, but that he retained one which had spontaneously offered itself to his mind.

II. SINGLE WORDS are used poetically.

a. Words in themselves poetical, and belonging to a former age: *desolatus, eburnus, exspes, fatiscere, grandævus, mersare, præsaus, secundare, &c.* And of a later age: *adcursus* (us), *distinctus* (us), *honorus*. Simple verbs used for compounds: *asperare, celerare, cire, flere* (aliquid), *gravescere, jutus, propinquare, radere, solari, suescere, temnere*, of a later age *flammare*.

b. Words poetical in their signification (chiefly those so used by metonymy): *cura de libro, demissus* = *originem trahens, fides, fiducia* applied to a man who inspires confidence (*Hist.*, ii., 4, 5. *Titus—ingens rerum fiducia accessit et præcipua concordia fides Titus*), *flagitium* = *efflagitatio, pucrperium* = *partus, sinister* = *malus, species* = *acies oculorum*),* *triste* used as a substantive; in the poets of the later age: *annus* = *proventus anni, transigere* = *transfigere, transmittere* = *transire silentio*. ABSTRACT TERMS are used for concrete much oftener than in other prose writers: *auxilia, vigilia, militia* (= *milites, Hist.*, iii., 18, *quos militia legionariis—æquabant*; compare *Plin., Hist. Nat.*, iv., 27, *Glossaria a succino militia—by the soldiers, militibus nostris—appellata, a barbaris Austraria*), *delectus* (*in civitates remittere, Hist.*, iv., 71), *matrimonia, conjugium, necessitudines, adfinitates, amicitia, dominationes, nobilitates, remigium, clientela, servitium, exsilium* (*Hist.*, i., 2, *plenum exsiliis mare*), *antiquitas, consultationes, mors, ingenia* (*pavida, servilia*). SUBSTANTIVES ARE PUT FOR ADJECTIVES, *spectator populus, domus regnatricis, corruptor animus, victor exercitus, bellator equus* (according to the Greek form of expression). ADJECTIVES are also used in the place of substantives, see III., b.

* *Annal.*, xi., 31, *sive ceperat ea* (tempestatem; but Tacitus appears to have written *ea* designedly to express a less conspicuous object; any thing of the kind *species* (ejus). Compare *Livy*, xxxvii., 24, *spectaculum capessite oculis*. So *Lucret.*, iv., 242, *speciem quo vertimus*, and oftener; *Vitruv.*, ix., 4, *si tantis intervallis nostra species potest id animadvertere*, and in other places.

III. POETICAL STRUCTURE OF THE WORDS: GRÆCISMS* (some words have also a Greek form: *Dial.*, 31, *grammaticæ, musicæ, et geometricæ*. But Tacitus has never followed the practice of his age, in mixing words belonging to the Greek tongue with Latin words).

a. IN THE USE OF THE CASES. Concerning the ellipsis in the use of the GENITIVE, see, ON THE BREVITY, &c., VI., a.: *Apicata Sejani* (uxor), as the Greeks say 'Αλέξανδρος ὁ Φιλίππου; *Piræeus Atticæ ora* (portus); as, εἰς τὴν Φιλίππου, sc. χώραν. *Annal.*, xv., 14, *adjectis deos* (*dignum Arscidarum*) *ut simul*, &c., ἄξιον τῶν Ἄρσ. Compare *Cic.*, *Balb.*, 2, *michi quidem dignum rei videtur*. Concerning the peculiar use of the partitive genitive (οἱ φρόνιμοι τῶν ἀνθρώπων), see, ON THE BREVITY, &c., III., b. The genitive is nowhere found more frequently than in Tacitus joined to relative adjectives and participles (as ἅπαις ἀβρένων παίδων), and the same may be said of the ACCUSATIVE, where it is used to apply or restrict the discourse to any object (πόδας ὠκὺς, πάντα εὐδαιμονεῖν, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα). A few examples will suffice: *ingens animi, diversus animi, fallax amicitia, vetus operis ac laboris, morum non spernendus, præcipuus circumvenienti, primus luendæ pænæ, anxius potentia, virtutum sterilis, insolens obsequii, manifestus delicti, ferox lingua, atrox odii; contectus humeros, nudus brachia, adlevare animum, cetera degener, cetera egregius*. The DATIVE is put for the genitive after the manner of the poets: *Hist.*, iii., 5, *Rætia, cui Porcius procurator erat*; *Annal.*, xiii., 23, *cui* (cujus) *per nuptias Antonia gener erat* (*Cic.*, *Demochares—qui fuit Demostheni sororis filius*); *Annal.*, i., 3, *Augustus subsidia dominationi—Marcellum—Agrippam—extulit*; ii., 64, *immittere latronum globos, excindere castella, causas bello*; chap. 46, *missus tamen Drusus—paci firmator*; iii., 14, *vario rumore, custos salutis an mortis exactor sequeretur*. For a preposition: *Annal.*, xi., 37, *florenti filia haud concors*; *Hist.*, iv., 52, *Domitiano mitigatus, i. e.*, mitigatus in Domitiani animo. There is a brevity (βραχυλογία) in the use of the dative of the participle: *Annal.*, xiv. 49., *optimum quemque jurgio lacessens et respondentem reticens*; that is, keeping silence if any one answered. There is a very close resemblance to this in the use of the dative absolute, borrowed by the Latins from the Greeks (thus Herodotus: ἀληθείᾳ λόγῳ χρωμένῳ), *Agr.*, 11 *Germ.*, 6, *in universum æstimanti* (*Curt.*); *Hist.*, iv., 17, *vere reputantibus, Galliam suismet viribus concidisse*. Compare *Livy*, xxvi., 24, *urbium Corcyrae tenus ab Ætolia incipienti solum tectaque—Ætolorum esse* (so *Herodotus*, ii., 29, ἀπὸ Ἐλεφαντίνης πόλιος ἰόντι ἀναντὲς ἐστὶ χωρίον). On the similar use of the genitive, see, ON THE BREVITY, &c., III., b. *Annal.*, xiv., 61, and xi., 23. The dative,

* But many, also, of the peculiarities explained above, may be considered as borrowed from the Greek language.

which is called subjective, is used more frequently by no writer than by Tacitus with passive verbs, in place of a preposition with the ablative. In this circumstance the Greeks have a still greater variety and pliability in their language, as is clear from the fact that, besides this dative (*λέλεκται μοι, ἐπράττετο αὐτοῖς τὰ τῆς πόλεως*) they use not only the preposition *ὑπό*, but others also, *πρός, παρά, ἐκ*. Among the Latins, the poets have not unfrequently used this form of speech; as Ovid, *Barbarus hic ego sum, quia non intelligor ulli*; but Cicero too, Livy, and others use it. So Tacitus, *Annal.*, i., 1, *veteris populi Romani prospera vel adversa claris scriptoribus memorata sunt*; iv., 6, *frumenta—cetera publicorum fructuum societatibus equitum Romanorum agitabantur*; xi., 29, *Callistus jam mihi circa necem Caii Caesaris narratus*. Concerning the accusative, see above, ON THE BREVITY, &c., III., d.

b. IN THE USE OF ADJECTIVES.*

α. IN THE PLACE OF SUBSTANTIVES are put neuter adjectives, mostly joined with the genitive (the singular of the adjective being used less often than the plural), as well by Livy and other writers as by the poets and Tacitus (*τὰ καλά, τὰ ἀναγκαῖα, τὸ τετραμμένον τῶν βαρβάρων, τὸ πολλὸν τῆς στρατιῆς, ἄσημα βοῆς, i. e., ἄσημος βοῆ, τῶν βοῶν κατακεκρημμισμένα*). *Annal.*, i., 1, *populi Romani prospera vel adversa*; iii., 40, *per conciliabula et cætus seditiosa disserebant*; xiv., 15, *quin et femina inlustres informia meditari*. *Annal.*, iii., 59, *diverso terrarum distineri*; ii., 39, *adire municipia obscuro diei*. *Annal.*, iv., 23, *incerta belli metuens*; as, *ambigua, dubia, fortuita, intuta, certa, avia, inaccessa, angusta, ardua, lubrica, edita, obstantia, opportuna, amæna, plana, subjecta, aperta, profunda, secreta, adversa, sæva, subita, occulta, operta, idonea, vana, inania, falsa, tacita, longinqua, prima, extrema, summa, præcipua, reliqua, cetera, alia, pauca, multa*, are found in Tacitus, joined with the genitive plural.

β. Adjectives are very often used by him, as well as by the poets, after the manner of the Greeks (*αἰνύ* for *αἰνῶς, εὐδον παννύχιοι, i. e., νυκτί, δευτεράϊος ἄφικετο, i. e., δευτέρα ἡμέρα*), for ADVERBS, when greater power is thereby given to the discourse: *Annal.*, iv., 12, *domum Germanici revirescere occulti lætabantur*; xii., 12, *si citi advenissent*; v., 1, *aufert marito* (Liviam)—*adeo properus, ut, &c.*; *Agr.*, 19, *a se suisque orsus primam domum suam coercuit*; *Annal.*, iii., 52, *adversum luxum, qui inmensum proruperat*; iv., 60, *Tiberius torvus aut falsum renidens vultu*; chap. 28, *innocentem Cornutum et falsa exterritum*.

γ. THE USE OF THE PREPOSITION EX FOR ADJECTIVES AND AD-

* Many points, also, in the mode of comparison which are borrowed from the Greek language, have been noticed above. (See, ON THE VARIETY, &c., V., d.)

VERBS is very common in Tacitus. This mode of expression the poets have generally used after the manner of the Greeks (ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανέος, διὰ τάχους, ἐν τῷ φανερῷ, and also in the plural number, which is never thus used by Latin writers, ἐκ τῶν δυνατῶν), and some examples of this have even passed into the language of common discourse; as, *ex improviso, ex inopinato, ex insperato, ex composito, ex præparato, ex æquo, ex occulto*, in Livy, *ex tuto, ex vano, ex super vacuo*: many instances are found in the writers of the Silver Age; as, *ex abundanti, ex continenti* (continuo), *ex pari, ex toto*; in Tacitus, *ex honesto, ex integro, ex vano, ex facili, ex adfluenti, ex æquo* in many places. And on a like principle, *per silentium, per iram, per licentiam, in aperto, in levi, in neutrum, in mollius, in deterius*. See, ON THE BREVITY, &c., VII., d., at the end.

c. IN THE USE OF THE VERB. Concerning the indefinite (aoristical) use of the tenses, see, ON THE BREVITY, &c., III., g., i., and concerning the use of the infinitive, *ibid.*, III., f. The infinitive is used by attraction with the nominative in place of the accusative; as in that passage of Virgil, *sensit medios delapsus in hostes*; *Hist.*, iv., 55, *ipse e majoribus suis hostis populi Romani quam socius (esse) jactabat*; in like manner, *Herod.*, viii., 137, τὸν μισθὸν ἔφασαν δίκαιοι εἶναι ἀπολαβόντες οὕτω ἐξίέναι. On the other hand, the accusative, instead of the nominative, is joined with the infinitive, after the Greek custom (ἔφη εἶναι στρατηγόν = στρατηγός): *Hist.*, iv., 52, *Titum—orasse dicebatur*; i., 90, *Trachali ingenio Olthonem uti credebatur*; *Germ.*, 33, *Angrivarios immigrasse narratur*. Very seldom *dicitur*; more frequently, in Livy, *creditur, proditur, traditur, fertur, nuntiatum*, are found thus used. The infinitive supplies the place of the substantive and gerund, after the usage of the Greeks, which has been received by the poets, and in a few examples, also, by the writers of the former age.

a. For the nominative: *Annal.*, xv., 20, *culpa quam pœna tempore prior, emendari quam peccare posterius est*; *Hist.*, ii., 82, *sufficere videbantur adversus Vitellium pars copiarum et dux Mucianus et Vespasiani nomen ac nihil arduum (esse) fatis*.

β. For the genitive, and sometimes for the ablative: *Annal.*, vi., 12, *dato sacerdotibus negotio—vera discernere*; *Dial.*, 3, *etiamsi non novum tibi ipse negotium importasses—adgregare* (*Cæsar, B. G.*, vii., 71, *consilium—dimittere*); *Agr.*, 8, *peritus (τοῦ) obsequi eruditusque (τῷ) utilia honestis miscere*; *Annal.*, iv., 52, *modicus dignationis et quoquo facinore properus clarescere* (a case without example, even in the poets); *Annal.*, ii., 57, *atrox ac dissentire manifestus*; *Agr.*, 25, *paratu magno, majore fama, uti mos est de ignotis, "oppugnasse ultro," castella adorti*. Compare *Livy*, iv., 31, *civitas vinci insueta*, πόλις χαλεπῇ λαβεῖν. ἐπιτήδειος ποιεῖν, διαφέρειν τῷ τιμῆς ὀρέγεσθαι.

γ. For the accusative; and sometimes for the dative, and for the former chiefly when a substantive in the same case goes before: *Annal.*, xiii., 15, *quia nullum crimen neque jubere cædem fratris palam audebat* (compare *Cic.*, *Tusc.*, i., 26, *ut Jovi bibere ministraret*); *Annal.*, iv., 56, *factus natura et consuetudine exercitus* (τῷ) *velare odium fallacibus blanditiis*; *Dial.*, 10, *tamquam minus obnoxium sit* (τῷ) *offendere poetarum quam oratorum studium*. Compare *Xen.*, *Apol. Socr.*, 14, *ἵνα ἔτι μᾶλλον—ἀπισῶσι τῷ ἐμὲ τετιμῆσθαι ὑπὸ δαιμόνων*. See above, ON THE BREVITY, &c., III., f. There is another Græcism in those cases where the particle (ὥστε, so as) is implied in the infinitive: *Annal.*, xi., 1, *non extimuisse contionem populi Romani, fateri, gloriamque facinoris ultro petere*; xii., 50, *atrox hiems, seu parum provisi commeatus et orta ex utroque tabes percillant Vologesen omittere præsentia*. Compare *Thucydides*, iii., 6, *τῆς μὲν θαλάσσης εἶργον, μὴ χρῆσθαι, Μυτιληναίους*.

The SUBJUNCTIVE, after the manner of the Greek optative, is used both by other writers and by Tacitus to imply that a thing has been done frequently: *Annal.*, i., 27, *postremo deserunt tribunal, ut quis—occurreret, manus intentantes*; chap. 44, *si tribuni, si legio industriam—adprobaverant, retinebat ordines: ubi avaritiam aut crudelitatem consensu objectavissent, solvebatur militia* (οὓς μὲν ἴδοι εὐτάκτως—ἴοντας—ἐπήνει). Concerning the use of the PARTICIPLE, compare, ON THE BREVITY, &c., III., i. Evidently after the Greek fashion, which is adopted also by Sallust, we read in Tacitus *invito, cupienti, volenti mihi est*, for *nolo, cupio, volo*: *Annal.*, i., 59, *ut quibusque bellum invitis aut cupientibus erat, ἀχθομένοις ἢ ἡδομένοις ἦν*; *Agr.*, 18, *ut quibus bellum volentibus erat*. We may find an explanation of this in the passages in which *volens* has the same sense as *gratum* (just as *gnarus* is used for *notus*): *Hist.*, iii., 52, *Muciano volentia rescripsere* (Sallust, *volentia plebi facturum videbatur*); and *Annal.*, ii., 4, *Ariobarzanem—volentibus Armeniis præfecit* (compare *Soph.*, *Œd. Col.*, 1505, *ποθοῦντι προφάνης*) *Sall.*, *Jug.*, 76, *pœnas ipsi volentes pependere*. Add, lastly, the following phrases, which are actually translated from the Greek, and which are common in the poets, Sallust, Livy, and others, namely, *est* for *licet*, and *amare* for *solere*: *Germ.*, 5, *est videre apud illos argentea vasa*; *Annal.*, iv., 9, *ut ferme amat posterior adulatio*; *ἔστι, φιλεῖ*.

d. IN THE USE OF PARTICLES.

a. *Vereor* is omitted before the particle *ne* (see above, on the ellipsis of verbs), as in Greek authors we have *μὴ τοῦτο ἄλλως ἔχη*. The particle *cum* is often wanting (as in Ovid); *Annal.*, iii., 64, *quindecimviri septemviris simul*; iv., 55, *Hyæpeni Trallianique Laodicens ac Magnetibus simul*; vi., 9, *Appius Silanus Scauro Mamercio simul*. Compare *Hom.*, *Od.*, iv., 723, *ὄσαι υοι οιοῦ τράφεν ἢδ' ἐγένοντο*

β. *Annal.*, xvi., 9, *donec a centurione—tamquam in pugna caderet* (so *Suetonius, Otho*, 5, *ab hoste cadere*; *Nepos de regibus*, iii., 3, *perit a morbo*)—θανεῖν ὑπὸ τινός. *Annal.*, ii., 47, *Magnetes a Siplylo*, as on coins we read Μαγνησία ἀπὸ Σιπύλου. Compare *Livy*, i., 50, *Turnus Herdonius ab Aricia* (*Aricinus*) *ferociter in absentem Tarquinium erat invecus*.

γ. The preposition *in* is often used to give greater force where, from the common form of speech, you would expect *ad*, or simply a case of the noun, or some other construction: *in id*, *in hoc*, *εις τοῦτο* (*Livy*, *Velleius*, and the poets); *in majus celebrare* (*Livy* and *Sallust*), and the like phrases, ἐπὶ τὸ μείζον κοσμεῖν, *in unum consulere*, *εις μίαν βουλεύειν*, *in unum cedere*, *εις ἐν ἔρχεσθαι* (*Livy*, *Sallust*), *in longum*, *in presens*, *εις ὥρας*, *εις τὸ παρόν* (*Livy*, *Sallust*, *Cicero*), *in tantum*, *in vulgus*, *in cetera*, *in diversum*; *Annal.*, xii., 35, *plus vulnere in nos et pleræque cades oriebantur*; ii., 47, *asperrima in Sardonios lues*; chap. 39, *forma haud dissimili in dominum erat*; as the Greeks say, *εις πάντα*, *εις ἀγαθὸν εἰπεῖν*, *ἐς φόβον*, *εις ὅσα εἰκεν*. *Annal.*, iv., 25, *aderant semisomnos in barbaros* (see above, ON THE BREVITY, &c., V., a., under *syllipsis*); as ἐς θρόνους ἔζοντο, ἐφάνη λῆς εἰς ὁδόν.

δ. We find answering to the Greek phrases, οἱ τότε ἄνθρωποι, ἡ ἐξάιφνης μετάστασις, *Agr.*, 25, *universæ ultra gentes*; *Annal.*, xiii., 41, *cuncta extra, tectis tenus, sole inlustrata fuere* (compare *Livy*, xxiii., 27, *omni circa agro potiuntur*); *Annal.*, i., 27, *is ante alios ætate et gloria belli* (excelling others); *Hist.*, ii., 76, *tua ante omnes experientia*; v., 12, *propriique muri labore et opere ante alios*.

ε. Adverbs are joined with the substantive verbs instead of adjectives: *longe*, *velocius*, *frustra*, *impune est*, as in Greek authors we have δὴν, ἐκαστάτω εἶναι; and *bene*, *male*, *recte est*, are the common forms of expression in speaking of the state of a person's health.

IV. THE FORM OF EXPRESSION ITSELF IS POETICAL; as, *equestris procella*, *aliquid ultra mortale gaudium accipere*, *arbiter rerum*, *dira quies*, *in limine belli*, *conjux sex partus enixa*, *trucidati sunt sine nostro sanguine*, *sera juvenum Venus*, *marcentem pacem nutrire*, *vita populi Romani per incerta maris et tempestatum quotidie volvitur*. This poetical language consists generally in the following particulars:

a. INANIMATE OBJECTS ARE SPOKEN OF AS HAVING LIFE, whence he not only speaks thus of animals: *Germ.*, 9, *ne armentis quidem suis honor aut gloria frontis*, but, also, still more boldly, *Annal.*, i., 79, *quin ipsum Tiberim nolle prorsus accolis fluvii orbatum minore gloria quere*; xv., 15, *flumen—vi equorum perrupere* (as if it were a hostile army); *Germ.*, 40, *est in insula Oceani castum nemus*; *Hist.*, v., 6 *præcipuum montium Libanum erigit* (*Judæa*), *mirum dictu tantos inter*

ardores opacum fidumque nivibus; idem amnem Jordanen fundit alitque; Germ., 27, sepulcrum cæspes erigit; Annal., xv., 62, lacrimas eorum modo sermone, modo intentior in modum coercentis ad firmitudinem revocat; Hist., i., 17, circumsteterat interim palatium publica exspectatio magni secreti impatiens; chap. ii., opus adgredior opimum casibus, atrox præliis, discors seditionibus, ipsa etiam pace sævum; Annal., i., 31, multa seditionis ora vocesque; chap. 61, incedunt mæstos locos, at the end: ubi infelici dextra—mortem invenerit.

b. THE PROSOPOPEIA OF TIME is very frequent: *Annal. vi., 51, morum quoque tempora illi diversa: egregium vita famaue (tempus), quoad privatus—fuit; occultum ac subdolum fingendis virtutibus, donec Germanicus ac Drusus superfuere; idem inter bona malaue mixtus, &c., whence it is clear that in these things, also, variety has been aimed at; Germ., 30, disponere diem, vallare noctem; Hist., i., 80, obsequia meliorum nox abstulerat; Annal., xiii., 17, nox eadem necem Britannici et rogam conjunxit; chap. 33, idem annus plures reos habuit; iv., 15, idem annus alio quoque luctu Cæsarem adficit alterum ex geminis Drusi liberis extinguendo; i., 54, idem annus novas cærimonias accepit addito sodalium Augustalium sacerdotio; Agr., 22, tertius expeditionum annus novas gentes aperuit; Hist., v., 10, proximus annus civili bello intentus; Annal., iv., 31, quem vidit sequens ætas præpotentem, venalem; xv., 38, fessa aut rudis pueritiæ ætas; xiv., 33, si quos imbellis sexus aut fessa ætas—attinuerat. Livy has not unfrequently used this form of expression, as well as Velleius, Pliny the elder, Silius, and others; compare Cicero, *Brut.*, 92, *interim me quæstorem Siciliensis excepit annus.**

c. TO THE NAMES OF NATIONS AND OF MEN ARE POETICALLY JOINED VERBS, WHICH PROPERLY REFER TO THE APPELLATIVE TO WHICH THOSE NAMES SHOULD HAVE BEEN ADDED IN THE GENITIVE, OR CERTAINLY VERBS ARE MADE TO REFER TO MEN WHICH, IN THEIR COMMON USE, ARE ONLY JOINED TO APPELLATIVES AND ABSTRACT NOUNS: *Annal.*, ii., 25, *ipse majoribus copiis Marsos inrumpit; chap. 56, Cappadoces in formam provinciæ redacti Quintum Verannum legatum accepere; xii., 58, tributum Apamensibus terræ motu convolsis—remissum; Agr.*, 22, *vastatis usque ad Taum—nationibus; Hist.*, ii., 87, *nec coloniæ modo aut municipia congestu copiarum, sed ipsi cultores arvaque, maturis jam frugibus, ut hostile solum vastabantur; Annal.*, ii., 25, *populatur, excindit non ausum congredi hostem; xii.*, 49, *dum socios magis quam hostes prædatur; xvi.*, 13, *in qua (urbe) omne mortalium genus vis pestilentiae depopulabatur; Agr.*, 41, *tot militares viri cum tot cohortibus expugnati et capti (where Walch, comparing the expression to Thucydides's use of ἐκπολιορκεῖν, quotes Justin.*, iii., 4, 11, *expugnatis veteribus incolis; Lucret.*, iv., 1008, *reges expugnare; Livy*, xxiii., 30,

obsessos fame expugnavit; to which add, *Curt.*, iii., 1, 7, *se scire inexpugnabiles esse*; ix., 10, 7, *tria simul agmina populabantur Indos—maritimos Ptolemæus, ceteros ipse rex et ab alia parte Leonnatus urebant*; *Livy*, xxviii., 6, *finitimos depopulabantur*; *Epit.*, 47, *Illyrios—vastaverant*). *Annal.*, xii., 25, *se quoque accingeret juvene partem curarum capessituro*; iii., 63, *Milesios Dareo rege niti*; iv., 19, *hos corripere, dilato ad tempus Sabino, placitum*; *Hist.*, ii., 71, *Valerium Marinum destinatum a Galba consulem distulit*; chap. 95, *magna et misera civitas, eodem anno Othonem Vitelliumque passa*; iv., 52, *amicos tempore, fortuna—imminui, transferri, desinere* (that is, their attentions, their very friendship); *Annal.*, iv., 42, *Merulam—albo senatorio erasit*; vi., 42, *civitas—conditoris Seleuci retinens* (that is, of his institutions). Compare *Quintil.*, viii., 6, 25, *hominem devorari* (that is, his goods), *Plinius, Hist. Nat.*, vi., 24, *regi—percontanti postea narravit Romanos et Casarem*; vii., 2, *supra hos extrema in parte montium Trispithami Pygmæique narrantur*. And in the same way the older writers also use *loqui, narrare*.



C. CORNELIUS TACITUS

DE

SITU, MORIBUS ET POPULIS GERMANIÆ.

SUMMARY.

CHAP. I. Situation of Germany. II. Its inhabitants probably indigenous. —Authors of the race.—Origin of the name. III. A Hercules among the Germans also.—Baritus.—Altar of Ulysses. IV. The Germans an unmixed race.—Their physical conformation. V. Nature of the country. — Contains no gold, no silver. — These metals held in no estimation. VI. Arms of the Germans: their cavalry, infantry, mode of warfare. VII. Their kings, leaders, priesthood. VIII. Spirit displayed by their women, and respect shown them.—Veleda.—Aurinia. IX. Their deities, sacred rites.—No images of their divinities. X. Auspices, lots.—Presages derived from horses, from captives. XI. Public deliberations and assemblies. XII. Accusations, punishments, dispensing of justice. XIII. Youths adorned with a shield and framea; companions of the chieftains, their valor and wide-spread reputation. XIV. Warlike spirit and pursuits of the race. XV. Season of peace, hunting, indolence.—Presents bestowed upon the chieftains. XVI. No cities.—Their villages, dwellings; caves serving as a retreat in winter, and as receptacles for grain, &c. XVII. Attire of the men, of the women. XVIII. Matrimonial engagements strictly adhered to.—Dowry brought by the husband. XIX. Purity of female morals.—Punishment of adultery. XX. Mode of rearing children.—Laws of succession. XXI. The enmities as well as friendships espoused of one's father or near relation.—Price of homicide.—Hospitality. XXII. Bathing, mode of life, quarrels of the intoxicated, deliberations at banquets. XXIII. Drink.—Food. XXIV. Public spectacles.—Fondness for gambling. XXV. Slaves, freedmen. XXVI. Taking interest unknown.—Agriculture.—Seasons. XXVII. Funerals, tombs, mourning. XXVIII. Institutions and customs of individual tribes.—Early migrations of the Gauls into Germany.—The Helvetii, Aravisci, Boii, Osi.—Tribes of German origin: the Treveri, Nervii, Vangiones, Triboci, Nemetes, Ubii. XXIX. The Batavi, a branch of the Catti.—The Mattiaci.—The tithe-lands. XXX., XXXI. Country of the Catti, their physical character, military discipline, martial vows. XXXII. The Usipii, the Tencteri: their superiority in cavalry. XXXIII. Settlements of the Bructeri seized upon and occupied

by the Chamavi and Angrivarii. XXXIV. The Dulgibini, Chasuari, Frisii. XXXV. The Cauci, distinguished for their love of peace, their justice, and other virtues. XXXVI. The Cherusci and Fosi, conquered by the Catti. XXXVII. The Cimbri.—Roman overthrows.—The Germans triumphed over rather than conquered. XXXVIII. The Sævi, their numbers, their customs. XXXIX. The Semnones, religious rites, human sacrifices. XL. The Langobardi, Reudigni, Aviones, Angli, &c.—The worship of Hertha common to all. XLI. The Hermunduri. XLII. The Narisci, Marcomanni, Quadi. XLIII. The Marsigni, Côtëni, Osi, Buri, &c.—The Naharvali; their deities, termed Alci; the Gotones, Rugii; Lemovii. XLIV. The Suiones, powerful with their fleets. XLV. The Mare Pigrum (Frozen Ocean).—The Æstyæ, worshipers of the mother of the gods, gatherers of amber.—Over the Sitones a female reigns. XLVI. The Peucini, Venedi, Fenni.—Their savage character and poverty.—The Hellusii and Oxiones, fables respecting them.

I. GERMANIA omnis a Gallis Rætisque et Pannoniis Rheno et Danubio fluminibus, a Sarmatis Dacisque mutuo metu aut montibus, separatur. Cetera Oceanus ambit, latos sinus et insularum immensa spatia complectens, nuper cognitis quibusdam gentibus ac regibus, quos bellum aperuit. Rhenus, Ræticarum Alpium inaccessio ac præcipiti vertice ortus, modico flexu in Occidentem versus, septentrionali Oceano miscetur. Danubius, molli et clementer edito montis Abnobæ jugo effusus, plures populos adit, donec in Ponticum mare sex meatibus erumpat; septimum enim os paludibus hauritur.

II. Ipsos Germanos indigenas crediderim, minimeque aliarum gentium adventibus et hospitibus mixtos; quia nec terra olim, sed classibus, advehebantur, qui mutare sedes quærebant: et inmensus ultra, utque sic dixerim, adversus Oceanus raris ab orbe nostro navibus aditur. Quis porro, præter periculum horridi et ignoti maris, Asia aut Africa aut Italia relicta, Germaniam peteret, informem terris, asperam cælo, tristem cultu adspectuque, nisi si patria sit? Celebrant carminibus antiquis (quod unum apud illos memoriæ et annalium genus est) *Tuisconem Deum, terra editum, et filium Mannum, originem gentis conditoresque*

Manno tres filios adsignant, e quorum nominibus proximi Oceano *Ingævones*, mediis *Herminones*, ceteri *Istævones* vocentur. Quidam autem, licentia vetustatis, plures Deo ortos, pluresque gentis adpellationes, *Marsos*, *Gambrivos*, *Suevos*, *Vandalios* adfirmant: eaque vera et antiqua nomina. Ceterum *Germanicæ* vocabulum recens et nuper additum; quoniam, qui primi *Rhenum* transgressi *Gallos* expulerint, ac nunc *Tungri*, tunc *Germani* vocati sint. Ita nationis nomen non gentis evaluisse paulatim, ut omnes, primum a victore ob metum, mox a seipsis invento nomine, *Germani* vocarentur.

III. *Fuisse apud eos et Herculem* memorant, primumque omnium virorum fortium ituri in prælia canunt. Sunt illis hæc quoque carmina, quorum relatu, quem *baritum* vocant, accendunt animos, futuræque pugnæ fortunam ipso cantu augurantur: terrent enim trepidantve, prout sonuit acies; nec tam vocis ille, quam virtutis concentus videatur. Adfectatur præcipue asperitas soni et fractum murmur, objectis ad os scutis, quo plenior et gravior vox repercussu intumescat. Ceterum et *Ulixem*, quidam opinantur, longo illo et fabuloso errore in hunc Oceanum delatum, adisse *Germanicæ* terras, *Asciburgiumque*, quod in ripa *Rheni* situm hodieque incolitur, ab illo constitutum nominatumque. Aram quin etiam *Ulixi* consecratam, adjecto *Laërtæ* patris nomine, eodem loco olim repertam; monumentaque et tumulos quosdam, *Græcis* litteris inscriptos, in confinio *Germanicæ Ræticiæque* adhuc exstare. Quæ neque confirmare argumentis, neque refellere in animo est: ex ingenio suo quisque demat, vel addat fidem.

IV. Ipse eorum opinionibus accedo, qui *Germanicæ* populos nullis aliarum nationum connubiis infectos, propriam et sinceram et tantum sui similem gentem exstitisse, arbitrantur. Unde habitus quoque corporum, quamquam in tanto hominum numero, idem omnibus; truces et cærulei oculi, rutilæ comæ, magna corpora et tantum ad impetum

valida. Laboris atque operum non eadem patientia: minimeque sitim æstumque tolerare, frigora atque inedia cælo solove adsueverunt.

V. Terra, etsi aliquanto specie differt, in univèrsum tamen aut silvis horrida, aut paludibus fœda: humidior, qua Gallias; ventosior, qua Noricum ac Pannoniam adspicit: satis ferax, frugiferarum arborum patiens, pecorum fœcunda, sed plerumque inprocera. Ne armentis quidem suus honor, aut gloria frontis: numero gaudent, eæque solæ et gratissimæ opes sunt. Argentum et aurum propitii an irati dii negaverint dubito. Nec tamen adfirmaverim, nullam Germaniæ venam argentum aurumve gignere: quis enim scrutatus est? possessione et usu haud perinde adficiuntur. Est videre apud illos argentea vasa, legatis et principibus eorum muneri data, non in alia vilitate, quam quæ humo finguntur: quamquam proximi, ob usum commerciorum, aurum et argentum in pretio habent, formasque quasdam nostræ pecuniæ agnoscunt atque eligunt: interiores simplicius et antiquius permutatione mercium utuntur. Pecuniam probant veterem et diu notam, serratos, bigatosque. Argentum quoque magis quam aurum sequuntur, nulla adfectione animi, sed quia numerus argenteorum facilius usui est promiscua ac vilia mercantibus.

VI. Ne ferrum quidem superest, sicut ex genere telorum conligitur. Rari gladiis, aut majoribus lanceis utuntur. Hastas, vel ipsorum vocabulo *frameas*, gerunt, angusto et brevi ferro, sed ita acri, et ad usum habili, ut eodem telo, prout ratio poscit, vel cominus vel eminus pugnent. Et eques quidem scuto frameaque contentus est: pedites et missilia spargunt, plura singuli, atque in inmensum vibrant, nudi aut sagulo leves. Nulla cultus jactatio: scuta tantum lectissimis coloribus distinguunt: paucis loriciæ: vix uni alterive cassis, aut galea. Equi non forma, non velocitate conspicui. Sed nec variare

gyros, in morem nostrum, docentur. In rectum, aut uno flexu dextros agunt, ita conjuncto orbe, ut nemo posterior sit. In universum aestimanti, plus penes peditem roboris: eoque mixti proeliantur, apta et congruente ad equestrem pugnam velocitate peditum, quos ex omni juventute delectos, ante aciem locant. Definitur et numerus: *centeni* ex singulis pagis sunt; idque ipsum inter suos vocantur: et quod primo numerus fuit, jam nomen et honor est. Acies per cuneos componitur. Cedere loco, dummodo rursus instes, consilii quam formidinis arbitrantur. Corpora suorum etiam in dubiis proeliis referunt. Scutum reliquisse, præcipuum flagitium: nec aut sacris adesse, aut concilium inire, ignominioso fas; multique superstites bellorum infamiam laqueo finierunt.

VII. Reges ex nobilitate; duces ex virtute sumunt. Nec regibus infinita aut libera potestas: et duces exemplo potius, quam imperio: si prompti, si conspicui, si ante aciem agant, admiratione præsent. Ceterum, neque animadvertere, neque vincere, ne verberare quidem, nisi sacerdotibus permissum: non quasi in pœnam, nec ducis jussu, sed velut deo imperante, quem adesse bellantibus credunt: effigiesque et signa quædam, detracta lucis, in prælium ferunt. Quodque præcipuum fortitudinis incitamentum est, non casus, nec fortuita conglobatio turmam aut cuneum facit, sed familiæ et propinquitates; et in proximo pignora, unde feminarum ululatus audiri, unde vagitus infantium. Hi cuique sanctissimi testes, hi maximi laudatores. Ad matres, ad conjuges vulnera ferunt: nec illæ numerare, aut exigere plagas pavent: cibosque et hortamina pugnantibus gestant.

VIII. Memoriae proditur, quasdam acies, inclinatas jam et labantes, a feminis restitutas, constantia precum et objectu pectorum, et monstrata cominus captivitate, quam longe impatientius feminarum suarum nomine timent: adeo, ut efficacius obligentur animi civitatum, quibus inter

obsides puellæ quoque nobiles imperantur. Inesse quin etiam sanctum aliquid et providum putant: nec aut consilia earum adspernantur, aut responsa negligunt. Vidi mus, sub divo Vespasiano, Veledam, diu apud plerosque numinis loco habitam. Sed et olim Auriniam et complures alias venerati sunt, non adulatione, nec tamquam facerent deas.

IX. Deorum maxime Mercurium colunt, cui certis diebus humanis quoque hostiis litare fas habent. Herculem ac Martem concessis animalibus placant. Pars Suevorum et Isidi sacrificat: unde caussa et origo peregrino sacro, parum comperi, nisi quod signum ipsum, in modum liburnæ figuratum, docet advectam religionem. Ceterum, nec cohibere parietibus deos, neque in ullam humani oris speciem adsimilare, ex magnitudine cœlestium arbitrantur. Lucos ac nemora consecrant; deorumque nominibus appellunt secretum illud, quod sola reverentia vident.

X. Auspicia sortesque, ut qui maxime, observant. Sortium consuetudo simplex. Virgam, frugiferæ arbori decisam, in surculos amputant, eosque, notis quibusdam discretos, super candidam vestem temere ac fortuito spargunt. Mox, si publice consuletur, sacerdos civitatis, sin privatim, ipse paterfamilie, precatus deos, cœlumque suspiciens, ter singulos tollit, sublato, secundum impressam ante notam, interpretatur. Si prohibuerunt, nulla de eadem re in eundem diem consultatio; sin permissum, auspiciorum adhuc fides exigitur. Et illud quidem etiam hic notum, avium voces volatusque interrogare: proprium gentis, equorum quoque præsentia ac monitus experiri. Publice aluntur iisdem nemoribus ac lucis candidi, et nullo mortali opere contacti: quos pressos sacro curru sacerdos ac rex vel princeps civitatis comitantur, hinnitusque ac fremitus observant. Nec ulli auspicio major fides, non solum apud plebem, sed apud proceres, apud sacerdotes: se enim ministros deorum, illos conscios putant. Est et

alia observatio auspicioꝝ, qua gravium bellorum eventus explorant. Ejus gentis, cum qua bellum est, captivum, quoquo modo interceptum, cum electo popularium suorum, patriis quemque armis, committunt: victoria hujus vel illius pro præjudicio accipitur.

XI. De minoribus rebus principes consultant; de majoribus omnes: ita tamen, ut ea quoque, quorum penes plebem arbitrium est, apud principes pertractentur. Coeunt, nisi quid fortuitum et subitum inciderit, certis diebus, cum aut inchoatur luna, aut impletur: nam agendis rebus hoc auspiciatissimum initium credunt. Nec dierum numerum, ut nos, sed noctium computant. Sic constituunt, sic condicunt; nox ducere diem videtur. Illud ex libertate vitium, quod non simul, nec ut jussi conveniunt, sed et alter et tertius dies cunctatione coeuntium absumentur. Ut turbæ placuit, considunt armati. Silentium per sacerdotes, quibus tum et coercendi jus est, imperatur. Mox rex, vel princeps, prout ætas cuique, prout nobilitas, prout decus bellorum, prout facundia est, audiuntur, auctoritate suadendi magis, quam jubendi potestate. Si displicuit sententia, fremitu adspernantur; sin placuit, frameas concutunt. Honoratissimum adensus genus est, armis laudare.

XII. Licet apud consilium accusare quoque et discrimen capitis intendere. Distinctio pœnarum ex delicto. Proditores et transfugas arboribus suspendunt: ignavos et imbelles et corpore infames cœno ac palude, injecta insuper crate, mergunt. Diversitas supplicii illuc respicit, tamquam scelera ostendi oporteat, dum puniuntur, flagitia abscondi. Sed et levioribus delictis pro modo pœna. Equorum pecorumque numero convicti multantur. Pars multæ regi, vel civitati, pars ipsi, qui vindicatur, vel propinquis ejus exsolvitur. Eliguntur in iisdem conciliis et principes, qui jura per pagos vicosque reddant. Centeni singulis ex plebe comites, consilium simul et auctoritas, adsunt.

XIII. Nihil autem neque publicæ neque privatæ rei, nisi armati agunt. Sed arma sumere non ante cuiquam moris, quam civitas suffecturum probaverit. Tum in ipso consilio, vel principum aliquis, vel pater, vel propinquus, scuto frameaque juvenem ornant. Hæc apud illos toga, hic primus juventæ honos: ante hoc domus pars videntur, mox reipublicæ. Insignis nobilitas, aut magna patrum merita, principis dignationem etiam adolescentulis adsignant: ceteris robustioribus ac jam pridem probatis adgregantur: nec rubor, inter comites adspici. Gradus quin et ipse comitatus habet, iudicio ejus, quem sectantur: magnaque et comitum æmulatio, quibus primus apud principem suum locus; et principum, cui plurimi et acerrimi comites. Hæc dignitas, hæc vires, magno semper electorum juvenum globo circumdari, in pace decus, in bello præsidium. Nec solum in sua gente cuique, sed apud finitimas quoque civitates id nomen, ea gloria est, si numero ac virtute comitatus emineat: expetuntur enim legationibus, et muneribus ornantur, et ipsa plerumque fama bella profligant.

XIV. Cum ventum in aciem, turpe principi virtute vinci, turpe comitatu virtutem principis non adæquare. Jam vero infame in omnem vitam ac probrosum, superstitem principi suo ex acie recessisse. Illum defendere, tueri, sua quoque fortia facta gloriæ ejus adsignare, præcipuum sacramentum est. Principes pro victoria pugnant; comites pro principe. Si civitas, in qua orti sunt, longa pace et otio torpeat; plerique nobilium adolescentium petunt ultro eas nationes, quæ tum bellum aliquod gerunt; quia et ingrata genti quies, et facilius inter ancipitia clarescant, magnumque comitatum non nisi vi belloque tueare. Exigunt enim principis sui liberalitate illum bellatorem equum, illam cruentam victricemque frameam. Nam epulæ, et convictus, quamquam incomiti, largi tamen apparatus, pro stipendio cedunt. Materia munificentiae per

bella et raptus. Nec arare terram, aut exspectare annum, tam facile persuaseris, quam vocare hostes et vulnera mereri. Pigrum quin immo et iners videtur, sudore adquirere, quod possis sanguine parare.

XV. Quotiens bella non ineunt, multum venatibus, plus per otium transigunt, dediti somno ciboque. Fortissimus quisque ac bellicosissimus nihil agens, delegata domus et penatium et agrorum cura feminis senibusque et infirmissimo cuique ex familia, ipsi hebet: mira diversitate naturæ, cum iidem homines sic ament inertiam et oderint quietem. Mos est civitatibus, ultro ac viritim conferre principibus vel armentorum, vel frugum, quod pro honore acceptum etiam necessitatibus subvenit. Gaudent præcipue finitimarum gentium donis, quæ non modo a singulis, sed et publice mittuntur; electi equi, magna arma, phaleræ, torquesque. Jam et pecuniam accipere docuimus.

XVI. Nullas Germanorum populis urbes habitari, satis notum est: ne pati quidem inter se junctas sedes. Colunt discreti ac diversi, ut fons, ut campus, ut nemus placuit. Vicos locant, non in nostrum morem, connexis et cohærentibus ædificiis: suam quisque domum spatio circumdat, sive adversus casus ignis remedium, sive inscitia ædificandi. Ne cæmentorum quidem apud illos aut tegularum usus: materia ad omnia utuntur informi et citra speciem aut delectationem. Quædam loca diligentius illinunt terra, ita pura ac splendente, ut picturam ac lineamenta colorum imitetur. Solent et subterraneos specus aperire, eosque multo insuper fimo onerant, suffugium hiemi et receptaculum frugibus: quia rigorem frigorum ejusmodi locis molliunt; et, si quando hostis advenit, aperta populatur, abdita autem et defossa aut ignorantur, aut eo ipse fallunt, quod quærenda sunt.

XVII. Tegumen omnibus sagum, fibula, aut, si desit, spina consertum: cetera intecti totos dies juxta focum atque ignem agunt. Locupletissimi veste distinguuntur,

non fluitante, sicut Sarmatæ ac Parthi, sed stricta et singulos artus exprimente. Gerunt et ferarum pelles, proximi ripæ negligenter, posteriores exquisitius, ut quibus nullus per commercia cultus. Eligunt feras, et detracta velamina spargunt maculis, pellibusque belluarum, quas exterior Oceanus atque ignotum mare gignit. Nec alius feminis quam viris habitus, nisi quod feminæ sæpius lineis amictibus velantur, eosque purpura variant, partemque vestitus superioris in manicas non extendunt; nudæ brachia ac lacertos.

XVIII. Sed et proxima pars pectoris patet: quamquam severa illic matrimonia; nec ullam morum partem magis laudaveris: nam prope soli barbarorum singulis uxoribus contenti sunt, exceptis admodum paucis, qui non libidine, sed ob nobilitatem, plurimis nuptiis ambiuntur. Dotem non uxor marito, sed uxori maritus, offert. Intersunt parentes et propinqui, ac munera probant, munera non ad delicias muliebres quæsitæ, nec quibus nova nupta comatur; sed boves et frenatum equum et scutum cum framea gladioque. In hæc munera uxor accipitur: atque invicem ipsa armorum aliquid viro affert. Hoc maximum vinculum, hæc arcana sacra, hos conjugales deos arbitrantur. Ne se mulier extra virtutum cogitationes extraque bellorum casus putet, ipsis incipientis matrimonii auspiciis admonetur, venire se laborum periculorumque sociam, idem in pace, idem in prælio passuram ausuramque. Hoc juncti boves, hoc paratus equus, hoc data arma denuntiant. Sic vivendum, sic pereundum: accipere se, quæ liberis inviolata ac digna reddat, quæ nurus accipiant, rursusque ad nepotes referant.

XIX. Ergo septæ pudicitia agunt, nullis spectaculorum illecebris, nullis conviviorum irritationibus corruptæ. Literarum secreta viri pariter ac feminæ ignorant. Paucissima in tam numerosa gente adulteria; quorum pœna præsens, et maritis permissa. Accisis crinibus, nudatam,

coram propinquis, expellit domo maritus, ac per omnem vicum verberare agit. Publicatæ enim pudicitiae nulla venia; non forma, non ætate, non opibus maritum invenerit. Nemo enim illic vitia ridet; nec corrumpere et corrumpi sæculum vocatur. Melius quidem adhuc eæ civitates, in quibus tantum virgines nubunt, et cum spe votoque uxoris semel transigitur. Sic unum accipiunt maritum, quo modo unum corpus unamque vitam, ne ulla cogitatio ultra, ne longior cupiditas, ne tamquam maritum, sed tamquam matrimonium, ament. Numerum liberorum finire, aut quemquam ex agnatis necare, flagitium habetur: plusque ibi boni mores valent, quam alibi bonæ leges.

XX. In omni domo nudi ac sordidi, in hos artus, in hæc corpora, quæ miramur, excrescunt. Sua quemque mater uberibus alit, nec ancillis ac nutricibus delegantur. Dominum ac servum nullis educationis deliciis dignoscas. Inter eadem pecora, in eadem humo degunt, donec ætas separet ingenuos, virtus agnoscat. Sera juvenum Venus; eoque inexhausta pubertas. Nec virgines festinantur; eadem juvena, similis proceritas. Pares validæque miscentur, ac roborum parentum liberi referunt. Sororum filiis idem apud avunculum, qui apud patrem honor. Quidam sanctiorem arctioremque hunc nexum sanguinis arbitrantur, et in accipiendis obsidibus magis exigunt; tamquam ii et animum firmiter, et domum latius teneant. Heredes tamen successoresque sui cuique liberi; et nullum testamentum. Si liberi non sunt, proximus gradus in possessione fratres, patruus, avunculi. Quanto plus propinquorum, quo major affinium numerus, tanto gratiosior senectus, nec ulla orbitatis pretia.

XXI. Suscipere tam inimicitias, seu patris, seu propinqui, quam amicitias, necesse est. Nec inplacabiles durant. Luitur enim etiam homicidium certo armentorum ac pecorum numero, recipitque satisfactionem universa domus: utiliter in publicum; quia periculosiores sunt inimicitiae

juxta libertatem. Convictibus et hospitibus non alia gens effusius indulget. Quemcumque mortalium arcere tecto, nefas habetur: pro fortuna quisque adparatis epulis excipit. Cum defecere, qui modo hospes fuerat, monstrator hospitii et comes: proximam domum non invitati adeunt: nec interest: pari humanitate accipiuntur. Notum ignotumque, quantum ad jus hospitii, nemo discernit. Abiunt, si quid poposcerit, concedere moris: et poscendi invicem eadem facilitas. Gaudent muneribus: sed nec data inputant, nec acceptis obligantur. Victus inter hospites comis.

XXII. Statim e somno, quem plerumque in diem extrahunt, lavantur, sæpius calida, ut apud quos plurimum hiems occupat. Lauti cibum capiunt: separatæ singulis sedes et sua cuique mensa. Tum ad negotia, nec minus sæpe ad convivia, procedunt armati. Diem noctemque continuare potando, nulli probrum. Crebræ, ut inter vinolentos, rixæ, raro conviciis, sæpius cæde et vulneribus transiguntur. Sed et de reconciliandis invicem inimicis et jungendis adfinitatibus et adsciscendis principibus, de pace denique ac bello, plerumque in conviviis consultant: tamquam nullo magis tempore aut ad simplices cogitationes pateat animus, aut ad magnas incalescat. Gens non astuta, nec callida, aperit adhuc secreta pectoris licentia joci. Ergo detecta et nuda omnium mens postera die retractatur, et salva utriusque temporis ratio est. Deliberant, dum fingere nesciunt: constituunt, dum errare non possunt.

XXIII. Potui humor ex hordeo aut frumento, in quamdam similitudinem vini corruptus. Proximi ripæ et vinum mercantur. Cibi simplices; agrestia poma, recens fera, aut lac concretum. Sine adparatu, sine blandimentis, expellunt famem. Adversus sitim non eadem temperantia. Si indulseris ebrietati, suggerendo quantum concupiscunt, haud minus facile vitiis, quam armis, vincuntur.

XXIV. Genus spectaculorum unum atque in omni cœtu

idem. Nudi juvenes, quibus id ludicrum est, inter gladios se atque infestas frameas saltu jaciunt. Exercitatio artem paravit, ars decorem : non in quæstum tamen, aut mercedem : quamvis audacis lasciviæ pretium est voluptas spectantium. Aleam (quod mirere) sobrii inter seria exercent, tanta lucrandi perpendive temeritate, ut, cum omnia defecerunt, extremo ac novissimo jactu de libertate et de corpore contendant. Victus voluntariam servitutem adit : quamvis juvenior, quamvis robustior, adligari se ac venire patitur. Ea est in re prava pervicacia : ipsi fidem vocant. Servos conditionis hujus per commercia tradunt, ut se quoque pudore victoriæ exsolvant.

XXV. Ceteris servis, non in nostrum morem, discriptis per familiam ministeriis, utuntur. Suam quisque sedem, suos penates regit. Frumenti modum dominus, aut pecoris, aut vestis, ut colono, injungit ; et servus hactenus paret. Cetera domus officia uxor ac liberi exsequuntur. Verberare servum ac vinculis et opere coercere, rarum. Occidere solent, non disciplina et severitate, sed impetu et ira, ut inimicum, nisi quod impune. Libertini non multum supra servos sunt, raro aliquod momentum in domo, numquam in civitate ; exceptis dumtaxat iis gentibus, quæ regnantur. Ibi enim et super ingenuos et super nobiles ascendunt : apud ceteros impares libertini libertatis argumentum sunt.

XXVI. Fenus agitare, et in usuras extendere, ignotum : ideoque magis servatur, quam si vetitum esset. Agri, pro numero cultorum, ab universis in vices occupantur, quos mox inter se secundum dignationem partiuntur : facilitatem partiendi camporum spatia præstant. Arva per annos mutant ; et superest ager : nec enim cum ubertate et amplitudine soli labore contendunt, ut pomaria conserant et prata separant et hortos rigent : sola terræ seges imperatur. Unde annum quoque ipsum non in totidem digerunt species : hiems et ver et æstas intellectum, ac

vocabula habent; auctumni perinde nomen ac bona ignorantur.

XXVII. Funerum nulla ambitio: id solum observatur, ut corpora clarorum virorum certis lignis crementur. Struem rogi nec vestibus, nec odoribus, cumulant: sua cuique arma, quorundam igni et equus adjicitur. Sepulcrum cespes erigit. Monumentorum arduum et operosum honorem, ut gravem defunctis, adspernantur. Lamenta ac lacrimas cito, dolorem et tristitiam tarde ponunt. Feminis lugere honestum est; viris meminisse. Hæc in commune de omnium Germanorum origine ac moribus accepimus: nunc singularum gentium instituta ritusque, quatenus differant, quæ nationes e Germania in Gallias commigraverint, expediam.

XXVIII. Validiores olim Gallorum res fuisse, summus auctorum divus Julius tradit: eoque credibile est, etiam Gallos in Germaniam transgressos. Quantulum enim amnis obstabat, quo minus, ut quæque gens evaluerat, occuparet permutaretque sedes, promiscuas adhuc et nulla regnorum potentia divisas? Igitur inter Hercyniam silvam Rhenumque et Mœnum amnes Helvetii, ulteriora Boii, Gallica utraque gens, tenuere. Manet adhuc *Boiemi* nomen, significatque loci veterem memoriam quamvis mutatis cultoribus. Sed utrum Aravisci in Pannoniam ab Osis, Germanorum natione, an Osi ab Araviscis in Germaniam, commigraverint, cum eodem adhuc sermone, institutis, moribus utantur, incertum est: quia, pari olim inopia ac libertate, eadem utriusque ripæ bona malaque erant. Treveri et Nervii circa adfectionem Germanicæ originis ultro ambitiosi sunt, tamquam, per hanc gloriam sanguinis, a similitudine et inertia Gallorum separentur. Ipsam Rheni ripam haud dubie Germanorum populi colunt, Vangiones, Triboci, Nemetes. Ne Ubii quidem quamquam Romana colonia esse meruerint, ac libentius *Agrippinenses* conditoris sui nomine vocentur, origine eru-

bescunt, transgressi olim et experimento fidei super ipsam Rheni ripam collocati, ut arcerent, non ut custodirentur.

XXIX. Omnium harum gentium virtute præcipui Batavi, non multum ex ripa, sed insulam Rheni amnis, colunt, Cattorum quondam populus, et seditione domestica in eas sedes transgressus, in quibus pars Romani imperii fierent. Manet honos et antiquæ societatis insigne: nam nec tributis contemnuntur, nec publicanus adterit: exempti oneribus et collationibus, et tantum in usum præliorum sepositi velut tela atque arma, bellis reservantur. Est in eodem obsequio et Mattiacorum gens. Protulit enim magnitudo Populi Romani ultra Rhenum, ultraque veteres terminos, imperii reverentiam. Ita sede finibusque in sua ripa, mente animoque nobiscum agunt, cetera similes Batavis, nisi quod ipso adhuc terræ suæ solo et coelo acrius animantur. Non numeraverim inter Germaniæ populos, quamquam trans Rhenum Danubiumque consederint, eos, qui Decumates agros exercent. Levissimus quisque Gallorum, et inopia audax, dubiæ possessionis solum occupavere. Mox limite acto promotisque præsidiis, sinus imperii et pars provinciæ habentur.

XXX. Ultra hos Catti initium sedis ab Hercynio saltu inchoant, non ita effusis ac palustribus locis, ut ceteræ civitates, in quas Germania patescit: durant siquidem colles, paulatimque rarescunt; et Cattos suos saltus Hercynius prosequitur simul atque deponit. Duriora genti corpora, stricti artus, minax vultus, et major animi vigor. Multum (ut inter Germanos) rationis ac sollertiæ: præponere electos, audire præpositos, nosse ordines, intelligere occasiones, differre impetus, disponere diem, vallare noctem, fortunam inter dubia, virtutem inter certa numerare: quodque rarissimum, nec nisi Romanæ disciplinæ concessum, plus reponere in duce, quam in exercitu. Omne robur in pedite, quem super arma ferramentis quoque et copiis onerant. Alios ad prælium ire videas, Cat-

tos ad bellum: rari excursus et fortuita pugna. Equestrium sane virium id proprium, cito parare victoriam, cito cedere. Velocitas juxta formidinem, cunctatio propior constantiæ est.

XXXI. Et aliis Germanorum populis usurpatum rara et privata cujusque audentia apud Cattos in consensum vertit, ut primum adoleverint, crinem barbamque submittere, nec, nisi hoste cæso, exuere votivum obligatumque virtuti oris habitum. Super sanguinem et spolia revelant frontem, seque *tum demum pretia nascendi retulisse dignosque patria ac parentibus* ferunt. Ignavis et imbellibus manet squalor. Fortissimus quisque ferreum insuper anulum (ignominiosum id genti) velut vinculum gestat, donec se cæde hostis absolvat. Plurimis Cattorum hic placet habitus. Jamque canent insignes, et hostibus simul suisque monstrati: omnium penes hos initia pugnarum; hæc prima semper acies visu torva. Nam ne in pace quidem vultu mitiore mansuescunt. Nulli domus, aut ager, aut aliqua cura: prout ad quemque venire, aluntur: prodigi alieni, contemptores sui; donec exsanguis senectus tam duræ virtuti impares faciat.

XXXII. Proximi Cattis certum jam alveo Rhenum, quique terminus esse sufficiat, Usipii ac Tencteri colunt. Tencteri, super solitum bellorum decus, equestris disciplinæ arte præcellunt; nec major apud Cattos peditum laus, quam Tencteris equitum. Sic instituere majores, posterii imitantur. Hi lusus infantium, hæc juvenum æmulationis; perseverant senes. Inter familiam et penates et jura successionum equi traduntur; excipit filius, non, ut cetera, maximus natu, sed prout ferox bello et melior.

XXXIII. Juxta Tencteros Bructeri olim occurrebant; nunc Chamavos et Angrivarios immigrasse narratur, pulsus Bructeris ac penitus excisis, vicinarum consensu nationum; seu superbiæ odio, seu prædæ dulcedine, seu favore quodam erga nos deorum: nam ne spectaculo quidem prælii

invidere : super sexaginta milia, non armis telisque Romanis, sed, quod magnificentius est, oblectationi oculisque ceciderunt. Maneat, quæso, duretque gentibus, si non amor nostri, at certe odium sui; quando, urgentibus imperii fatiis, nihil jam præstare fortuna majus potest, quam hostium discordiam.

XXXIV. Angrivarios et Chamavos a tergo Dulgibini et Chasuari cludunt, aliæque gentes, haud perinde memoratæ. A fronte Frisii excipiunt. *Majoribus minoribusque Frisiis* vocabulum est ex modo virium. Utræque nationes usque ad oceanum Rheno prætexuntur, ambiuntque immensos insuper lacus et Romanis classibus navigatos. Ipsum quin etiam oceanum illa tentavimus : et superesse adhuc Herculis columnas fama vulgavit, sive adiit Hercules, seu, quidquid ubique magnificum est, in claritatem ejus referre consensimus. Nec defuit audentia Druso Germanico : sed obstitit oceanus in se simul atque in Herculem inquiri. Mox nemo tentavit; sanctiusque ac reverentius visum de actis deorum credere quam scire.

XXXV. Hactenus in Occidentem Germaniam novimus. In Septentrionem ingenti flexu redit. Ac primo statim Caucorum gens, quamquam incipiat a Frisiis, ac partem litoris occupet, omnium, quas exposui, gentium lateribus obtenditur, donec in Cattos usque sinuetur. Tam immensum terrarum spatium non tenent tantum Cauci, sed et implent, populus inter Germanos nobilissimus, quique magnitudinem suam malit justitia tueri : sine cupiditate, sine impotentia, quieti secretique, nulla provocant bella, nullis raptibus aut latrociniis populantur : idque præcipuum virtutis ac virium argumentum est, quod, ut superiores agant, non per injurias adsequuntur. Prompta tamen omnibus arma, ac, si res poscat, exercitus : plurimum virorum equorumque : et quiescentibus eadem fama,

XXXVI. In latere Caucorum Cattorumque Cherusci nimiam ac marcentem diu pacem illacessiti nutrierunt :

idque jucundius, quam tutius, fuit: quia inter impotentes et validos falso quiescas; ubi manu agitur, modestia ac probitas nomina superioris sunt. Ita, qui olim *boni æquique* Cherusci, nunc *inertes ac stulti* vocantur: Cattis victoribus fortuna in sâpientiam cessit. Tracti ruina Cheruscorum et Fosi, contermina gens, adversarum rerum ex æquo socii, cum in secundis minores fuissent.

XXXVII. Eundem Germaniæ sinum proximi oceano Cimbri tenent, parva nunc civitas, sed gloria ingens: veterisque famæ late vestigia manent, utraque ripa castra ac spatia, quorum ambitu nunc quoque metiaris molem manusque gentis et tam magni exitus fidem. Sexcentimum et quadragesimum annum urbs nostra agebat, cum primum Cimbrorum audita sunt arma, Cæcilio Metello ac Papirio Carbone coss. Ex quo si ad alterum imperatoris Trajani consulatum computemus, ducenti ferme et decem anni colliguntur. Tamdiu Germania vincitur. Medio tam longi ævi spatio, multa invicem damna: non Samnis, non Pœni, non Hispaniæ Galliæve, ne Parthi quidem sæpius admonere: quippe regno Arsacis acrior est Germanorum libertas. Quid enim aliud nobis, quam cædem Crassi, amisso et ipso Pacoro, infra Ventidium dejectus Oriens objecerit? At Germani Carbone et Cassio et Scauro Aurelio et Servilio Cæpione Cnæo quoque Manlio fuis vel captis, quinque simul consulares exercitus Populo Romano, Varum tresque cum eo legiones etiam Cæsari abstulerunt: nec impune Caius Marius in Italia, divus Julius in Gallia, Drusus ac Nero et Germanicus in suis eos sedibus perculerunt. Mox ingentes Caii Cæsaris minæ in ludibrium versæ. Inde otium, donec occasione discordiæ nostræ et civilium armorum, expugnatis legionum hibernis, etiam Gallias adfectavere: ac rursus pulsi inde, proximis temporibus triumphati magis quam victi sunt.

XXXVIII. Nunc de Suevis dicendum est, quorum non

una, ut Cattorum Tencterorumve, gens: majorem enim Germaniæ partem obtinent, propriis adhuc nationibus nominibusque discreti, quamquam in commune *Suevi* vocentur. Insigne gentis obliquare crinem nodoque substringere. Sic Suevi a ceteris Germanis, sic Suevorum ingenui a servis separantur. In aliis gentibus, seu cognitione aliqua Suevorum, seu (quod sæpe accidit) imitatione, rarum et intra juventæ spatium; apud Suevos usque ad canitiem horrentem capillum retro sequuntur, ac sæpe in ipso solo vertice ligant. Principes et ornatorem habent: ea cura formæ, sed innoxia. Neque enim ut ament amenturve; in altitudinem quamdam et terrorem, adituri bella, comiti, ut hostium oculis ornantur.

XXXIX. *Vetustissimos se nobilissimosque Suevorum Semnones memorant.* Fides antiquitatis religione firmatur. Stato tempore in silvam, auguriis patrum et prisca formidine sacram, omnes ejusdem sanguinis populi legationibus coeunt, cæsoque publice homine celebrant barbari ritus horrenda primordia. Est et alia luco reverentia. Nemo nisi vinculo ligatus ingreditur, ut minor, et potestatem numinis præ se ferens: si forte prolapsus est, attolli et insurgere haud licitum: per humum evolvuntur: eoque omnis superstitio respicit, tamquam inde initia gentis, ibi regnator omnium deus, cetera subjecta atque parentia. Adjicit auctoritatem fortuna Semnonum. Centum pagis habitant: magnoque corpore efficitur, ut se Suevorum caput credant.

XL. Contra Langobardos paucitas nobilitat: plurimis ac valentissimis nationibus cincti, non per obsequium, sed præliis et periclitando tuti sunt. Reudigni deinde et Aviones et Angli et Varini et Eudoses et Suardones et Nuithones fluminibus aut silvis muniuntur. Nec quidquam notabile in singulis, nisi quod in commune Hertham, id est, Terram matrem, colunt, eamque intervenire rebus hominum, invehì populis, arbitrantur. Est in insula

oceanī castum nemus, dicatumque in eo vehiculum, veste contactum: attingere unī sacerdoti concessum. Is adesse penetrālī deam intelligit, vectamque bubus feminis multa cum veneratione prosequitur. Læti tunc dies, festa loca, quæcunque adventū hospitioque dignatur. Non bella ineunt, non arma sumunt; clausum omne ferrum: pax et quies tunc tantum nota, tunc tantum amata, donec idem sacerdos satiatam conversatione mortalium deam templo reddat. Mox vehiculum et vestes, et, si credere velis, numen ipsum secreto lacu abluitur. Servi ministrant; quos statim idem lacus haurit. Arcanus hinc terror sanctaque ignorantia, quid sit illud quod tantum perituri vident.

XLI. Et hæc quidem pars Suevorum in secretiora Germaniæ porrigitur. Propior (ut, quo modo paulo ante Rhenum, sic nunc Danubium sequar) Hermundurorum civitas, fida Romanis, eoque solis Germanorum non in ripa commercium, sed penitus atque in splendidissima Rætiæ provinciæ colonia: passim et sine custode transeunt; et, cum ceteris gentibus arma modo castraque nostra ostendamus, his domos villasque patefecimus non concupiscentibus. In Hermunduris Albis oritur, flumen inclitum et notum olim; nunc tantum auditur.

XLII. Juxta Hermunduros Narisci, ac deinde Marcomanni et Quadi agunt. Præcipua Marcomannorum gloria viresque, atque ipsa etiam sedes, pulsus olim Boiis, virtute parta. Nec Narisci Quadive degenerant. Eaque Germaniæ velut frons est, quatenus Danubio peragitur. Marcomannis Quadisque usque ad nostram memoriam reges manserunt ex gente ipsorum, nobile Marobodui et Tudri genus; jam et externos patiuntur. Sed vis et potentia regibus ex auctoritate Romana: raro armis nostris, sæpius pecunia juvantur.

XLIII. Nec minus valent retro Marsigni, Gothini, Osi, Buri: terga Marcomannorum Quadorumque cludunt: e

quibus Marsigni et Buri sermone cultuque Suevos referunt. Gothinos Gallica, Osos Pannonica lingua, coarguit non esse Germanos, et quod tributa patiuntur: partem tributorum Sarmatæ, partem Quadi, ut alienigenis imponunt. Gothini, quo magis pudeat, et ferrum effodiunt: omnesque hi populi pauca campestrium, ceterum saltus et vertices montium insederunt. Dirimit enim scinditque Sueviam continuum montium jugum, ultra quod plurimæ gentes agunt: ex quibus latissime patet Lygiorum nomen in plures civitates diffusum. Valentissimas nominasse sufficet, Arios, Helveconas, Manimos, Elysios, Naharvalos. Apud Naharvalos antiquæ religionis lucus ostenditur. Præsidet sacerdos muliebri ornatu: sed *deos, interpretatione Romana, Castorem Pollucemque* memorant. Ea vis numini; nomen *Alcis*: nulla simulacra, nullum peregrinæ superstitionis vestigium: ut fratres tamen, ut juvenes, venerantur. Ceterum Aarii super vires, quibus enumeratos paulo ante populos antecedunt, truces, insitæ feritati arte ac tempore lenocinantur: nigra scuta, tincta corpora: atras ad prælia noctes legunt; ipsaque formidine atque umbra feralis exercitus terrorem inferunt, nullo hostium sustinente novum ac velut infernum adspectum: nam primi in omnibus præliis oculi vincuntur. Trans Lygios Gotones regnantur, paulo jam adductius quam ceteræ Germanorum gentes, nondum tamen supra libertatem. Protinus deinde ab oceano Rugii et Lemovii: omniumque harum gentium insigne, rotunda scuta, breves gladii, et erga reges obsequium.

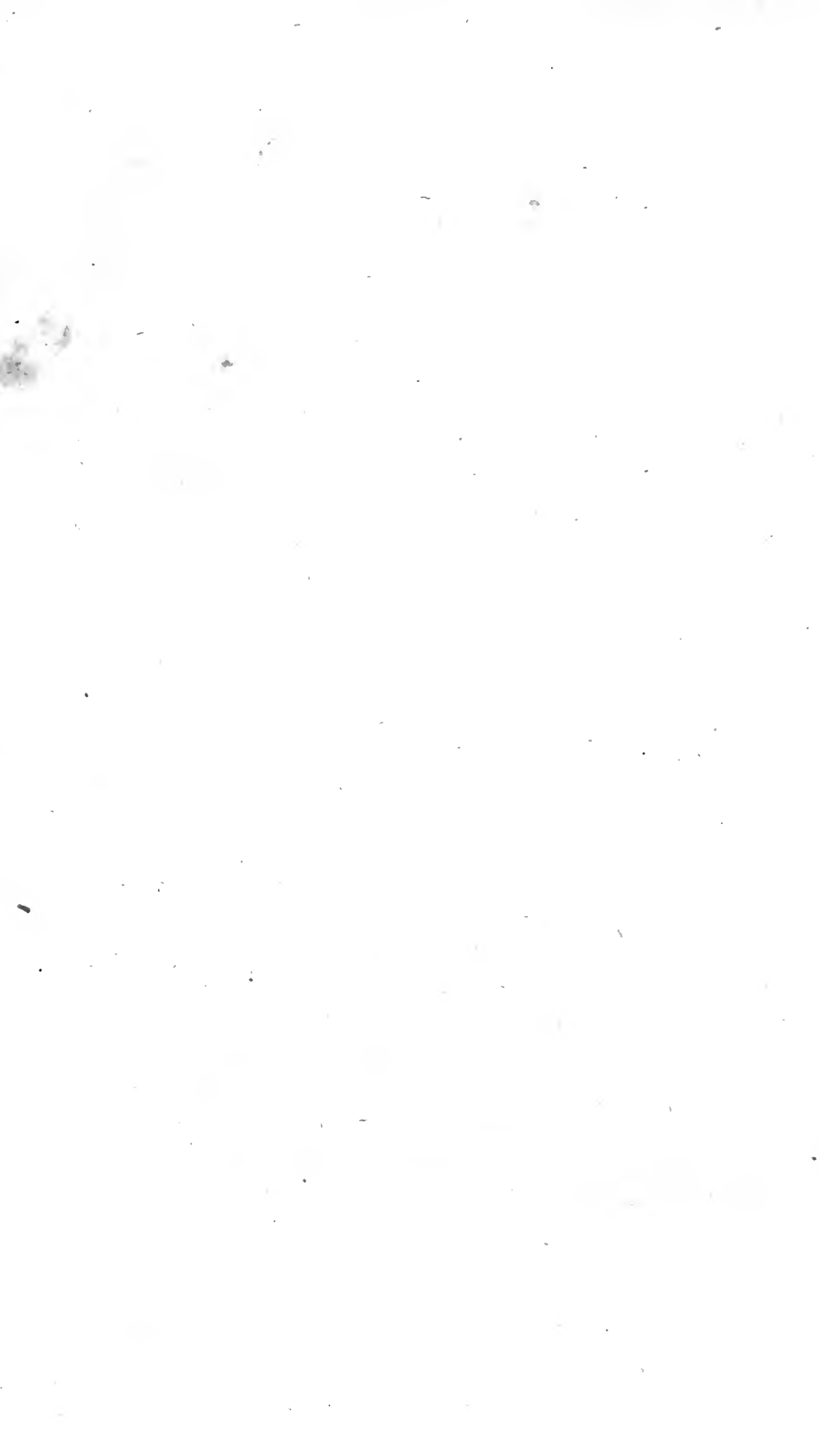
XLIV. Suionum hinc civitates, ipso in oceano, præter viros armaque classibus valent: forma navium eo differt, quod utrinque prora paratam semper appulsui frontem agit: nec velis ministrantur, nec remos in ordinem lateribus adjungunt. Solutum, ut in quibusdam fluminum, et mutabile, ut res poscit, hinc vel illinc remigium. Est apud illos et opibus honos, eoque unus imperitat, nullis

jam exceptionibus, non precario jure parendi: nec arma, ut apud ceteros Germanos, in promiscuo, sed clausa sub custode et quidem servo, quia subitos hostium incursus prohibet oceanus, otiosæ porro armatorum manus facile lasciviunt: enimvero neque nobilem, neque ingenuum, ne libertinum quidem, armis præponere regia utilitas est.

XLV. Trans Suionas aliud mare, pigrum ac prope immotum, quo cingi cludique terrarum orbem hinc fides; quod extremus cadentis jam solis fulgor in ortus edurat adeo clarus, ut sidera hebetet; sonum insuper audiri formasque deorum et radios capitis adspici persuasio adjicit. Illuc usque et fama vera tantum natura. Ergo jam dextro Suevici maris littore Æstuorum gentes alluuntur: quibus ritus habitusque Suevorum; lingua Britannicæ propior Matrem deum venerantur: insigne superstitionis formas aprorum gestant. Id pro armis omnique tutela securum deæ cultorem etiam inter hostes præstat. Rarus ferri, frequens fustium usus. Frumenta ceterosque fructus patientius, quam pro solita Germanorum inertia, laborant. Sed et mare scrutantur, ac soli omnium succinum, quod ipsi *glesum* vocant, inter vada atque in ipso littore legunt. Nec, quæ natura, quæve ratio gignat, ut barbaris, quæsitum compertumve. Diu quin etiam inter cetera ejectamenta maris jacebat, donec luxuria nostra dedit nomen: ipsis in nullo usu; rude legitur, informe perfertur, pretiumque mirantes accipiunt. Succum tamen arborum esse intelligas, quia terrena quædam atque etiam volucra animalia plerumque interlucent, quæ implicata humore mox durescente materia cluduntur. Fecundiora igitur nemora lucosque sicut Orientis secretis, ubi tura balsamaque sudantur, ita Occidentis insulis terrisque inesse, crediderim; quæ vicini solis radiis expressa atque liquentia in proximum mare labuntur, ac vi tempestatum in adversa littora exundant. Si naturam succini admoto igni tentes, in modum tædæ accenditur, alitque flammam pinguem et

olentem : mox ut in picem resinamve lentescit. Suionibus Sitonum gentes continuantur. Cetera similes uno differunt, quod femina dominatur : in tantum non modo a libertate sed etiam a servitute degenerant. Hic Sueviæ finis.

XLVI. Peucinorum Venedorumque et Fennorum nationes Germanis an Sarmatis adscribam, dubito, quamquam Peucini, quos quidam Bastarnas vocant, sermone, cultu, sede ac domiciliis ut Germani agunt. Sordes omnium ac torpor : procerum connubiis mixtis nonnihil in Sarmatarum habitum fœdantur. Venedi multum ex moribus traxerunt. Nam quidquid inter Peucinos Fennosque silvarum ac montium erigitur, latrociniis pererrant : hi tamen inter Germanos potius referuntur, quia et domos figunt et scuta gestant et peditum usu ac pernicitate gaudent ; quæ omnia diversa Sarmatis sunt, in plaustro equoque viventibus. Fennis mira feritas, fœda paupertas : non arma, non equi, non penates : victui herba, vestitui pelles, cubile humus : sola in sagittis spes, quas, inopia ferri, ossibus asperant : idemque venatus viros pariter ac feminas alit. Passim enim comitantur, partemque prædæ petunt. Nec aliud infantibus ferarum imbriumque suffugium, quam ut in aliquo ramorum nexu contegantur : huc redeunt juvenes, hoc senum receptaculum. Sed beatius arbitrantur quam ingemere agris, inlaborare domibus, suas alienasque fortunas spe metuque versare. Securi adversus homines, securi adversus deos, rem difficillimam adsecuti sunt, ut illis ne voto quidem opus esset. Cetera jam fabulosa : *Hellusios et Oxionas ora hominum vultusque, corpora atque artus ferarum gerere : quod ego, ut incompertum, in medium relinquam.*

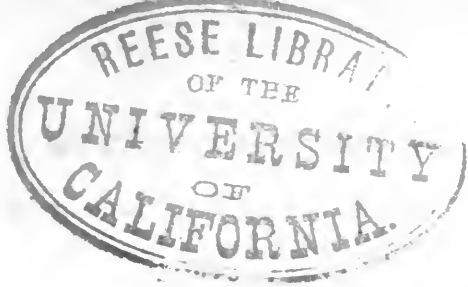


C. CORNELII TACITI

VITA

JULII AGRICOLÆ.





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VITA.

SUMMARY.

CHAP. I. The custom of writing the lives of illustrious men an ancient one. **II.** Dangerous, however, under bad princes. **III.** This custom resumed by Tacitus, under the happy reign of Nerva, in honor of Agricola, the writer's father-in-law. **IV.** Origin and education of Agricola. **V.** The rudiments of the military art learned by him in Britain. **VI.** He marries.—Is appointed, in succession, quæstor, tribune, prætor, &c. **VII.** His mother murdered during a hostile descent made by Otho's fleet on the coast of Liguria, her lands ravaged, and a great part of her effects carried off.—Agricola goes over to the side of Vespasian, and receives the command of the 20th legion, in Britain. **VIII.** Excellent deportment of Agricola while in command. **IX.** Returns to Rome.—Is called by Vespasian to the patrician order, and invested with the government of Aquitania.—Is chosen consul.—Betroths his daughter to Tacitus.—Is appointed governor of Britain. **X.** Description of Britain. **XI.** Origin of the Britons.—Their physical conformation, sacred rites, language, general character. **XII.** Their military strength, form of government, climate, soil, &c. **XIII.** Their cheerful submission to levies, tributes, &c.—The expedition of Cæsar into Britain.—Long neglect of the island subsequently, on the part of the Romans.—Invasion of Britain in the reign of Claudius, and restoration of the Roman authority. **XIV.** Operations of the consular governors. **XV.** Britons meditate a rebellion. **XVI.** Boadicea, a female of royal descent, their leader.—Defeated by Suetonius Paullinus.—Roman governors of inferior ability succeed Paulinus. **XVII.** Petilius Cerialis and Julius Frontinus restore affairs to their former footing.—The former subdues the Brigantes, the latter the Silures. **XVIII.** Agricola reduces the Ordovices, and the island Mona.—He finally brings the whole province into a peaceful state. **XIX.**, **XX.** His moderation, prudence, equity, &c., in regulating the affairs of his province. **XXI.** Endeavors to reclaim the natives from their rude and unsettled state by making them acquainted with the comforts of civilized life. **XXII.**, **XXIII.** New expeditions discover new nations of Britons to the Romans, and fortresses are erected to keep them in obedience.—Agricola's candor as regarded the meritorious actions of

others. XXIV. Design formed by him of invading Hibernia. XXV.—XXVII. The countries situated beyond Bodotria are explored.—The Caledonians attack a portion of the forces of Agricola, but, after some partial successes, are defeated by him, on his coming up with his other forces.—New preparations made by the enemy. XXVIII. A cohort of the Usipii, by a strange chance, circumnavigate the island of Britain. XXIX. Agricola loses his son, about a year old.—The Britons renew the war, under Calgacus as their leader. XXX.—XXXII. Address of Calgacus to his followers. XXXIII., XXXIV. Address of Agricola to his soldiers. XXXV.—XXXVII. Fierce and bloody battle. XXXVIII. Victory of the Romans.—Agricola orders Britain to be circumnavigated. XXXIX. The account of these operations received by Domitian with outward expressions of joy, but inward anxiety. XL. He, nevertheless, directs honors to be rendered to Agricola.—The latter returns to Rome, and leads a modest and retired life. XLI. Often accused before Domitian, in his absence, but as often acquitted. XLII. Excuses himself from taking a province as proconsul. XLIII. Dies, not without suspicion of having been poisoned by Domitian. XLIV. His age at the time of his death.—His personal appearance, &c. XLV. Happy in having ended his days before the atrocities of Domitian broke forth. XLVI. General reflections.

I. CLARORUM virorum facta moresque posteris tradere, antiquitus usitatum, ne nostris quidem temporibus, quamquam incuriosa suorum ætas omisit, quotiens magna aliqua ac nobilis virtus vicit ac supergressa est vitium parvis magnisque civitatibus commune, ignorantiam recti et invidiam. Sed apud priores ut agere memoratu digna primum magisque in aperto erat, ita celeberrimus quisque ingenio, ad prodendam virtutis memoriam, sine gratia aut ambitione, bonæ tantum conscientiæ pretio ducebatur. Ac plerique suam ipsi vitam narrare fiduciam potius morum quam arrogantiam arbitrati sunt: nec id Rutilio et Scauro citra fidem aut obtreptioni fuit: adeo virtutes iisdem temporibus optime æstimantur, quibus facillime gignuntur.

II. At mihi, nunc narraturo vitam defuncti hominis, venia opus fuit; quam non petissem, ni cursaturus tam sæva et infesta virtutibus tempora. Legimus, cum Aruleno Rustico Pætus Thræsea, Herennio Senecioni Priscus

Helvidius laudati essent, capitale fuisse: neque in ipsos modo auctores, sed in libros quoque eorum sævitum, delegato triumviris ministerio, ut monumenta clarissimorum ingeniorum in comitio ac foro urerentur. Scilicet illo igne vocem populi Romani et libertatem senatus et conscientiam generis humani aboleri arbitrabantur, expulsis insuper sapientiæ professoribus atque omni bona arte in exilium acta, ne quid usquam honestum occurreret. Dedimus profecto grande patientiæ documentum: et sicut vetus ætas vidit quid ultimum in libertate esset, ita nos quid in servitute, adempto per inquisitiones et loquendi audiendique commercio. Memoriam quoque ipsam cum voce perdidissemus, si tam in nostra potestate esset oblivisci, quam tacere.

III. Nunc demum redit animus: et quamquam primo statim beatissimi sæculi ortu Nerva Cæsar res olim dissociabiles miscuerit, principatum ac libertatem, augeatque quotidie felicitatem temporum Nerva Trajanus, nec spem modo ac votum securitas publica sed ipsius voti fiduciam ac robur assumserit, natura tamen infirmitatis humanæ tardiora sunt remedia, quam mala; et, ut corpora lente augescunt, cito exstinguuntur, sic ingenia studiaque oppresseris facilius, quam revocaveris. Subit quippe etiam ipsius inertiae dulcedo, et invisæ primo desidia postremo amatur. Quid? si per quindecim annos, grande mortalis ævi spatium, multi fortuitis casibus, promptissimus quisque sævitia principis interciderunt? Pauci, ut ita dixerim, non modo aliorum, sed etiam nostri superstites sumus; exemptis e media vita tot annis, quibus juvenes ad senectutem, senes prope ad ipsos exactæ ætatis terminos, per silentium venimus. Non tamen pigebit, vel incondita ac rudi voce, memoriam prioris servitutis ac testimonium præsentium bonorum composuisse. Hic interim liber, honori Agricolæ soceri mei destinatus, professione pietatis aut laudatus erit, aut excusatus.

IV. Cnæus Julius Agricola, vetere et illustri Foro-juliensium colonia ortus, utrumque avum procuratorem Cæsarum habuit, quæ equestris nobilitas est. Pater Julius Græcinus, senatorii ordinis, studio eloquentiæ sapientiæque notus, iisque virtutibus iram Caii Cæsaris meritis: namque M. Silanum accusare jussus et, quia abnuerat, interfectus est. Mater Julia Procilla fuit, raræ castitatis: in hujus sinu indulgentiaque educatus, per omnem honestarum artium cultum pueritiam adolescentiamque transegit. Arcebat eum ab illecebris peccantium, præter ipsius bonam integramque naturam, quod statim parvulus sedem ac magistram studiorum Massiliam habuerat, locum Græca comitate et provinciali parsimonia mixtum ac bene compositum. Memoria teneo, solitum ipsum narrare, *se in prima juvena studium philosophiæ acrius, ultra quam concessum Romano ac senatori, hausisse, ni prudentia matris incensum ac flagrantem animum coercuisset.* Scilicet sublime et erectum ingenium pulchritudinem ac speciem excelsæ magnæque gloriæ vehementius quam caute appetebat. Mox mitigavit ratio et ætas: retinuitque, quod est difficillimum, ex sapientia modum.

V. Prima castrorum rudimenta in Britannia Suetonio Paulino, diligenti ac moderato duci, approbavit, electus quem contubernio æstimaret. Nec Agricola licenter, more juvenum qui militiam in lasciviam vertunt, neque segniter ad voluptates et comæatus titulum tribunatus et inscitiam retulit: sed noscere provinciam, nosci exercitui, discere a peritis, sequi optimos, nihil appetere in jactationem, nihil ob formidinem recusare, simulque anxius et intentus agere. Non sane alias exercitior magisque in ambiguo Britannia fuit: trucidati veterani, incensæ coloniæ, intercepti exercitus; tum de salute, mox de victoria certavere. Quæ cuncta etsi consiliis ductuque alterius agebantur, ac summa rerum et recuperatæ provinciæ gloria in ducem cessit, artem et usum et stimulos addidere

juveni: intravitque animum militaris gloriæ cupido, ingrata temporibus, quibus sinistra erga eminentes interpretatio, nec minus periculum ex magna fama, quam ex mala.

VI. Hinc ad capessendos magistratus in urbem digressus, Domitiam Decidianam, splendidis natalibus ortam, sibi junxit: idque matrimonium ad majora nitenti decus ac robur fuit: vixeruntque mira concordia, per mutuam caritatem et invicem se anteponendo; nisi quod in bona uxore tanto major laus, quanto in mala plus culpæ est. Sors quæsturæ provinciam Asiam, proconsulem Salvium Titianum dedit: quorum neutro corruptus est; quamquam et provincia dives ac parata peccantibus, et proconsul in omnem aviditatem pronus, quantalibet facilitate redempturus esset mutuam dissimulationem mali. Auctus est ibi filia, in subsidium et solatium simul: nam filium ante sublatum brevi amisit. Mox inter quæsturam ac tribunatum plebis atque ipsum etiam tribunatus annum quiete et otio transiit, gnarus sub Nerone temporum, quibus inertia pro sapientia fuit. Idem præturæ tenor et silentium: nec enim jurisdictio obvenerat. Ludos et inania honoris modo rationis atque abundantiae duxit, uti longe a luxuria, ita famæ propior. Tum electus a Galba ad dona templorum recognoscenda, diligentissima acquisitione fecit, ne cujus alterius sacrilegium respublica quam Neronis sensisset.

VII. Sequens annus gravi vulnere animum domumque ejus afflixit: nam classis Othoniana, licenter vaga, dum Intemelios (Liguriæ pars est) hostiliter populatur, matrem Agricolæ in prædiis suis interfecit; prædiaque ipsa et magnam patrimonii partem diripuit, quæ causa cædis fuerat. Igitur ad solennia pietatis profectus Agricola, nuntio affectati a Vespasiano imperii deprehensus, ac statim in partes transgressus est. Initia principatus ac statum urbis Mucianus regebat, admodum juvene Domitiano, et ex paterna fortuna tantum licentiam usurpante.

Is missum ad delectus agendos Agricola, integreque ac strenue versatum, vicesimæ legioni, tarde ad sacramentum transgressæ, præposuit, ubi decessor seditiose agere narrabatur; quippe legatis quoque consularibus nimia ac formidolosa erat; nec legatus prætorius ad cohibendum potens, incertum, suo an militum ingenio: ita successor simul, et ultor electus, rarissima moderatione maluit videri invenisse bonos, quam fecisse.

VIII. Præerat tunc Britanniæ Vettius Bolanus, placidius, quam feroci provincia dignum est: temperavit Agricola vim suam, ardoremque compescuit, ne increceret, peritus obsequi, eruditusque utilia honestis miscere. Brevi deinde Britannia consularem Petilium Cerealem accepit. Habuerunt virtutes spatium exemplorum. Sed primo Cerealis modo labores et discrimina, mox et gloriam communicabat: sæpe parti exercitus in experimentum, aliquando majoribus copiis ex eventu præfecit: nec Agricola umquam in suam famam gestis exsultavit; ad auctorem et ducem, ut minister, fortunam referebat. Ita virtute in obsequendo, verecundia in prædicando, extra invidiam, nec extra gloriam erat.

IX. Revertentem ab legatione legionis divus Vespasianus inter patricos adscivit, ac deinde provinciæ Aquitaniæ præposuit, splendidæ in primis dignitatis, administratione ac spe consulatus, cui destinarat. Credunt plerique, militaribus ingeniis subtilitatem deesse; quia castrensis jurisdictio secure et obtusior, ac plura manu agens, calliditatem fori non exercent. Agricola naturali prudentia, quamvis inter togatos, facile justequè agebat. Jam vero tempora curarum remissionumque divisa. Ubi conventus ac judicia poscerent, gravis, intentus, severus, et sæpius misericors: ubi officio satisfactum, nulla ultra potestatis persona: tristitiam et arrogantiam et avaritiam exuerat: nec illi, quod est rarissimum, aut facilitas auctoritatem, aut severitas amorem deminuit. Integritatem

atque abstinentiam in tanto viro referre, injuria virtutum fuerit. Ne famam quidem, cui sæpe etiam boni indulgent, ostentanda virtute aut per artem quæsivit: procul ab æmulatione adversus collegas, procul a contentione adversus procuratores, et vincere inglorium, et atteri sordidum arbitrabatur. Minus triennium in ea legatione detentus, ac statim ad spem consulatus revocatus est, comitante opinione, Britanniam ei provinciam dari: nullis in hoc suis sermonibus, sed quia par videbatur. Haud semper errat fama, aliquando et elegit. Consul egregiæ tum spei filiam juveni mihi despondit, ac post consulatum collocavit; et statim Britannia præpositus est, adjecto pontificatus sacerdotio.

X. Britannia situm populosque, multis scriptoribus memoratos, non in comparationem curæ ingeniive referam, sed quia tum primum perdomita est; itaque, quæ priores, nondum comperta, eloquentia percoluere, rerum fide tradentur. Britannia insularum, quas Romana notitia complectitur, maxima, spatio ac cælo in orientem Germaniæ, in occidentem Hispaniæ obtenditur: Gallis in meridiem etiam inspicitur: septemtrionalia ejus, nullis contra terris, vasto atque aperto mari pulsantur. Formam totius Britannia Livius veterum, Fabius Rusticus recentium eloquentissimi auctores, oblongæ scutulæ vel bipenni assimilavere: et est ea facies citra Caledoniam, unde et in universum fama est transgressa: sed immensum et enorme spatium procurrentium extremo jam littore terrarum velut in cuneum tenuatur. Hanc oram novissimi maris tunc primum Romana classis circumvecta insulam esse Britanniam affirmavit, ac simul incognitas ad id tempus insulas, quas Orcadas vocant, invenit domuitque. Dispecta est et Thule, quam hactenus nix et hiems abdebat; sed mare pigrum et grave remigantibus perhibent ne ventis quidem perinde attolli: credo, quod rariores terræ montesque, causa ac materia tempestatum, et profunda moles

continui maris tardius impellitur. Naturam oceani atque æstus neque quærere hujus operis est, ac multi retulere: unum addiderim: nusquam latius dominari mare, multum fluminum huc atque illuc ferre, nec littore tenus accrescere aut resorberi, sed influere penitus atque ambire, et jugis etiam atque montibus inseri velut in suo.

XI. Ceterum Britanniam qui mortales initio coluerint, indigenæ an advecti, ut inter barbaros, parum compertum. Habitus corporum varii: atque ex eo argumenta: namque rutilæ Caledoniam habitantium comæ, magni artus Germanicam originem asseverant. Silurum colorati vultus, et torti plerumque crines, et posita contra Hispania, Iberos veteres trajecisse easque sedes occupasse, fidem faciunt. Proximi Gallis et similes sunt, seu durante originis vi, seu procurrentibus in diversa terris positio cœli corporibus habitum dedit: in universum tamen æstimanti, Gallos vicinum solum occupasse, credibile est. Eorum sacra deprehendas superstitionum persuasione: sermo haud multum diversus: in deprecandis periculis eadem audacia, et, ubi advenere, in detrectandis eadem formido: plus tamen ferociæ Britanni præferunt, ut quos nondum longa pax emollierit. Nam Gallos quoque in bellis floruisse accepimus: mox segnitia cum otio intravit, amissa virtute pariter ac libertate. Quod Britannorum olim victis evenit; ceteri manent quales Galli fuerunt.

XII. In pedite robur: quædam nationes et curru præliantur: honestior auriga, clientes propugnant: olim regibus parebant, nunc per principes factionibus et studiis trahuntur: nec aliud adversus validissimas gentes pro nobis utilius, quam quod in commune non consulunt. Rarus duabus tribusque civitatibus ad propulsandum commune periculum conventus: ita, dum singuli pugnant, universi vincuntur. Cœlum crebris imbris ac nebulis fœdum; asperitas frigoribus abest. Dierum spatia ultra nostri orbis mensuram, et nox clara et extrema Britanniae parte bre-

vis, ut finem atque initium lucis exiguo discrimine inter-
noscas. *Quod si nubes non officiant, adspici per noctem
solis fulgorem, nec occidere et exsurgere, sed transire* affir-
mant. Scilicet extrema et plana terrarum humili umbra
non erigunt tenebras, infraque cœlum et sidera nox cadit.
Solum, præter oleam vitemque et cetera calidioribus terris
oriri sueta, patiens frugum, fecundum: tarde mitescunt,
cito proveniunt: eadem utriusque rei causa, multus humor
terrarum cœlique. Fert Britannia aurum et argentum et
alia metalla, pretium victoriæ: gignit et oceanus margarita,
sed subfusca et liventia. Quidam artem abesse legentibus
arbitrantur: nam in rubro mari viva ac spirantia saxis
avelli, in Britannia, prout expulsa sint, colligi: ego faci-
lius crediderim naturam margaritis deesse quam nobis
avaritiam.

XIII. Ipsi Britanni delectum ac tributa et injuncta im-
perii munera impigre obeunt si injuriæ absint: has ægre
tolerant, jam domiti ut pareant, nondum ut serviant.
Igitur primus omnium Romanorum divus Julius cum ex-
ercitu Britanniam ingressus, quamquam prospera pugna
terruerit incolas, ac littore potitus sit, potest videri osten-
disse posteris, non tradidisse. Mox bella civilia, et in
republicam versa principum arma, ac longa oblivio
Britanniæ etiam in pace. Consilium id divus Augustus
vocabat, Tiberius præceptum. Agitasse C. Cæsarem de
intranda Britannia satis constat, ni velox ingenio, mobilis
pœnitentia, et ingentes adversus Germaniam conatus
frustra fuissent. Divus Claudius auctor operis, transvectis
legionibus auxiliisque, et assumto in partem rerum Ves-
pasiano: quod initium venturæ mox fortunæ fuit. Domitæ
gentes, capti reges, et monstratus fatis Vespasianus.

XIV. Consularium primus Aulus Plautius præpositus,
ac subinde Ostorius Scapula, uterque bello egregius: re-
ductaque paulatim in formam provinciæ proxima pars
Britanniæ: addita insuper veteranorum colonia. Quædam

civitates Cogiduno regi donatæ (is ad nostram usque memoriam fidissimus mansit) vetere ac jam pridem recepta Populi Romani consuetudine, ut haberet instrumenta servitutis et reges. Mox Didius Gallus parta a prioribus continuit, paucis admodum castellis in ulteriora promotis, per quæ fama aucti officii quæreretur. Didium Veranius excepit, isque intra annum exstinctus est. Suetonius hinc Paulinus hiennio prosperas res habuit, subactis nationibus firmatisque præsiidiis: quorum fiducia Monam insulam, ut vires rebellibus ministrantem, aggressus, terga occasione patefecit.

XV. Namque absentia legati remoto metu, Britanni agitare inter se mala servitutis, conferre injurias et interpretando accendere: *nihil profici patientia, nisi ut graviora, tamquam ex facili tolerantibus, imperentur. Singulos sibi olim reges fuisse, nunc binos imponi, e quibus legatus in sanguinem, procurator in bona sæviret: æque discordiam præpositorum, æque concordiam, subjectis exitiosam: alterius manus, centuriones alterius, vim et contumelias miscere. Nihil jam cupiditati, nihil libidini exceptum. In prælio fortiores esse, qui spoliet: nunc ab ignavis plerumque et imbellibus eripi domos, abstrahi liberos, injungi delectus, tamquam mori tantum pro patria nescientibus. Quantum enim transisse militum, si sese Britanni numerent? sic Germanias excussisse jugum, et flumine, non oceano, defendi: sibi patriam, conjuges, parentes, illis avaritiam et luxuriam causas belli esse: recessuros, ut divus Julius recessisset, modo virtutes majorum suorum æmulerentur. Neve prælii unius aut alterius eventu pavescerent: plus impetus, majorem constantiam, penes miseros esse. Jam Britannorum etiam deos misereri, qui Romanum ducem absentem, qui relegatum in alia insula exercitum detinerent: jam ipsos, quod difficillimum fuerit, deliberare: porro in ejusmodi consiliis periculosius esse deprehendi, quam rudere.*

XVI. His atque talibus invicem instincti, Boadicea, generis regii femina, duce (neque enim sexum in imperiis discernunt) summere universi bellum; ac sparsos per castella milites consecrati, expugnatis præsiidiis, ipsam coloniam invasere, ut sedem servitutis: nec ullum in barbaris sævitiae genus omisit ira et victoria. Quod nisi Paulinus cognito provinciæ motu propere subvenisset, amissa Britannia foret: quam unius prælii fortuna veteri patientiæ restituit, tenentibus arma plerisque, quos conscientia defectionis et propius ex legato timor agitabat. Hic cum, egregius cetera, arroganter in deditos, et, ut suæ quoque injuriæ ultor, durius consuleret, missus Petronius Turpilianus, tamquam exorabilior, et delictis hostium novus eoque pœnitentiæ mitior, compositis prioribus, nihil ultra ausus, Trebellio Maximo provinciam tradidit. Trebellius segnior, et nullis castrorum experimentis, comitate quadam curandi provinciam tenuit. Didicere jam barbari quoque ignoscere, vitiis blandientibus; et interventus civilium armorum præbuit justam segnitiae excusationem. Sed discordia laboratum, cum assuetus expeditionibus miles otio lasciviret. Trebellius, fuga ac latebris vitata exercitus ira, indecorus atque humilis, precario mox præfuit: ac velut pacti, exercitus licentiam, dux salutem, hæc seditio sine sanguine stetit. Nec Vettius Bolanus, manentibus adhuc civilibus bellis, agitavit Britanniam disciplina: eadem inertia erga hostes, similis petulantia castrorum: nisi quod innocens Bolanus, et nullis delictis invisus, caritatem paraverat loco auctoritatis.

XVII. Sed, ubi cum cetero orbe Vespasianus et Britanniam recipavit, magni duces, egregii exercitus, minuta hostium spes. Et terrorem statim intulit Petilius Cerealis, Brigantum civitatem, quæ numerosissima provinciæ totius perhibetur, aggressus: multa prælia, et aliquando non incruenta: magnamque Brigantum partem aut victoria amplexus, aut bello. Et cum Cerealis quidem alterius

successoris curam famamque obruisset, sustinuit quoque molem Julius Frontinus, vir magnus, quantum licebat, validamque et pugnacem Silurum gentem armis subegit, super virtutem hostium locorum quoque difficultates elucatus.

XVIII. Hunc Britanniae statum, has bellorum vices media jam æstate transgressus Agricola invenit, cum et milites, velut omissa expeditione, ad securitatem, et hostes ad occasionem, verterentur. Ordovicum civitas haud multo ante adventum ejus, alam, in finibus suis agentem, prope universam obtriverat: eoque initio erecta provincia, ut quibus bellum volentibus erat, probare exemplum aut recentis legati animum opperiri. Tum Agricola—quamquam transacta æstas, sparsi per provinciam numeri, præsumta apud militem illius anni quies (tarda et contraria bellum inchoaturo), et plerisque custodiri suspecta potius videbatur—ire obviam discrimini statuit; contractisque legionum vexillis et modica auxiliorum manu, quia in æquum degredi Ordovices non audebant, ipse ante agmen, quo ceteris par animus simili periculo esset, erexit aciem; cæsaque prope universa gente, non ignarus, instandum famæ, ac, prout prima cessissent, fore universa, Monam insulam (cujus possessione revocatum Paulinum rebellionem totius Britanniae supra memoravi) redigere in potestatem animo intendit. Sed, ut in dubiis consiliis, naves deerant; ratio et constantia ducis transvexit. Depositis omnibus sarcinis, lectissimos auxiliarium, quibus nota vada et patrius nandi usus, quo simul seque et arma et equos regunt, ita repente immisit, ut obstupefacti hostes, qui classem, qui naves, qui mare expectabant, nihil arduum aut invictum crediderint sic ad bellum venientibus. Ita petita pace ac dedita insula, clarus ac magnus haberi Agricola, quippe cui ingredienti provinciam, quod tempus alii per ostentationem, aut officiorum ambitum transigunt, labor et periculum placuisset. Nec Agricola prosperitate

rerum in vanitatem usus expeditionem aut victoriam vocabat victos continuisse: ne laureatis quidem gesta prosecutus est, sed ipsa dissimulatione famæ famam auxit, æstimantibus quanta futuri spe tam magna tacuisset.

XIX. Ceterum animorum provinciæ prudens, simulque doctus per aliena experimenta, parum profici armis, si injuriæ sequerentur, causas bellorum statuit excidere. A se suisque orsus, primum domum suam coercuit; quod plerisque haud minus arduum est, quam provinciam regere. Nihil per libertos servosque publicæ rei: non studiis privati, nec ex commendatione aut precibus centurionum milites ascire, sed optimum quemque fidelissimum putare: omnia scire, non omnia exsequi: parvis peccatis veniam, magnis severitatem commodare: nec pœna semper, sed sæpius pœnitentia contentus esse: officiis et administrationibus potius non peccaturos præponere, quam damnare cum peccassent. Frumenti et tributorum auctionem æqualitate munerum mollire, circumcisis quæ in quæstum reperta ipso tributo gravius tolerabantur. Namque per ludibrium assidere clausis horreis, et emere ultro frumenta, ac vendere pretio cogebantur. Devortia itinerum et longinquitas regionum indicebatur, ut civitates a proximis hibernis in remota et avia deferrent, donec, quod omnibus in promptu erat, paucis lucrosum fieret.

XX. Hæc primo statim anno comprimendo, egregiam famam paci circumdedit; quæ vel incuria vel tolerantia priorum haud minus quam bellum timebatur. Sed, ubi æstas advenit, contracto exercitu, militum in agmine laudare modestiam, disjectos coercere, loca castris ipse capere, æstuaria ac silvas ipse prætentare, et nihil interim apud hostes quietum pati, quo minus subitis excursibus popularetur; atque, ubi satis terruerat, parcendo rursus irritamenta pacis ostentare. Quibus rebus multæ civitates, quæ in illum diem ex æquo egerant, datis obsidibus, iram posuere, et præsidiis castellisque circumdatae tanta ratione

curaque, ut nulla ante Britanniae nova pars illaccessita transierit.

XXI. Sequens hiems saluberrimis consiliis absunta : namque, ut homines dispersi ac rudes, eoque in bella faciles, quieti et otio per voluptates assuescerent, hortari privatim, adjuvare publice, ut templa, fora, domus exstruerent, laudando promptos, et castigando segnes : ita honoris æmulatio pro necessitate erat. Jam vero principum filios liberalibus artibus erudire, et ingenia Britannorum studiis Gallorum anteferre, ut, qui modo linguam Romanam abnuebant, eloquentiam concupiscerent. Inde etiam habitus nostri honor et frequens toga : paulatimque discessum ad delinimenta vitiorum, porticus et balnea et convivorum elegantiam : idque apud imperitos *humanitas* vocabatur, cum pars servitutis esset.

XXII. Tertius expeditionum annus novas gentes aperuit, vastatis usque ad Taum (æstuario nomen est) nationibus : qua formidine territi hostes, quamquam conflictatum sævis tempestatibus exercitum lacessere non ausi ; ponendisque insuper castellis spatium fuit. Adnotabant periti, non alium ducem opportunitates locorum sapientius legisse ; nullum ab Agricola positum castellum aut vi hostium expugnatum, aut pactione ac fuga desertum. Crebræ eruptiones ; nam adversus moras obsidionis annuis copiis firmabantur. Ita intrepida ibi hiems, et sibi quisque præsidio, irritis hostibus eoque desperantibus, quia soliti plerumque damna æstatis hibernis eventibus pensare, tum æstate atque hieme juxta pellebantur. Nec Agricola umquam per alios gesta avidus interceptit : seu centurio, seu præfectus, incorruptum facti testem habebat. Apud quosdam acerbior in conviciis narrabatur ; ut bonis comis erat, ita adversus malos injucundus : ceterum ex iracundia nihil supererat ; secretum et silentium ejus non timeres. Honestius putabat offendere, quam odisse.

XXIII. Quarta æstas obtinendis, quæ percurrebat, in-

sumta; ac, si virtus exercituum et Romani nominis gloria pateretur, inventus in ipsa Britannia terminus. Nam Clota et Bodotria, diversi maris æstibus per immensum revectæ, angusto terrarum spatio dirimuntur: quod tum præsiidiis firmabatur: atque omnis propior sinus tenebatur, summotis velut in aliam insulam hostibus.

XXIV. Quinto expeditionum anno nave prima transgressus, ignotas ad id tempus gentes crebris simul ac prosperis præliis domuit: eamque partem Britannia, quæ Hiberniam adspicit, copiis instruxit in spem magis, quam ob formidinem: siquidem Hibernia, medio inter Britanniam atque Hispaniam sita et Gallico quoque mari opportuna, valentissimam imperii partem magnis invicem usibus miscuerit. Spatium ejus, si Britannia comparatur, angustius, nostri maris insulas superat. Solum cœlumque et ingenia cultusque hominum haud multum a Britannia differunt. Melius aditus portusque per commercia et negotiatores cogniti. Agricola expulsum seditione domestica unum ex regulis gentis exceperat, ac specie amicitia in occasionem retinebat. Sæpe ex eo audivi, legione una et modicis auxiliis debellari obtinerique Hiberniam posse. Idque etiam adversus Britanniam profuturum, si Romana ubique arma, et velut e conspectu libertas tolleretur.

XXV. Ceterum æstate, qua sextum officii annum inchoabat, amplexus civitates trans Bodotriam sitas, quia motus universarum ultra gentium et infesta hostili exercitu itinera timebantur, portus classe exploravit; quæ, ab Agricola primum assumpta in partem virium, sequebatur egregia specie, cum simul terra simul mari bellum impelleretur, ac sæpe iisdem castris pedes equesque et nauticus miles, mixti copiis et lætitia, sua quisque facta, suos casus attollerent; ac modo silvarum et montium profunda, modo tempestatum ac fluctuum adversa, hinc terra et hostis, hinc victus oceanus militari jactantia compararentur. Britan-

nos quoque, ut ex captivis audiebatur, visa classis obstupesciebat, tamquam aperto maris sui secreto ultimum victis perfrugium clauderetur. Ad manus et arma conversi Caledoniam incolentes populi, paratu magno, majore fama (uti mos est de ignotis) oppugnasse ultro, castella adorti metum ut provocantes addiderant; regrediendumque citra Bodotriam, et excedendum potius quam pellerentur, specie prudentium ignavi admonebant; cum interim cognoscit, hostes pluribus agminibus irrupturos. Ac, ne superante numero et peritia locorum circumiretur, diviso et ipse in tres partes exercitu incessit.

XXVI. Quod ubi cognitum hosti, mutato repente consilio, universi nonam legionem, ut maxime invalidam, nocte aggressi, inter somnum ac trepidationem cæsis vigilibus, irrupere. Jamque in ipsis castris pugnabant, cum Agricola, iter hostium ab exploratoribus edoctus et vestigiis insecutus, velocissimos equitum peditumque assultare tergis pugnantium jubet, mox ab universis adjici clamorem et propinqua luce fulsere signa: ita ancipiti malo territi Britanni; et Romanis redit animus, ac, securi pro salute, de gloria certabant. Ultro quin etiam erupere; et fuit atrox in ipsis portarum angustiis prælium, donec pulsati hostes; utroque exercitu certante, his, ut tulisse opem, illis, ne eguisse auxilio viderentur. Quod nisi paludes et silvæ fugientes texissent, debellatum illa victoria foret.

XXVII. Cujus constantia ac fama ferox exercitus, *nihil virtuti suæ invium; penetrandam Caledoniam, invenientumque tandem Britanniae terminum continuo præliorum cursu*, fremebant: atque illi modo cauti ac sapientes, prompti post eventum ac magniloqui erant: iniquissima hæc bellorum conditio est; prospera omnes sibi vindicant, adversa uni imputantur. At Britanni non virtute, sed occasione et arte ducis rati, nihil ex arrogantia remittere, quo minus juventutem armarent, conjuges ac liberos in loca tuta transferrent, cœtibus ac sacrificiis conspirationem

civitatum sancirent: atque ita irritatis utrimque animis discessum.

XXVIII. Eadem æstate cohors Usipiorum, per Germanias conscripta, et in Britanniam transmissa, magnum ac memorabile facinus ausa est. Occiso centurione ac militibus, qui, ad tradendam disciplinam immixti manipulis, exemplum et rectores habebantur, tres liburnicas adactis per vim gubernatoribus ascendere: et uno remigrante, suspectis duobus eoque interfectis, nondum vulgato rumore, ut miraculum, prævehebantur. Mox hac atque illa rapti, et cum plerisque Britannorum sua defensantium prælio congressi, ac sæpe victores, aliquando pulsati, eo ad extremum inopiæ venire, ut infirmissimos suorum, mox sorte ductos, vescerentur. Atque ita circumvecti Britanniam, amissis per inscitiam regendi navibus, pro prædonibus habiti, primum a Suevis, mox a Frisiis intercepti sunt: ac fuere, quos per commercia venundatos, et in nostram usque ripam mutatione ementium adductos, indicium tanti casus illustravit.

XXIX. Initio æstatis Agricola, domestico vulnere ictus, anno ante natum filium amisit. Quem casum neque, ut plerique fortium virorum, ambitiose, neque per lamenta rursus ac mœrorem muliebriter tulit; et in luctu bellum inter remedia erat. Igitur præmissa classe, quæ pluribus locis prædata magnum et incertum terrorem faceret, expedito exercitu, cui ex Britannis fortissimos et longa pace exploratos addiderat, ad montem Grampium pervenit, quem jam hostes insederant. Nam Britanni, nihil fracti pugnae prioris eventu, et ultionem aut servitium expectantes, tandemque docti commune periculum concordia propulsandum, legationibus et fœderibus omnium civitatum vires exciverant. Jamque super triginta millia armatorum aspiciebantur, et adhuc affluebat omnis juvenus, et quibus cruda ac viridis senectus, clari bello, ac sua quisque decora gestantes; cum inter plures duces virtute

et genere præstans, nomine Calgacus, apud contractam multitudinem, prælium poscentem, in hunc modum locutus fertur:—

XXX. *Quotiens causas belli et necessitatem nostram intueor, magnus mihi animus est, hodiernum diem consensumque vestrum initium libertatis totius Britannicæ fore. Nam et universi servitutis expertes, et nullæ ultra terræ, ac ne mare quidem securum, imminente nobis classe Romana: ita prælium atque arma, quæ fortibus honesta, eadem etiam ignavis tutissima sunt. Priores pugnæ, quibus adversus Romanos varia fortuna certatum est, spem ac subsidium in nostris manibus habebant: quia nobilissimi totius Britannicæ, eoque in ipsis penetralibus siti, nec servientium littora aspicientes, oculos quoque a contactu dominationis inviolatos habebamus. Nos, terrarum ac libertatis extremos, recessus ipse ac sinus famæ in hunc diem defendit: nunc terminus Britannicæ patet; atque omne ignotum pro magnifico est. Sed nulla jam ultra gens, nihil nisi fluctus et saxa: et infestiores Romani; quorum superbiam frustra per obsequium et modestiam effugeris. Raptores orbis, postquam cuncta vastantibus defuere terræ, et mare scrutantur: si locuples hostis est, avari; si pauper, ambitiosi: quos non Oriens, non Occidens satiaverit: soli omnium opes atque inopiam pari affectu concupiscunt. Auferre, trucidare, rapere, falsis nominibus imperium; atque, ubi solitudinem faciunt, pacem appellant.*

XXXI. *Liberos cuique ac propinquos suos natura carissimos esse voluit: hi per delectus, alibi servituri, auferuntur. Conjuges sororesque, etsi hostilem libidinem effugiant, nomine amicorum atque hospitem polluantur. Bona fortunasque in tributum egerunt, annos in frumentum: corpora ipsa ac manus, silvis ac paludibus emuniendis, verbera inter ac contumelias, conterunt. Nata servituti mancipia semel veneunt, atque ultro a dominis aluntur: Britannia servitutem suam quotidie emit, quotidie pascit. Ac, sicut in fami-*

lia recentissimus quisque servorum et conservis ludibrio est; sic, in hoc orbis terrarum vetere famulatu, novi nos et viles in excidium petimur. Neque enim arva nobis, aut metalla, aut portus sunt, quibus exercendis reservemur. Virtus porro ac ferocia subjectorum ingrata imperantibus: et longinquitas ac secretum ipsum quo tutius, eo suspectius. Ita, sublata spe veniæ, tandem sumite animum, tam quibus salus, quam quibus gloria carissima est. Brigantes femina duce exurere coloniam, expugnare castra, ac nisi felicitas in socordiam vertisset, exuere jugum potuere: nos integri et indomiti, et libertatem non in præsentia laturi, primo statim congressu non ostendamus quos sibi Caledonia viros seposuerit?

XXXII. *An eandem Romanis in bello virtutem, quam in pace lasciviam, adesse creditis? Nostris illi discessionibus ac discordiis clari, vitia hostium in gloriam exercitus sui vertunt; quem contractum ex diversissimis gentibus, ut secundæ res tenent, ita adversæ dissolvent; nisi si Gallos et Germanos et (pudet dictu) Britannorum plerosque, licet dominationi alienæ sanguinem commodent, diutius tamen hostes quam servos, fide et affectu teneri putatis: metus et terror est, infirma vincula caritatis; quæ ubi removeris, qui timere desierint, odisse incipient. Omnia victoriæ incitamenta pro nobis sunt: nullæ Romanos conjuges accendunt; nulli parentes fugam exprobraturi sunt; aut nulla plerisque patria, aut alia est: paucos numero, circum trepidos ignorantia, cælum ipsum ac mare et silvas, ignota omnia circumspectantes, clausos quodammodo ac vinctos dii nobis tradiderunt. Ne terreat vanus aspectus et auri fulgor atque argenti, quod neque tegit, neque vulnerat. In ipsa hostium acie inveniemus nostras manus: agnoscent Britanni suam causam: recordabuntur Galli priorem libertatem: deserent illos ceteri Germani, tamquam nuper Usipii reliquerunt. Nec quidquam ultra formidinis: vacua castella, senum colonicæ, inter male parentes et injuste impe-*

rantes ægra municipia et discordantia. Hic dux, hic exercitus: ibi tributa et metalla et ceteræ servientium pœnæ; quas in æternum perferre, aut statim ulcisci in hoc campo est. Proinde, ituri in aciem, et majores vestros et posteros cogitate.

XXXIII. Exceperè orationem alacres et barbari moris cantu et fremitu clamoribusque dissonis. Jamque agmina, et armorum fulgores audentissimi cujusque procursu: simul instruebatur acies; cum Agricola, quamquam lætum et vix munimentis coercitum militem adhortatus, ita disseruit: *Octavus annus est, commilitones, ex quo virtute et auspiciis imperii Romani fide atque opera vestra Britanniam vicistis. Tot expeditionibus, tot præliis, seu fortitudine adversus hostes, seu patientia ac labore pœne adversus ipsam rerum naturam opus fuit. Neque me militum, neque vos ducis pœnituit. Ergo egressi, ego veterum legatorum, vos priorum exercituum terminos, finem Britannicæ, non fama, nec rumore, sed castris et armis tenemus. Inventa Britannia, et subacta. Equidem sæpe in agmine, cum vos paludes montesve et flumina fatigarent, fortissimi cujusque voces audiebam, Quando dabitur hostis, quando acies? Veniunt, e latebris suis extrusi; et vota virtusque in aperto, omniaque prona victoribus, atque eadem victis adversa. Nam, ut superasse tantum itineris, silvas evasisse, transisse æstuaria, pulchrum ac decorum in frontem; ita fugientibus periculosissima, quæ hodie prosperrima sunt. Neque enim nobis aut locorum eadem notitia aut comœntuum eadem abundantia; sed manus et arma et in his omnia. Quod ad me attinet, jam pridem mihi decretum est, neque exercitus, neque ducis terga tuta esse. Proinde et honesta mors turpi vita potior; et incolumitas ac decus eodem loco sita sunt: nec inglorium fuerit in ipso terrarum ac naturæ fine cecidisse.*

XXXIV. *Si novæ gentes atque ignota acies constitisset, aliorum exercituum exemplis vos hortarer: nunc vestra de-*

cora recensete, vestros oculos interrogate. Ii sunt, quos proximo anno, unam legionem furto noctis aggressos, clamore debellastis: in ceterorum Britannorum fugacissimi, ideoque tam diu superstites. Quomodo silvas saltusque penetrantibus fortissimum quodque animal robore, pavida et inertia ipso agminis sono pelluntur, sic acerrimi Britannorum jam pridem ceciderunt: reliquus est numerus ignavorum et metuentium, quos quod tandem invenistis, non restiterunt, sed deprehensi sunt novissimi: ideo extremo metu corpora defixere in his vestigiis, in quibus pulchram et spectabilem victoriam ederetis. Transigite cum expeditionibus: imponite quinquaginta annis magnum diem: approbate reipublicæ nunquam exercitui imputari potuisse aut moras belli aut causas rebellandi.

XXXV. Et alloquente adhuc Agricola militum ardor eminebat, et finem orationis ingens alacritas consecuta est, statimque ad arma discursum. Instinctos ruentesque ita disposuit, ut peditum auxilia, quæ octo millia erant, mediam aciem firmarent, equitum tria millia cornibus affunderentur: legiones pro vallo steterunt, ingens victoriæ decus citra Romanum sanguinem bellanti, et auxilium si pellerentur. Britannorum acies, in speciem simul ac terrorem, editioribus locis constiterat ita, ut primum agmen æquo, ceteri per acclive jugum connexi velut insurgerent; media campi covinarius et eques strepitu ac discursu complebat. Tum Agricola, superante hostium multitudine, veritus ne simul in frontem simul et latera suorum pugnaretur, ductis ordinibus, quamquam porrectior acies futura erat, et *arcessendas* plerique legiones admonebant, promptior in spem et firmus adversis, dimisso equo pedes ante vexilla constitit.

XXXVI. Ac primo congressu eminus certabatur: simul constantia, simul arte Britanni, ingentibus gladiis et brevibus cetris, missilia nostrorum vitare, vel excutere, atque ipsi magnam vim telorum superfundere; donec

Agricola tres Batavorum cohortes ac Tungrorum duas cohortatus est, ut rem ad mucrones ac manus adducerent: quod et ipsis vetustate militiae exercitatum, et hostibus inhabile, parva scuta et enormes gladios gerentibus: nam Britanporum gladii sine mucrone complexum armorum, et in arcto pugnam non tolerabant. Igitur, ut Batavi miscere ictus, ferire umbonibus, ora foedare, et stratis qui in aequo obstiterant, erigere in colles aciem coepere, ceterae cohortes, aemulatione et impetu commixtae, proximos quosque caedere: ac plerique semineces aut integri festinatione victoriae relinquebantur. Interim equitum turmae fugere, covinarii peditum se proelio miscuere: et, quamquam recentem terrorem intulerant, densis tamen hostium agminibus et inaequalibus locis haerebant; minimeque equestris ea pugnae facies erat, cum aegre diu stantes, simul equorum corporibus impellerentur, ac saepe vagi currus, exteriti sine rectoribus equi, ut quemque formido tulerat, transversos aut obvios incursabant.

XXXVII. Et Britanni, qui adhuc pugnae expertes summa collium insederant, et paucitatem nostrorum vacui spernebant, degredi paulatim et circumire terga vincentium coeperant; ni id ipsum veritus Agricola quattuor equitum alas, ad subita belli retentas, venientibus opposuisset, quantoque ferocius accurrerant, tanto acrius pulsos in fugam disjecisset. Ita consilium Britannorum in ipsos versum; transvectaeque praeepto ducis a fronte pugnantium alae, aversam hostium aciem invasere. Tum vero patentibus locis grande et atrox spectaculum: sequi, vulnerare, capere, atque eosdem, oblatis aliis, trucidare. Jam hostium, prout cuique ingenium erat, catervae armorum paucioribus terga praestare, quidam inermes ultro ruere, ac se morti offerre. Passim arma et corpora et laceri artus et cruenta humus. Est aliquando etiam victis ira virtusque: postquam silvis appropinquarent, collecti primos sequentium, incautos et locorum ignaros, circum-

veniebant. Quodni frequens ubique Agricola validas et expeditas cohortes, indaginis modo, et, sicubi arctiora erant, partem equitum, dimissis equis, simul rariores silvas equitem persultare jussisset, acceptum aliquod vulnus per nimiam fiduciam foret. Ceterum, ubi compositos firmis ordinibus sequi rursus videre, in fugam versi, non agminibus ut prius, nec alius alium respectantes, rari et vitabundi invicem longinqua atque avia petiere. Finis sequendi nox et satietas fuit. Cæsa hostium ad decem millia: nostrorum trecenti sexaginta cecidere, in quis Aulus Atticus, præfectus cohortis, juvenili ardore et ferocia equi hostibus illatus.

XXXVIII. Et nox quidem gaudio prædaque læta victoribus: Britanni palantes, mixtoque virorum mulierumque ploratu, trahere vulneratos, vocare integros, deserere domos ac per iram ultro incendere; eligere latebras et statim relinquere; miscere invicem consilia aliqua, dein separare; aliquando frangi aspectu pignorum suorum, sæpius concitari: satisque constabat, sævisse quosdam in conjuges ac liberos, tamquam misererentur. Proximus dies faciem victoriæ latius aperuit: vastum ubique silentium, secreti colles, fumantia procul tecta, nemo exploratoribus obvius: quibus in omnem partem dimissis, ubi incerta fugæ vestigia neque usquam conglobari hostes compertum, et exacta jam æstate spargi bellum nequibat, in fines Horestorum exercitum deducit. Ibi acceptis obsidibus, præfecto classis *circumvehi Britanniam* præcepit: datæ ad id vires, et præcesserat terror: ipse peditem atque equites lento itinere, quo novarum gentium animi ipsa transitus mora terrerentur, in hibernis locavit. Et simul classis secunda tempestate ac fama Trutulensem portum tenuit, unde proximo latere Britannia lecto omni redierat.

XXXIX. Hunc rerum cursum, quamquam nulla verborum jactantia epistolis Agricolaë auctum, ut Domitiano

moris erat, fronte lætus, pectore anxius exceptit. Inerat conscientia, derisui fuisse nuper falsum e Germania triumphum, emtis per commercia, quorum habitus et crines in captivorum speciem formarentur: at nunc veram magnamque victoriam, tot millibus hostium cæsis, ingenti fama celebrari. Id sibi maxime formidolosum, privati hominis nomen supra principis attolli: frustra studia fori et civilium artium decus in silentium acta, si militarem gloriam alius occuparet: et cetera utcunq̄ue facilius dissimulari, ducis boni imperatoriam virtutem esse. Talibus curis exercitus, quodque sævæ cogitationis indicium erat, secreto suo satiatus, optimum in præsentia statuit reponere odium, donec impetus famæ et favor exercitus languesceret: nam etiam tum Agricola Britanniam obtinebat.

XL. Igitur *triumphalia ornamenta et illustris statuæ honorem et quidquid pro triumpho datur*, multo verborum honore cumulata, decerni in senatu jubet: additque insuper opinionem, Syriam provinciam Agricolæ destinari, vacuam tum morte Atilii Rufi, consularis, et majoribus reservatam. Crediderè plerique, libertum ex secretioribus ministeriis missum ad Agricolam, codicillos, quibus ei Syria dabatur, tulisse, cum præcepto, ut, si in Britannia foret, traderentur; eumque libertum in ipso freto oceani obvium Agricolæ, ne appellato quidem eo, ad Domitianum remeasse; sive verum istud, sive ex ingenio principis fictum ac compositum est. Tradiderat interim Agricola successori suæ provinciam quietam tutamque. Ac, ne notabilis celebritate et frequentia occurrentium introitus esset, vitato amicorum officio, noctu in urbem, noctu in palatium, ita ut præceptum erat, venit: exceptusque brevi osculo, et nullo sermone, turbæ servientium immixtus est. Ceterum, ut militare nomen, grave inter otiosos, aliis virtutibus temperaret, tranquillitatem atque otium penitus auxit, cultu modicus, sermone facilis, uno aut altero amicorum comitatus: adeo ut plerique, quibus magnos viros per

ambitionem æstimare mos est, viso aspectoque Agricola quærerent famam pauci interpretarentur.

·XLI. Crebro per eos dies apud Domitianum absens accusatus, absens absolutus est : causa periculi non crimen ullum, aut querela læsi cujusquam, sed infensus virtutibus princeps, et gloria viri, ac pessimum inimicorum genus, laudantes. Et ea insecuta sunt reipublicæ tempora, quæ sileri Agricolam non sinerent; tot exercitus in Mœsia Daciaque, Germania et Pannonia, temeritate aut per ignaviam ducum amissi : tot militares viri cum tot cohortibus expugnati et capti; nec jam de limite imperii et ripa, sed de hibernis legionum et possessione dubitatum. Ita, cum damna damnis continuarentur, atque omnis annus funeribus et cladibus insigniretur, poscebatur ore vulgi dux Agricola : comparantibus cunctis vigorem, constantiam, et expertum bellis animum cum inertia et formidine reorum. Quibus sermonibus satis constat Domitiani quoque aures verberatas, dum optimus quisque libertorum amore et fide, pessimi malignitate et livore, pronum deterioribus principem exstimulabant. Sic Agricola simul suis virtutibus, simul vitiis aliorum, in ipsam gloriam præceps agebatur.

XLII. Aderat jam annus, quo proconsulatum Asiæ et Africæ sortiretur; et occiso Civica nuper, nec Agricolæ consilium deerat, nec Domitiano exemplum. Accessere quidam cogitationum principis periti, qui, iturusne esset in provinciam, ultro Agricolam interrogarent: ac primo occultius quietem et otium laudare, mox operam suam in approbanda excusatione offerre: postremo non jam obscuri, suadentes simul terrentesque, pertraxere ad Domitianum. Qui paratus simulatione, in arrogantiam compositus, et audiit preces excusantis, et, cum adnuisset, agi sibi gratias passus est: nec erubuit beneficii invidia. Salarium tamen, proconsulari solitum offerri, et quibusdam a se ipso concessum, Agricolæ non dedit: sive offensus non

petitur, sive ex conscientia, ne, quod vetuerat, videretur emisse. Proprium humani ingenii est, odisse quem læseris: Domitiani vero natura præceps in iram, et, quo obscurior, eo irrevocabilior, moderatione tamen prudentiaque Agricolaë leniebatur: quia non contumacia neque inani jactatione libertatis, famam fatumque provocabat. Sciant, quibus moris est, illicita mirari, posse etiam sub malis principibus magnos viros esse: obsequiumque ac modestiam, si industria ac vigor adsint, eo laudis excedere, quo plerique per abrupta, sed in nullum reipublicæ usum, ambitiosa morte inclaruerunt.

XLIII. Finis vitæ ejus nobis luctuosus, amicis tristis, extraneis etiam ignotisque non sine cura fuit. Vulgus quoque, et hic aliud agens populus, et ventitavere ad domum, et per fora et circulos locuti sunt: nec quisquam, audita morte Agricolaë, aut lætatus est aut statim oblitus est. Augebat miserationem constans rumor, *veneno interceptum*. Nobis nihil comperti affirmare ausim: ceterum per omnem valetudinem ejus, crebrius quam ex more principatus per nuntios visentis, et libertorum primi et medicorum intimi venere; sive cura illud, sive inquisitio erat. Supremo quidem die, momenta deficientis per dispositos cursores nuntiata constabat, nullo credente, sic accelerari quæ tristis audiret. Speciem tamen doloris animo vultuque præ se tulit, securus jam odii, et qui facilius dissimularet gaudium quam metum. Satis constabat, lecto testamento Agricolaë, quo coheredem optimæ uxori et piissimæ filiæ Domitianum scripsit, lætatum eum velut honore judicioque: tam cæca et corrupta mens assiduis adulationibus erat, ut nesciret a bono patre non scribi heredem nisi malum principem.

XLIV. Natus erat Agricola Caio Cæsare primum Consule Idibus Juniis: excessit sexto et quinquagesimo anno, decimo Kalendas Septembris Collega Priscoque consulibus. Quodsi habitum quoque ejus posterius noscere

velint; decentior quam sublimior fuit: nihil metus in vultu; gratia oris supererat: bonum virum facile crederes, magnum libenter. Et ipse quidem, quamquam medio in spatio integræ ætatis ereptus, quantum ad gloriam longissimum ævum peregit. Quippe et vera bona, quæ in virtutibus sita sunt, impleverat, et consularibus ac triumphalibus ornamentis prædito, quid aliud adstruere fortuna poterat? Opibus nimis non gaudebat; speciosæ contigerant: filia atque uxore superstitibus, potest videri etiam beatus, incolumi dignitate, florente fama, salvis affinitatibus et amicitis, futura effugisse. Nam, sicuti durare in hac beatissimi sæculi luce, ac principem Trajanum videre, augurio votisque apud nostras aures ominabatur, ita festinatæ mortis grande solatium tulit, evasisse postremum illud tempus, quo Domitianus, non jam per intervalla ac spiramenta temporum, sed continuo et velut uno ictu, rempublicam exhausit.

XLV. Non vidit Agricola obsessam curiam, et clausum armis senatum, et eadem strage tot consularium cædes tot nobilissimarum feminarum exsilia et fugas. Una adhuc victoria Carus Metius censebatur, et intra Albanam arcem sententia Messalini strepebat, et Massa Bebius jactum reus erat. Mox nostræ duxere Helvidium in carcerem manus: nos Maurici Rusticique visus, nos innocentis sanguine Senecio perfudit. Nero tamen subtraxit oculos, jussitque scelera, non spectavit: præcipua sub Domitiano miseriarum pars erat, videre et adspici, cum suspiria nostra subscriberentur, cum denotandis tot hominum palloribus sufficeret sævus ille vultus et rubor, quo se contra pudorem muniebat. Tu vero felix, Agricola, non vitæ tantum claritate, sed etiam opportunitate mortis. Ut perhibent, qui interfuerunt novissimis sermonibus tuis, constans et libens fatum excepisti; tamquam pro virili portione innocentiam principi donares. Sed mihi filiæque, præter acerbitatem parentis erepti, auget mœstitiam, quod assi-

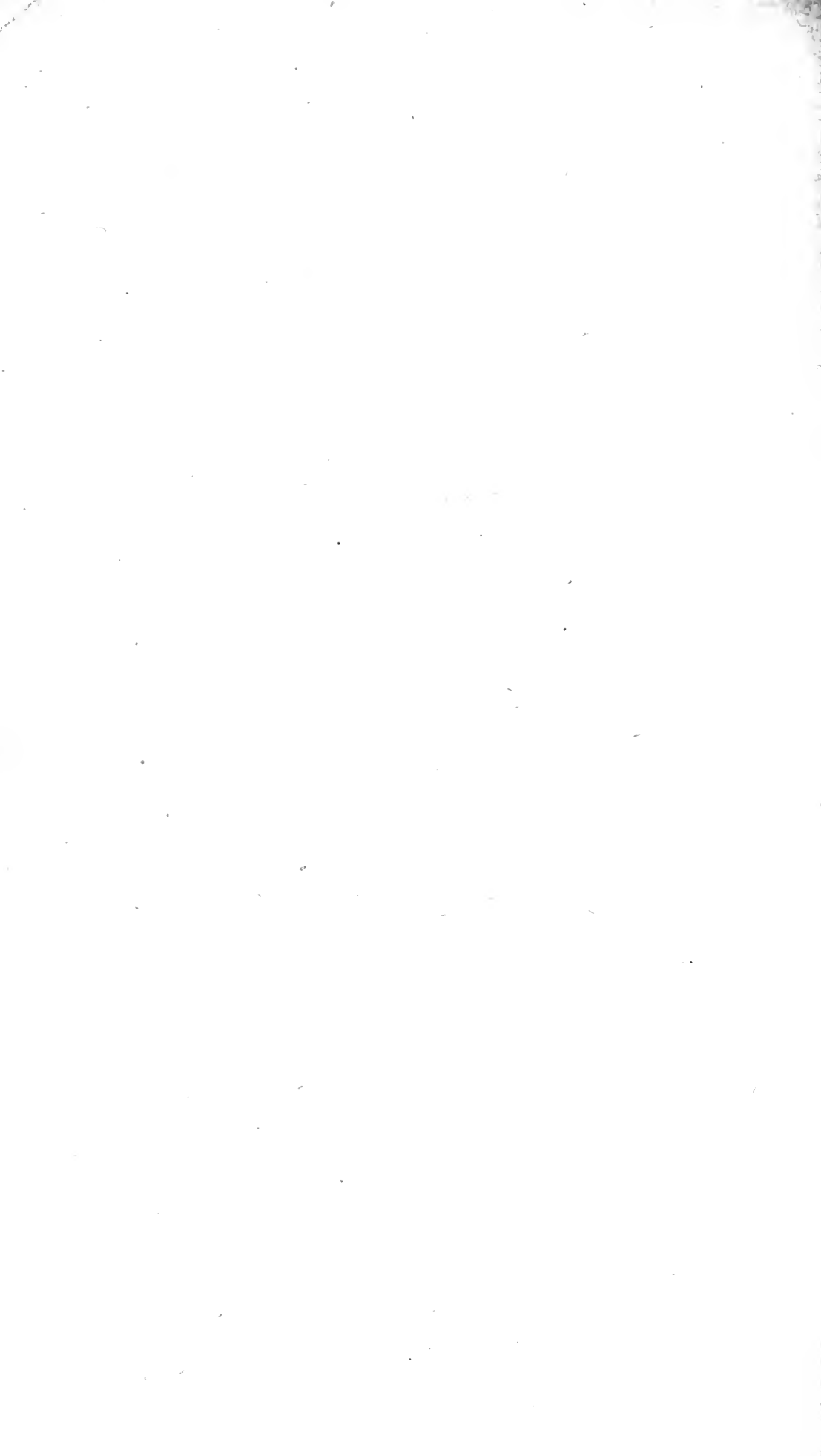
dere valetudini, fovere deficientem, satiari vultu, complexu, non contigit. Excepissemus certe mandata vocesque, quas penitus animo figeremus. Noster hic dolor, nostrum vulnus; nobis tam longæ absentiae conditione ante quadriennium amissus es. Omnia sine dubio, optime parentum, assidente amantissima uxore, superfuere honori tuo: paucioribus tamen lacrimis compositus es, et novissima in luce desideravere aliquid oculi tui.

XLVI. Si quis piorum manibus locus, si, ut sapientibus placet, non cum corpore extinguuntur magnæ animæ, placide quiescas, nosque, domum tuam, ab infirmo desiderio et muliebribus lamentis ad contemplationem virtutum tuarum voces, quas neque lugeri neque plangi fas est: admiratione te potius, et immortalibus laudibus, et, si natura suppeditet, æmulatu decoremus. Is verus honos, ea conjunctissimi cujusque pietas. Id filiæ quoque uxori que præceperim, sic patris, sic mariti memoriam venerari, ut omnia facta dictaque ejus secum revolvant, famamque ac figuram animi magis quam corporis complectantur: non quia intercedendum putem imaginibus, quæ marmore aut ære finguntur; sed ut vultus hominum, ita simulacra vultus imbecilla ac mortalia sunt, forma mentis æterna; quam tenere et exprimere, non per alienam materiam et artem, sed tuis ipse moribus possis. Quidquid ex Agricola amavimus, quidquid mirati sumus, manet mansurumque est in animis hominum, in æternitate temporum, fama rerum. Nam multos veterum, velut inglorios et ignobiles, oblivio obruet: Agricola, posteritati narratus et traditus, superstes erit.

C. CORNELII TACITI

ANNALIUM

LIBER PRIMUS.



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ANNALIUM

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SUMMARY OF BOOK I.

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These events embrace a period of nearly two years.

A.U.C.	A.D.	Consuls.
DCCLXVII.	14.	Sextus Pompeius. } Sextus Appuleius. }
DCCLXVIII.	15.	Drusus Cæsar. } C. Norbanus Flaccus. }

I. URBEM Romam a principio reges habuere. Libertatem et consulatum L. Brutus instituit. Dictaturæ ad tempus sumebantur: neque decemviralis potestas ultra biennium, neque tribunorum militum consulare jus diu valuit. Non Cinnæ, non Sullæ longa dominatio; et Pompeii Crassique potentia cito in Cæsarem, Lepidi atque Antonii arma in Augustum cessere; qui cuncta discordiis civilibus fessa nomine *principis* sub imperium accepit. Sed veteris populi Romani prospera vel adversa claris scriptoribus memorata sunt; temporibusque Augusti dicendis non defuere decora ingenia, donec gliscente adulatione deterrerentur. Tiberii Caiique et Claudii ac Neronis res, florentibus ipsis, ob metum falsæ; postquam occiderant, recentibus odiis compositæ sunt. Inde consilium mihi pauca de Augusto et extrema tradere, mox Tiberii principatum et cetera, sine ira et studio, quorum causas procul habeo.

II. Postquam, Bruto et Cassio cæsis, nulla jam publica arma, Pompeius apud Siciliam oppressus, exutoque Lepido, interfecto Antonio, ne Julianis quidem partibus nisi Cæsar dux reliquus, posito triumviri nomine, consulem se ferens, et ad tuendam plebem tribunicio jure contentum; ubi militem donis, populum annona, cunctos dulcedine otii pellexit, insurgere paulatim, munia senatus, magistratum, legum in se trahere, nullo adversante; cum ferocissimi per acies aut proscriptione cecidissent, ceteri nobil-

ium, quanto quis servitio promptior, opibus et honoribus extollerentur, ac novis ex rebus aucti tuta et præsentia quam vetera et periculosa mallent. Neque provinciæ illum rerum statum abnuebant, suspecto senatus populique imperio ob certamina potentium et avaritiam magistratum; invalido legum auxilio, quæ vi, ambitu, postremo pecunia turbabantur.

III. Ceterum Augustus, subsidia dominationi, Claudium Marcellum, sororis filium, admodum adolescentem, pontificatu et curuli ædilitate; Marcum Agrippam, ignobilem loco, bonum militia et victoriæ socium, geminatis consulatibus extulit, mox, defuncto Marcello, generum sumsit; Tiberium Neronem et Claudium Drusum, privignos, imperatoriis nominibus auxit, integra etiam tum domo sua. Nam genitos Agrippa, Caium ac Lucium, in familiam Cæsarum induxerat; necdum posita puerili prætexta, *principes juventutis* appellari, destinari consules, specie recusantis flagrantissime cupiverat. Ut Agrippa vita concessit, Lucium Cæsarem euntem ad Hispanienses exercitus, Caium remeantem Armenia et vulnere invalidum mors fato propera vel novercæ Liviæ dolus abstulit; Drusoque pridem extincto, Nero solus e privignis erat, illuc cuncta vergere: filius, collega imperii, consors tribunicia potestatis assumitur, omnisque per exercitus ostentatur; non obscuris, ut antea, matris artibus, sed palam hortatu. Nam senem Augustum devinxerat adeo, uti nepotem unicum, Agrippam Postumum, in insulam Planasiam projiceret, rudem sane bonarum artium et robore corporis stolide ferocem, nullius tamen flagitii compertum. At hercule Germanicum, Druso ortum, octo apud Rhenum legionibus imposuit, adscirique per adoptionem a Tiberio jussit; quamquam esset in domo Tiberii filius juvenis; sed quo pluribus munimentis insisteret. Bellum ea tempestate nullum, nisi adversus Germanos, supererat; abolendæ magis infamiæ ob amissum cum Quinctilio Varo

exercitum, quam cupidine proferendi imperii aut dignum ob præmium. Domi res tranquillæ; eadem magistratum vocabula: juniores post Actiacam victoriam, etiam senes plerique inter bella civium nati: quotusquisque reliquus qui rem publicam vidisset?

IV. Igitur, verso civitatis statu, nihil usquam prisci et integri moris: omnes, exuta æqualitate, jussa principis aspectare; nulla in præsens formidine, dum Augustus ætate validus seque et domum et pacem sustentavit. Postquam provecta jam senectus ægro et corpore fatigabatur, aderatque finis et spes novæ, pauci bona libertatis incassum disserere, plures bellum pavescere, alii cupere: pars multo maxima imminentes dominos variis rumoribus differebant: *trucem Agrippam et ignominia accensum non ætate neque rerum experientia tantæ moli parem: Tiberium Neronem maturum annis, spectatum bello, sed vetere atque insita Claudiæ familiæ superbia; multa que indicia sævitæ, quamquam premantur, erumpere. Hunc et prima ab infantia eductum in domo regnatricis; congestos juveni consularis, triumphos; ne iis quidem annis, quibus Rhodi specie secessus exsulem egerit, aliquid quam iram et simulationem et secretas libidines meditatum. Accedere matrem muliebri impotentia: serviendum feminæ, duobusque insuper adolescentibus, qui rem publicam interim premant, quandoque distrahant.*

V. Hæc atque talia agitantibus gravescere valetudo Augusti; et quidam scelus uxoris suspectabant. Quippe rumor incesserat, paucos ante menses Augustum, electis consociis et comite uno, Fabio Maximo, Planasiam vectum ad visendum Agrippam; multas illic utrimque lacrimas et signa caritatis, spemque ex eo fore ut juvenis penatibus avi redderetur: quod Maximum uxori Marcie aperuisse, illam Livie: gnarum id Cæsari: neque multo post extincto Maximo (dubium an quæsitâ morte), auditos in funere ejus Marcie gemitus semet incusantis, *quod causa*

exitii marito fuisset. Utcumque se ea res habuit, vixdum ingressus Illyricum Tiberius properis matris literis accitur: neque satis compertum est, spirantem adhuc Augustum apud urbem Nolam an exanimem reppererit: acribus namque custodiis domum et vias seperat Livia; lætique interdum nuntii vulgabantur, donec provisus quæ tempus monebat, simul excessisse Augustum et rerum potiri Nerone fama eadem tulit.

VI. Primum facinus novi principatus fuit Postumi Agrippæ cædes, quem ignarum inermumque, quamvis firmatus animo, centurio ægre confecit. Nihil de ea re Tiberius apud senatum disseruit: patris jussa simulabat, quibus præscripsisset tribuno custodiæ appposito, *ne cunctaretur Agrippam morte afficere, quandoque ipse supremum diem explevisset.* Multa sine dubio sævaque Augustus de moribus adolescentis questus, ut exsilium ejus senatus-consulto sanciretur perfecerat: ceterum in nullius unquam suorum necem duravit, neque mortem nepoti pro securitate privigni illatam credibile erat: propius vero, Tiberium ac Liviam, illum metu, hanc novercalibus odiis, suspecti et invisi juvenis cædem festinavisse. Nuntianti centurioni, ut mos militiæ, *factum esse, quod imperasset, neque imperasse sese et rationem facti reddendam apud senatum,* respondit. Quod postquam Sallustius Crispus particeps secretorum (is ad tribunum miserat codicillos) comperit, metuens ne reus subderetur, juxta periculoso, ficta seu vera promeret, monuit Liviam, *ne arcana domus, ne consilia amicorum, ministeria militum vulgarentur: neve Tiberius vim principatus resolverit cuncta ad senatum vocando: eam conditionem esse imperandi, ut non aliter ratio constet quam si uni reddatur.*

VII. At Romæ ruere in servitium consules, patres, eques: quanto quis illustrior, tanto magis falsi ac festinantes, vultuque composito, ne læti excessu principis, neutrius primordio, lacrimas, gaudium, questus, adula-

tionem miscebant. Sextus Pompeius et Sextus Appuleius Consules primi in verba Tiberii Cæsaris juravere: apudque eos Seius Strabo et Caius Turranius, ille prætoriarum cohortium præfectus, hic annonæ: mox senatus, milesque et populus. Nam Tiberius cuncta per consules incipiebat, tamquam vetere re publica et ambiguus imperandi. Ne edictum quidem, quo patres in curiam vocabat, nisi tribuniciaë potestatis præscriptione posuit sub Augusto acceptæ: verba edicti fuere pauca et sensu permodesto: *de honoribus parentis consulturum; neque abscedere a corpore; idque unum ex publicis muneribus usurpare.* Sed defuncto Augusto signum prætoriiis cohortibus ut imperator dederat; excubiæ, arma, cetera aulæ; miles in forum, miles in curiam comitabatur: literas ad exercitus tamquam adepti principatu misit, nusquam cunctabundus, nisi cum in senatu loqueretur. Causa præcipua ex formidine, ne Germanicus, in cujus manu tot legiones, immensa sociorum auxilia, mirus apud populum favor, habere imperium quam exspectare mallet. Dabat et famæ, ut vocatus electusque potius a re publica videretur, quam per uxorium ambitum et senili adoptione irrepsisse. Postea cognitum est, ad introspectiendas etiam procerum voluntates inductam dubitationem: nam verba, vultus, in crimen detorquens, recondebat.

VIII. Nihil primo senatus die agi passus nisi de supremis Augusti; cujus testamentum, illatum per virgines Vestæ, Tiberium et Liviam heredes habuit. Livia in familiam Juliam nomenque Augustæ assumebatur, in spem secundam, nepotes pronepotesque; tertio gradu primores civitatis scripserat, plerosque invisos sibi, sed jactantia gloriaque ad posteros. Legata non ultra civilem modum, nisi quod populo et plebi quadringenties tricies quinquies, prætoriarum cohortium militibus singula nummum millia, legionariis trecenos, cohortibus civium Romanorum quingenos nummos viritim dedit. Tum consulta-

tum de honoribus ; ex quibus maxime insignes visi : *ut porta triumphali duceretur funus*, Gallus Asinius ; *ut legum latarum tituli, victarum ab eo gentium vocabula anteferrentur*, L. Arruntius censuere : addebat Messala Valerius, *renovandum per annos sacramentum in nomen Tiberii* : interrogatusque a Tiberio, *num se mandante eam sententiam promississet, sponte dixisse*, respondit, *neque in iis, quæ ad rem publicam pertinerent, consilio nisi suo usurum, vel cum periculo offensionis* : ea sola species adulandi supererat. Conclamant patres, *corpus ad rogum humeris senatorum ferendum*. Remisit Cæsar arroganti moderatione ; populumque edicto monuit, *ne, ut quondam nimis studiis funus divi Julii turbassent, ita Augustum in foro potius quam in campo Martis, sede destinata, cremari vellent*. Die funeris milites velut præsidio steterè, multum iridentibus qui ipsi viderant quique a parentibus acceperant diem illum crudi adhuc servitii et libertatis improspere repetitæ, cum occisus dictator Cæsar aliis pessimum, aliis pulcherrimum facinus videretur : nunc senem principem, longa potentia, provisus etiam heredum in rem publicam opibus, auxilio scilicet militari tuendum, ut sepultura ejus quieta foret.

IX. Multus hinc ipso de Augusto sermo, plerisque vana mirantibus : *quod idem dies accepti quondam imperii princeps et vitæ supremus ; quod Nolæ in domo et cubiculo, in quo pater ejus Octavius, vitam finivisset : numerus etiam consulatum celebrabatur, quo Valerium Corvum et C. Marium simul æquaverat ; continuata per septem et triginta annos tribunicia potestas ; nomen imperatoris semel atque vicies partum ; aliaque honorum multiplicata aut nova*. At apud prudentes vita ejus varie extollebatur arguebaturve. Hi, *pietate erga parentem et necessitudine rei publicæ, in qua nullus tunc legibus locus, ad arma civilia actum, quæ neque parari possent neque haberi per bonas artes : multa Antonio, dum interfectores patris ulcisceretur, multa Lepido concessisse : postquam hic socordia senuerit,*

ille per libidines pessum datus sit, non aliud discordantis patriæ remedium fuisse quam ut ab uno regeretur. Non regno tamen neque dictatura, sed principis nomine constitutam rem publicam: mari oceano aut omnibus longinquis septum imperium: legiones, provincias, classes, cuncta inter se connexa: jus apud cives, modestiam apud socios: urbem ipsam magnifico ornatu; pauca admodum vi tractata, quo ceteris quies esset.

X. Dicebatur contra, pietatem erga parentem et tempora rei publicæ obtentui sumta: ceterum cupidine dominandi concitos per largitionem veteranos, paratum ab adolescente privato exercitum, corruptas consulis legiones, simulatam Pompeianarum gratiam partium; mox ubi decreto patrum fasces et jus prætoris invaserit, cæsis Hirtio et Pansa (sive hostis illos, seu Pansam venenum vulneri affusum, sui milites Hirtium et machinator doli Cæsar abstulerat), utriusque copias occupavisse: extortum invito senatu consulatum, armaque quæ in Antonium acceperit, contra rem publicam versa; proscriptionem civium, divisiones agrorum, ne ipsis quidem qui fecere laudatas.) Sane Cassii et Brutorum exitus paternis inimiciis datos (quamquam fas sit privata odia publicis utilitatibus remittere); sed Pompeium imagine pacis, sed Lepidum specie amicitiae deceptos: post Antonium, Tarentino Brundisinoque fœdere et nuptiis sororis illectum, subdolæ affinitatis pœnas morte exsolvisse. Pacem sine dubio post hæc, verum cruentam: Lollianas, Varianasque clades; interfectos Romæ Varrones, Egnatios, Iulos. Nec domesticis abstinebatur. Abducta Neroni uxor, et consulti per ludibrium pontifices, an concepto necdum edito partu rite nuberet: Q. Tedi et Vedii Pollionis luxus: postremo Livia, gravis in rem publicam mater, gravis domui Cæsarum noverca. Nihil deorum honoribus relictum, cum se templis et effigie numinum per flamines et sacerdotes coli vellet. Ne Tiberium quidem caritate aut rei publicæ cura successorem ascitum: sed quoniam arrogantiam sævitiam-

que ejus introspexerit, comparatione deterrima sibi gloriam quæsivisse. Etenim Augustus, paucis ante annis, cum Tiberio tribuniciam potestatem a patribus rursum postularet, quamquam honora oratione, quædam de habitu cultuque et institutis ejus jecerat, quæ velut excusando exprobraret.

XI. Ceterum, sepultura more perfecta, templum et cælestes religiones decernuntur. Versæ inde ad Tiberium preces. Et ille varie disserebat, de magnitudine imperii, sua modestia; *solam divi Augusti mentem tantæ molis capacem; se in partem curarum ab illo vocatum experiendo didicisse, quam arduum, quam subjectum fortunæ regendi cuncta onus; proinde in civitate tot illustribus viris subnixæ non ad unum omnia deferrent: plures facilius munia rei publicæ sociatis laboribus exsecuturos.* Plus in oratione tali dignitatis quam fidei erat: Tiberioque etiam in rebus, quas non occuleret, seu natura sive assuetudine, suspensa semper et obscura verba; tunc vero nitenti ut sensus suos penitus abderet, in incertum et ambiguum magis implicabantur. At patres, quibus unus metus, si intelligere viderentur, in questus, lacrimas, vota effundi; ad deos, ad effigiem Augusti, ad genua ipsius manus tendere, cum proferri libellum recitarique jussit. Opes publicæ continebantur: quantum civium sociorumque in armis, quot classes, regna, provinciæ, tributa aut vectigalia, et necessitates ac largitiones: quæ cuncta sua manu perscripserat Augustus, addideratque consilium coercendi intra terminos imperii, incertum metu an per invidiam.

XII. Inter quæ senatu ad infimas obtestationes procumbente, dixit forte Tiberius *se, ut non toti rei publicæ parem, ita, quæcumque pars sibi mandaretur, ejus tutelam suscepturum.* Tum Asinius Gallus, *Interrogo, inquit, Cæsar, quam partem rei publicæ mandari tibi velis.* Perculsus improvisa interrogatione, paulum reticuit: dein collecto animo respondit, *nequaquam decorum pudori suo legere ali-*

quid aut evitare ex eo, cui in universum excusari mallet. Rursum Gallus (etenim vultu offensionem conjectaverat); *non idcirco interrogatum, ait, ut divideret quæ separari nequirent, sed ut sua confessione argueretur unum esse rei publicæ corpus atque unius animo regendum*: addidit laudem de Augusto, Tiberiumque ipsum victoriarum suarum, quæque in toga per tot annos egregie fecisset, admonuit. Nec ideo iram ejus lenivit, pridem invisus, tamquam ducta in matrimonium Vipsania M. Agrippæ filia, quæ quondam Tiberii uxor fuerat, plus quam civilia agitaret, Polionisque Asinii patris ferociam retineret.

XIII. Post quæ L. Arruntius, haud multum discrepans a Galli oratione, perinde offendit, quamquam Tiberio nulla vetus in Arruntium ira; sed divitem, promptum, artibus egregiis et pari fama publice, suspectabat. Quippe Augustus, supremis sermonibus cum tractaret, quinam adipisci principem locum suffecturi abnuerent, aut impares vellent, vel iidem possent cuperentque, *M. Lepidum dixerat capacem sed aspernantem; Gallum Asinium avidum et minorem, L. Arruntium non indignum, et, si casus daretur, ausurum.* De prioribus consentitur: pro Arruntio quidam Cn. Pisonem tradidere; omnesque præter Lepidum variis mox criminibus struente Tiberio circumventi sunt. Etiam Q. Haterius et Mamercus Scaurus suspicissem animum perstrinxere; Haterius, cum dixisset, *Quousque patieris, Cæsar, non adesse caput rei publicæ?* Scaurus, quia dixerat, *spem esse ex eo, non irritas fore senatus preces, quod relationi consulum jure tribunicia potestatis non intercessisset.* In Haterium statim invectus est; Scaurum, cui implacabilius irascebatur, silentio transmisit: fessusque clamore omnium, expostulatione singulorum, flexit paulatim, non ut fateretur suscipi a se imperium, sed ut negare et rogari desineret. Constat Haterium, cum deprecandi causa palatium introisset, ambulantisque Tiberii genua advolveretur, prope a militibus interfectum, quia

Tiberius, casu an manibus ejus impeditus, prociderat: neque tamen periculo talis viri mitigatus est, donec Haterius Augustam oraret, ejusque curatissimis precibus protegeretur.

XIV. Multa patrum et in Augustam adulatio. Alii *parentem*, alii *matrem patriæ appellandam*; plerique, *ut nomini Cæsaris ascriberetur Juliæ filius* censebant: ille *moderandos feminarum honores dictitans, eademque se temperantia usurum in iis, quæ sibi tribuerentur*; ceterum anxius invidia, et muliebri fastigium in deminutionem sui accipiens, ne lictorem quidem ei decerni passus est, aramque adoptionis et alia hujusmodi prohibuit. At Germanico Cæsari proconsulare imperium petivit, missique legati qui deferrent, simul mœstitiam ejus ob excessum Augusti solarentur: quo minus idem pro Druso postularetur, ea causa, quod designatus consul Drusus præsensque erat. Candidatos præturæ duodecim nominavit, numerum ab Augusto traditum: et, hortante senatu ut augeret, jurejurando obstrinxit se non excessurum.

XV. Tum primum e campo comitia ad patres translata sunt: nam ad eam diem, etsi potissima arbitrio principis, quædam tamen studiis tribuum fiebant: neque populus ademptum jus questus est nisi inani rumore; et senatus, largitionibus ac precibus sordidis exsolutus, libens tenuit, moderante Tiberio ne plures quam quatuor candidatos commendaret sine repulsa et ambitu designandos. Inter quæ Tribuni plebei petivere ut proprio sumtu ederent ludos, qui de nomine Augusti, fastis additi, Augustales vocarentur: sed decreta pecunia ex ærario, utque per circum triumphali veste uterentur: curru vehi haud permissum: mox celebratio annua ad prætorem translata, cui inter cives et peregrinos jurisdictio evenisset.

XVI. Hic rerum urbanarum status erat, cum Pannonicas legiones seditio incessit, nullis novis causis, nisi quod mutatus princeps licentiam turbarum et ex civili bello

spem præmiorum ostendebat. Castris æstivis tres simul legiones habebantur, præsidente Junio Blæso; qui fine Augusti et initiis Tiberii auditis ob justitium aut gaudium intermiserat solita munia. Eo principio lascivire miles, discordare, pessimi cujusque sermonibus præbere aures, denique luxum et otium cupere, disciplinam et laborem aspernari. Erat in castris Percennius quidam, dux olim theatralium operarum, dein gregarius miles, procax lingua et miscere cœtus histrionali studio doctus. Is imperitos animos, et quænam post Augustum militiæ conditio ambigentes, impellere paulatim nocturnis colloquiis, aut flexo in vesperam die et dilapsis melioribus deterrimum quemque congregare. Postremo, promptis jam et aliis seditionis ministris, velut contionabundus interrogabat :

XVII. *Cur paucis centurionibus, paucioribus tribunis, in modum servorum obedirent? quando ausuros exposcere remedia, nisi novum et nutantem adhuc principem precibus vel armis adirent? satis per tot annos ignavia peccatum, quod tricena aut quadragena stipendia senes, et plerique truncato ex vulneribus corpore, tolerent: ne dimissis quidem finem esse militiæ, sed apud vexillum retentos alio vocabulo eosdem labores perferre. Ac si quis tot casus vita superaverit, trahi adhuc diversas in terras, ubi per nomen agrorum uligines paludum vel inculta montium accipiant. Enimvero militiam ipsam gravem, infructuosam: denis in diem assibus animam et corpus æstimari: hinc vestem, arma, tentoria, hinc sævitiam centurionum et vacationes munerum redimi. At hercule verbera et vulnera, duram hiemem, exercitas æstates, bellum atrox aut sterilem pacem sempiterna: nec aliud levamentum quam si certis sub legibus militia iniretur, ut singulos denarios mererent, sextus decimus stipendii annus finem afferret; ne ultra sub vexillis tenerentur, sed iisdem in castris præmium pecunia solveretur. An prætorias cohortes, quæ binos denarios acceperint, quæ post sedecim annos penatibus suis reddantur, plus pericu-*

lorum suscipere? Non obtrectari a se urbanas excubias: sibi tamen apud horridas gentes e contuberniis hostem aspici.

XVIII. Adstrepebat vulgus, diversis incitamentis; hi verberum notas, illi canitiem, plurimi detrita tegmina et nudum corpus exprobrantes. Postremo eo furoris venere, ut tres legiones miscere in unam agitaverint: depulsi æmulatione, quia suæ quisque legioni eum honorem quærebant, alio vertunt, atque una tres aquilas et signa cohortium locant: simul congerunt cespites, exstruunt tribunal, quo magis conspicua sedes foret. | Properantibus Blæsus advenit, increpabatque ac retinebat singulos, clamitans: *Mea potius cæde imbuite manus; levioze flagitio legatum interficietis quam ab imperatore desciscitis; aut incolumis fidem legionum retinebo, aut jugulatus pœnitentiam accelerabo.*

XIX. Aggerebatur nihilominus cespes, jamque pectori usque accreverat, cum tandem pervicacia victi inceptum omisere. Blæsus, multa dicendi arte, *Non per seditionem et turbas desideria militum ad Cæsarem ferenda, ait: neque veteres ab imperatoribus priscis neque ipsos a divo Augusto tam nova petivisse; et parum in tempore incipientes principis curas onerari. Si tamen tenderent in pace tentare quæ ne civilium quidem bellorum victores expostulaverint, cur contra morem obsequii, contra fas disciplinæ vim meditentur? decernerent legatos, seque coram mandata darent. Acclamavere, ut filius Blæsi tribunus legatione ea fungeretur, peteretque militibus missionem ab sedecim annis: cetera mandatuos ubi prima provenissent.* Profecto juvene, modicum otium; sed superbire miles, quod filius legati orator publicæ causæ satis ostenderet necessitate expressa, quæ per modestiam non obtinuissent.

XX. Interea manipuli, ante cœptam seditionem Nauptum missi, ob itinera et pontes et alios usus, postquam turbatum in castris accepere, vexilla convellunt, direptis-

que proximis vicis ipsoque Nauporto, quod municipii instar erat, retinentes centuriones irrisu et contumeliis, postremo verberibus insectantur; præcipua in Aufdienum Rufum præfectum castrorum ira, quem dereptum vehiculo sarcinis gravant aguntque primo in agmine, per ludibrium rogitantes, *an tam immensa onera, tam longa itinera libenter ferret?* Quippe Rufus diu manipularis, dein centurio, mox castris præfectus, antiquam duramque militiam revocabat, intentus operis ac laboris, et eo immitior quia toleraverat.

XXI. Horum adventu redintegratur seditio, et vagi circumjecta populabantur. Blæsus paucos, maxime præda onustos, ad terrorem ceterorum affici verberibus, claudi carcere jubet: nam etiam tum legato a centurionibus et optimo quoque manipularium parebatur. Illi obniti trahentibus, prensare circumstantium genua, ciere modo nomina singulorum, modo centuriam quisque cujus manipularis erat, cohortem, legionem, *eadem omnibus imminere* clamitantes; simul probra in legatum cumulant, cælum ac deos obtestantur; nihil reliqui faciunt quo minus invidiam, misericordiam, metum et iras permoverent. Accurritur ab universis, et carcere effracto solvunt vincula, desertoresque ac rerum capitalium damnatos sibi jam miscent.

XXII. Flagrantior inde vis, plures seditioni duces: et Vibulenus quidam, gregarius miles, ante tribunal Blæsi allevatus circumstantium humeris, apud turbatos, et, quid pararet, intentos: *Vos quidem, inquit, his innocentibus et miserrimis lucem et spiritum reddidistis: sed quis fratri meo vitam, quis fratrem mihi reddit? quem missum ad vos a Germanico exercitu de communibus commodis nocte proxima jugulavit per gladiatores suos, quos in exitium militum habet atque armat. Responde, Blæse, ubi cadaver abjeceris? ne hostes quidem sepultura invident: cum osculis, cum lacrimis dolorem meum implevero, me quoque trucidari*

jube, dum interfectos nullum ob scelus, sed quia utilitati legionum consulebamus, hi sepeliant.

XXIII. Incendebat hæc fletu et pectus atque os manibus verberans: mox disjectis quorum per humeros sustinebatur, præceps et singulorum pedibus advolutus tantum consternationis invidiæque concivit, ut pars militum gladiatores, qui e servitio Blæsi erant, pars ceteram ejusdem familiam vincirent, alii ad quærendum corpus effunderentur: ac ni propere neque corpus ullum reperiri, et servos adhibitis cruciatibus abnuere cædem, neque illi fuisse unquam fratrem pernotuisset, haud multum ab exitio legati aberant. Tribunos tamen ac præfectum castrorum extrudere: sarcinæ fugientium direptæ: et centurio Lucilius interficitur, cui militaribus facetiis vocabulum *Cedo alteram* indiderant; quia, fracta vite in tergo militis, alteram clara voce ac rursus aliam poscebat. Ceteros latebræ texere, uno retento Clemente Julio, qui perferendis militum mandatis habebatur idoneus ob promptum ingenium. Quin ipsæ inter se legiones octava et quinta decuma ferrum parabant dum centurionem cognomento Sirpicum illa morti deposcit, quintadecumani tuentur, ni miles nonanus preces et adversum aspernantes minas interjecisset.

XXIV. Hæc audita quamquam abstrusum et tristissima quæque maxime occultantem Tiberium perpulere ut Drusum filium cum primoribus civitatis duabusque prætoriis cohortibus mitteret, nullis satis certis mandatis, ex re consulturum. Et cohortes delecto milite supra solitum firmatæ. Additur magna pars prætoriani equitis et robora Germanorum, qui tum custodes imperatori aderant: simul prætorii præfectus Ælius Sejanus, collega Straboni patri suo datus, magna apud Tiberium auctoritate, rector juveni, et ceteris periculorum præmiorumque ostentator. Druso propinquanti quasi per officium obviæ fuere legiones, non lætæ, ut assolet, neque insignibus fulgentes, sed

illuvie deformi et vultu, quamquam mœstitiam imitarentur, contumaciæ propiores.

XXV. Postquam vallum introiit, portas stationibus firmant, globos armatorum certis castrorum locis opperiri jubent: ceteri tribunal ingenti agmine circumveniunt. Stabat Drusus, silentium manu poscens: illi, quotiens oculos ad multitudinem retulerant, vocibus truculentis strepere; rursus, viso Cæsare, trepidare; murmur incertum, atrox clamor, et repente quies; diversis animorum motibus pavebant terrebantque. Tandem, interrupto tumultu, litteras patris recitat, in quibus perscriptum erat: *Præcipuam ipsi fortissimarum legionum curam, quibuscum plurima bella toleravisset; ubi primum a luctu requiesset animus, acturum apud patres de postulatis eorum; misisse interim filium ut sine cunctatione concederet, quæ statim tribui possent; cetera senatui servanda, quem neque gratiæ neque severitatis expertem haberi par esset.*

XXVI. Responsum est a concione *mandata Clementi centurioni, quæ perferret. Is orditur de missione a sedecim annis: de præmiis finitæ militiæ: ut denarius diurnum stipendium foret; ne veterani sub vexillo haberentur. Ad ea Drusus, cum arbitrium senatus et patris obtenderet, clamore turbatur: Cur venisset, neque augendis militum stipendiis, neque allevandis laboribus, denique nulla beneficiendi licentia? at hercule verbera et necem cunctis per-mitti. Tiberium olim nomine Augusti desideria legionum frustrari solitum: easdem artes Drusum retulisse: nunquamne nisi ad se filios familiarum venturos? novum id plane, quod imperator sola militis commoda ad senatum rejiciat: eundem ergo senatum consulendum, quotiens supplicia aut prælia indicantur; an præmia sub dominis, pœnas sine arbitro esse?*

XXVII. Postremo deserunt tribunal: ut quis prætorianorum militum amicorumve Cæsaris occurreret, manus intentantes, causam discordiæ et initium armorum; maxime

infensi Cn. Lentulo, quod is, ante alios ætate et gloria belli, firmare Drusum credebatur, et illa militiæ flagitia primus aspernari. Nec multo post, digredientem cum Cæsare, ac provisu periculi hiberna castra repetentem circumsistunt, rogantes, *quo pergeret? ad imperatorem an ad patres? ut illic quoque commodis legionum adversaretur?* Simul ingruunt, saxa jaciunt: jamque lapidis ictu cruentus, et exitii certus, accursu multitudinis, quæ cum Druso advenerat, protectus est.

XXVIII. Noctem minacem et in scelus erupturam fors lenivit; nam luna claro repente cælo visa languescere. Id miles, rationis ignarus, omen præsentium accipiebat, suis laboribus defectionem sideris assimilans, *prospereque cesura quæ pergerent, si fulgor et claritudo deæ redderetur:* igitur æris sono, tubarum cornuumque concentu strepere; prout splendidior obscuriorve, lætari aut mœrere; et postquam ortæ nubes offecere visui creditumque conditam tenebris, ut sunt mobiles ad superstitionem percussæ semel mentes, *sibi æternum laborem portendi, sua facinora aversari deos* lamentantur. Utendum inclinatione ea Cæsar, et quæ casus obtulerat in sapientiam vertenda ratus, circumiri tentoria jubet. Accitur centurio Clemens, et si alii bonis artibus grati in vulgus: ii vigiliis, stationibus, custodiis portarum se inserunt, spem offerunt, metum intendunt. *Quousque filium imperatoris obsidebimus? quis certaminum finis? Percennione et Vibuleno sacramentum dicturi sumus? Percennius et Vibulenus stipendia militibus, agros emeritis largientur? denique pro Neronibus et Drusis imperium populi Romani capessent? quin potius, ut novissimi in culpam, ita primi ad pœnitentiam sumus? Tarda sunt quæ in commune expostulantur: privatam gratiam statim mereare, statim recipias.* Comotis per hæc mentibus et inter se suspectis, tironem a veterano, legionem a legione dissociant. Tum redire paulatim amor obsequii: omittunt portas, signa unum

in locum principio seditionis congregata suas in sedes referunt.

XXIX. Drusus, orto die et vocata concione, quamquam rudis dicendi nobilitate ingenita incusat priora, probat præsentia: negat *se terrore et minis vinci: flexos ad modestiam si videat, si supplices audiat, scripturum patri, ut placatus legionum preces exciperet: orantibus, rursum idem Blæsus et L. Apronius, eques Romanus e cohorte Drusi, Justusque Catonius, primi ordinis centurio, ad Tiberium mittuntur. Certatum inde sententiis, cum alii, opperandos legatos atque interim comitate permulcendum militem, censerent; alii, fortioribus remediis agendum: nihil in vulgo modicum; terrere, ni paveant; ubi pertimuerint, impune contemni; dum superstitio urgeat, adjiciendos ex duce metus, sublatis seditionis auctoribus.* Promptum ad asperiora ingenium Druso erat: vocatos Vibulenum et Percennium interfici jubet. Tradunt plerique intra tabernaculum ducis obrutos; alii corpora extra vallum abjecta ostentui.

XXX. Tum, ut quisque præcipuus turbator, conquisiti; et pars, extra castra palantes, a centurionibus aut prætoriarum cohortium militibus cæsi: quosdam ipsi manipuli, documentum fidei, tradidere. Auxerat militum curas præmatura hiems, imbribus continuis adeoque sævis, ut non egredi tentoria, congregari inter se, vix tutari signa possent, quæ turbine atque unda raptabantur: durabat et formido cœlestis iræ, *nec frustra adversus impios hebescere sidera, ruere tempestates: non aliud malorum levamentum, quam si linquerent castra infausta temerataque, et soluti picaculo suis quisque hibernis redderentur: primum octava, dein quintadecima legio rediere. Nonanus opperendas Tiberii epistolas clamitaverat, mox desolatus aliorum discessione imminentem necessitatem sponte prævenit: et Drusus, non expectato legatorum regressu, quia præsentia satis consederant, in urbem rediit.*

XXXI. Iisdem ferme diebus, iisdem causis Germanicæ legiones turbatæ, quanto plures, tanto violentius, et magna spe fore ut Germanicus Cæsar imperium alterius pati nequiret, daretque se legionibus vi sua cuncta tracturis Duo apud ripam Rheni exercitus erant: cui nomen superior, sub C. Silio legato; inferiorem A. Cæcina curabat. Regimen summæ rei penes Germanicum, agendo Galliarum censui tum intentum. Sed quibus Silius moderabatur, mente ambigua fortunam seditionis alienæ speculabantur: inferioris exercitus miles in rabiem prolapsus est, orto ab unaetvicesimanis quintanisque initio, et tractis prima quoque ac vicesima legionibus; nam iisdem æstivis in finibus Ubiorum habebantur per otium aut levia munia. Igitur, audito fine Augusti, vernacula multitudo, nuper acto in urbe delectu, lasciviæ sueta, laborum intolerans, impellere ceterorum rudes animos: *venisse tempus, quo veterani maturam missionem, juvenes largiora stipendia, cuncti modum miseriarum exposcerent, sævitiamque centurionum ulciscerentur.* Non unus hæc, ut Pannonicas inter legiones Percennius, nec apud trepidas militum aures alios validiores exercitus respicientium, sed multa seditionis ora vocesque: *sua in manu sitam rem Romanam; suis victoriis augeri rem publicam; in suum cognomentum adscisci imperatores.*

XXXII. Nec legatus obviam ibat: quippe plurium vercordia constantiam exemerat. Repente lymphati dstrictis gladiis in centuriones invadunt: ea vetustissima militibus odiis materies, et sæviendi principium. Prostratos verberibus mulcant, sexageni singulos, ut numerum centurionum adæquarent. Tum convulsos laniatosque et partim exanimos ante vallum aut in amnem Rhenum projiciunt. Septimius, cum perfugisset ad tribunal, pedibusque Cæcinæ advolveretur, eo usque flagitatus est donec ad exitium dederetur. Cassius Chærea, mox cæde C. Cæsaris memoriam apud posteros adeptus, tum adolescens, et animi

ferox, inter obstantes et armatos ferro viam patefecit. Non tribunus ultra, non castrorum præfectus jus obtinuit: vigilias, stationes, et si qua alia præsens usus indixerat, ipsi partiebantur. Id, militares animos altius conjectantibus, præcipuum indicium magni atque implacabilis motus, quod neque disjecti, nec paucorum instinctu, sed pariter ardescerent, pariter silerent; tanta æqualitate et constantia, ut regi crederes.

XXXIII. Interea Germanico per Gallias, ut diximus, census accipienti, excessisse Augustum affertur. Neptem ejus Agrippinam in matrimonio, pluresque ex ea liberos habebat. Ipse, Druso fratre Tiberii genitus, Augustæ nepos; sed anxius occultis in se patruï aviæque odiis, quorum causæ acriores, quia iniquæ: quippe Drusi magna apud populum Romanum memoria, credebaturque, si rerum potitus foret, libertatem redditurus: unde in Germanicum favor et spes eadem. Nam juveni civile ingenium, mira comitas et diversa a Tiberii sermone, vultu, arrogantibus et obscuris. Accedebant muliebres offensiones, novercalibus Liviæ in Agrippinam stimulis; atque ipsa Agrippina paulo commotior, nisi quod castitate et mariti amore quamvis indomitum animum in bonum vertebat.

XXXIV. Sed Germanicus, quanto summæ spei propior, tanto impensius pro Tiberio niti. Sequanos proximas et Belgarum civitates in verba ejus adigit. Dehinc, audito legionum tumultu, raptim profectus obvias extra castra habuit, dejectis in terram oculis velut pœnitentia. Postquam vallum iniit, dissoni questus audiri cœpere: et quidam, prensa manu ejus per speciem exosculandi, inseruerunt digitos, ut vacua dentibus ora contingeret, alii curvata senio membra ostendebant. Assistentem concionem, quia permixta videbatur, *discedere in manipulos* jubet: *sic melius audituros responsum; vexilla præferri, ut id saltem discerneret cohortes*: tarde obtemperavere. Tunc, a veneratione Augusti orsus, flexit ad victorias tri-

umphosque Tiberii, præcipuis laudibus celebrans quæ apud Germanias illis cum legionibus pulcherrima fecisset. Italiæ inde consensum, Galliarum fidem extollit; nil usquam turbidum aut discors.

XXXV. Silentio hæc vel murmure modico audita sunt. Ut seditionem attigit, *ubi modestia militaris, ubi veteris disciplinæ decus, quonam tribunos, quo centuriones exegissent, rogitans, nudant universi corpora, cicatrices ex vulneribus, verberum notas* exprobrant; mox indiscretis vocibus *pretia vacationum, angustias stipendii, duritiam operum,* ac propriis nominibus incusant *vallum, fossas, pabuli, materiæ, lignorum aggestus,* et si qua alia ex necessitate aut adversus otium castrorum quærentur. Atrocissimus veteranorum clamor oriebatur; qui tricena aut supra stipendia numerantes, *mederetur fessis, neu mortem in iisdem laboribus, sed finem tam exercitæ militiæ, neque inopem requiem,* orabant. Fuere etiam qui legatam a divo Augusto pecuniam reposcerent, faustis in Germanicum ominibus; et, si vellet imperium, promptos ostentavere. Tum vero, quasi scelere contaminaretur, præceps tribunali desiluit: opposuerunt abeunti arma, minitantes, ni regrederetur. At ille, *moriturum potius quam fidem exueret,* clamitans, ferrum a latere deripuit, elatumque deferebat in pectus, ni proximi prensam dextram vi attinuissent. Extrema et conglobata inter se pars concionis, ac, vix credibile dictu, quidam singuli propius incedentes *feriret* hortabantur; et miles nomine Calusidius strictum obtulit gladium, addito *acutiorem esse.* Sævum id malique moris etiam furentibus visum; ac spatium fuit, quo Cæsar ab amicis in tabernaculum raperetur.

XXXVI. Consultatum ibi de remedio: etenim nuntiabatur *parari legatos qui superiorem exercitum ad causam eandem traherent; destinatum excidio Ubiorum oppidum; imbutasque præda manus in direptionem Galliarum erupturas.* Augebat metum gnarus Romanæ seditionis, et, si

omitteretur ripa, invasurus hostis; at, si auxilia et socii adversum abscedentes legiones armarentur, civile bellum suscipi: periculosa severitas, flagitiosa largitio; seu nihil militi sive omnia concederentur, in ancipiti res publica. Igitur, volutatis inter se rationibus, placitum, ut epistolæ nomine principis scriberentur: *missionem dari vicena stipendia meritis; exauctorari, qui senadena fecissent, ac retineri sub vexillo, ceterorum immunes, nisi propulsandi hostis: legata, quæ petiverant, exsolvi duplicarique.*

XXXVII. Sensit miles in tempus conficta, statimque flagitavit. Missio per tribunos maturatur: largitio differabatur in hiberna cujusque. Non abscessere quintani unaetvicesimanique, donec iisdem in æstivis contracta ex viatico amicorum ipsiusque Cæsaris pecunia persolveretur. Primam ac vicesimam legiones Cæcina legatus in civitatem Ubiorum reduxit, turpi agmine, cum fisci de imperatore rapti inter signa interque aquilas veherentur. Germanicus superiorem ad exercitum profectus, secundam et tertiamdecumam et sextamdecumam legiones, nihil cunctatas, sacramento adigit. Quartadecumani paulum dubitaverant; pecunia et missio quamvis non flagitantibus oblata est.

XXXVIII. At in Caucis cœptavere seditionem præsidium agitantes vexillarii discordium legionum, et præsentibus duorum militum supplicio paulum repressi sunt. Jusserat id Mennius, castrorum præfectus, bono magis exemplo, quam concesso jure: deinde, intumescente motu, profugus repertusque, postquam intutæ latebræ, præsidium ab audacia mutuatur: *non præfectum ab iis, sed Germanicum ducem, sed Tiberium imperatorem violari.* Simul exterritis qui obstiterant, raptum vexillum ad ripam vertit, et, *si quis agmine decessisset, pro desertore fore,* clamitans, reduxit in hiberna turbidos et nihil ausos.

XXXIX. Interea legati ab senatu regressum jam apud aram Ubiorum Germanicum adeunt. Duæ ibi legiones,

prima atque vicesima, veteranique, nuper missi sub vexillo, hiemabant. Pavidos et conscientia vecordes intrat metus, venisse patrum jussu, qui irrita facerent, quæ per seditionem expresserant. Utque mos vulgo, quamvis falsis reum subdere, Munatium Plancum, consulatu functum, principem legationis, auctorem senatusconsulti incusant; et nocte concubia vexillum, in domo Germanici situm, flagitare occipiunt, concursuque ad januam facto, moliuntur fores; extractum cubili Cæsarem tradere vexillum intento mortis metu subigunt. Mox, vagi per vias, obvios habuere legatos, audita consternatione ad Germanicum tendentes. Ingerunt contumelias, cædem parant; Planco maxime, quem dignitas fuga impediverat. Neque aliud periclitanti subsidium quam castra primæ legionis: illic, signa et aquilam amplexus, religione sese tutabatur; ac, ni aquilifer Calpurnius vim extremam arcuisset (rarum etiam inter hostes), legatus populi Romani, Romanis in castris, sanguine suo altaria deum commaculavisset. Luce demum, postquam dux et miles et facta noscebantur, ingressus castra Germanicus perduci ad se Plancum imperat, recepitque in tribunal. Tum *fatalem increpans rabiem, neque militum, sed deum ira resurgere, cur venerint legati aperit: jus legationis, atque ipsius Planci gravem et immeritum casum, simul quantum dedecoris adierit legio, facunde miseratur, attonitaque magis quam quieta concione, legatos præsidio auxiliarium equitum dimittit.*

XL. Eo in metu arguere Germanicum omnes, *quod non ad superiorem exercitum pergeret, ubi obsequia, et contra rebelles auxilium. Satis superque missione et pecunia et mollibus consultis peccatum: vel, si vilis ipsi salus, cur filium parvulum, cur gravidam conjugem, inter furentes et omnis humani juris violatores haberet? illos saltem avo et rei publicæ redderet.* Diu cunctatus, aspernantem uxorem, cum se *divo Augusto ortam neque degenerem ad pericula testaretur, postremo uterum ejus et communem filium,*

multo cum fletu, complexus, ut abiret perpulit. Incedebat muliebri et miserabile agmen; profuga ducis uxor, parvulum sinu filium gerens, lamentantes circum amicorum conjuges, quæ simul trahebantur; nec minus tristes, qui manebant.

XLI. Non florentis Cæsaris, neque suis in castris, sed velut in urbe victa, facies, gemitusque ac planctus, etiam militum aures oraque advertere. Progrediuntur contuberniis: *quis ille flebilis sonus? quid tam triste? feminas illustres—non centurionem ad tutelam, non militem, nihil imperatoris uxoris aut comitatus soliti—pergere ad Treveros et externæ fidei!* Pudor inde et miseratio, et patris Agrippæ, Augusti avi, memoria; socer Drusus; ipsa insigni fecunditate, præclara pudicitia; jam infans in castris genitus, in contubernio legionum eductus, quem militari vocabulo *Caligulam* appellabant, quia plerumque ad concilianda vulgi studia eo tegmine pedum induebatur. Sed nihil æque flexit quam invidia in Treveros: orant, obsistunt, *rediret, maneret*, pars Agrippinæ occursantes, plurimi ad Germanicum regressi: isque, ut erat recens dolore et ira, apud circumfusos ita cœpit:—

XLII. *Non mihi uxor aut filius patre et re publica cariores sunt: sed illum quidem sua majestas, imperium Romanum ceteri exercitus defendent. Conjugem et liberos meos, quos pro gloria vestra libens ad exitium offerrem, nunc procul a furentibus summoveo, ut, quidquid istius sceleris imminet, meo tantum sanguine pietur; neve occisus Augusti pronepos, interfecta Tiberii nurus, nocentiores vos faciat: quid enim per hos dies inausum intemeratumve vobis? Quod nomen huic cætui dabo? militesne appellem? qui filium imperatoris vestri vallo et armis circumsedistis. An cives? quibus tam projecta senatus auctoritas: hostium quoque jus et sacra legationis et fas gentium rupistis. Divus Julius seditionem exercitus verbo uno compescuit, Quirites vocando qui sacramentum ejus detrectabant. Divus Augus-*

tus vultu et aspectu Actiacas legiones exterruit : nos, ut nondum eosdem, ita ex illis ortos, si Hispaniæ Syriæve miles aspernaretur, tamen mirum et indignum erat. Primane et vicesima legiones, illa signis a Tiberio acceptis, tu tot præliorum socia, tot præmiis aucta, egregiam duci vestro gratiam refertis? hunc ego nuntium patri, læta omnia aliis e provinciis audienti, feram? ipsius tirones, ipsius veteranos, non missione, non pecunia satiatos : hic tantum interfici centuriones, ejici tribunos, includi legatos : infecta sanguine castra, flumina : neque precariam animam inter infensos trahere ?

XLIII. *Cur enim, primo concionis die, ferrum illud, quod pectori meo infigere parabam, detraxistis? O improvidi amici! melius et amantius ille, qui gladium offerebat. Cecidissem certe nondum tot flagitiorum exercitui meo conscius : legissetis ducem, qui meam quidem mortem impunitam sineret, Vari tamen et trium legionum ulcisceretur. Neque enim dii sinant, ut Belgarum, quamquam offerentium, decus istud et claritudo sit, subvenisse Romano nomini, compressisse Germaniæ populos. Tua, dive Auguste, cælo recepta mens, tua, pater Druse, imago, tui memoria, iisdem istis cum militibus, quos jam pudor et gloria intrat, eluant hanc maculam, irasque civiles in exitium hostibus vertant! Vos quoque, quorum alia nunc ora, alia pectora contueor, si legatos senatui, obsequium imperatori, si mihi conjugem et filium redditis, discedite a contactu ac dividite turbidos : id stabile ad pœnitentiam, id fidei vinculum erit.*

XLIV. *Supplices ad hæc, et vera exprobrari fatentes, orabant, puniret noxios, ignosceret lapsis, et duceret in hostem : revocaretur conjux, rediret legionum alumnus, neve obses Gallis traderetur. Reditum Agrippinæ excusavit ob imminentem partum et hiemem; venturum filium : cetera ipsi exsequerentur. Discurrunt mutati, et seditiosissimum quemque vinctos trahunt ad legatum legionis primæ, C. Cetronium, qui judicium et pœnas de singulis in hunc*

modum exercuit. Stabant pro concione legiones destrictis gladiis: reus in suggestu per tribunum ostendebatur: si *nocentem* acclamaverant, præceps datus trucidabatur: et gaudebat cædibus miles tamquam semet absolveret: nec Cæsar arcebat, quando, nullo ipsius jussu, penes eosdem sævitia facti et invidia erat. Secuti exemplum veterani haud multo post in Rætiam mittuntur, specie defendendæ provinciæ, ob imminentes Suevos; ceterum ut avellerentur castris trucibus adhuc non minus asperitate remedii quam sceleris memoria. Centurionatum inde egit: citatus ab imperatore, nomen, ordinem, patriam, numerum stipendiorum, quæ strenue in præliis fecisset, et cui erant dona militaria, edebat: si tribuni, si legio industriam innocentiamque approbaverant, retinebat ordines: ubi avaritiam aut crudelitatem consensu objectavissent, solvebatur militia.

XLV, Sic compositis præsentibus, haud minor moles supererat ob ferociam quintæ et unaetvicesimæ legionum, sexagesimum apud lapidem (locò *Vetera* nomen est) hibernantium. Nam primi seditionem cœptaverant; atrocissimum quodque facinus horum manibus patratum; nec pœna commilitonum exterriti, nec pœnitentia conversi, iras retinebant. Igitur Cæsar arma, classem, socios demittere Rheno parat, si imperium detrectetur, bello certaturus.

XLVI. At Romæ, nondum cognito, qui fuisset exitus in Illyrico, et legionum Germanicarum motu audito, trepida civitas incusare Tiberium, *quod, dum patres et plebem, invalida et inermia, cunctatione ficta ludificetur, dissideat interim miles, neque duorum adolescentium nondum adulta auctoritate comprimi queat: ire ipsum et opponere majestatem imperatoriam debuisse cessuris ubi principem longa experientia, eundemque severitatis et munificentie summum vidissent. An Augustum, fessa ætate, totiens in Germanias commearare potuisse: Tiberium, vigentem annis, sedere in*

senatu, verba patrum cavillantem? satis prospectum urbanæ servituti: militaribus animis adhibenda fomenta, ut ferre pacem velint.

XLVII. Immotum adversus eos sermones fixumque Tiberio fuit non omittere caput rerum, neque se remque publicam in casum dare. Multa quippe et diversa angebant: *validior per Germaniam exercitus, propior apud Pannoniam: ille Galliarum opibus subnixus, hic Italiæ imminens: quos igitur anteferet? ac ne postpositi contumelia incenderentur. At per filios pariter adiri, majestate salva; cui major e longinquo reverentia: simul adolescentibus excusatum quædam ad patrem rejicere; resistentesque Germanico aut Druso posse a se mitigari vel infringi: quod aliud subsidium, si imperatorem sprevisent?* Ceterum, ut jam jamque iturus, legit comites, conquisivit impedimenta, adornavit naves: mox hiemem aut negotia varie causatus, primo prudentes, dein vulgum, diutissime provincias fefellit.

XLVIII. At Germanicus, quamquam contracto exercitu, et parata in defectores ultione, dandum adhuc spatium ratus, si recenti exemplo sibi ipsi consulere, præmittit litteras ad Cæcinam, *venire se valida manu, ac, ni supplicium in malos præsumant, usurum promiscua cæde. Eas Cæcina aquiliferis signiferisque, et quod maxime castorum sincerum erat, occulte recitat, utque cunctos infamiæ, se ipsos morti eximant, hortatur: nam in pace causas et merita spectari: ubi bellum ingruat, innocentes ac noxios juxta cadere. Illi tentatis quos idoneos rebantur, postquam majorem legionum partem in officio vident, de sententia legati statuunt tempus, quo fœdissimum quemque et seditioni promptum ferro invadant. Tunc, signo inter se dato, irrumpunt contubernia, trucidant ignaros: nullo, nisi consciis, noscente quod cædis initium, quis finis.*

XLIX. Diversa omnium quæ unquam accidere civilium armorum facies: non prælio, non adversis e castris, sed

isdem e cubilibus, quos simul vescentes dies, simul quietos nox habuerat, discedunt in partes, ingerunt tela. Clamor, vulnera, sanguis palam; causa in occulto: cetera fors regit: et quidam bonorum cæsi, postquam, intellecto in quos sæviretur, pessimi quoque arma rapuerant: neque legatus aut tribunus moderator adfuit: permissa vulgo licentia atque ultio et satietas. Mox ingressus castra Germanicus, *non medicinam illud*, plurimis cum lacrimis, *sed cladem* appellans, *cremari corpora* jubet. Truces etiam tum animos cupido involat eundi in hostem, piaculum furoris: nec aliter posse placari commilitonum manes, quam si pectoribus impiis honesta vulnera accepissent. Sequitur ardorem militum Cæsar, junctoque ponte tramittit duodecim millia e legionibus, sex et viginti socias cohortes, octo equitum alas, quarum ea seditione intemerata modestia fuit.

L. Læti, neque procul, Germani agitabant, dum justitio ob amissum Augustum post discordiis attinemur. At Romanus, agmine propero, silvam Cæsiam limitemque a Tiberio cœptum scindit; castra in limite locat; frontem ac tergum vallo, latera concædibus munit. Inde saltus obscuros permeat, consultatque, *ex duobus itineribus breve et solitum sequatur, an impeditius et intentatum, eoque hostibus incautum*. Delecta longiore via, cetera accelerantur: etenim attulerant exploratores *festam eam Germanis noctem ac solennibus epulis ludicram*. Cæcina cum expeditis cohortibus præire, et obstantia silvarum amoliri jubetur: legiones modico intervallo sequuntur. Juvit nox sideribus illustris: ventumque ad vicos Marsorum, et circumdatæ stationes, stratis etiam tum per cubilia propterque mensas, nullo metu, non antepositis vigiliis. Adeo cuncta incuria disjecta erant, neque belli timor; ac ne pax quidem, nisi languida et soluta, inter temulentos.

LI. Cæsar avidas legiones, quo latior populatio foret, quatuor in cuneos dispertit: quinquaginta millium spa-

tium ferro flammisque pervastat: non sexus, non ætas miserationem attulit; profana simul et sacra et celeberrimum illis gentibus templum, quod *Tanfanae* vocabant, solo æquantur: sine vulnere milites, qui semisomnos, inermos, aut palantes ceciderant. Excivit ea cædes Bructeros, Tubantes, Usipetes; saltusque, per quos exercitui regressus, insedere: quod gnarum duci; incessitque itineri et prælio. Pars equitum et auxiliariæ cohortes ducebant, mox prima legio, et mediis impedimentis sinistrum latus unaetvicesimani, dextrum quintani clausere; vicesima legio terga firmavit; post ceteri sociorum. Sed hostes, donec agmen per saltus porrigeretur, immoti; dein latera et frontem modice assultantes, tota vi novissimos incurrere: turbabanturque densis Germanorum catervis leves cohortes, cum Cæsar advectus ad vicesimanos voce magna *hoc illud tempus obliterandæ seditionis* clamitabat; *pergerent, properarent culpam in decus vertere*. Exarsere animis, unoque impetu perruptum hostem redigunt in aperta, cæduntque: simul primi agminis copiæ evasere silvas castraque communivere. Quietum inde iter: fidensque recentibus ac priorum oblitus miles in hibernis locatur.

LII. Nuntiata ea Tiberium lætitia curaque affecere: gaudebat oppressam seditionem: sed quod largiendis pecuniis et missione festinata favorem militum quæsivisset, bellica quoque Germanici gloria,angebatur. Rettulit tamen ad senatum de rebus gestis, multaue de virtute ejus memoravit, magis in speciem verbis adornata, quam ut penitus sentire crederetur. Paucioribus Drusum et finem Illyrici motus laudavit, sed intentior et fida oratione: cunctaque, quæ Germanicus indulserat, servavit etiam apud Pannonicos exercitus.

LIII. Eodem anno Julia supremum diem obiit, ob impudicitiam olim a patre Augusto Pandateria insula, mox oppido Reginorum, qui Siculum fretum accolunt, clausa. Fuerat in matrimonio Tiberii, florentibus Caio et Lucio

Uæsaribus, spreveratque ut imparem; nec alia tam intima Tiberio causa, cur Rhodum abscederet: imperium adeptus, extorrem, infamem, et post interfectum Postumum Agrippam omnis spei egenam, inopia ac tabe longa peremit, obscuram fore necem longinquitate exsilii ratus. Par causa sævitiae in Sempronium Gracchum, qui familia nobili, sollers ingenio et prave facundus, eandem Juliam in matrimonio M. Agrippæ temeraverat. Nec is libidini finis; traditam Tiberio pervicax adulter contumacia et odiis in maritum accendebat: litteræque, quas Julia patri Augusto cum insectatione Tiberii scripsit, a Graccho compositæ credebantur. Igitur amotus Cercinam, Africi maris insulam, quatuordecim annis exsilium toleravit. Tunc milites ad cædem missi invenere in prominenti littoris, nihil lætum opperientem: quorum adventu *breve tempus petivit, ut suprema mandata uxori Alliaricæ per litteras daret*, cervicemque percussoribus obtulit, constantia mortis haud indignus Sempronio nomine; vita degeneraverat. Quidam non Roma eos milites, sed ab L. Asprenate, proconsule Africae, missos tradidere, auctore Tiberio, qui famam cædis posse in Asprenatem verti frustra speraverat.

LIV. Idem annus novas cærimonias accepit, addito sodalium Augustalium sacerdotio, ut quondam T. Tatius retinendis Sabinorum sacris sodales Titios instituerat. Sorte ducti e primoribus civitatis unus et viginti: Tiberius Drususque et Claudius et Germanicus adjiciuntur. Ludos Augustales tunc primum cæptos turbavit discordia ex certamine histrionum: indulserat ei ludicro Augustus, dum Mæcenati obtemperat effuso in amorem Bathylli: neque ipse abhorrebat talibus studiis, et civile rebatur misceri voluptatibus vulgi. Alia Tiberio morum via: sed populum, per tot annos molliter habitum, nondum audebat ad duriora vertere.

LV. Druso Cæsare, C. Norbano consulibus, decernitur Germanico triumphus manente bello; quod quamquam in

æstatem summa ope parabat, initio veris et repentino in Cattos excursu præcepit : nam spes incesserat dissidere hostem in Arminium ac Segestem, insignem utrumque perfidia in nos aut fide. Arminius turbator Germaniæ ; Segestes, *parari rebellionem*, sæpe alias, et supremo convivio, post quod in arma itum, aperuit, suasitque Varo, *ut se et Arminium et ceteros proceres vinciret ; nihil ausuram plebem principibus amotis, atque ipsi tempus fore, quo crimina et innoxios discerneret* : sed Varus fato et vi Arminii cecidit. Segestes, quamquam consensu gentis in bellum tractus, discors manebat, auctis privatim odiis, quod Arminius filiam ejus, alii pactam, rapuerat : gener invisus inimici soceri : quæque apud concordēs vincula caritatis, incitamenta irarum apud infensos erant.

LVI. Igitur Germanicus quatuor legiones, quinque auxiliarium millia, et tumultuarias catervas Germanorum cis Rhenum colentium, Cæcinæ tradit : totidem legiones, duplicem sociorum numerum ipse ducit : positoque castello super vestigia paterni præsidii, in monte Tauno, expeditum exercitum in Cattos rapit, L. Apronio ad munitiones viarum et fluminum relicto. Nam (rarum illi cælo) siccitate et annibus modicis inoffensum iter properaverat ; imbresque et fluminum auctus regredienti metuebantur. Sed Cattis adeo improvisus advenit, ut, quod imbecillum ætate ac sexu, statim captum aut trucidatum sit. Juventus flumen Adranam nando tramiserat, Romanosque pontem cæptantes arcebant : dein tormentis sagittisque pulsi, tentatis frustra conditionibus pacis, cum quidam ad Germanicum perfugissent, reliqui, omissis pagis vicisque, in silvas disperguntur. Cæsar, incenso Mattio (id genti caput), aperta populatus, vertit ad Rhenum, non auso hoste terga abeuntium lacessere ; quod illi moris, quotiens astu magis quam per formidinem cessit. Fuerat animus Cheruscis juvare Cattos : sed exterruit Cæcina huc illuc ferens arma ; et Marsos, congredi ausos, prospero prælio cohibuit.

LVII. Neque multo post legati a Segeste venerunt, auxilium orantes adversus vim popularium, a quibus circumsedebatur; validiore apud eos Arminio, quando bellum suadebat. Nam barbaris, quanto quis audacia promptus, tanto magis fidus, rebusque motis potior habetur. Addiderat Segestes legatis filium, nomine Segimundum: sed juvenis conscientia cunctabatur: quippe anno, quo Germaniæ descivere, sacerdos apud Aram Ubiorum creatus, ruperat vittas, profugus ad rebelles: adductus tamen in spem clementiæ Romanæ pertulit patris mandata; benigneque exceptus, cum præsidio Gallicam in ripam missus est. Germanico pretium fuit convertere agmen: pugnatumque in obsidentes, et ereptus Segestes magna cum propinquorum et clientium manu. Inerant feminae nobiles; inter quas uxor Arminii, eademque filia Segestis, mariti magis quam parentis animo, neque victa in lacrimas, neque voce supplex, compressis intra sinum manibus, gravidum uterum intuens. Ferebantur et spolia Varianæ cladis, plerisque eorum, qui tum in deditionem veniebant, prædæ data.

LVIII. Simul Segestes ipse, ingens visu et memoria bonæ societatis impavidus. Verba ejus in hunc modum fuere:—*Non hic mihi primus erga populum Romanum fidei et constantiæ dies: ex quo a divo Augusto civitate donatus sum, amicos, inimicosque ex vestris utilitatibus delegi, neque odio patriæ (quippe proditores etiam iis quos anteponunt invisum sunt), verum quia Romanis Germanisque idem conducere, et pacem quam bellum probabam. Ergo raptorem filiaæ meæ, violatorem fœderis vestri, Arminium, apud Varum, qui tum exercitui præsidebat, reum feci. Dilatus segnitia ducis, quia parum præsidii in legibus erat, ut me et Arminium et conscios vinceret flagitavi: testis illa nox, mihi utinam potius novissima! quæ secuta sunt defleri magis quam defendi possunt; ceterum et injeci catenas Arminio, et a factione ejus injectas perpessus sum. Atque ubi*

primum tui copia, vetera novis et quieta turbidis antehabeo, neque ob præmium, sed ut me perfidia exsolvam, simul genti Germanorum idoneus conciliator, si pœnitentiam quam perniciem maluerit. Pro juvena et errore filii veniam precor: filiam necessitate huc adductam fateor: tuum erit consul-tare, utrum prævaleat, quod ex Arminio concepit, an quod ex me genita est. Cæsar, clementi responso, liberis pro-pinquisque ejus incolunitatem, ipsi sedem vetere in pro-vincia pollicetur. Exercitum reduxit, nomenque impera-toris, auctore Tiberio, accēpit. Arminii uxor virilis sexus stirpem edidit: educatus Ravennæ puer, quo mox ludibrio conflictatus sit, in tempore memorabo.

LIX. Fama dediti benigneque excepti Segestis vulgata, ut quibusque bellum invitis aut cupientibus erat, spe vel dolore accipitur. Arminium, super insitam violentiam, rapta uxor, subjectus servitio uxoris uterus, vecordem agebant: volitabatque per Cheruscos, arma in Segestem, arma in Cæsarem poscens: neque probriis temperabat:—*Egregium patrem! magnum imperatorem! fortem exerci-tum! quorum tot manus unam mulierculam avexerint. Sibi tres legiones, totidem legatos procubuisse. Non enim se proditione, neque adversus feminas gravidas, sed palam adversus armatos bellum tractare: cerni adhuc Germano-rum in lucis signa Romana, quæ diis patriis suspenderit: coleret Segestes victam ripam: redderet filio sacerdotium Romanum; Germanos numquam satis accusaturos, quod inter Albim et Rhenum virgas et secures et togam viderint: aliis gentibus ignorantia imperii Romani inexperta esse supplicia, nescia tributa: quæ quando exuerint, irritusque discesserit ille inter numina dicatus Augustus, ille delectus Tiberius, ne imperitum adolescentulum, ne seditiosum exer-citum pavescerent. Si patriam, parentes, antiqua mallent quam dominos et colonias novas, Arminium potius gloriæ ac libertatis, quam Segestem flagitiosæ servitutis ducem, sequerentur.*

LX. Conciti per hæc non modo Cherusci, sed conterminæ gentes; tractusque in partis Inguiomerus, Arminii patruus, veteri apud Romanos auctoritate; unde major Cæsari metus: et ne bellum mole una ingrueret, Cæcinam, cum quadraginta cohortibus Romanis, distrahendo hosti per Bructeros, ad flumen Amisiam mittit; equitem Peditum præfectus finibus Frisiorum ducit. Ipse impositas navibus quatuor legiones per lacus vexit; simulque pedes, eques, classis apud prædictum amnem convenere. Cauci, cum auxilia pollicerentur, in commilitium asciti sunt. Bructeros sua urentes expedita cum manu L. Stertinius missu Germanici fudit: interque cædem et prædam reperit undevicesimæ legionis aquilam, cum Varo amissam. Ductum inde agmen ad ultimos Bructerorum; quantumque Amisiam et Luppiam amnes inter, vastatum, haud procul Teutoburgiensi saltu, in quo reliquiæ Vari legionumque insepultæ dicebantur.

LXI. Igitur cupido Cæsarem invadit solvendi suprema militibus ducique, permoto ad miserationem omni qui aderat exercitu, ob propinquos, amicos, denique ob casus bellorum et sortem hominum. Præmisso Cæcina, ut occulta saltuum scrutaretur, pontesque et aggeres humido paludum et fallacibus campis imponeret, incedunt mæstos locos visuque ac memoria deformes. Prima Vari castra, lato ambitu, et dimensis principiis, trium legionum manus ostentabant; dein semiruto vallo, humili fossa, accisæ jam reliquiæ consedisce intelligebantur: medio campi albertia ossa, ut fugerant, ut restiterant, disjecta vel aggerata: adjacebant fragmina telorum, equorumque artus, simul truncis arborum antefixa ora. Lucis propinquis barbaræ aræ, apud quas tribunos ac primorum ordinum centuriones mactaverant: et cladis ejus superstites, pugnam aut vincula elapsi, referebant *hic cecidisse legatos; illic raptas aquilas; primum ubi vulnus Varo adactum; ubi infelici dextra et suo ictu mortem invenerit; quo tribunali conciona-*

tus Arminius, quot patibula captivis, quæ scrobes ; utque signis et aquilis per superbiam illuserit.

LXII. Igitur Romanus qui aderat exercitus sextum post cladis annum, trium legionum ossa, nullo noscente, alienas reliquias an suorum humo tegeret, omnes ut conjunctos, ut consanguineos, aucta in hostem ira, mœsti simul et infensi condebant. Primum extruendo tumulo cespitem Cæsar posuit, gratissimo munere in defunctos, et præsentibus doloris socius. Quod Tiberio haud probatum, seu cuncta Germanici in deterius trahenti, sive exercitum imagine cæsorum insepultorumque tardatum ad prælia et formidolosiores hostium credebat : *neque imperatorem, auguratu et vetustissimis cærimoniis præditum, attrectare feralia debuisse.*

LXIII. Sed Germanicus, cedentem in avia Arminium secutus, ubi primum copia fuit, evehi equites, campumque, quem hostis insederat, eripi jubet. Arminius colligi suos et propinquare silvis monitos vertit repente : mox signum prorumpendi dedit iis, quos per saltus occultaverat. Tunc nova acie turbatus eques ; missæque subsidiariæ cohortes, et fugientium agmine impulsæ, auxerant consternationem ; trudebanturque in paludem, gnaram vincentibus, iniquam nesciis, ni Cæsar productas legiones instruxisset : inde hostibus terror, fiducia militi ; et manibus æquis abscessum. Mox, reducto ad Amisiam exercitu, legiones classe, ut advexerat, reportat ; pars equitum litore oceani petere Rhenum jussa ; Cæcina, qui suum militem ducebat, monitus, quamquam notis itineribus regrederetur, Pontes longos quam maturrime superare. Angustus is trames vastas inter paludes, et quondam a L. Domitio aggeratus : cetera limosa, tenacia gravi cœno, aut rivis incerta erant ; circum silvæ, paulatim acclives : quas tum Arminius implevit, compendiis viarum et cito agmine onustum sarcinis armisque militem cum antevenisset. Cæcinæ dubitanti, quonam modo ruptos vetustate pontes reponeret, simulque

propulsaret hostem, castra metari in loco placuit, ut opus, et alii prœlium inciperent.

LXIV. Barbari perfringere stationes, seque inferre munitoribus nisi, lacesunt, circumgrediuntur, occursant. Miscetur operantium bellantiumque clamor; et cuncta pariter Romanis adversa; locus uligine profunda, idem ad gradum instabilis, procedentibus lubricus; corpora gravia loricis; neque librare pila inter undas poterant. Contra Cheruscis sueta apud paludes prœlia, procera membra, hastæ ingentes ad vulnera facienda quamvis procul. Nox demum inclinantes jam legiones adversæ pugnæ exemit. Germani, ob prospera indefessi, ne tum quidem sumta quiete, quantum aquarum circum surgentibus jugis oritur, vertere in subjecta; mersaque humo, et obruto, quod effectum operis, duplicatus militi labor. Quadragesimum id stipendium Cæcina parendi aut imperitandi habebat; secundarum ambiguarumque rerum sciens, eoque interritus. Igitur futura volvens, non aliud reperit, quam ut hostem silvis coerceret, donec saucii, quantumque gravioris agminis, anteirent: nam medio montium et paludum porrigebatur planities, quæ tenuem aciem pateretur. Deliguntur legiones, quinta dextro lateri, unaetvicesima in lævum, primani ducendum ad agmen, vicesimanus adversum secuturos.

LXV. Nox per diversa inquires; cum barbari festis epulis, læto cantu aut truci sonore subjecta vallium ac resultantes saltus complerent; apud Romanos invalidi ignes, interruptæ voces, atque ipsi passim adjacerent vallo, oberrarent tentoriis, insomnes magis quam pervigiles: ducemque terruit dira quies: nam Quintilium Varum, sanguine oblitum et paludibus emersum, cernere et audire visus est, velut vocantem, non tamen obsecutus, et manum intendentis repulisse. Cœpta luce, missæ in latera legiones, metu an contumacia, locum deseruere: capto prope campo humentia ultra. Neque tamen Arminius,

quamquam libero incursu, statim prorupit: sed, ut hæsero cœno fossisque impedimenta, turbati circum milites, incertus signorum ordo, utque tali in tempore, sibi quisque properus et lentæ adversum imperia aures, irrumpere Germanos jubet, clamitans, *En Varus et eodem iterum fato vincitæ legiones!* Simul hæc, et cum delectis scindit agmen, equisque maxime vulnera ingerit. Illi sanguine suo et lubrico paludum lapsantes, excussis rectoribus, disjicere obvios, proterere jacentes: plurimus circa aquilas labor, quæ neque adversum ferri ingruentia tela neque figi limosa humo poterant. Cæcina, dum sustentat aciem, suffosso equo delapsus circumveniebatur, ni prima legio sese opposuisset. Juvit hostium aviditas, omissa cæde, prædam sectantium: enisæque legiones vesperascente die in aperta et solida. Neque is miseriarum finis: struendum vallum, petendus agger: amissa magna ex parte, per quæ egeritur humus, aut exciditur cespes: non tentoria manipulis, non fomenta sauciis: infectos cœno aut cruore cibos dividentes, funestas tenebras, et tot hominum milibus unum jam reliquum diem lamentabantur.

LXVI. Forte equus, abruptis vinculis vagus et clamore territus, quosdam occurrentium obturbavit: tanta inde consternatio irrupisse Germanos credentium, ut cuncti ruerent ad portas, quarum decumana maxime petebatur, aversa hosti et fugientibus tutior. Cæcina, comperto vanam esse formidinem, cum tamen neque auctoritate, neque precibus, nè manu quidem, obsistere aut retinere militem quiret, projectus in limine portæ, miseratione demum, quia per corpus legati eundum erat, clausit viam: simul tribuni et centuriones falsum pavorem esse docuerunt.

LXVII. Tunc contractos in principia, jussosque dicta cum silentio accipere, temporis ac necessitatis monet: *Unam in armis salutem; sed ea consilio temperanda, mandandumque intra vallum, donec expugnandi hostes spe propius succederent; mox undique erumpendum; illa erupticne*

ad Rhenum perveniri: quodsi fugerent, plures silvas, profundas magis paludes, sævitiam hostium superesse; at victoribus decus, gloriam: quæ domi cara, quæ in castris honesta, memorat: reticuit de adversis. Equos dehinc, orsus a suis, legatorum tribunorumque, nulla ambitione, fortissimo cuique bellatori tradit, ut hi, mox pedes, in hostem invaderent.

LXVIII. Haud minus inquires Germanus spe, cupidine, et diversis ducum sententiis agebat: Arminio, *sinerent egredi, egressosque rursus per humida et impedita circumvenirent,* suadente: atrociora Inguiomero et læta barbaris, *ut vallum armis ambirent: promptam expugnationem, plures captivos, incorruptam prædam fore.* Igitur orta die proruunt fossas, injiciunt crates, summa valli prensant, raro super milite et quasi ob metum defixo. Postquam hæseremunimentis, datur cohortibus signum, cornuaque ac tubæ concinuere: exin clamore et impetu tergis Germanorum circumfunduntur, exprobrantes *non hic silvas, nec paludes, sed æquis locis æquos deos.* Hosti facile excidium et paucos ac semermos cogitanti sonus tubarum, fulgor armorum, quanto inopina, tanto majora offunduntur: cadebantque, ut rebus secundis avidi, ita adversis incauti. Arminius integer Inguiomerus post grave vulnus pugnam deseruere: vulgus trucidatum est donec ira et dies permansit. Noctē demum reversæ legiones, quamvis plus vulnerum, eadem ciborum egestas fatigaret, vim, sanitatem, copias cuncta in victoria habuere.

LXIX. Pervaserat interim *circumventi exercitus fama, et infesto Germanorum agmine Gallias peti:* ac ni Agrippina impositum Rheno pontem solvi prohibuisset, erant qui id flagitium formidine auderent: sed femina, ingens animi, munia ducis per eos dies induit, militibusque, ut quis inops aut saucius, vestem et fomenta dilargita est. Tradit C. Plinius, Germanicorum bellorum scriptor, *stetisse apud principium pontis, laudes et grates reversis*

legionibus habentem. Id Tiberii animum altius penetravit: *non enim simplices eas curas, nec adversus externos militem quæri: nihil relictum imperatoribus ubi femina manipulos intervisat, signa adeat, largitione tentet; tamquam parum ambitiose filium ducis gregali habitu circumferat, Cæsaremque Caligulam appellari velit: potio-rem jam apud exercitus Agrippinam, quam legatos, quam duces: compressam a muliere seditionem, cui nomen principis consistere non quiverit.* Accendebat hæc onerabatque Sejanus, peritia morum Tiberii, odia in longum jaciens, quæ re- conderet auctaque promeret.

LXX. At Germanicus legionum, quas navibus vexerat, secundam et quartam decimam, itinere terrestri P. Vitellio ducendas tradit, quo levior classis vadoso mari innaret vel reciproco sideret. Vitellius primum iter sicca humo aut modice allabente æstu quietum habuit: mox impulsu aquilonis, simul sidere æquinoctii, quo maxime tumescit oceanus, rapi agique agmen. Et opplebantur terræ: eadem freto, litori, campis facies: neque discerni poterant incerta ab solidis, brevia a profundis. Sternuntur fluctibus, hauriuntur gurgitibus jumenta, sarcinæ; corpora ex- anima interfluunt, occurrant. Permiscentur inter se mani- puli, modo pectore, modo ore tenus exstantes, aliquando subtracto solo disjecti aut obruti: non vox et mutui hor- tatus juvabant, adversante unda: nihil strenuus ab ignavo, sapiens ab rudi, consilia a casu differre: cuncta pari vio- lentia involvebantur. Tandem Vitellius in editiora enisus eodem agmen subduxit: pernoctavere sine utensilibus, sine igni, magna pars nudo aut mulcato corpore; haud minus miserabiles quam quos hostis circumsidet: quippe illis etiam honestæ mortis usus, his inglorium exitium. Lux reddidit terram; penetratumque ad amnem Unsingim, quo Cæsar classe contenderat. Impositæ deinde legiones, vagante fama submersas: nec fides salutis, antequam Cæsarem exercitumque reducem videre.

LXXI. Jam Stertinius ad accipiendum in deditionem Segimerum, fratrem Segestis, præmissus, ipsum et filium ejus in civitatem Ubiorum perduxerat. Data utrique venia; facile Segimero, cunctantius filio, quia Quintilii Vari corpus illuisse dicebatur. Ceterum ad supplenda exercitus damna certavere Galliæ, Hispaniæ, Italia, quod cuique promptum, arma, equos, aurum, offerentes: quorum laudato studio Germanicus, armis modo et equis ad bellum sumtis, propria pecunia militem juvit: utque cladis memoriam etiam comitate leniret, circumire saucios, facta singulorum extollere; vulnera intuens, alium spe, alium gloria, cunctos alloquio et cura sibi et prælio firmabat.

LXXII. Decreta eo anno triumphalia insignia A. Cæcinæ, L. Apronio, C. Silio, ob res cum Germanico gestas. Nomen *patris patriæ* Tiberius, a populo sæpius ingestum, repudiavit; neque in acta sua jurari, quamquam censente senatu, permisit: *cuncta mortalium incerta; quantoque plus adeptus foret, tanto se magis in lubrico dictitans*. Non tamen ideo faciebat fidem civilis animi: nam legem majestatis reduxerat; cui nomen apud veteres idem, sed alia in judicium veniebant: si quis proditione exercitum, aut plebem seditionibus, denique male gesta re publica majestatem populi Romani minuisset. Facta arguebantur, dicta impune erant. Primus Augustus cognitionem de famosis libellis, specie legis ejus, tractavit, commotus Cassii Severi libidine, qua viros feminasque illustres procacibus scriptis diffamaverat: mox Tiberius, consultante Pompeio Macro prætore, *an judicia majestatis redderentur? exercendas leges esse*, respondit. Hunc quoque asperavere carmina, incertis auctoribus vulgata, in sævitiam superbiamque ejus et discordem cum matre animum.

LXXIII. Haud pigebit referre in Falanio et Rubrio, modicis equitibus Romanis, prætentata crimina: ut, quibus initiis, quanta Tiberii arte, gravissimum exitium

irrepperit, dein repressum sit, postremo arserit cunctaque corripuerit, noscatur. Falanio objiciebat accusator, *quod inter cultores Augusti*, qui per omnes domos, in modum collegiorum, habebantur, *Cassium quemdam, nimum corpore infamem, adscivisset : quodque, venditis hortis, statuam Augusti simul mancipasset.* Rubrio crimini dabatur *violatum perjurio numen Augusti.* Quæ ubi Tiberio notuere, scripsit consulibus : *non ideo decretum patri suo cælum, ut in perniciem civium is honor verteretur. Cassium histrionem solitum inter alios ejusdem artis interesse ludis, quos mater sua in memoriam Augusti sacrasset ; nec contra religiones fieri, quod effigies ejus, ut alia numinum simulacra, venditionibus hortorum et domuum accedant. Jusjurandum perinde æstimandum quam si Jovem fefellisset : deorum injurias dis curæ.*

LXXIV. Nec multo post Granium Marcellum prætorem Bithyniæ, quæstor ipsius, Cæpio Crispinus, majestatis postulavit, subscribente Romano Hispone : qui formam vitæ iniit, quam postea celebrem miseriæ temporum et audaciæ hominum fecerunt. Nam egens, ignotus, inquires, dum occultis libellis sævitæ principis arreperit, mox clarissimo cuique periculum facessit, potentiam apud unum, odium apud omnes adeptus, dedit exemplum, quod secuti, ex pauperibus divites, ex contemptis metuendi, perniciem aliis ac postremum sibi invenere. Sed Marcellum insimulabat *sinistros de Tiberio sermones habuisse* : inevitabile crimen, cum ex moribus principis fœdissima quæque deligeret accusator, objectaretque reo : nam, quia vera erant, etiam dicta credebantur. Addidit Hispo, *statuam Marcelli altius quam Cæsarum sitam ; et alia in statua, amputato capite Augusti, effigiem Tiberii inditam* : ad quod exarsit adeo, ut rupta taciturnitate proclamaret, *se quoque in ea causa laturum sententiam palam et juratum* : quo ceteris eadem necessitas fieret. Manebant etiam tum vestigia morientis libertatis. Igitur Cnæus Piso, *Quo, inquit, loco*

censebis, Cæsar? si primus, habebo quod sequar; si post omnes, vereor ne imprudens dissentiam. Permotus his, quantoque incautius efferverat, pœnitentia patiens, tulit absolvi reum criminibus majestatis: de pecuniis repetundis ad recuperatores itum est.

LXXV. Nec patrum cognitionibus satiatuſ, judiciis assidebat in cornu tribunalis, ne prætorem curuli depelleret; multaſque eo coram adversus ambitum et potentium preces constituta: sed dum veritati consulitur, libertas corrumpebatur. Inter quæ Pius Aurelius, senator, questus, *mole publicæ viæ ductuſque aquarum labefactas ædes suas,* auxilium patrum invocabat: resistantibus ærarii prætoribus, subvenit Cæsar, pretiumque ædium Aurelio tribuit, erogandæ per honesta pecuniæ cupiens: quam virtutem diu retinuit, cum ceteras exueret. Propertio Celeri, prætorio, veniam ordinis ob paupertatem petenti, decies sestertium largitus est, satis comperto, paternas ei angustias esse: tentantis eadem alios probare causam senatui jussit, cupidine severitatis, in his etiam, quæ rite faceret, acerbis: unde ceteri silentium et paupertatem confessione et beneficio præposuere.

LXXVI. Eodem anno continuis imbribus auctus Tiberis plana urbis stagnaverat: relabentem secuta est ædificiorum et hominum strages. Igitur censuit Asinius Gallus, *ut libri Sibyllini adirentur:* renuit Tiberius, perinde divina humanaſque obtegens. Sed remedium coercendi fluminis Ateio Capitoni et L. Arruntio mandatum. Achaiam ac Macedoniam, onera deprecantes, levari in præsens proconsulari imperio, tradique Cæsari placuit. Edendis gladiatoribus, quos Germanici fratris ac suo nomine obtulerat, Drusus præsedit, quamquam vili sanguine nimis gaudens: quod vulgo formidolosum, et pater arguisse dicebatur. Cur abstinerit spectaculo ipse, varie trahebant: alii tædio cœtus, quidam tristitia ingenii, et metu comparationis, quia Augustus comiter interfuisset. Non crediderim ad

ostentandam sævitiam movendasque populi offensiones concessam filio materiem : quamquam id quoque dictum est.

LXXVII. At theatri licentia, proximo priore anno cœpta, gravius tum erupit, occisis non modo e plebe, sed militibus et centurione, vulnerato tribuno prætoriae cohortis, dum probra in magistratus et dissensionem vulgi prohibent. Actum de ea seditione apud patres, dicebanturque sententiæ *ut prætoribus jus virgarum in histriones esset* : intercessit Haterius Agrippa tribunus plebei, increpitusque est Asinii Galli oratione, silente Tiberio, qui ea simulacra libertatis senatui præbebat. Valuit tamen intercessio, quia divus Augustus *immunes verberum histriones* quondam responderat, neque fas Tiberio infringere dicta ejus. De modo lucaris, et adversus lasciviam fautorum, multa decernuntur : ex quis maxime insignia : *ne domos pantomimorum senator introiret ; ne egredientes in publicum equites Romani cingerent, aut alibi quam in theatro spectarentur ; et spectantium immodestiam exsilio multandi potestas prætoribus fieret.*

LXXVIII. Templum ut in colonia Tarraconensi streretur Augusto petentibus Hispanis permissum ; datumque in omnes provincias exemplum. Centesimam rerum venalium post bella civilia institutam, deprecante populo, edixit Tiberius, *militare ærarium eo subsidio niti : simul impari oneri rem publicam, nisi vicesimo militiæ anno veterani dimitterentur* : ita proximæ seditionis male consulta, quibus sedecim stipendiorum finem expresserant, abolita in posterum.

LXXIX. Actum deinde in senatu ab Arruntio et Ateio, an ob moderandas Tiberis exundationes verterentur flumina et lacus, per quos augetur : auditæque municipiorum et coloniarum legationes, orantibus Florentinis, *ne Clanis, solito alveo demotus, in amnem Arnun transferretur, idque ipsis perniciem afferret.* Congruentia his Interamnates disseruere : *pessum ituros fecundissimos Italiæ campos, si*

amnis Nar (id enim parabatur) *in rivos diductus superstagnavisset.* Nec Reatini silebant, Velinum lacum, qua in Narem effunditur, obstrui recusantes, *quippe in adjacentia erupturum : optume rebus mortalium consuluisse naturam, quæ sua ora fluminibus, suos cursus, utque originem, ita fines dederit : spectandas etiam religiones sociorum, qui sacra et lucos et aras patriis amnibus dicaverint : quin ipsum Tiberim nolle, prorsus accolis fluviiis orbatum, minore gloria fluere.* Seu preces coloniarum, seu difficultas operum, sive superstitio valuit ut in sententiam Pisonis concederetur, qui nil mutandum censuerat.

LXXX. Prorogatur Poppæo Sabino provincia Mœsia, additis Achaia ac Macedonia. Id quoque morum Tiberii fuit, continuare imperia, ac plerosque ad finem vitæ in iisdem exercitiis aut jurisdictionibus habere. Causæ variæ traduntur : alii *tædio novæ curæ semel placita pro æternis servavisse ;* quidam *invidia, ne plures fruerentur :* sunt qui existiment, ut callidum ejus ingenium, ita anxium judicium : neque enim eminentes virtutes sectabatur, et rursum vitia oderat : ex optimis periculum sibi, a pessimis dedecus publicum metuebat : qua hæsitatione postremo eo proventus est, ut mandaverit quibusdam provincias, quos egredi urbe non erat passurus.

LXXXI. De comitiis consularibus, quæ tum primum, illo principe, ac deinceps fuere, vix quidquam firmare ausim : adeo diversa non modo apud auctores, sed in ipsius orationibus reperiuntur. Modo, subtractis candidatorum nominibus, originem cujusque et vitam et stipendia descripsit, ut, qui forent, intelligeretur : aliquando, ea quoque significatione subtracta, candidatos hortatus ne ambitu comitia turbarent, suam ad id curam pollicitus est : plerumque *eos tantum apud se professos, disseruit, quorum nomina consulibus edidisset : posse et alios profiteri, si gratiæ aut meritis confiderent :* speciosa verbis, re inania, aut subdola ; quantoque majore libertatis imagine tegebantur, tanto eruptura ad infensius servitium.

1880

1881

C. CORNELII TACITI

ANNALIUM

LIBER SECUNDUS.

C. CORNELII TACITI

ANNALIUM

LIBER SECUNDUS.

SUMMARY OF BOOK II.

CHAP. I. Commotions in the East. II. Vonones sent from Rome to reign over the Parthians at their own request. III., IV. He is deposed by the Parthians.—Artabanus ascends the throne.—Vonones flies to the Armenians, and is received as their king; but is soon dethroned, and guarded as a prisoner by Silanus, the governor of Syria. V. Tiberius, under feigned pretences, thinks of recalling Germanicus from the command of the forces in Germany.—The latter meanwhile makes preparations for active movements against the enemy. VI. Fleet of Germanicus.—The Rhine. VII. Irruption into the territory of the Catti.—The altar of Drusus rebuilt. VIII. Canal of Drusus.—River Amisia.—The Amsivarii renew hostilities and are punished. IX. Interview between Arminius and his brother Flavus. X. Warm altercation between them. XI. The Romans cross the Visurgis.—Batavian auxiliaries in danger.—Death of Cariovalda their leader. XII. Germanicus seeks to ascertain the sentiments and inclinations of his men. XIII. The Germans strive by tempting offers to induce the Romans to desert.—They advance against the Roman camp, but again withdraw. XIV. Dream of Germanicus.—He addresses the soldiers. XV. Addresses of Arminius and the German chieftains to their followers. XVI. Arrangement of the two armies. XVII. Omen of victory.—Flight and slaughter of the Germans. XVIII. Trophy erected. XIX. The Germans resolve again to try the hazard of a battle. XX. A second conflict. XXI. Victory declares at length for the Romans, though the Roman cavalry fought with undecided success. XXII. Trophy and inscription. XXIII. Some of the legions return by land to winter quarters.—Germanicus sails with the rest down the Amisia to the ocean.—Fleet overtaken by a storm.—Alarm of the soldiery.—Fleet dispersed. XXIV. Disasters and sufferings resulting from the storm.—Fleet subsequently refitted.—Aid thus afforded to those who had been shipwrecked on the islands. XXV. The Germans, on receiving intelligence of these dis-

asters, begin to renew the war.—They are attacked and defeated by the Romans.—The eagle of one of the legions of Varus recovered. XXVI. The Roman troops go into winter quarters.—Germanicus recalled by Tiberius. XXVII. Libo Drusus accused of conspiring against the state. XXVIII.—XXXI. Trial before the Senate.—Libo commits suicide. XXXII. Estate of the deceased divided among the informers.—Conduct of the Senate on this occasion.—Astrologers, &c., banished from Italy.—Two of the number put to death. XXXIII. The luxury of the times taken into consideration by the Senate. XXXIV. Lucius Piso breaks out with vehemence against the reigning vices of the times.—Retires from the Senate.—Haughty conduct of Urgulania. XXXV. Debate in the Senate on adjourning all public business until the return of Tiberius to Rome. XXXVI. Motion of Asinius Gallus respecting the election of magistrates; which is opposed by Tiberius. XXXVII. Address of Hortalus to the Senate, requesting relief. XXXVIII. Harsh speech of Tiberius on the occasion.—Expresses his willingness, however, to aid the children of Hortalus. XXXIX. Daring conduct of the slave Clemens, and his design to carry off Agrippa from Planasia.—Attempts to personate the murdered prince. XL. Is seized and executed. XLI. Public monuments erected and dedicated at Rome.—Germanicus enjoys a triumph for his victories over the Germans. XLII. Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, invited to Rome.—Araigned before the Senate.—Dies. XLIII. Troubles in the East.—Germanicus commissioned to quell them.—Syria given to Piso. XLIV. Drusus sent to command the army in Illyricum.—Intestine quarrels among the Germans. XLV. Arminius takes the field again at the head of the Cherusci and their allies.—Addresses his followers. XLVI. Harangue of Maroboduus on the other side.—Battle.—Maroboduus defeated.—Retires among the Marcomanni, and thence sends a deputation to Tiberius for aid.—Aid refused. XLVII. Twelve principal cities in Asia destroyed by an earthquake.—Relief extended to them by Tiberius. XLVIII. Besides these acts of public munificence, Tiberius displays great liberality in matters of a private nature. XLIX. Temples dedicated. L. Apuleia Varilla accused of high treason and of adultery. LI. Warm contest for the appointment of a prætor, the office having become vacant by the death of Vipsanius Gallus. LII. War kindled up in Africa by Tacfarinas the Numidian, and by Mazippa, leader of the Mauritanians.—Defeated by Camillus.—Triumphal ornaments decreed to Camillus by the Senate. LIII. Germanicus visits various parts of Greece. LIV. Passes over into Asia.—Consults the oracle of the Clarian Apollo. LV. Piso and his wife Plancina attempt by secret arts to gain over the affections of the soldiery. LVI. Germanicus places Zeno on the throne of Armenia. LVII. Insolent demeanor of Piso. LVIII. Vonones removed from Syria. LIX. Germanicus visits Egypt.—Tiberius finds fault with this. LX. Canopus.—Thebes. LXI. Statue of Memnon.—Pyramids, &c. LXII. Dissensions among the Germans.

LXIII. Maroboduus, driven out by Catualda, flees for refuge to the Romans.—Catualda subsequently experiences a like reverse of fortune, and finds a similar refuge. LXIV.—LXVII. Rhescuporis, king of Thrace, murders his nephew, and is sent a prisoner to Rome.—He is ordered to Alexandria, and there put to death. LXVIII. Vonones attempts to escape out of Cilicia; and being taken, is killed by a veteran soldier. LXIX. Germanicus returns from Egypt.—Animosities between him and Piso.—Germanicus is seized with a fit of illness; he recovers, but has a relapse.—Poison suspected. LXX. Indignation of Germanicus.—Writes to Piso disclaiming all friendship and connection with him, and commands him to leave the province. LXXI. Germanicus takes leave of his friends. LXXII. His last advice to his wife.—His death, and the grief of all ranks of men. LXXIII. His funeral and character. LXXIV. Sentius takes upon him the government of Syria. LXXV. Agrippina embarks with the urn of Germanicus.—Piso, while at the island of Cos, hears of the death of Germanicus.—His joy at the tidings. LXXVI. The centurions flock to Piso, and exhort him to resume the command that had been taken from him.—A council of his friends called.—His son is for his returning to Rome without delay. LXXVII. Domitius Celer is of a contrary opinion. LXXVIII. Piso follows the advice of Domitius, and orders the latter to sail for Syria. LXXIX. Piso's fleet meets that of Agrippina near the coast of Lycia. LXXX. Piso seizes the castle of Celenderis in Cilicia.—Draws out his followers for battle.—Is defeated by Sentius. LXXXI. Piso capitulates.—Sentius allows him a safe return to Rome. LXXXII. Grief and loud complaints at Rome on hearing of the illness of Germanicus.—Strong expression of public feeling when the news of his death arrived. LXXXIII. Honors decreed to the memory of Germanicus. LXXXIV. Livia, the wife of Drusus, delivered of twins.—Joy of Tiberius. LXXXV. Laws to restrain female licentiousness. LXXXVI. Choice of a new Vestal virgin in the room of Occia deceased. LXXXVII. Tiberius rejects the title of Father of his country. LXXXVIII. Arminius dies in Germany, through the treachery of his own relations.—Character of that chieftain.

These events embrace a period of four years.

A.U.C.	A.D.	Consuls.
DCCLXIX.	16.	T. Statilius Sisenna Taurus. } L. Scribonius Libo. }
DCCLXX.	17.	C. Cælius Rufus. } L. Pomponius Flaccus. }
DCCLXXI.	18.	Tiberius Cæsar Augustus (3d time). } Germanicus Cæsar (2d time). }
DCCLXXII.	19.	M. Junius Silanus. } L. Norbanus Flaccus. }

I. SISENNA STATILIO TAURO, L. Libone Coss., mota Orientis regna provinciæque Romanæ, initio apud Parthos orto, qui petitem Roma acceptumque regem, quamvis gentis Arsacidarum, ut externum aspernantur. Is fuit Vonones, obses Augusto datus a Phraate. Nam Phraates, quamquam depulisset exercitus ducesque Romanos, cuncta venerantium officia ad Augustum verterat, partemque proliis firmandæ amicitiae miserat; haud perinde nostri metu, quam fidei popularium diffisus.

II. Post finem Phraatis et sequentium regum, ob internas cædes venire in Urbem legati a primoribus Parthis, qui Vononem, vetustissimum liberorum ejus, accirent. Magnificum id sibi credidit Cæsar, auxitque opibus. Et accepere barbari lætantes, ut ferme ad nova imperia. Mox subit pudor, *degeneravisse Parthos: petitem alio ex orbe regem, hostium artibus infectum: jam inter provincias Romanas solium Arsacidarum haberi, darique. Ubi illam gloriam trucidantium Crassum, exturbantium Antonium; si mancipium Cæsaris, tot per annos servitutem perpessum, Parthis imperitet?* Accendebat dedignantes et ipse, diversus a majorum institutis, raro venatu, segni equorum cura; quotiens per urbes incederet, lecticæ gestamine fastuque erga patrias epulas. Irridebantur et Græci comites, ac vilissima utensilium annulo clausa: sed prompti aditus, obvia comitas, ignotæ Parthis virtutes, nova vitia; et quia ipsorum moribus aliena, perinde odium pravis et honestis.

III. Igitur Artabanus, Arsacidarum e sanguine, apud Dahas adultus, excitur, primoque congressu fusus, reparat vires, regnoque potitur. Victo Vononi per fugium Armenia fuit, vacua tunc, interque Parthorum et Romanas opes infida, ob scelus Antonii, qui Artavasden, regem Armeniorum, specie amicitiae illectum, dein catenis oneratum, postremo interfecerat. Ejus filius Artaxias, memoria patris nobis infensus, Arsacidarum vi seque regnumque

tutatus est. Occiso Artaxia per dolum propinquorum, datus a Cæsare Armeniis Tigranes, deductusque in regnum a Tiberio Nerone. Nec Tigrani diuturnum imperium fuit, neque liberis ejus, quamquam sociatis, more externo, in matrimonium regnumque.

IV. Dein jussu Augusti impositus Artavasdes, et non sine clade nostra dejectus. Tum C. Cæsar componendæ Armeniæ deligitur. Is Ariobarzanem, origine Medum, ob insignem corporis formam et præclarum animum, volentibus Armeniis præfecit. Ariobarzane morte fortuita absumto, stirpem ejus haud toleravere: tentatoque feminæ imperio, cui nomen Erato, eaque brevi pulsa, incerti solutique, et magis sine domino quam in libertate, profugum Vononem in regnum accipiunt. Sed ubi minitari Artabanus, et parum subsidii in Armeniis, vel, si nostra vi defenderetur, bellum adversus Parthos sumendum erat; rector Syriæ, Creticus Silanus, excitem custodia circumdat, manente luxu et regio nomine. Quod ludibrium ut effugere agitaverit Vonones, in loco reddemus.

V. Ceterum Tiberio haud ingratum accidit, turbari res Orientis; ut ea specie Germanicum suetis legionibus abstraheret, novisque provinciis impositum, dolo simul et casibus objectaret. At ille, quanto acriora in eum studia militum, et aversa patrum voluntas, celerandæ victoriæ intentior, tractare præliorum vias, et quæ sibi tertium jam annum belligeranti sæva vel prospera evenissent: *Fundi Germanos acie et justis locis: juvari silvis, paludibus, brevi ætate et præmatura hieme: suum militem haud perinde vulneribus, quam spatiis itinerum, damno armorum affici: fessas Gallias ministrandis equis: longum impedimentorum agmen opportunum ad insidias, defensantibus iniquum. At, si mare intretur, promptam ipsis possessionem, et hostibus ignotam: simul bellum maturius incipi, legionesque et com meatu pariter vehi: integrum equitem equosque per ora et alveos fluminum media in Germania fore.*

VI. Igitur huc intendit : missis ad census Galliarum P. Vitellio et C. Antio, Silius et Anteius et Cæcina fabricandæ classi præponuntur. Mille naves sufficere visæ, properatæque : aliæ breves, angusta puppi proraque, et lato utero, quo facilius fluctus tolerarent : quædam planæ carinis, ut sine noxa siderent : plures appositis utrimque gubernaculis, converso ut repente remigio hinc vel illinc appellerent. Multæ pontibus stratæ, super quas tormenta veherentur, simul aptæ ferendis equis aut commeatui, velis habiles, citæ remis, augebantur alacritate militum in speciem ac terrorem. Insula Batavorum, in quam convenirent, prædicta, ob faciles appulsus, accipiendisque copiis et transmittendum ad bellum opportuna. Nam Rhenus uno alveo continuus, aut modicas insulas circumveniens, apud principium agri Batavi velut in duos amnes dividitur, servatque nomen et violentiam cursus, qua Germaniam prævehitur, donec Oceano misceatur : ad Gallicam ripam latior et placidior affluens ; verso cognomento *Vahalem* accolæ dicunt ; mox id quoque vocabulum mutat *Mosa* flumine, ejusque immenso ore eundem in Oceanum effunditur.

VII. Sed Cæsar, dum adiguntur naves, Silium legatum cum expedita manu irruptionem in Cattos facere jubet : ipse audito, castellum Luppiæ flumini appositum obsideri. sex legiones eo duxit. Neque Silio ob subitos imbres aliud actum, quam ut modicam prædam, et Arpi, principis Cattorum, conjugem filiamque raperet : neque Cæsari copiam pugnæ obsessores fecere, ad famam adventus ejus dilapsi. Tumulum tamen, nuper Varianis legionibus structum, et veterem aram Druso sitam disjecerant. Restituit aram, honorique patris princeps ipse cum legionibus decurrit, tumulum iterare haud visum. Et cuncta inter castellum Alisonem ac Rhenum novis limitibus aggeribusque permunita.

VIII. Jamque classis advenerat, cum, præmisso com-

meatu, et distributis in legiones ac socios navibus, fossam, cui *Drusianæ* nomen, ingressus, precatusque Drusum patrem, *ut se, eadem ausum, libens placatusque exemplo ac memoria consiliorum atque operum juvaret*; lacus inde et Oceanum usque ad Amisiam flumen secunda navigatione pervehitur. Classis Amisiæ relicta, lævo amne; erratumque in eo, quod non subvexit; transposuit militem, dextras in terras iturum: ita plures dies efficiendis pontibus absumti. Et eques quidem ac legiones prima æstuararia, nondum accrescente unda, intrepidi transiere: postremum auxiliorum agmen, Batavique in parte ea, dum insultant aquis, artemque nandi ostentant, turbati, et quidam hausti sunt. Metanti castra Cæsari Amsivariorum defectio a tergo nuntiatur: missus illico Stertinius cum equite et armatura levi igne et cædibus perfidiam ultus est.

IX. Flumen Visurgis Romanos Cheruscosque interfluebat. Ejus in ripa cum ceteris primoribus Arminius adstitit, quæsitoque, *an Cæsar venisset?* postquam *adesse* responsum est, *ut liceret cum fratre colloqui*, oravit. Erat is in exercitu, cognomento Flavius, insignis fide, et amisso per vulnus oculo paucis ante annis, duce Tiberio. Tum permissum; progressusque salutatur ab Arminio: qui, amotis stipendoribus, *ut sagittarii, nostra pro ripa dispositi, abscederent*, postulat; et postquam digressi, *unde ea deformitas oris?* interrogat fratrem. Illo locum et prælium referente: *quodnam præmium recepisset?* exquirat. Flavius *aucta stipendia, torquem et coronam aliaque militaria dona* memorat; irridente Arminio vilia servitii pretia.

X. Exin diversi ordiuntur: hic *magnitudinem Romanam, opes Cæsaris, et victis graves pœnas; in deditionem venienti paratam clementiam; neque conjugem et filium ejus hostiliter haberi: ille fas patriæ, libertatem avitam, penetrales Germaniæ deos, matrem precum sociam; ne propinquorum et affinium, denique gentis suæ desertor et pro-*

ditor quam Imperator esse mallet. Paullatim inde ad jurgia prolapsi, quo minus pugnam consererent, ne flumine quidem interjecto cohibebantur, ni Stertinius accurrens, plenum iræ, *armaque et equum* poscentem Flavum attinisset. Cernebatur contra minitabundus Arminius, præliumque denuntians. Nam pleraque Latino sermone interjaciebat, ut qui Romanis in castris ductor popularium meruisset.

XI. Postero die Germanorum acies trans Visurgim stetit. Cæsar, nisi pontibus præsidiisque impositis, dare in discrimen legiones haud imperatorium ratus, equitem vado tramittit. Præfuere Stertinius, et e numero primipilariū Æmilius, distantibus locis invecti, ut hostem diducerent. Qua celerrimus amnis, Cariovalda, dux Batavorum, erupit: eum Cherusci, fugam simulantes, in planitiem saltibus circumjectam traxere: dein coorti et undique effusi, trudunt adversos, instant cedentibus, collectosque in orbem, pars congressi, quidam eminus proturbant. Cariovalda, diu sustentata hostium sævitia, hortatus suos, ut ingruentes catervas globo frangerent; atque ipse in densissimos irrumpens, congestis telis, et suffosso equo, labitur, ac multi nobilium circa: ceteros vis sua aut equites, cum Stertinio Æmilioque subvenientes, periculo ex-emere.

XII. Cæsar, transgressus Visurgim, indicio perfugæ cognoscit, *delectum ab Arminio locum pugnæ: convenisse et alias nationes in silvam Herculi sacram, ausurosque nocturnam castrorum oppugnationem.* Habita indici fides; et cernebantur ignes: suggestisque propius speculatores, *audiri fremitum equorum immensique et inconditi agminis murmur,* attulere. Igitur, propinquo summæ rei discrimine, explorandos militum animos ratus, quonam id modo incorruptum foret, secum agitabat: *Tribunos et centuriones læta sæpius quam comperta nuntiare; libertorum servilia ingenia; amicis inesse adulationem; si concio vocetur, illic*

quoque, quæ pauci incipiant, reliquos adstrepere. Penitus noscendas mentes, cum secreti et incustoditi, inter militares cibos, spem aut metum proferrent.

XIII. Nocte cœpta egressus augurali, per occulta et vigilibus ignara, comite uno, contactus humeros ferina pelle, adit castrorum vias, adsistit tabernaculis, fruiturque fama sui: cum hic *nobilitatem ducis, decorem* alius, *plurimi patientiam, comitatem, per seria, per jocos eundem animum, laudibus ferrent, reddendamque gratiam in acie, faterentur: simul, perfidos et ruptores pacis ultioni et gloriæ mactandos.* Inter quæ unus hostium, Latinæ linguæ sciens, acto ad vallum equo, voce magna, *conjuges et agros et stipendii in dies, donec bellaretur, sestertios centenos, si quis transfugisset, Arminii nomine pollicetur.* Incendit ea contumelia legionum iras: *veniret dies, daretur pugna; sumturum militem Germanorum agros, tracturum conjuges: accipere omen, et matrimonia ac pecunias hostium prædæ destinare.* Tertia ferme vigilia assultatum est castris, sine conjectu teli, postquam crebras pro munimentis cohortes et nihil remissum sensere.

XIV. Nox eadem lætam Germanico quietem tulit: viditque se operatum, et, sanguine sacro respersa prætexta, pulchriorem aliam manibus aviæ Augustæ accepisse. Auctus omine, addicentibus auspiciis, vocat concionem, et, quæ sapientia prævisa, aptaque imminenti pugnae, disserit: *Non campos modo militi Romano ad prælium bonos, sed, si ratio adsit, silvas et saltus. Nec enim immensa barbarorum scuta, enormes hastas, inter truncos arborum et enata humo virgulta perinde haberi, quam pila et gladios et hærentia corpori tegmina. Denserent ictus, ora mucronibus quærerent: non lorica Germano, non galeam; ne scuta quidem ferro, nervove firmata, sed viminum textus, sed tennes, fucatas colore, tabulas: primam utcumque aciem hastatam; ceteris præusta aut brevia tela. Jam corpus, ut visu torvum et ad brevem impetum validum, sic nulla vul-*

nerum patientia: sine pudore flagitii, sine cura ducum, abire, fugere: pavidos adversis, inter secunda non divini, non humani juris memores. Si tædio viarum ac maris finem cupiant, hac acie parari: propiorem jam Albim, quam Rhenum; neque bellum ultra: modo se, patris patruisque vestigia prementem, iisdem in terris victorem sisterent.

XV. Orationem ducis secutus militum ardor: signumque pugnae datum. Nec Arminius aut ceteri Germanorum proceres omittebant suos quisque testari: *Hos esse Romanos, Variani exercitus fugacissimos, qui ne bellum tolerarent, seditionem induerint: quorum pars onusta vulneribus terga, pars fluctibus et procellis fractos artus, infensis rursus hostibus, adversis Diis objiciant, nulla boni spe: classem quippe et avia Oceani quaesita, ne quis venientibus occurreret, ne pulsos premeret: sed, ubi miscuerint manus, inane victis ventorum remorumve subsidium. Meminissent modo avaritiæ, crudelitatis, superbiæ: aliud sibi reliquum, quam tenere libertatem, aut mori ante servitium?*

XVI. Sic accensos et prælium poscentes in campum, cui *Idistaviso* nomen, deducunt. Is medius inter Visurgim et colles, ut ripæ fluminis cedunt, aut prominentia montium resistunt, inæqualiter sinuatur. Pone tergum insurgens silva, editis in altum ramis, et pura humo inter arborum truncos. Campum et prima silvarum barbara acies tenuit: soli Cherusci juga insedere, ut præliantibus Romanis desuper incurrerent. Noster exercitus sic incessit: auxiliares Galli Germanique in fronte: post quos pedites sagittarii: dein quatuor legiones, et cum duabus prætoriis cohortibus ac delecto equite Cæsar: exin totidem aliæ legiones et levis armatura, cum equite sagittario, ceteræque sociorum cohortes. Intentus paratusque miles, ut ordo agminis in aciem adsisteret.

XVII. Visis Cheruscorum catervis, quæ per ferociam proruperant, validissimos equitum incurrere latus, Stertinium cum ceteris turmis circumgredi, tergaque invadere

jubet, ipse in tempore affuturus. Interea pulcherrimum augurium, octo aquilæ, petere silvas et intrare visæ, Imperatorem advertere. Exclamat, *Irent, sequerentur Romanas aves, propria legionum numina*. Simul pedestris acies infertur, et præmissus eques postremos ac latera impulit: mirumque dictu, duo hostium agmina, diversa fuga, qui silvam tenuerant, in aperta; qui campis adstiterant, in silvam ruebant. Medii inter hos Cherusci collibus detrudebantur: inter quos insignis Arminius manu, voce, vulnere sustentabat pugnam: incubueratque sagittariis, illa rupturus, ni Rætorum Vindelicorumque et Gallicæ cohortes signa objecissent. Nisu tamen corporis et impetu equi pervasit, oblitus faciem suo cruore, ne nosceretur. Quidam, *agnitum a Caucis, inter auxilia Romana agentibus, emissumque tradiderunt*. Virtus seu fraus eadem Inguiomero effugium dedit: ceteri passim trucidati. Et plerosque, tranare Visurgim conantes, injecta tela, aut vis fluminis, postremo moles ruentium et incidentes ripæ operuere. Quidam turpi fuga in summa arborum nisi, ramisque se occultantes, admotis sagittariis, per ludibrium figebantur: alios prorutæ arbores afflixere. Magna ea victoria, neque cruenta nobis fuit.

XVIII. Quinta ab hora diei ad noctem cæsi hostes decem millia passuum cadaveribus atque armis opplevere; repertis inter spolia eorum catenis, quas in Romanos, ut non dubio eventu, portaverant. Miles in loco prælii Tiberium Imperatorem salutavit, struxitque aggerem, et in modum tropæorum arma, subscriptis victarum gentium nominibus, imposuit.

XIX. Haud perinde Germanos vulnera, luctus, excidia, quam ea species, dolore et ira affecit. Qui modo abire sedibus, trans Albim concedere parabant, pugnam volunt, arma rapiunt: plebes, primores, juvenus, senes agmen Romanum repente incursant, turbant. Postremo delingunt locum, flumine et silvis clausum, arcta intus planitie

et humida: silvas quoque profunda palus ambibat, nisi quod latus unum Angrivarii lato aggere extulerant, quo a Cheruscis dirimerentur. Hic pedes adstitit: equitem propinquis lucis texere, ut ingressis silvam legionibus a tergo foret.

XX. Nihil ex his Cæsari incognitum: consilia, locos, prompta, occulta noverat, astusque hostium in perniciem ipsis vertebat. Seio Tuberoni legato tradit equitem campumque: peditum aciem ita instruxit, ut pars æquo in silvam aditu incederet, pars objectum aggerem eniteretur: quod arduum, sibi, cetera legatis permisit. Quibus plana evenerant, facile irrupere: quis impugnandus agger, ut si murum succederent, gravibus superne ictibus conflictabantur. Sensit dux imparem cominus pugnam, remotisque paullum legionibus, funditores libratoresque excutere tela et proturbare hostem jubet. Missæ e tormentis hastæ, quantoque conspicui magis propugnatores, tanto pluribus vulneribus dejecti. Primus Cæsar cum Prætoriiis cohortibus, capto vallo, dedit impetum in silvas: collato illic gradu certatum. Hostem a tergo palus, Romanos flumen aut montes claudebant: utrisque necessitas in loco, spes in virtute, salus ex victoria.

XXI. Nec minor Germanis animus: sed genere pugnae et armorum superabantur: cum ingens multitudo artis locis prælongas hastas non protenderet, non colligeret, neque assultibus et velocitate corporum uteretur, coacta stabile ad proelium: contra miles, cui scutum pectori appressum, et insidens capulo manus, latos barbarorum artus, nuda ora foderet, viamque strage hostium aperiret: imprompto jam Arminio, ob continua pericula, sive illum recens acceptum vulnus tardaverat. Quin et Inguiomerum, tota volitantem acie, fortuna magis, quam virtus, deserebat. Et Germanicus, quo magis agnosceretur, detraxerat tegimen capiti, orabatque, *insisterent cædibus: nil opus captivis, solam internecionem gentis finem bello fore.* Jamque

sero diei subducit ex acie legionem faciendis castris: ceteræ ad noctem cruore hostium satiatae sunt. Equites ambigue certavere.

XXII. Laudatis pro concione victoribus, Cæsar congeriem armorum struxit, superbo cum titulo: **DEBELLATIS INTER RHENUM ALBIMQUE NATIONIBUS EXERCITUM TIBERII CÆSARIS EA MONIMENTA MARTI ET JOVI ET AUGUSTO SACRAVISSE.** De se nihil addit, metu invidiæ, an ratus, conscientiam facti satis esse. Mox bellum in Amsivarios Stertinio mandat, ni deditionem properavissent. Atque illi supplices, nihil abnuendo, veniam omnium acceperere.

XXIII. Sed, æstate jam adulta, legionum aliæ itinere terrestri in hibernacula remissæ: plures Cæsar classi impositas per flumen Amisiam Oceano invexit. Ac primo placidum æquor mille navium remis strepere, aut velis impelli: mox atro nubium globo effusa grando, simul variis undique procellis incerti fluctus prospectum adimere, regimen impedire: milesque pavidus, et casuum maris ignarus, dum turbat nautas, vel intempestive juvat, officia prudentium corruppebat. Omne dehinc cælum et mare omne in austrum cessit, qui tumidis Germaniæ terris, profundis amnibus, immenso nubium tractu validus, et rigore vicini septemtrionis horridior, rapuit disjecitque naves in aperta Oceani, aut insulas saxis abruptis vel per occulta vada infestas. Quibus paullum ægreque vitatis, postquam mutabat æstus, eodemque, quo ventus, ferebat, non adhærere ancoris, non exhaurire irrumpentes undas poterant: equi, jumenta, sarcinæ, etiam arma præcipitantur, quo levarentur alvei, manantes per latera, et fluctu superurgente.

XXIV. Quanto violentior cetero mari Oceanus, et truculentia cœli præstat Germania, tantum illa clades novitate et magnitudine excessit, hostilibus circum litoribus, aut ita vasto et profundo, ut credatur novissimum ac sine terris, mari. Pars navium haustæ sunt; plures apud insulas

longius sitas ejectæ; milesque, nullo illic hominum cultu fame absumtus, nisi quos corpora equorum, eodem elisa toleraverant. Sola Germanici triremis Caucorum terram appulit, quem per omnes illos dies noctesque apud scopulos et prominentes oras, cum *se tanti exitii reum* clamitaret vix cohibuere amici, quo minus eodem mari oppeteret. Tandem relabente æstu et secundante vento claudæ naves raro remigio, aut intentis vestibus, et quædam a validioribus tractæ, revertere: quas raptim reffectas misit, ut scrutarentur insulas. Collecti ea cura plerique: multos Amisivarii nuper in fidem accepti, redemptos ab interioribus reddidere; quidam in Britanniam rapti, et remissi a regulis. Ut quis ex longinquo revererat, *miracula* narrabant, *vim turbinum, et inauditas volucres, monstra maris, ambiguas hominum et belluarum formas*; visa, sive ex metu credita.

XXV. Sed fama classis amissæ, ut Germanos ad spem belli, ita Cæsarem ad coercendum erexit. C. Silio cum triginta peditum, tribus equitum, millibus ire in Cattos imperat: ipse majoribus copiis Marsos irrumpit: quorum dux Maloendus, nuper in deditionem acceptus, *propinquo luco defossam Varianæ legionis aquilam modico præsidio servari*, indicat. Missa extemplo manus, quæ hostem a fronte eliceret; alii, qui, terga circumgressi, recluderent humum: et utrisque adfuit fortuna. Eo promptior Cæsar pergit introrsus, populatur, excindit non ausum congregi hostem, aut, sicubi restiterat, statim pulsum: nec unquam magis, ut ex captivis cognitum est, paventem. Quippe *invictos, et nullis casibus superabiles Romanos prædicabant, qui perdita classe, amissis armis, post constrata equorum virorumque corporibus litora, eadem virtute, pari ferocia, et veluti aucti numero irrupissent.*

XXVI. Reductus inde in hiberna miles, lætus animi, quod adversa maris expeditione prospera pensavisset. Addidit munificentiam Cæsar, quantum quis damni pro

fessus erat, exsolvendo. Nec dubium habebatur, labare hostes, petendæque pacis consilia sumere, et, si proxima æstas adjiceretur, posse bellum patrari: sed crebris epistolis Tiberius monebat, *rediret ad decretum triumphum: satis jam eventuum, satis casuum: prospera illi et magna prælia: eorum quoque meminisset, quæ venti et fluctus, nulla ducis culpa, gravia tamen et sæva damna intulissent.* Senovies a D. Augusto in Germaniam missum plura consilio, quam vi perfecisse. Sic Sygambros in deditioem acceptos: sic Suevos Regemque Maroboduum pace obstrictum. Posse et Cheruscos, ceterasque rebellium gentes, quando Romanæ ultioni consultum esset, internis discordiis relinqui. Precante Germanico annum efficiendis cœptis, acrius modestiam ejus aggreditur, alterum consulatum offerendo, cujus munia præsens obiret. Simul adnectebat, *si foret adhuc bellandum, relinqueret materiem Drusi fratris gloriæ, qui, nullo tum alio hoste, non nisi apud Germanias adsequi nomen imperatorium, et deportare lauream posset.* Haud cunctatus est ultra Germanicus, quamquam fingi ea, seque per invidiam parto jam decori abstrahi intelligeret.

XXVII. Sub idem tempus e familia Scriboniorum Libo Drusus defertur moliri res novas. Ejus negotii initium, ordinem, finem curatius disseram; quia tum primum reperta sunt, quæ per tot annos rem publicam exedere. Firmius Catus, senator, ex intima Libonis amicitia, juvenem improvidum et facilem inanibus, ad Chaldæorum promissa, Magorum sacra, somniorum etiam interpretes impulit: dum *proavum Pompeium, amitam Scriboniam quæ quondam Augusti conjunx fuerat, consobrinos Cæsares, plenam imaginibus domum* ostentat. Hortaturque ad luxum et æs alienum, socius libidinum et necessitatum, quo pluribus indiciis illigaret.

XXVIII. Ut satis testium, et, qui servi eadem noscerent, reperit, aditum ad principem postulat, demonstrato crimine et reo, per Flaccum Vescularium, equitem Roma-

num, cui propior cum Tiberio usus erat. Cæsar indicium haud adspernatus, congressus abnuit: *posse enim, eodem Flacco internuntio, sermones commeari*. Atque interim Libonem ornat prætura, convictibus adhibet, non vultu alienatus, non verbis commotior (adeo iram condiderat) cunctaque ejus dicta factaque, cum prohibere posset, scire malebat: donec Junius quidam, tentatus, ut infernas umbras carminibus eliceret, ad Fulcinium Trionem indicium detulit. Celebre inter accusatores Trionis ingenium erat, avidumque famæ malæ. Statim corripit reum, adit consules, Senatus cognitionem poscit: et vocantur Patres, addito, *consultandum super re magna et atroci*.

XXIX. Libo interim, veste mutata, cum primoribus feminis circumire domos, orare affines, vocem adversum pericula poscere, abnuentibus cunctis, cum diversa prætenderent, eadem formidine. Die senatus, metu et ægritudine fessus, sive, ut tradidere quidam, simulato morbo, lectica delatus ad fores curiæ, innisusque fratri, et manus ac supplices voces ad Tiberium tendens, immoto ejus vultu excipitur. Mox libellos et auctores recitat Cæsar, ita moderans, ne lenire, neve asperare crimina videretur.

XXX. Accesserant, præter Trionem et Catum accusatores, Fonteius Agrippa et C. Vibius, certabantque, cui jus perorandi in reum daretur: donec Vibius, quia nec ipsi inter se concederent, et Libo sine patrono introisset, singillatim se crimina objecturum professus, protulit libellos, recordes adeo, ut consultaverit Libo, *an habiturus foret opes, quis viam Appiam Brundisium usque pecunia periret*. Inerant et alia hujuscemodi, stolidi, vana; si mollius acciperes, miseranda. Uni tamen libello manu Libonis nominibus Cæsarum aut senatorum additas atroces vel occultas notas, accusator arguebat. Negante reo, agnoscentes servos per tormenta interrogari placuit. Et, quia vetere Senatusconsulto quæstio in caput domini prohibebatur, callidus et novi juris repertor, Tiberius,

mancipari singulos actori publico jubet: scilicet, ut in Libonem ex servis, salvo Senatusconsulto, quæreretur. Ob quæ posterum diem reus petivit. Domumque digressus, extremas preces P. Quirino propinquo suo ad principem mandavit. Responsum est, *ut Senatum rogaret.*

XXXI. Cingebatur interim milite domus, strepebant etiam in vestibulo, ut audiri, ut aspici possent: cum Libo, ipsis, quas in novissimam voluptatem adhibuerat, epulis excruciatas, vocare percussorem, prensare servorum dextras, inserere gladium. Atque illis, dum trepidant, dum refugiunt, evertentibus appositum mensa lumen, feralibus jam sibi tenebris, duos ictus in viscera direxit. Ad gemitum collabentis accurrere liberti: et, cæde visa, miles abstinit. Accusatio tamen apud Patres asseveratione eadem peracta, juravitque Tiberius, *petiturum se vitam quamvis nocenti, nisi voluntariam mortem properavisset.*

XXXII. Bona inter accusatores dividuntur: et præturæ extra ordinem datæ his, qui senatorii ordinis erant. Tunc Cotta Messalinus, *ne imago Libonis exsequias posteriorum comitaretur*, censuit: Cn. Lentulus, *ne quis Scribonius cognomentum Drusi assumeret: supplicationum dies Pomponii Flacci sententia constituti. Dona Jovi, Marti, Concordiæ, utque iduum Septembrium dies, quo se Libo interfecerat, dies festus haberetur*, L. P. et Gallus Asinii, et Papius Mutilus, et L. Apronius decrevere: quorum auctoritates adulationesque retuli, ut sciretur, vetus id in re publica malum. Facta et de mathematicis magisque Italia pellendis Senatus consulta: quorum e numero L. Pituanus saxo dejectus est: in P. Marcium Consules, extra portam Esquilinam, cum classicum canere jussissent, more prisco advertere.

XXXIII. Proximo Senatus die multa in luxum civitatis dicta a Q. Haterio, consulari, Octavio Frontone, prætura functo: decretumque, *ne vasa auro solida ministrandis cibis fierent: ne vestis serica viros fœdaret.* Excessit Fron-

to, ac postulavit *modum argento, supellectili, familiae*. Erat quippe adhuc frequens senatoribus, si quid e re publica crederent, loco sententiæ promere. Contra Gallus Asinius disseruit: *Auctu imperii adolevisse etiam privatas opes; idque non novum, sed e vetustissimis moribus. Aliam apud Fabricios, aliam apud Scipiones pecuniam: et cuncta ad rem publicam referri: qua tenui, angustas civium domos; postquam eo magnificentia venerit, gliscere singulos. Neque in familia et argento, quæque ad usum parentur, nimium aliquid, aut modicum, nisi ex fortuna possidentis. Distinctos Senatus et Equitum census, non, quia diversi natura, sed ut locis, ordinibus, dignationibus antistent, taliaque ad requiem animi, aut salubritatem corporum parentur. Nisi forte clarissimo cuique plures curas, majora pericula subeunda; delectamentis curarum et periculorum carendum esse. Facilem assensum Gallo, sub nominibus honestis, confessio vitiorum et similitudo audientium dedit. Adjecerat et Tiberius, non id tempus censuræ: nec, si quid in moribus labaret, defuturum corrigendi auctorem.*

XXXIV. Inter quæ L. Piso *ambitum fori, corrupta judicia, sævitiam oratorum, accusationes minitantium* increpans, *abire se et cedere urbe, victurum in aliquo abdito et longinquo rure*, testabatur: simul curiam relinquebat. Com-motus est Tiberius, et, quamquam mitibus verbis Pisonem permulsisset, propinquos quoque ejus impulit, ut abeuntem auctoritate vel precibus tenerent. Haud minus liberi doloris documentum idem Piso mox dedit, vocata in jus Urgulania, quam supra leges amicitia Augustæ extulerat. Nec aut Urgulania obtemperavit, in domum Cæsaris, spreto Pisone, vecta; aut ille abstinit, quamquam Augusta *se violari et imminui* quereretur. Tiberius hactenus indulgere matri civile ratus, ut, *se iturum ad prætoris tribunal, affuturum Urgulaniæ*, diceret, processit palatio, procul sequi jussis militibus. Spectabatur, occursante populo, compositus ore, et sermonibus variis tempus atque iter ducens:

donec, propinquis Pisonem frustra coercentibus, deferri Augusta pecuniam; quæ petebatur, juberet. Isque finis rei; ex qua neque Piso inglorius, et Cæsar majore fama fuit. Ceterum Urgulaniæ potentia adeo nimia civitati erat, ut testis in causa quadam, quæ apud senatum tractabatur, venire dedignaretur: missus est prætor, qui domi interrogaret: cum, virgines Vestales in foro et judicio audiri, quotiens testimonium dicerent, vetus mos fuerit.

XXXV. Res eo anno prolatas haud referrem, ni pretium foret, Cn. Pisonis et Asinii Galli super eo negotio diversas sententias noscere. Piso, *quamquam abfuturum se dixerat Cæsar, ob id magis agendum, censebat, et, absente principe, Senatum et Equites posse sua munia sustinere, decorum rei publicæ fore.* Gallus, quia speciem libertatis Piso præceperat, *nihil satis illustre, aut ex dignitate populi Romani, nisi coram et sub oculis Cæsaris: eoque conventum Italiæ et affluentis provincias præsentia ejus servanda,* dicebat. Audiente hæc Tiberio ac silente, magnis utrinque contentionibus acta: sed res dilata.

XXXVI. Et certamen Gallo adversus Cæsarem exortum est. Nam censuit, *in quinquennium magistratuum comitia habenda: utque legionum legati, qui ante præturam ea militia fungebantur, jam tum prætores destinarentur: princeps duodecim candidatos in annos singulos nominaret.* Haud dubium erat, eam sententiam altius penetrare, et arcana imperii tentari. Tiberius tamen, quasi augeretur potestas ejus, disseruit: *Grave moderationi suæ, tot eligere, tot differre. Vix per singulos annos offensiones vitari, quamvis repulsam propinqua spes soletur: quantum odii fore ab his, qui ultra quinquennium projiciantur! Unde prospici posse, quæ cuique tam longo temporis spatio mens, domus, fortuna? superbire homines etiam annua designatione: quid? si honorem per quinquennium agitent? quinquuplicari prorsus magistratus, subverti leges, quæ sua*

spatia exercendæ candidatorum industriæ quærendisque auctori potuendis honoribus statuerint.

XXXVII. Favorabili in speciem oratione vim imperii tenuit. Censusque quorundam senatorum iuuit. Quo magis mirum fuit, quod preces M. Hortali, nobilis juvenis, in paupertate manifesta, superbius accepisset. Nepos erat oratoris Hortensii, illectus a D. Augusto liberalitate decies sestertii, ducere uxorem, suscipere liberos, ne clarissima familia exstingueretur. Igitur, quatuor filiis ante limen curiæ adstantibus, loco sententiæ, quum in palatio senatus haberetur, modo Hortensii inter oratores sitam imaginem, modo Augusti intuens, ad hunc modum cœpit: *Patres conscripti, hos, quorum numerum et pueritiam videtis, non sponte sustuli, sed quia princeps monebat: simul majores mei meruerant, ut posteros haberent. Nam ego, qui non pecuniam, non studia populi, neque eloquentiam, gentile domus nostræ bonum, varietate temporum accipere vel parare potuissem, satis habebam, si tenues res meæ nec mihi pudori, nec cuiquam oneri forent. Jussus ab imperatore, uxorem duxi. En stirps et progenies tot consulum, tot dictatorum! nec ad invidiam ista, sed conciliandæ misericordiæ, refero. Adsequentur, florente te, Cæsar, quos dederis, honores: interim Q. Hortensii pronepotes, D. Augusti alumnos, ab inopia defende.*

XXXVIII. Inclinatio senatus incitamentum Tiberio fuit, quo promptius adversaretur, his ferme verbis usus: *Si quantum pauperum est venire huc, et liberis suis petere pecunias cœperint, singuli numquam exsatiabuntur, res publica deficiet. Nec sane ideo a majoribus concessum est, egredi aliquando relationem, et, quod in commune conducatur, loco sententiæ proferre, ut privata negotia, res familiares nostras hic augeamus, cum invidia senatus et principum, sive indulserint largitionem, sive abnuerint. Non enim preces sunt istuc, sed efflagitatio, intempestiva quidem et improvisa, cum aliis de rebus convenerint patres, consur-*

gere, et numero atque ætate liberum suorum urgere modestiam senatus, eandem vim in me transmittere, ac velut perfringere ærarium: quod, si ambitione exhausterimus, per scelera supplendum erit. Dedit tibi, Hortale, D. Augustus pecuniam, sed non compellatus, nec ea lege, ut semper daretur. Languescet alioqui industria, intendetur socordia, si nullus ex se metus aut spes; et securi omnes aliena subsidia expectabunt, sibi ignavi, nobis graves. Hæc atque talia, quamquam cum adsensu audita ab his, quibus omnia principum, honesta atque inhonesta, laudare mos est, plures per silentium aut occultum murmur excepere. Sensitque Tiberius. Et, cum paullum reticuisset, Hortalo se respondisse ait: ceterum, si patribus videretur, daturum liberis ejus ducena sestertia singulis, qui sexus virilis essent. Egere alii grates; siluit Hortalus, pavore, an avitæ nobilitatis, etiam inter angustias fortunæ, retinens. Neque miseratus est posthac Tiberius, quamvis domus Hortensii pudendam ad inopiam delaberetur.

XXXIX. Eodem anno, mancipii unius audacia, ni mature subventum foret, discordiis armisque civilibus rem publicam perculisset. Postumi Agrippæ servus, nomine *Clemens*, comperto fine Augusti, pergere in insulam Planasiam, et fraude aut vi raptum Agrippam ferre ad exercitus Germanicos, non servili animo concepit. Ausa ejus impedivit tarditas onerariæ navis: atque interim patrata cæde, ad majora et magis præcipitia conversus, furatur cineres, vectusque Cosam, Etruriæ promontorium, ignotis locis sese abdit, donec crinem barbamque promitteret. Nam ætate et forma haud dissimili in dominum erat. Tum, per idoneos et secreti ejus socios, crebrescit vivere *Agrippam*, occultis primum sermonibus, ut vetita solent, mox vago rumore apud imperitissimi cujusque promptas aures, aut rursus apud turbidos, eoque nova cupientes. Atque ipse adire municipia obscuro diei, neque propalam aspici, neque diutius iisdem locis. Sed, quia veritas visu

et mora, falsa festinatione et incertis valescunt, relinquebat famam aut præveniebat.

XL. Vulgabatur interim per Italiam, *servatum munere Deum Agrippam*: credebatur Romæ: jamque Ostiam invectum multitudo ingens, jam in urbe clandestini cœtus celebrabant: cum Tiberium anceps cura distrahere, vine militum servum suum coerceret, an inanem credulitatem tempore ipso vanescere sineret. Modo nihil spernendum, modo non omnia metuenda, ambiguus pudoris ac metus, reputabat. Postremo dat negotium Sallustio Crispo: ille e clientibus duos (quidam milites fuisse tradunt) deligit, atque hortatur, simulata conscientia adeant, offerant pecuniam, fidem atque pericula polliceantur. Exsequuntur ut jussum erat. Dein speculati noctem incustoditam, accepta idonea manu, vinctum, clauso ore, in palatium traxere. Percunctanti Tiberio, *Quomodo Agrippa factus esset?* respondisse fertur, *Quomodo tu Cæsar*. Ut ederet socios, subigi non potuit. Nec Tiberius pœnam ejus palam ausus, in secreta palatii parte interfici jussit, corpusque clam auferri. Et, quamquam multi e domo principis, equitesque ac senatores, sustentasse opibus, juvisse consiliis dicerentur, haud quæsitum.

XLI. Fine anni arcus, propter ædem Saturni, ob recepta signa cum Varo amissa, ductu Germanici, auspiciis Tiberii; et ædes Fortis Fortunæ Tiberim juxta in hortis, quos Cæsar dictator populo Romano legaverat; sacrarium genti Juliæ, effigiesque divo Augusto apud Bovillas, dicantur. C. Cæcilio, L. Pomponio consulibus, Germanicus Cæsar ante diem septimum Kalendas Junias triumphavit de Cheruscis Cattisque, et Angrivariis, quæque aliæ nationes usque ad Albim colunt: vecta spolia, captivi, simulacra montium, fluminum, præliorum: bellumque, quia conficere prohibitus erat, pro confecto accipiebatur. Augebat intuentium visus eximia ipsius species, currusque quinque liberis onustus, sed suberat occulta formido reputantibus,

haud prosperum in Druso, patre ejus, favorem vulgi: avunculum ejusdem, Marcellum, flagrantibus plebis studiis intra juventam ereptum: breves et infaustos populi Romani amores.

XLII. Ceterum Tiberius, nomine Germanici, trecenos plebi sestertios viritim dedit, seque collegam consulatui ejus destinavit. Nec ideo sinceræ caritatis fidem assecutus, amoliri juvenem specie honoris statuit, struxitque causas, aut forte oblatas adripuit. Rex Archelaus quinquagesimum annum Cappadocia potiebatur; invisus Tiberio, quod eum Rhodi agentem nullo officio coluisset. Nec id Archelaus per superbiam omiserat, sed ab intimis Augusti monitus: quia, florente C. Cæsare missoque ad res Orientis, intuta Tiberii amicitia credebatur. Ut, versa Cæsarum sobole, imperium adeptus est, elicit Archelaum matris litteris, quæ, non dissimulatis filii offensionibus, clementiam offerebat, si ad precandum veniret. Ille ignarus doli, vel, si intelligere crederetur, vim metuens, in urbem properat: exceptusque immiti a principe, et mox accusatus in Senatu; non ob crimina, quæ fingebantur, sed angore, simul fessus senio, et quia regibus æqua, nedum infima, insolita sunt, finem vitæ, sponte an fato, implevit. Regnum in provinciam redactum est, *fructibusque ejus levari posse centesimæ vectigal* professus Cæsar, ducentesimam in posterum statuit. Per idem tempus, Antiocho Commagenorum, Philopatore Cilicum, regibus defunctis, turbabantur nationes, plerisque Romanum, aliis regium imperium cupientibus: et provinciæ, Syria atque Judæa, fessæ oneribus, deminutionem tributi orabant.

XLIII. Igitur hæc, et de Armenia, quæ supra memoravi, apud patres disseruit: *nec posse motum Orientem nisi Germanici sapientia componi: nam suam ætatem vergere, Drusi nondum satis adolevisse.* Tunc decreto patrum permissæ Germanico provinciæ, quæ mari dividuntur, majusque imperium, quoquo adisset, quam his, qui sorte aut missu principis obtinerent. Sed Tiberius demoverat

Syria Creticum Silanum, per affinitatem connexum Germanico, quia Silani filia Neroni, vetustissimo liberorum ejus, pacta erat: præfeceratque Cn. Pisonem, ingenio violentum et obsequii ignarum, insita ferocia a patre Pisone, qui, civili bello, resurgentes in Africa partes acerrimo ministerio adversus Cæsarem jovit: mox Brutum et Cassium secutus, concesso reditu, petitione honorum abstinuit, donec ultro ambiretur delatum ab Augusto consulatum accipere. Sed, præter paternos spiritus, uxoris quoque Plancinæ nobilitate et opibus accendebatur. Vix Tiberio concedere: liberos ejus, ut multum infra, despectare: nec dubium habebat, se delectum, qui Syriæ imponeretur, ad spes Germanici coercendas. Credidere quidam, data et a Tiberio occulta mandata: et Plancinam haud dubie Augusta monuit muliebri æmulatione Agrippinam insectandi. Divisa namque et discors aula erat, tacitis in Drusum aut Germanicum studiis. Tiberius, ut proprium et sui sanguinis, Drusum fovebat: Germanico alienatio patrum amorem apud ceteros auxerat; et quia claritudine materni generis anteibat, avum M. Antonium, avunculum Augustum ferens. Contra Druso proavus eques Romanus Pomponius Atticus, dedecere Claudiorum imagines videbatur. Et conjux Germanici, Agrippina, fecunditate ac fama Liviam, uxorem Drusi, præcellebat. Sed fratres egregie concordēs, et proximorum certaminibus inconcussi.

XLIV. Nec multo post Drusus in Illyricum missus est, ut suesceret militiæ, studiaque exercitus pararet; simul juvenem, urbano luxu lascivientem, melius in castris haberi Tiberius, seque tutiorem rebatur, utroque filio legiones obtinente. Sed Suevi prætendebantur, auxilium adversus Cheruscos orantes. Nam discessu Romanorum, ac vacui externo metu, gentis assuetudine, et tum æmulatione gloriæ arma in se verterant. Vis nationum, virtus ducum in æquo: sed Maroboduum regis nomen invisum apud

populares ; Arminium, pro libertate bellantem, favor habebat.

XLV. Igitur non modo Cherusci sociique eorum, vetus Arminii miles, sumserunt bellum : sed e regno etiam Marobodui Suevæ gentes, Semnones ac Langobardi, defecerunt ad eum. Quibus additis, præpollebat, ni Inguiomerus cum manu clientium ad Maroboduum per fugisset ; non aliam ob causam, quam quia fratris filio juveni patruus senex parere dedignabatur. Diriguntur acies, pari utrimque spe, nec, ut olim apud Germanos, vagis incursibus, aut disjectas per catervas : quippe, longa adversum nos militia, insueverant sequi signa, subsidiis firmari, dicta imperatorum accipere. At tunc Arminius, equo collustrans cuncta, ut quosque advectus erat, *Reciperatam libertatem, trucidatas legiones, spolia adhuc et tela Romanis derepta in manibus multorum, ostentabat : contra fugacem Maroboduum appellans, præliorum expertem, Hercyniæ latebris defensum, ac mox per dona et legationes petivisse fœdus ; proditorem patriæ, satellitem Cæsaris, haud minus infensis animis exturbandum, quam Varum Quinctilium interfecerint. Meminissent modo tot præliorum ; quorum eventu, et ad postremum ejectis Romanis, satis probatum, penes utros summa belli fuerit.*

XLVI. Neque Maroboduus jactantia sui, aut probris in hostem abstinebat : sed Inguiomerum tenens, *Illo in corpore decus omne Cheruscorum, illius consiliis gesta, quæ prospere ceciderint, testabatur : vecordem Arminium, et rerum nescium, alienam gloriam in se trahere, quoniam tres vacuas legiones, et ducem fraudis ignarum, perfidia deceperit, magna cum clade Germaniæ et ignominia sua ; cum conjux, cum filius ejus servitium adhuc tolerent. At se, duodecim legionibus petitem, duce Tiberio, illibatam Germanorum gloriam servavisse. Mox conditionibus æquis discessum : neque pœnitere, quod ipsorum in manu sit, integrum adversum Romanos bellum, an pacem incruentam*

malint. His vocibus instinctos exercitus propriæ quoque causæ stimulabant; cum a Cheruscis Langobardisque, pro antiquo decore, aut recenti libertate; et contra, augendæ dominationi certaretur. Non alias majore mole concursum, neque ambiguo magis eventu, fuis utrimque dextris cornibus. Sperabaturque rursus pugna, ni Maroboduus castra in colles subduxisset. Id signum percussus fuit: et transfugiis paullatim nudatus, in Marcomannos concessit, misitque legatos ad Tiberium, oraturos auxilia. Responsum est, *non jure eum adversus Cheruscos arma Romana invocare, qui pugnantis in eundem hostem Romanos nulla ope juvisset.* Missus tamen Drusus, ut retulimus, pacis firmator.

XLVII. Eodem anno duodecim celebres Asiæ urbes collapsæ nocturno motu terræ: quo improvisior graviorque pestis fuit. Neque solitum in tali casu effugium subveniebat, in aperta prorumpendi, quia diductis terris hauriebantur. *Sedissee immensos montes: visa in arduo, quæ plana fuerint: effulsisse inter ruinam ignes,* memorant. Asperissima in Sardonios lues plurimum in eosdem misericordiæ traxit. Nam centies sestertium pollicitus Cæsar, et, quantum ærario aut fisco pendebant, in quinquennium remisit. Magnetes a Sipylo proximi damno ac remedio habiti. Temnios, Philadelphenos, Ægeatas, Apollonidenses, quique Mosteni ac Macedones Hyrcani vocantur, et Hierocæsaream, Myrinam, Cymen, Tmolium, levari idem in tempus tributis, mittique ex senatu placuit, qui præsentia spectaret refoveretque. Delectus est M. Aletius e prætoribus, ne, consulari obtinente Asiam, æmulatio inter pares et ex eo impedimentum oriretur.

XLVIII. Magnificam in publicum largitionem auxit Cæsar haud minus grata liberalitate, quod bona Æmiliæ Musæ, locupletis intestatæ, petita in fiscum, Æmilio Lepido, cujus e domo videbatur, et Patulei divitis equitis Romani hereditatem, quamquam ipse heres in parte lege-

retur, tradidit M. Servilio, quem prioribus, neque suspectis, tabulis scriptum compererat; *nobilitatem utriusque pecunia juvandam*, præfatus. Neque hereditatem cujusquam adiit, nisi cum amicitia meruisset. Ignotos et aliis infensos, eoque principem nuncupantes, procul arcebat. Ceterum, ut honestam innocentium paupertatem levavit, ita prodigos et ob flagitia egentes, Vibidium Varronem, Marium Nepotem, Appium Appianum, Cornelium Sullam, Q. Vitellium movit senatu, aut sponte cedere passus est.

XLIX. Iisdem temporibus Deum ædes, vetustate aut igni abolitas, cœptasque ab Augusto dedicavit, Libero Liberæque et Cereri juxta circum maximum, quem A. Postumius dictator voverat: eodemque in loco ædem Floræ, ab Lucio et Marco Publiciis, ædilibus, constitutam: et Jano templum, quod apud forum olitorium C. Duillius struxerat, qui primus rem Romanam prospere mari gessit, triumphumque navalem de Pœnis meruit. Spei ædes a Germanico sacratur: hanc Atilius voverat eodem bello.

L. Adolescebat interea lex majestatis. Et Apuleiam Varillam, sororis Augusti neptem, quia probrosis sermonibus D. Augustum ac Tiberium et matrem ejus illuisset, Cæsarique connexa adulterio teneretur, majestatis delator arcessebat. *De adulterio satis caveri lege Julia*, visum: *majestatis crimen distingui*, Cæsar postulavit; *damnarique, si qua de Augusto irreligiose dixisset: in se jacta nolle ad cognitionem vocari*. Interrogatus a consule, *quid de his censeret, quæ de matre ejus locuta secus argueretur*, reticuit: dein, proximo senatus die, illius quoque nomine oravit, *ne cui verba, in eam quoquo modo habita, crimini forent*. Liberavitque Apuleiam lege majestatis: adulterii graviolem pœnam deprecatus, *ut, exemplo majorum, propinquis suis ultra ducentesimum lapidem removeretur*, suasit. Adultero, Manlio, Italia atque Africa interdictum est.

LI. De prætore, in locum Vipsanii Galli, quem mors abstulerat, subrogando, certamen incessit. Germanicus atque Drusus (nam etiam tum Romæ erant) Haterium Agrippam, propinquum Germanici, fovebant: contra plerique nitebantur, ut numerus liberorum in candidatis præpolleret, quod lex jubebat. Lætabatur Tiberius, cum inter filios ejus et leges senatus disceptaret. Victa est sine dubio lex; sed neque statim et paucis suffragiis: quomodo, etiam cum valerent, leges vincebantur.

LII. Eodem anno cœptum in Africa bellum, duce hostium Tacfarinate. Is natione Numida in castris Romanis auxiliaria stipendia meritis, mox desertor, vagos primum et latrociniis suetos ad prædam et raptus congregare: dein, more militiæ, per vexilla et turmas componere: postremo non inconditæ turbæ, sed Musulanorum dux haberi. Valida ea gens et solitudinibus Africæ propinqua, nullo etiam tum urbium cultu, cepit arma, Maurosque accolas in bellum traxit. Dux et his Mazippa. Divisusque exercitus; ut Tacfarinas lectos viros, et Romanum in modum armatos, castris attineret, disciplina et imperiis sueretur: Mazippa levi cum copia incendia et cædes et terrorem circumferret. Compulerantque Cinithios, haud spernendam nationem, in eadem; cum Furius Camillus, proconsul Africæ, legionem, et quod sub signis sociorum, in unum conductos, ad hostem duxit: modicam manum, si multitudinem Numidarum atque Maurorum spectares: sed nihil æque cavebatur, quam ne bellum metu eluderent. Spe victoriæ inducti sunt, ut vincerentur. Igitur legio medio, leves cohortes duæque alæ in cornibus locantur. Nec Tacfarinas pugnam detrectavit. Fusi Numidæ multosque post annos Furio nomini partum decus militiæ. Nam post illum reciperatorem urbis, filiumque ejus Camillum, penes alias familias imperatoria laus fuerat. Atque hic, quem memoramus, bellorum expers habebatur. Eo pronior Tiberius res gestas apud senatum celebravit:

et decrevere patres triumphalia insignia: quod Camillo, ob modestiam vitæ, impune fuit.

LIII. Sequens annus Tiberium tertio, Germanicum iterum consules habuit. Sed eum honorem Germanicus iniit apud urbem Achaïæ Nicopolim, quo venerat per Illyricam oram, viso fratre Druso, in Dalmatia agente, Hadriatici ac mox Ionii maris adversam navigationem perpessus. Igitur paucos dies insumsit reficiendæ classi: simul sinus, Actiaca victoria inclytos, et sacratas ab Augusto manubias castraque Antonii, cum recordatione majorum suorum adiit. Namque ei, ut memoravi, avunculus Augustus, avus Antonius erant, magnaque illic imago tristium lætorumque. Hinc ventum Athenas, fœderique sociæ et vetustæ urbis datum, ut uno lictore uteretur. Excepere Græci quæsitissimis honoribus, vetera suorum facta dictaque præferentes, quo plus dignationis adulatio haberet.

LIV. Petita inde Eubœa, tramisit Lesbum: ubi Agrippina novissimo partu Juliam edidit. Tum extrema Asiæ, Perinthumque ac Byzantium, Thracias urbes, mox Propontidis angustias et os Ponticum intrat, cupidine veteres locos et fama celebratos noscendi; pariterque provincias, internis certaminibus aut magistratum injuriis fessas, refovebat. Atque illum in regressu sacra Samothracum visere nitentem, obvii aquilones depulere. Igitur ab Ilio, quæque ibi varietate fortunæ et nostri origine veneranda, relegit Asiam, appellitque Colophona, ut Clarii Apollinis oraculo uteretur. Non femina illic, ut apud Delphos, sed certis e familiis, et ferme Mileto accitus, sacerdos numerum modo consultantium et nomina audit: tum in specum degressus, hausta fontis arcani aqua, ignarus plerumque litterarum et carminum, edit responsa versibus compositis super rebus, quas quis mente concepit. Et ferebatur, Germanico per ambages, ut mos oraculis, *maturum exitium* cecinisse.

LV. At Cn. Piso, quo properantius destinata inciperet,

civitatem Atheniensium, turbido incessu exterritam, oratione sæva increpat, oblique Germanicum perstringens, *quod, contra decus Romani nominis, non Athenienses, tot cladibus extinctos, sed colluviem illam nationum, comitate nimia coluisset. Hos enim esse Mithradatis adversus Sullam, Antonii adversus divum Augustum socios.* Etiam vetera objectabat, quæ in Macedones improspere, violenter in suos fecissent: offensus urbi propria quoque ira; quia Theophilum quemdam, Areo judicio falsi damnatum, precibus suis non concederent. Exin navigatione celeri per Cycladas, et compendia maris, assequitur Germanicum apud insulam Rhodum, haud nescium, quibus insectationibus petitus foret: sed tanta mansuetudine agebat, ut, cum orta tempestas raperet in abrupta, possetque interitus inimici ad casum referri, miserit triremes, quarum subsidio discrimini eximeretur. Neque tamen mitigatus Piso, et vix diei moram perpessus, linquit Germanicum prævenitque. Et, postquam Syriam ac legiones attigit, largitione, ambitu, infimos manipularium juvando, cum veteres centuriones, severos tribunos, demoveret, locaque eorum clientibus suis vel deterrimo cuique attribueret, desidiam in castris, licentiam in urbibus, vagum ac lascivientem per agros militem sineret, eo usque corruptionis profectus est, ut sermone vulgi *parens legionum* haberetur. Nec Plancina se intra decora feminis tenebat; sed exercitio equitum, decursibus cohortium interesse: in Agrippinam, in Germanicum contumelias jacere: quibusdam etiam bonorum militum ad mala obsequia promptis, quod, *haud invito imperatore ea fieri*, occultus rumor incedebat.

LVI. Nota hæc Germanico; sed præverti ad Armenios instantior cura fuit. Ambigua gens ea antiquius hominum ingeniis et situ terrarum, quo, nostris provinciis late prætentata, penitus ad Medos porrigitur; maximisque imperiis interjecti et sæpius discordes sunt, adversus Romanos odio et in Parthum invidia. Regem illa tempestate non habe-

ant, amoto Vonone : sed favor nationis inclinabat in Zenonem, Polemonis regis Pontici filium, quod is prima ab infantia, instituta et cultum Armeniorum æmulatus, venatu, epulis et quæ alia barbari celebrant, proceres plebemque juxta devinerat. Igitur Germanicus in urbe Artaxata, approbantibus nobilibus, circumfusa multitudine, insigne regium capiti ejus imposuit. Ceteri venerantes regem, *Artaxiam*, consalutavere ; quod illi vocabulum indiderant ex nomine urbis. At Cappadoces, in formam provinciæ redacti, Q. Veranium legatum acceperunt : et quædam ex regiis tributis deminuta, quo mitius Romanum imperium speraretur. Commagenis Q. Servæus præponitur, tum primum ad jus prætoris translatis.

LVII. Cunctaque socialia prospere composita non ideo lætum Germanicum habebant, ob superbiam Pisonis, qui, jussus partem legionum ipse aut per filium in Armeniam ducere, utrumque neglexerat. Cyrridem demum, apud hiberna decumæ legionis, convenere, firmato vultu, Piso adversus metum, Germanicus, ne minari crederetur : et erat, ut retuli, clementior. Sed amici, accendendis offensionibus calidi, intendere vera, aggerere falsa, ipsumque et Plancinam et filios variis modis criminari. Postremo, paucis familiarium adhibitis, sermo cœptus a Cæsare, qualem ira et dissimulatio gignit : responsum a Pisone precibus contumacibus, discesseruntque apertis odiis. Postque rarus in tribunali Cæsaris Piso, et, si quando assideret, atrox ac dissentire manifestus. Vox quoque ejus audita est in convivio, cum apud regem Nabatæorum coronæ aureæ magno pondere Cæsari et Agrippinæ, leves Pisoni et ceteris offerrentur : *Principis Romani, non Parthi regis filio eas epulas dari* : abjecitque simul coronam, et multa in luxum addidit, quæ Germanico, quamquam acerba, tolerabantur tamen.

LVIII. Inter quæ ab rege Parthorum Artabano legati venire. Miserat *amicitiam ac fœdus* memoraturos, et

curere renovari dextras, daturumque honori Germanici, ut ripam Euphratis accederet; petere interim, ne Vonones in Syria haberetur, neu proceres gentium propinquis nuntiis ad discordias traheret. Ad ea Germanicus, de societate Romanorum Parthorumque magnifice; de adventu regis et cultu sui, cum decore ac modestia respondit. Vonones Pompeiopolim, Ciliciæ maritimam urbem, amotus est. Datum id non modo precibus Artabani, sed contumeliæ Pisonis, cui gratissimus erat ob plurima officia et dona, quibus Plancinam devinxerat.

LIX. M. Silano, L. Norbano, consulibus, Germanicus Ægyptum proficiscitur, cognoscendæ antiquitatis. Sed cura provinciæ prætendebatur: levavitque apertis horreis pretia frugum: multaque in vulgus grata usurpavit: sine milite incedere, pedibus intectis et pari cum Græcis amictu, P. Scipionis æmulatione; quem eadem factitavisse apud Siciliam, quamvis flagrante adhuc Pœnorum bello, accepimus. Tiberius, cultu habituque ejus lenibus verbis perstricto, acerrime increpuit, quod, contra instituta Augusti, non sponte principis, Alexandream introisset. Nam Augustus inter alia dominationis arcana, vetitis, nisi permissu, ingredi senatoribus, aut equitibus Romanis illustribus, sēposuit Ægyptum: nè fame urgeret Italiam, quisquis eam provinciam claustraque terræ ac maris, quamvis levi præsidio adversum ingentes exercitus, insedisset.

LX. Sed Germanicus, nondum comperto, profectionem eam incusari, Nilo subvehebatur, orsus oppido a Canopo. Condidere id Spartani, ob sepultum illic rectorem navis, Canopum; qua tempestate Menelaus, Græciam repetens, diversum ad mare terramque Libyam dejectus. Inde proximum amnis os, dicatum Herculi, quem indigenæ ortum apud se, et antiquissimum perhibent, eosque, qui postea pari virtute fuerint, in cognomentum ejus adscitos, mox visit veterum Thebarum magna vestigia. Et manebant structis molibus litteræ Ægyptiæ, priorem opulentiam

complexæ: jussusque e senioribus sacerdotum patrium sermonem interpretari, referebat, *habitasse quondam septingenta millia ætate militari: atque eo cum exercitu regem Rhamsen Libya, Æthiopia, Medisque et Persis et Bactriano ac Scythia potitum; quasque terras Syri Armenique et contigui Cappadoces colunt, inde Bithynum, hinc Lycium ad mare, imperio tenuisse.* Legebantur et indicta gentibus tributa, pondus argenti et auri, numerus armorum equorumque, et dona templis, ebur, atque odores, quasque copias frumenti et omnium utensilium quæque natio penderet, haud minus magnifica, quam nunc vi Parthorum aut potentia Romana jubentur.

LXI. Ceterum Germanicus aliis quoque miraculis intendit animum. Quorum præcipua fuere Memnonis saxeæ effigies, ubi radiis solis icta est, vocalem sonum reddens: disjectasque inter et vix pervias arenas, instar montium eductæ Pyramides, certamine et opibus regum: lacusque effossa humo, superfluentis Nili receptacula: atque alibi angustiae et profunda altitudo, nullis inquirentium spatiis penetrabilis. Exin ventum Elephantinen ac Syenen, claustra olim Romani imperii; quod nunc Rubrum ad mare patescit.

LXII. Dum ea æstas Germanico plures per provincias transigitur, haud leve decus Drusus quæsivit, illiciens Germanos ad discordias; utque fracto jam Maroboduo usque in exitium insisteretur. Erat inter Gotones nobilis juvenis, nomine Catualda, profugus olim vi Marobodui, et tunc, dubiis rebus ejus, ultionem ausus. Is valida manu fines Marcomannorum ingreditur, corruptisque primoribus ad societatem, irrumpit regiam castellumque juxta situm Veteres illic Suevorum prædæ, et nostris e provinciis lixæ ac negotiatores reperti, quos jus commercii, dein cupido augendi pecuniam, postremum oblivio patriæ suis quemque ab sedibus hostilem in agrum transtulit.

LXIII. Maroboduo undique deserto non aliud subsid

ium, quam misericordia Cæsaris, fuit. Transgressus Danubium, qua Noricam provinciam præfluit, scripsit Tiberio, non ut profugus aut supplex, sed ex memoria prioris fortunæ. *Nam multis nationibus, clarissimum quondam regem ad se vocantibus, Romanam amicitiam prætulisse.* Responsum a Cæsare, *tutam ei honoratamque sedem in Italia fore, si maneret: sin rebus ejus aliud conduceret, abiturum fide, qua venisset.* Ceterum apud senatum deseruit, *non Philippum Atheniensibus, non Pyrrhum aut Antiochum, populo Romano perinde metuendos fuisse.* Extat oratio, *qua magnitudinem viri, violentiam subjectarum ei gentium, et quam propinquus Italiæ hostis, suaque in destruendo eo consilia extulit.* Et Maroboduus quidem Ravennæ habitus, si quando insolescerent Suevi, quasi rediturus in regnum, ostentabatur. Sed non excessit Italia per duodeviginti annos; consenuitque, multum imminuta claritate, ob nimiam vivendi cupidinem. Idem Catualdæ casus, neque aliud perfugium. Pulsus haud multo post Hermundurorum opibus, et Vibilio duce: receptusque forum Julium, Narbonensis Galliæ coloniam, mittitur. Barbari utrumque comitati, ne quietas provincias immixti turbarent, Danubium ultra, inter flumina Marum et Cusum, locantur, dato rege Vannio, gentis Quadorum.

LXIV. Simul nuntiato, *regem Artaxiam Armeniis a Germanico datum, decrevere patres, ut Germanicus atque Drusus ovantes urbem introirent.* Structi et arcus, circum latera templi Martis Ultoris, cum effigie Cæsarum: lætiore Tiberio, quia pacem sapientia firmaverat, quam si bellum per acies confecisset. Igitur Rhescuporin quoque, Thraciæ regem, astu aggreditur. Omnem eam nationem Rhœmetalces tenuerat: quo defuncto, Augustus partem Thracum Rhescuporidi, fratri ejus, partem filio Cotyi permisit. In ea divisione arva et urbes et vicina Græcis Cotyi; quod incultum, ferox, annexum hostibus, Rhescuporidi cessit: ipsorumque regum ingenia, illi mite et amœnum, huic

atrox, avidum et societatis impatiens erat. Sed primo subdola concordia egere: mox Rhescuporis egredi fines, vertere in se Cotyi data, et resistenti vim facere; cunctanter sub Augusto, quem auctorem utriusque regni, si sperneretur, vindicem metuebat. Enimvero, audita mutatione principis, immittere latronum globos, excindere castella, causas bello.

LXV. Nihil æque Tiberium anxium habebat, quam, ne composita turbarentur. Deligit centurionem, qui nuntiaret regibus, *ne armis disceptarent*: statimque a Cotye dimissa sunt, quæ paraverat, auxilia. Rhescuporis ficta modestia postulat, *eundem in locum coiretur: posse de controversiis colloquio transigi*. Nec diu dubitatum de tempore, loco, dein conditionibus; cum alter facilitate, alter fraude, cuncta inter se concederent acciperentque. Rhescuporis sanciendo, ut dictitabat, fœderi convivium adjicit: tractaque in multam noctem lætitia, per epulas ac vinolentiam incautum Cotyn, et, postquam dolum intellexerat, *sacra regni, ejusdem familiæ deos, et hospitales mensas obtestantem, catenis onerat*. Thraciaque omni potitus scripsit ad Tiberium, *structas sibi insidias, præventum insidiatorem*: simul bellum adversus Basternas Scythasque præ-tendens, novis peditum et equitum copiis sese firmabat. Molliter rescriptum, *si fraus abesset, posse eum innocentia fidere: ceterum neque se, neque senatum, nisi cognita causa, jus et injuriam discreturos*. Proinde, tradito Cotye, *veniret transferretque invidiam criminis*.

LXVI. Eas litteras Latinius Pandus, Proprætor Mœsiæ, cum militibus, quis Cotys traderetur, in Thraciam misit. Rhescuporis, inter metum et iram cunctatus, maluit patrati, quam incepti facinoris reus esse: *occidi Cotyn jubet, mortemque sponte sumtam ementitur*. Nec tamen Cæsar placitas semel artes mutavit, sed, defuncto Pando, quem sibi infensum Rhescuporis arguebat, Pomponium Flaccum, *vetesem stipendiis et arta cum rege amicitia, eoque ac-*

commodatiorem ad fallendum, ob id maxime Mœsiæ præfecit.

LXVII. Flaccus in Thraciam transgressus per ingentia promissa, quamvis ambiguum et scelera sua reputantem, perpulit, ut præsidia Romana intraret. Circumdata hinc regi, specie honoris, valida manus: tribunique et centuriones, monendo, suadendo, et, quanto longius abscedebatur, apertiore custodia, postremo gnarum necessitatis in urbem traxere. Accusatus in senatu ab uxore Cotyis damnatur, ut procul regno teneretur. Thracia in Rhœmetalcen filium, quem paternis consiliis adversatum constabat, inque liberos Cotyis dividitur: iisque nondum adultis, Trebellienus Rufus, prætura functus, datur, qui regnum interim tractaret, exemplo, quo majores Marcum Lepidum, Ptolemæi liberis tutorem, in Ægyptum miserant. Rhescuporis Alexandream devectus, atque illic, fugam tentans, an ficto crimine, interficitur.

LXVIII. Per idem tempus Vonones, quem amotum in Ciliciam memoravi, corruptis custodibus, effugere ad Armenios, inde in Albanos Heniochosque et consanguineum sibi regem Scytharum, conatus est. Specie venandi, omissis maritimis locis, avia saltuum petiit: mox pernecitate equi ad amnem Pyramum contendit, cujus pontes accolæ ruperant, audita regis fuga; neque vado penetrari poterat. Igitur in ripa fluminis a Vibio Frontone, præfecto equitum, vincitur. Mox Remmius evocatus, priori custodiæ regis appositus, quasi per iram, gladio eum transigit: unde major fides, conscientia sceleris et metu indicii mortem Vononi illatam.

LXIX. At Germanicus, Ægypto remeans, cuncta, quæ apud legiones aut urbes jusserat, abolita, vel in contrarium versa cognoscit. Hinc graves in Pisonem contumeliæ; nec minus acerba, quæ ab illo in Cæsarem tentabantur. Dein Piso abire Syria statuit. Mox adversa Germanici valetudine detentus, ubi recreatum accepit, vota que pro

incolumitate solvebantur, admotas hostias, sacrificalem apparatus, festam Antiochensium plebem, per lictores proturbat. Tum Seleuciam digreditur, opperiens ægritudinem, quæ rursum Germanico acciderat. Sævam vim morbi augebat persuasio veneni, a Pisone accepti: et reperiebantur solo ac parietibus erutæ humanorum corporum reliquiæ, carmina et devotiones, et nomen Germanici plumbeis tabulis insculptum, semusti cineres, ac tabe obliterati; aliaque maleficia, quis creditur animas numinibus infernis sacrari. Simul missi a Pisone incusabantur, ut valetudinis adversa rimantes.

LXX. Ea Germanico haud minus ira, quam per metum accepta; *si limen obsideretur, si effundendus spiritus sub oculis inimicorum foret; quid deinde miserrimæ conjugis? quid infantibus liberis eventurum? lenta videri veneficia; festinare et urgere, ut provinciam, ut legiones solus habeat. Sed non usque eo defectum Germanicum, neque præmia cædis apud interfectorem mansura.* Componit epistolas, *quis amicitiam ei renunciabat.* Addunt plerique, *jussum provincia decedere.* Nec Piso moratus ultra naves solvit: moderabaturque cursui, quo propius regrederetur, si mors Germanici Syriam aperuisset.

LXXI. Cæsar, paullisper ad spem erectus, dein, fesso corpore, ubi finis aderat, adsistentes amicos in hunc modum alloquitur: *Si fato concederem, justus mihi dolor, etiam adversus deos, esset, quod me parentibus, liberis, patriæ, intra juventam præmaturo exitu raperent. Nunc, scelere Pisonis et Plancinæ interceptus, ultimas preces pectoribus vestris relinquo: referatis patri ac fratri, quibus acerbissimis dilaceratus, quibus insidiis circumventus, miserrimam vitam pessima morte finierim. Si quos spes meæ, si quos propinquus sanguis, etiam quos invidia erga viventem movebat; illacrymabunt, quondam florentem, et tot bellorum superstitem, muliebri fraude cecidisse. Erit vobis locus querendi apud senatum, invocandi leges. Non hoc præci-*

puum amicorum munus est, prosequi defunctum ignavo questu; sed, quæ voluerit, meminisse, quæ mandaverit, exsequi. Flebunt Germanicum etiam ignoti: vindicabitis vos, si me potius, quam fortunam meam fovebatis. Ostendite populo Romano divi Augusti neptem, eandemque conjugem meam: numerate sex liberos. Misericordia cum accusantibus erit: fingentibusque scelestam mandata aut non credent homines, aut non ignoscent. Juravere amici, dextram morientis contingentes, spiritum ante, quam ultionem, amissuros.

LXXII. Tum, ad uxorem versus, *per memoriam sui, per communes liberos oravit, exueret ferociam, sævienti fortunæ submitteret animum; ne regressa in urbem æmulatione potentiæ validiores irritaret.* Hæc palam, et alia secreto; per quæ ostendere credebatur metum ex Tiberio. Neque multo post exstinguitur, ingenti luctu provinciæ et circumjacentium populorum. Indoluere exteræ nationes regesque: tanta illi comitas in socios, mansuetudo in hostes: visuque et auditu juxta venerabilis, cum magnitudinem et gravitatem summæ fortunæ retineret, invidiam et arrogantiam effugerat.

LXXIII. Funus sine imaginibus et pompa, per laudes, et memoriam virtutum ejus celebre fuit. Et erant, qui formam, ætatem, genus mortis, ob propinquitatem etiam locorum, in quibus interiit, Magni Alexandri fati adæquarent. *Nam utrumque corpore decoro, genere insigni, haud multum triginta annos egressum, suorum insidiis, externas inter gentes occidisse: sed hunc mitem erga amicos, modicum voluptatum, uno matrimonio, certis liberis egisse: neque minus præliatorem, etiam si temeritas abfuerit, præpeditusque sit percussas tot victoriis Germanias servitio premere. Quod si solus arbiter rerum, si jure et nomine regio fuisset, tanto promptius assecuturum gloriam militiæ, quantum clementia, temperantia, ceteris bonis artibus præstitisset.* Corpus antequam cremaretur, nudatum in foro Antiochensium, qui locus sepulturæ destinabatur, prætulertne beneficii

signa, parum constitit. Nam, ut quis misericordia in Germanicum, et præsumpta suspicione aut favore in Pisonem pronior, diversi interpretabantur.

LXXIV. Consultatum inde inter legatos, quique alii senatorum aderant, *quisnam Syriæ præficeretur*, et, ceteris modice nisis, inter Vibium Marsum et Cn. Sentium diu quæsitum: dein Marsus seniori et acrius tendenti Sentio concessit. Isque infamem veneficiis ea in provincia, et Plancinæ percarum, nomine Martinam, in urbem misit, postulantis Vitellio ac Veranio ceterisque, qui crimina et accusationem, tamquam adversus receptos jam reos, instruebant.

LXXV. At Agrippina, quamquam defessa luctu et corpore ægro, omnium tamen, quæ ultionem morarentur, intolerans, adscendit classem cum cineribus Germanici et liberis; miserantibus cunctis, *quod femina nobilitate princeps, pulcherrimo modo matrimonio inter venerantes gratantesque aspici solita, tunc ferales reliquias sinu ferret, incerta ultionis, anxia sui, et infelici fecunditate fortunæ totiens obnoxia*. Pisonem interim apud Coum insulam nuntius assequitur, *excessisse Germanicum*. Quo intemperanter accepto, cædit victimas, adit templa; neque ipse gaudium moderans, et magis insolescente Plancina, quæ luctum amissæ sororis tum primum læto cultu mutavit.

LXXVI. Affluebant centuriones, monebantque *prompta illi legionum studia: repeteret provinciam, non jure ablatam et vacuum*. Igitur, *quid agendum*, consultanti, M. Piso filius *properandum in urbem*, censebat: *nihil adhuc inexpiable admissum, neque suspiciones imbecillas, aut inania famæ pertimescenda. Discordiam erga Germanicum odio fortasse dignam, non pœna: et ademptione provinciæ satisfactum inimicis. Quod si regrederetur, obsistente Sentio, civile bellum incipi: nec duraturos in partibus centuriones militesque, apud quos recens imperatoris sui memoria, et penitus infixus in Cæsares amor prævaleret*.

LXXVII. Contra Domitius Celer, ex intima ejus amicitia, disseruit: *Utendum eventu. Pisonem, non Sentium, Syriæ præpositum: huic fasces et jus prætoris, huic legiones datas. Si quid hostile ingruat, quam justius arma oppositurum, qui legati auctoritatem, et propria mandata acceperit? Relinquendum etiam rumoribus tempus, quo senescant. Plerumque innocentes recenti invidiæ impares. At, si teneat exercitum, augeat vires, multa, quæ provideri non possint, fortuito in melius casura. An festinamus, cum Germanici cineribus appellere, ut te inauditum et indefensum planctus Agrippinæ, ac vulgus imperitum, primo rumore rapiant? Est tibi Augustæ conscientia, est Cæsaris favor, sed in occulto: et periisse Germanicum nulli jactantius mærent, quam qui maxime lætantur.*

LXXVIII. Haud magna mole Piso, promptus ferocibus, in sententiam trahitur: missisque ad Tiberium epistolis incusat Germanicum *luxus et superbiæ; seque pulsum, ut locus rebus novis patefieret, curam exercitus eadem fide, qua tenuerit, repetivisse.* Simul Domitium, impositum triremi, *vitare litorum oram, præterque insulas lato mari pergere in Syriam* jubet. Concurrentes desertores per manipulos componit, armat lixas. Trajectisque in continentem navibus vexillum tironum in Syriam euntium intercipit. Regulis Cilicum, *ut se auxiliis juvarent,* scribit; haud ignavo ad ministeria belli juvene Pisone, quamquam suscipiendum bellum abnuisset.

LXXIX. Igitur oram Lyciæ ac Pamphylia prælegentes, obviis navibus, quæ Agrippinam vehebant, utrimque infensi, arma primo expediere: dein, mutua formidine, non ultra jurgium processum est: Marsusque Vibius nuntiavit Pisoni, *Romam ad dicendam causam veniret.* Ille eludens respondit, *affuturum, ubi prætor, qui de veneficiis quæreret, reo atque accusatoribus diem prædixisset.* Interim Domitius Laodiceam, urbem Syriæ, appulsus, cum hiberna sextæ legionis peteret, quod eam maxime novis

consiliis idoneam rebatur, a Pacuvio legato prævenitur. Id Sentius Pisoni per litteras aperit, monetque, *ne castra corruptoribus, ne provinciam bello tentet*: quosque Germanici memores, aut inimicis ejus adversos cognoverat, contrahit; *magnitudinem imperatoris identidem ingerens, et rempublicam armis peti*: ducitque validam manum, et prælio paratam.

LXXX. Nec Piso, quamquam cœpta secus cadebant, omisit tutissima e præsentibus, sed castellum Ciliciæ munitum admodum, cui nomen Celenderis, occupat. Nam admixtis desertoribus, et tirone nuper intercepto, suisque et Plancinæ servitiis, auxilia Cilicum, quæ reguli miserant, in numerum legionis composuerat. *Cæsarisque se legatum, testabatur, provincia, quam is dedisset, arceri non a legionibus, earum quippe accitu venire, sed a Sentio, privatam odium falsis criminibus tegente. Consisterent in acie, non pugnaturis militibus, ubi Pisonem, ab ipsis parentem quondam appellatum, si jure ageretur, potiozem, si armis, non invalidum vidissent.* Tum pro munimentis castelli manipulos explicat, colle arduo et derupto; nam cetera mari cinguntur. Contra veterani, ordinibus ac subsidiis instructi. Hinc militum, inde locorum asperitas. Sed non animus, non spes, ne tela quidem, nisi agrestia, ad subitum usum properata. Ut venere in manus, non ultra dubitatum, quam dum Romanæ cohortes in æquum eniterentur: vertunt terga Cilices, seque castello claudunt.

LXXXI. Interim Piso classem, haud procul opperientem, appugnare frustra tentavit: regressusque et pro muris, modo semet afflicto, modo singulos nomine ciens, præmiis vocans, seditionem cœptabat: adeoque commoverat, ut signifer legionis sextæ signum ad eum transtulerit. Tum Sentius *occanere cornua tubasque, et peti aggerem, erigi scalas jussit, ac promptissimum quemque succedere; alios tormentis hastas, saxa et faces ingerere.* Tandem victa pertinacia Piso oravit, *uti traditis armis*

maneret in castello, dum Cæsar, cui Syriam permetteret, consulitur. Non receptæ conditiones: nec aliud, quam naves et tutum in urbem iter concessum est.

LXXXII. At Romæ, postquam Germanici valetudo percrebuit, cunctaque, ut ex longinquo, aucta in deterius afferebantur, dolor, ira: et erumpebant questus: *Ideo nimirum in extremas terras relegatum: ideo Pisoni permissam provinciam: hoc egisse secretos Augustæ cum Plancina sermones: vera prorsus de Druso seniores locutos: displicere regnantibus civilia filiorum ingenia: neque ob aliud interceptos, quam quia populum Romanum æquo jure complecti, reddita libertate, agitaverint.* Hos vulgi sermones audita mors adeo incendit, ut ante edictum magistratum, ante senatus consultum, sumto justitio desererentur fora, clauderentur domus; passim silentia et gemitus, nihil compositum in ostentationem: et, quamquam neque insignibus lugentium abstinerent, altius animis mœrebant. Forte negotiatores, vivente adhuc Germanico Syria egressi, lætiora de valetudine ejus attulere: statim credita, statim vulgata sunt: ut quisque obvius, quamvis leviter audita, in alios, atque illi in plures cumulata gaudio transferunt. Cursant per urbem, moliuntur templorum fores: Juvit credulitatem nox, et promptior inter tenebras affirmatio. Nec obstitit falsis Tiberius, donec tempore ac spatio vanescerent. Et populus quasi rursus ereptum acrius doluit.

LXXXIII. Honores, ut quis amore in Germanicum aut ingenio validus, reperti decretique: *ut nomen ejus Saliari carmine caneretur: sedes curules sacerdotum Augustalium locis, superque eas quercæ coronæ statuerentur: ludos circenses eburna effigies præiret: neve quis flamen aut augur in locum Germanici, nisi gentis Juliæ, crearetur.* Arcus additi Romæ et apud ripam Rheni, et in monte Syriæ Amano, cum inscriptione rerum gestarum, ac *mortem ob rempublicam obiisse.* Sepulcrum Antiochiæ, ubi crematus: tribunal Epidaphnæ, quo in loco vitam finierat. Statua-

rum locorumve, in quis colerentur, haud facile quis numerum inierit. Cum censeretur clypeus auro et magnitudine insignis, inter auctores eloquentiæ, asseveravit Tiberius, *solitum paremque ceteris dicaturum. Neque enim eloquentiam fortuna discerni: et satis illustre, si veteres inter scriptores haberetur.* Equester ordo *cuneum Germanici* appellavit, qui *Juniorum* dicebatur; instituitque, uti turmæ Idibus Juliis imaginem ejus sequerentur. Pleraque manent: quædam statim omissa sunt, aut vetustas oblitteravit.

LXXXIV. Ceterum, recenti adhuc mœstitia, soror Germanici, Livia, nupta Druso, duos virilis sexus simul enixa est. Quod, rarum lætumque etiam modicis Penatibus, tanto gaudio principem affecit, ut non temperaverit, quin jactaret apud patres, *nulli ante Romanorum ejusdem fastigii viro geminam stirpem editam.* Nam cuncta, etiam fortuita, ad gloriam vertebat. Sed populo, tali in tempore, id quoque dolorem tulit; tamquam auctus liberis Drusus domum Germanici magis urgeret.

LXXXV. Eodem anno gravibus senatus decretis libido feminarum coercita, cautumque, *ne quæstum corpore faceret, cui avus, aut pater, aut maritus eques Romanus fuisset.* Nam Vistilia, prætoriam familiam genita, licentiam stupri apud ædiles vulgaverat; more inter veteres recepto, qui satis pœnarum adversum impudicas in ipsa professione flagitii credebant. Exactum et a Titidio Labeone, Vistiliæ marito, *cur in uxore delicti manifesta ultionem legis omisisset?* atque illo prætendente, *sexaginta dies, ad consultandum datos, necdum præterisse,* satis visum de Vistilia statuere: eaque in insulam Seriphon abdita est. Actum et de sacris Ægyptiis Judaicisque pellendis: factumque patrum consultum, *ut quatuor millia libertini generis, ea superstitione infecta, quis idonea ætas, in insulam Sardiniam veherentur,* coercendis illic latrociniis, et, si ob gravitatem cœli interissent, vile damnum: *ceteri cederent Italia, nisi certam ante diem profanos ritus exuissent.*

LXXXVI. Post quæ retulit Cæsar, *capiendam virginem in locum Occiæ*, quæ septem et quinquaginta per annos, summa sanctimonia, Vestalibus sacris præsederat: egitque grates Fonteio Agrippæ et Domitio Pollioni, *quod, offerendo filias, de officio in rempublicam certarent*. Præлата est Pollionis filia, non ob aliud, quam quod mater ejus in eodem conjugio manebat. Nam Agrippa discidio domum imminuerat. Et Cæsar, quamvis posthabitam, decies sestertii dote solatus est.

LXXXVII. *Savitiam annonæ* incusante plebe, statuit frumento pretium, quod emptor penderet, *binosque numos se additurum negotiatoribus in singulos modios*. Neque tamen ob ea *parentis patriæ*, delatum et antea, vocabulum assumsit, acerbeque increpuit eos, qui *divinas occupationes*, ipsumque *dominum* dixerant. Unde angusta et lubrica oratio sub principe, qui libertatem metuebat, adulationem oderat.

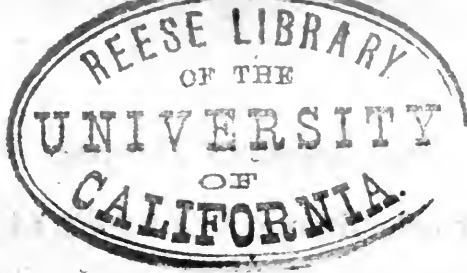
LXXXVIII. Reperio apud scriptores senatoresque eorundem temporum, Agandestrii, principis Cattorum, lectas in senatu litteras, quibus *mortem Arminii* promittebat, *si patrandæ neci venenum mitteretur*: responsum esse, *non fraude, neque occultis, sed palam et armatum populum Romanum hostes suos ulcisci*. Qua gloria æquabat se Tiberius priscis imperatoribus, qui venenum in Pyrrhum regem vetuerant, prodiderantque. Ceterum Arminius, abscedentibus Romanis et pulso Maroboduo, regnum affectans, libertatem popularium adversam habuit, petitusque armis, cum varia fortuna certaret, dolo propinquorum cecidit: liberator haud dubie Germaniæ, et qui non primordia populi Romani sicut alii reges ducesque, sed florentissimum imperium laccessierit: præliis ambiguus, bello non victus. Septem et triginta annos vitæ, duodecim potentiæ explevit: caniturque adhuc barbaras apud gentes; Græcorum annalibus ignotus, qui sua tantum mirantur: Romanis haud perinde celebris, dum vetera extollimus, recentium incuriosi.

C. CORNELII TACITI

ANNALIUM

LIBER TERTIUS.





C. CORNELII TACITI
ANNALIUM
LIBER TERTIUS.

SUMMARY OF PART OF BOOK III.

CHAP. I. Agrippina arrives at Brundisium with the ashes of Germanicus. II. Her journey to Rome: the attention paid to her by the municipal towns. III. The behavior of Tiberius and Livia. IV. The funeral ceremony, and the grief of all classes. V. Comments on the whole affair by persons of reflecting minds. VI. Proclamation of Tiberius. VII. Drusus sets out for the army in Illyricum.—Impatience at Rome to see Piso brought to justice. VIII. Piso sends his son to Rome, who meets with a gracious reception from Tiberius.—Piso himself has an interview with Drusus. IX. Piso crosses the gulf of Dalmatia, and arrives in Italy.—His bold and confident air. X. Accusation of Piso. XI. Advocates appointed for the defence. XII. Speech of Tiberius to the Senate. XIII. Charges preferred against Piso. XIV. Weak defence.—Clamors and excitement of the populace. XV. Plancina manages, through the favor of Livia, to separate her case from that of Piso.—Prosecution carried on with vigor.—Every thing adverse to Piso.—On the morning of the day intended for his defence, he is found dead in his own house, his throat cut, and his sword lying near him on the ground. XVI. Tiberius suspected of having procured his death through an assassin.—Piso's farewell letter read in the Senate. XVII. Piso's son acquitted.—Mock trial of Plancina.—Decision of the Senate.—Pardon granted to Plancina. XVIII. Tiberius mitigates in many particulars the sentence of the Senate.

I. *NIHIL* intermissa navigatione hiberni maris, Agrippina Corcyram insulam advehitur, litora Calabriae contra sitam. Illic paucos dies componendo animo insumit, violenta luctu, et nescia tolerandi. Interim, adventu ejus audito, intimus quisque amicorum, et plerique militares, ut quique sub Germanico stipendia fecerant, multique etiam ignoti vicinis e municipiis, pars officium in principem rati, plures illos secuti, ruere ad oppidum Brundisium;

quod naviganti celerrimum fidissimumque appulsu erat. Atque, ubi primum ex alto visa classis, complentur non modo portus et proxima maris, sed mœnia ac tecta, quaque longissime prospectari poterat mœrentium turba et rogitantium inter se, *silentione, an voce aliqua egredientem exciperent?* neque satis constabat, quid pro tempore foret: cum classis paullatim successit, non alacri, ut assolet, remigio, sed cunctis ad tristitiam compositis. Postquam duobus cum liberis, feralem urnam tenens, egressa navi, defixit oculos, idem omnium gemitus: neque discerneres, proximos, alienos, virorum feminarumve planctus: nisi quod comitatum Agrippinæ, longo mœrore fessum, obvii et recentes in dolore anteibant.

II. Miserat duas prætorias cohortes Cæsar, addito, *ut magistratus Calabriae Apulique et Campani suprema erga memoriam filii sui munera fungerentur.* Igitur tribunorum, centurionumque humeris cineres portabantur; præcedebant incomta signa, versi fasces: atque, ubi colonias transgrederentur, atrata plebes, trabeati equites, pro opibus loci, vestem, odores, aliaque funerum solennia, cremabant. Etiam quorum diversa oppida, tamen obvii, et victimas atque aras Diis Manibus statuentes, lacrimis et conclamationibus dolorem testabantur. Drusus Tarracinam progressus est cum Claudio fratre liberisque Germanici, qui in urbe fuerant. Consules, M. Valerius et M. Aurelius (jam enim magistratum occœperant) et senatus ac magna pars populi viam complevere, disjecti, et, ut cuique libitum, flentes. Aberat quippe adulatio, gnaris omnibus, lætam Tiberio Germanici mortem male dissimulari.

III. Tiberius atque Augusta publico abstinuere, inferius majestate sua rati, si palam lamentarentur, an ne, omnium oculis vultum eorum scrutantibus, falsi intelligerentur. Matrem Antoniam non apud auctores rerum, non diurna actorum scriptura, reperio, ullo insigni officio functam; cum, super Agrippinam et Drusum et Claudium, ceteri

quoque consanguinei nominatim perscripti sint: seu valetudine præpediebatur, seu victus luctu animus magnitudinem mali perferre visu non toleraverit. Facilius crediderim, Tiberio et Augustæ, qui domo non excedebant, cohibitam, ut par mœror, et matris exemplo avia quoque et patruus attineri viderentur.

IV. Dies, quo reliquiæ tumulo Augusti inferebantur, modo per silentium vastus, modo ploratibus inquires: plena urbis itinera, collucentes per campum Martis faces. Illic miles cum armis, sine insignibus magistratus, populus per tribus *concidisse rempublicam, nihil spei reliquum*, clamitabant; promptius apertiusque, quam ut meminisse imperitantium crederes. Nihil tamen Tiberium magis penetravit, quam studia hominum accensa in Agrippinam; cum *decus patriæ, solum Augusti sanguinem, unicum antiquitatis specimen* appellarent, versique ad cœlum ac deos *integram illi subolem, ac superstitem iniquorum*, precarentur.

V. Fuere, qui *publici funeris pompam requirerent*, compararentque, *quæ in Drusum, patrem Germanici, honora et magnifica Augustus fecisset. Ipsum quippe asperrimo hie-mis Ticinum usque progressum, neque abscedentem a corpore simul urbem intravisset: circumfusas lecto Claudiorum Iuliorumque imagines: defletum in foro, laudatum pro rostris: cuncta a majoribus reperta, aut quæ posteri invenerint, cumulata. At Germanico ne solitos quidem, et cui-cumque nobili debitos, honores contigisse. Sane corpus, ob longinquitatem itinerum, externis terris quoquo modo crematum: sed tanto plura decora mox tribui par fuisse, quanto prima fors negavisset. Non fratrem, nisi unius diei via, non patrum, saltem porta tenus, obvium. Ubi illa veterum instituta? propositam toro effigiem, meditata ad memoriam virtutis carmina et laudationes, et lacrimas vel doloris imitamenta?*

VI. Gnarum id Tiberio fuit; utque premeret vulgi

sermone, monuit edicto: *Multos illustrium Romanorum ob rempublicam obiisse; neminem tam flagrante desiderio celebratum. Idque et sibi et cunctis egregium, si modus adjiceretur. Non enim eadem decora principibus viris et imperatori populo, quæ modicis domibus aut civitatibus. Convenisse recenti dolo luctum, et ex mœrore solatia: sed referendum jam animum ad firmitudinem, ut quondam divus Julius, amissa unica filia, ut divus Augustus, ereptis nepotibus, abstruserint tristitiam. Nil opus vetustioribus exemplis: quotiens populus Romanus clades exercituum, interitum ducum, funditus amissas nobiles familias constanter tulerit. Principes mortales, rempublicam æternam esse: proin repeterent solennia; et, quia ludorum Megalesium spectaculum suberat, etiam voluptates resumerent.*

VII. Tum, exuto justitio, reditum ad munia; et Drusus Illyricos ad exercitus profectus est, erectis omnium animis spe petendæ e Pisone ultionis, et crebro questu, *quod, vagus interim per amœna Asiæ atque Achaïæ, arroganti et subdola mora scelerum probationes subverteret.* Nam vulgatum erat, *missam, ut dixi, a Cn. Sentio famosam veneficiis Martinam, subita morte Brundisii extinctam, venenumque nodo crinium ejus occultatum, nec ulla in corpore signa sumti exitii reperta.*

VIII. At Piso, præmisso in urbem filio, datisque mandatis, per quæ principem molliret, ad Drusum pergit: quem haud fratris interitu trucem, quam remoto æmulo æquiores sibi sperabat. Tiberius, quo integrum judicium ostentaret, exceptum comiter juvenem, sueta erga filios-familiarum nobiles liberalitate auget. Drusus Pisoni, *si vera forent, quæ jacerentur, præcipuum in dolore suum locum,* respondit; *sed malle falsa et inania, nec cuiquam mortem Germanici exitiosam.* Hæc palam, et vitato omni secreto: neque dubitabantur præscripta ei a Tiberio, cum incallidus alioqui et facilis juvena senilibus tum artibus uteretur.

IX. Piso Dalmatico mari tramisso, relictisque apud Anconam navibus, per Picenum, ac mox Flaminiam viam, assequitur legionem, quæ e Pannonia in urbem, dein præsidio Africæ, ducebatur. Eaque res agitata rumoribus, *ut in agmine atque itinere crebro se militibus ostentavisset.* Ab Narnia, vitandæ suspicionis, an, quia pavidis consilia in incerto sunt, Nare ac mox Tiberi devectus, auxit vulgi iras, quia navem tumulo Cæsarum appulerat; dieque et ripa frequenti, magno clientium agmine ipse, feminarum comitatu Plancina, et vultu alacres incessere. Fuit inter irritamenta invidiæ domus foro imminens, festa ornatu, conviviumque et epulæ, et celebritate loci nihil occultum.

X. Postera die Fulcinus Trio Pisonem apud consules postulavit. Contra Vitellius ac Veranius, ceterique, Germanicum comitati, tendebant, *nullas esse partes Trioni; neque se accusatores, sed rerum indices et testes mandata Germanici perlaturos.* Ille, dimissa ejus causæ delatione, *ut priorem vitam accusaret,* obtinuit, petitumque est a principe, *cognitionem exciperet:* quod ne reus quidem abnuebat, studia populi et patrum metuens; contra, *Tiberium spernendis rumoribus validum, et conscientie matris innexum esse: veraque aut in deterius credita iudice ab uno facilius discerni: odium et invidiam apud multos valere.* Haud fallebat Tiberium moles cognitionis, quaque ipse fama distraheretur. Igitur, paucis familiarium adhibitis, minas accusantium et hinc preces audit, integramque causam ad senatum remittit.

XI. Atque interim Drusus, rediens Illyrico, quamquam patres censuissent, *ob receptum Maroboduum, et res priore ætate gestas, ut ovans iniret,* prolato honore, urbem intravit. Post quæ reo, *L. Arruntium, L. Vinicium, Asinium Gallum, Æserninum Marcellum, Sextum Pompeium patronos* petenti, iisque diversa excusantibus, *M'. Lepidus et L. Piso et Livineius Regulus affuere, arrecta omni civitate, quanta fides amicis Germanici, quæ fiducia reo: satin' co-*

hiberet ac premeret sensus suos Tiberius. Iis haud alias intentior populus, plus sibi in principem occultæ vocis aut suspicacis silentii permisit.

XII. Die senatus Cæsar orationem habuit meditato temperamento: *Patris sui legatum atque amicum Pisonem fuisse, adiutoremque Germanico datum a se, auctore senatu, rebus apud Orientem administrandis. Illic contumacia et certaminibus asperasset juvenem, exituque ejus lætatus esset, an scelere exstinxisset, integris animis dijudicandum. Nam, si legatus officii terminos, obsequium erga imperatorem, exiit, ejusdemque morte et luctu meo lætatus est; odero, seponamque a domo mea, et privatas inimicitias non vi principis ulciscar: sin facinus, in cujuscunque mortalium nece vindicandum, detegitur; vos vero et liberos Germanici, et nos parentes, justis solatiis afficite. Simulque illud reputate, turbide et seditiose tractaverit exercitus Piso; quæsitæ sint per ambitionem studia militum; armis repetita provincia; an falsa hæc in majus vulgaverint accusatores; quorum ego nimis studiis jure succenseo. Nam quo pertinuit, nudare corpus, et contrectandum vulgi oculis permittere, differrique etiam per externos, tanquam veneno interceptus esset, si incerta adhuc ista, et scrutanda sunt? Desleo equidem filium meum, semperque deslebo: sed neque reum prohibeo, quo minus cuncta proferat, quibus innocentia ejus sublevari, aut, si qua fuit iniquitas Germanici, coargui possit: vosque oro, ne, quia dolori meo causa connexa est, objecta crimina pro approbatis accipiatis. Si quos propinquus sanguis, aut fides sua patronos dedit, quantum quisque eloquentia et cura valet, juvate periclitantem: ad eundem laborem, eandem constantiam accusatores hortor. Id solum Germanico super leges præstiterimus, quod in curia potius, quam in foro, apud senatum, quam apud judices, de morte ejus anquiritur: cetera pari modestia tractentur. Nemo Drusi lacrimas, nemo mæstitiam meam spectet, nec, si qua in nos adversa finguntur.*

XIII. Exin biduum criminibus objiciendis statuitur, utque, sex dierum spatio interjecto, reus per triduum defenderetur. Tum Fulcinius vetera et inania orditur: *ambitiose avareque habitam Hispaniam: quod neque convictum noxæ reo, si recentia purgaret; neque defensum absolutioni erat, si teneretur majoribus flagitiis.* Post quem Servæus et Veranius et Vitellius, consimili studio, sed multa eloquentia Vitellius, objecere: *odio Germanici, et rerum novarum studio, Pisonem vulgus militum, per licentiam et sociorum injurias, eo usque corrupisse, ut parens legionum a deterrimis appellaretur: contra, in optimum quemque, maxime in comites et amicos Germanici, sævisse: postremo, ipsum devotionibus et veneno peremisse: sacra hinc et immolationes nefandas ipsius atque Plancinæ: petitam armis rempublicam, utque reus agi posset, acie victum.*

XIV. Defensio in ceteris trepidavit. Nam neque ambitionem militarem, neque provinciam pessimo cuique obnoxiam, ne contumelias quidem adversum imperatorem infitari poterat: solum veneni crimen visus est diluisse. Quod ne accusatores quidem satis firmabant, *in convivio Germanici, cum super eum Piso discumberet, infectos manibus ejus cibos, arguentes.* Quippe absurdum videbatur, inter aliena servitia, et tot adstantium visu, ipso Germanico coram, id ausum. Offerebatque familiam reus, et ministros in tormenta flagitabat. Sed iudices per diversa implacabiles erant: Cæsar, ob bellum provinciæ illatum; senatus, nunquam satis credito, sine fraude Germanicum interiisse. **Scripsissent* expostulantes: quod haud minus Tiberius quam Piso abnuere. Simul populi ante curiam voces audiebantur: *non temperaturos manibus, si patrum sententias evasisset.* Effigiesque Pisonis traxerant in Gemonias, ac divellebant, ni jussu principis protectæ repositæque forent. Igitur inditus lecticæ, et a tribuno prætoriæ cohortis deductus est: vario rumore, custos salutis, an mortis exactor sequeretur.

XV. Eadem Plancinæ invidia, major gratia: eoque ambiguum habebatur, quantum Cæsari in eam liceret. Atque ipsa, donec mediæ Pisoni spes, *sociam se cuiuscumque fortunæ, et, si ita ferret, comitem exitii* promittebat. Ut secretis Augustæ precibus veniam obtinuit, paullatim segregari a marito, dividere defensionem cœpit. Quod reus postquam sibi exitiabile intelligit, an adhuc experiretur dubitans, hortantibus filiis, durat mentem, senatumque rursus ingreditur: redintegratamque accusationem, infensas patrum voces, adversa et sæva cuncta perpessus, nullo magis exterritus est, quam quod Tiberium sine miseratione, sine ira, obstinatum clausumque vidit, ne quo affectu perrumperetur. Relatus domum, tamquam defensionem in posterum meditaretur, pauca conscribit obsignatque, et liberto tradit. Tum solita curando corpori exsequitur. Dein, multam post noctem, egressa cubiculo uxore, *operiri fores* iussit: et cœpta luce, perfosso jugulo, jacente humi gladio, repertus est.

XVI. Audire me memini ex senioribus, visum sæpius inter manus Pisonis libellum, quem ipse non vulgaverit; sed amicos ejus dicitavisse, *litteras Tiberii et mandata in Germanicum continere: ac destinatum promere apud patres, principemque arguere, ni elusus a Sejano per vana promissa foret: nec illum sponte extinctum, verum immisso percussore.* Quorum neutrum asseveraverim: neque tamen occulere debui narratum ab iis, qui nostram ad juventam duraverunt. Cæsar, flexo in mœstitiam ore, *suam invidiam tali morte quæsitam* apud senatum *crebrisque interrogationibus exquirat, *qualem Piso diem supremum noctemque exegisset.* Atque illo pleraque sapienter, quædam inconsultius respondente, recitat codicillos, a Pisone in hunc ferme modum compositos: *Conspiratione inimicorum, et invidia falsi criminis oppressus, quatenus veritati et innocentie meæ nusquam locus est, deos immortales testor, vixisse me, Cæsar, cum fide adversum te, neque alia in matrem tuam*

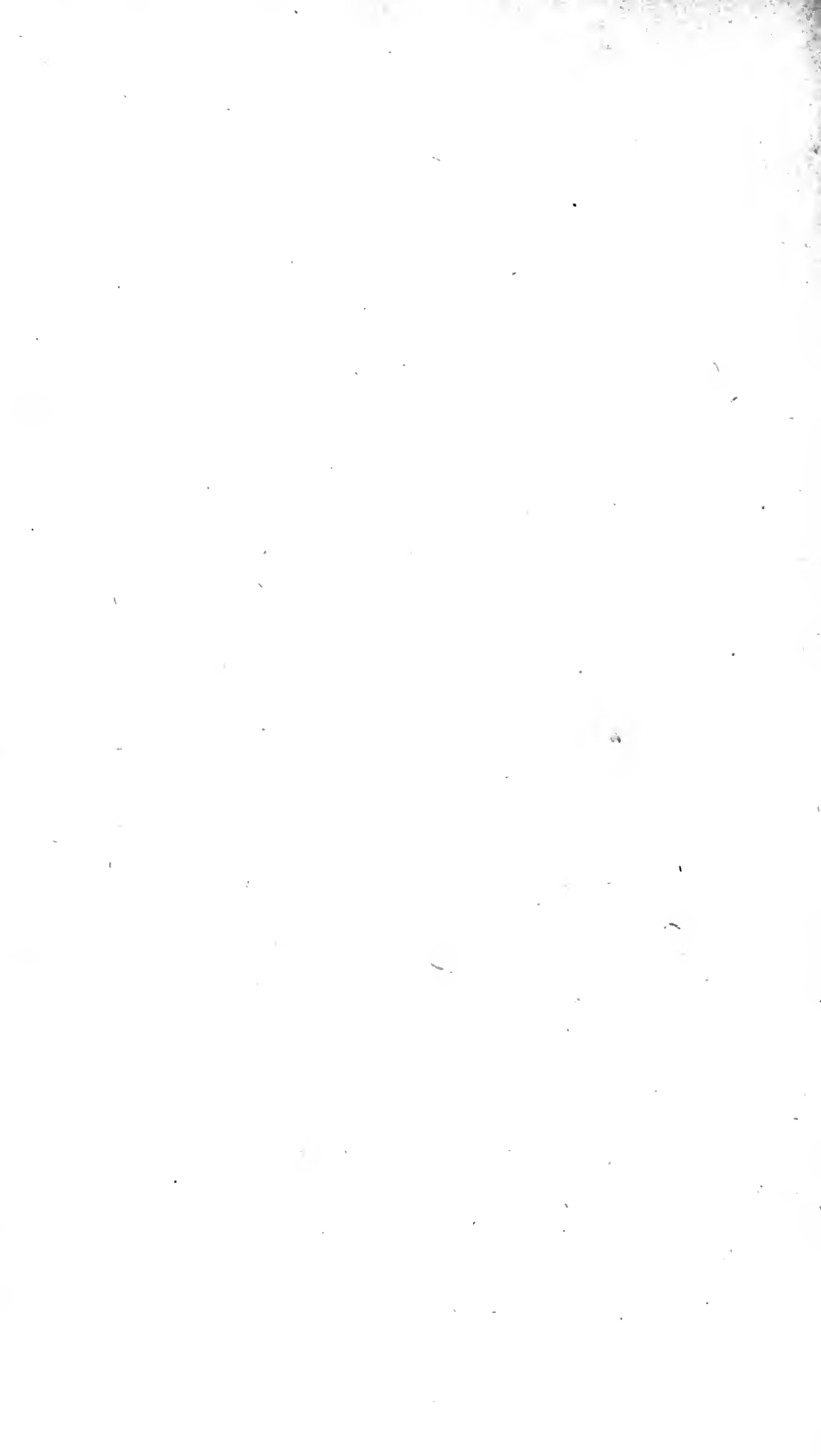
pretate : vosque oro, liberis meis consulatis : ex quibus Cn. Piso qualicumque fortunæ meæ non est adjunctus, cum omne hoc tempus in urbe egerit : M. Piso repetere Syriam dehortatus est. Atque utinam ego potius filio juveni, quam ille patri seni cessisset ! eo impensius precor, ne meæ pravitatis pœnas innoxius luat. Per quinque et quadraginta annorum obsequium, per collegium consulatus quondam divo Augusto, parenti tuo, probatus, et tibi amicus, nec quidquam post hæc rogaturus, salutem infelicis filii rogo.

XVII. De Plancina nihil addidit. Post quæ Tiberius adolescentem crimine civilis belli purgavit : patris quippe jussa nec potuisse filium detrectare : simul nobilitatem domus, etiam ipsius, quoquo modo meriti, gravem casum miseratus. Pro Plancina cum pudore et flagitio disseruit, matris preces obtendens : in quam optimi cujusque secreti questus magis ardescebant : *Id ergo fas aviæ, interfectricem nepotis aspicere, alloqui, eripere senatui ? quod pro omnibus civibus leges obtineant, uni Germanico non contigisse ! Vitellii et Veranii voce defletum Cæsarem : ab imperatore et Augusta defensam Plancinam ! proinde venena, et artes tam feliciter expertas, verteret in Agrippinam, in liberos ejus, egregiamque aviam ac patrum sanguine miserimæ domus exsatiaret.* Biduum super hæc, imagine cognitionis, absumentum ; urgente Tiberio liberos Pisonis, matrem uti tuerentur. Et, cum accusatores ac testes certatim perorarent, respondente nullo, miseratio, quam invidia, augebatur. Primus sententiam rogatus Aurelius Cotta, consul (nam, referente Cæsare, magistratus eo etiam munere fungebantur), nomen Pisonis radendum fastis, censuit : partem bonorum publicandam : pars, ut Cn. Pisoni, filio, concederetur, isque prænomen mutaret. M. Piso exuta dignitate, et accepto quinquagies sestertio, in decem annos relegaretur, concessa Plancinæ incolumitate, ob preces Augustæ.

XVIII. Multa ex ea sententia mitigata sunt a principe : ne nomen Pisonis fastis eximeretur, quando M. Antonii,

qui bellum patriæ fecisset, Iuli Antonii, qui domum Augusti violasset, manerent. Et M. Pisonem ignominia exemit, concessitque ei paterna bona; satis firmus, ut sæpe memoravi, adversum pecuniam, et tum pudore absolutæ Plancinae placabilior. Atque idem, cum Valerius Messallinus, *signum aureum in æde Martis Ultoris, Cæcina Severus, aram ultioni statuendam,* censuissent, prohibuit: *ob externas ea victorias sacrari, dictitans; domestica mala tristitia operienda.* Addiderat Messallinus, *Tiberio et Augustæ et Antoniaæ. et Agrippinae Drusoque ob vindictam Germanici grates agendas,* omiseratque Claudii mentionem. Et Messallinum quidem L. Asprenas, senatu coram, percunctatus est, *an prudens præterisset?* ac tum demum nomen Claudii adscriptum est. Mihi, quanto plura recentium seu veterum revolveo, tanto magis ludibria rerum mortalium cunctis in negotiis obversantur. Quippe fama, spe, veneratione, potius omnes destinabantur imperio, quam, quem futurum principem fortuna in occulto tenebat.

N O T E S.



NOTES ON THE GERMANIA.

CHAP. I.—*Germania omnis*. The noun is here put first, as being the emphatic word in the sentence, and the adjective is placed after it to show in what sense the noun is to be taken, namely, as referring to Germany properly so called. Germany proper was also sometimes styled *Germania Transrhenana*, to distinguish it from *Germania Cisrhenana*, or the tract of country lying between the Rhine and the Scheldt. Consult Geographical Index.—*Rætisque et Pannoniis*. We have two conjunctions here, because the Ræti and Pannonii were more closely connected with one another than with the Galli. The forms *Ræti* and *Rætia* are more correct than *Rhæti* and *Rhætia*, as is proved by the language of ancient inscriptions. For an account of the Ræti and Pannonii consult Geographical Index.—*Sarmatis Dacisque*. The European Sarmatians here meant were the Slavonians of a later age. The Daci occupied what is now the upper part of Hungary, Transylvania, Moldavia, Wallachia, and Bessarabia.

Mutuo metu aut montibus. That is, where no mountains intervene to separate them, they are restrained by mutual fear from invading each other's territories. The mountains here meant are the Carpathian and Bohemian.

Cetera. "The rest of the country." Supply *loca*. The reference is to the northern and western parts.—*Latos sinus*. "Broad projections of land." The term *sinus* is applied to any thing that makes a bend. It is most frequently used of any thing which is hollow, as a valley or gulf; but it also means a promontory or a neck of land, where the boundary line makes a bend or sweep. Either sense would suit the present passage, but the latter seems the preferable one, and the allusion will be to the bold projections of the German coast along the Ocean and the Baltic, more particularly to what is now denominated *Jutland*, and also to the headlands near the mouths of the Ems, the Weser, and the Elbe.—*Insularum immensa spatia*. "Islands of vast size." Literally, "vast extents of islands." An instance of the poetical complexion of the style of Tacitus. The Greeks and Romans regarded Europe north of Germany as composed of a number of islands, not as forming part of the continent. Of these the largest bore especially the name of *Scandia* or *Scandinavia*, answering to the modern *Sweden* and *Norway*.

Nuper cognitis. "Having lately become known (to us therein)." *Nuper* sometimes, as in the present instance, does not refer to what immediately precedes, but takes in a considerable period of antecedent time. Thus,

Cic., *N. D.* ii., 50, 126, "*nuper, id est, paucis ante sæculis.*"—*Bellum.* By this term is here meant, in fact, a series of warlike expeditions. The knowledge which the Romans possessed of these regions was derived principally from the expeditions of Drusus, Tiberius, Germanicus, and Ahenobarbus.—*Aperuit.* "Has disclosed to our view."

Rhenus. The Rhine rose in Mons Adula, a little to the east of the present *St. Gothard*, in the country of the *Grisons*.—*Ortus.* "After having arisen."—*Modico flexu.* This refers, according to the best opinion, to the bend made by the stream near Arenacum, the modern *Arnheim*.—*Versus.* "Having turned." Taken in a middle sense. Some, less correctly, regard *versus* here as a preposition used pleonastically; but Tacitus nowhere else employs such a pleonasm as *in . . . versus*. Ritter omits *in* as an interpolation, giving *versus* then, of course, the force of a preposition; but this is unnecessary.—*Miscetur.* "Mingles itself." Another instance of a middle meaning.

Molli et clementer edito, &c. "From the ridge of Mount Abnoba, gently rising and of moderate height." We have given *molli* here the force assigned to it by Ritter ("*Sanft ansteigend*"), and in rendering *clementer edito* have followed Panckoucke ("*hauteur peu élevée*"). The latter of these expressions is opposed to *inaccessio* in the previous sentence, and the former to *præcipiti*.—*Abnobæ.* Abnoba was not, in reality, a single mountain, but that part of the range of hills covered by the Black Forest which lay opposite to the town of Augusta Rauracorum, now *Augst*.—*Plures populos adit.* On the right bank, the Vindelici, Norici, Pannonii, Illyrii, Mœsi; on the left bank, the Hermunduri, Narisci, Marcomanni, Quadi, Daci, Getæ, and Bastarnæ.

Sex meatibus. "By six channels." The number of mouths appertaining to this stream is differently given by the ancient writers, some mentioning five, others six, and others again seven. Tacitus appears to unite the two latter accounts. At the present day the Danube enters the Euxine by seven mouths.—*Erumpat.* This is the true reading, not *erumpit*. When *donec* indicates a design or intention it takes the subjunctive. In the present case, many communities are to be visited by the stream before it accomplishes the end proposed unto itself, namely, that of breaking forth into the Euxine. (Ritter, *ad loc.*; *Madvig, L. G.*, § 360.)—*Hauritur.* "Is exhausted," *i. e.*, is lost.

CHAP. II.—*Ipsos Germanos.* "The Germans themselves." The pronoun *ipsos* here marks the transition from the subject of the country to that of the people dwelling therein.—*Crediderim.* "I, for my part, believe." The perfect subjunctive is here employed to soften an assertion, investing it with an air of modest reserve (*Zumpt*, § 527).—*Indigenas.* This belief in the indigenous origin of different races was very common among the Greeks and Romans, though now deservedly rejected. The ancestors of the German race migrated by land from upper Asia, and form one of the links in the Indo-European chain of nations.—*Minimeque aliarum gentium,*

&c. "And by no means mixed up through immigrations of other communities and the visits of strangers," *i. e.*, free from all intermixture with foreigners, either as settlers or casual visitants. Observe here the employment of abstract nouns in the plural (*adventibus, hospitibus*), to express the recurrence of an act, or its taking place on several occasions. This usage is very frequent in Tacitus.

Nec . . . et. Equivalent to *et non . . . et.* This is of frequent occurrence. So *neque . . . et* (*Annal.*, ii., 51; xv., 28), and *neque . . . ac* (*Agric.*, 10). So, in Greek we have οὔτε . . . τέ, and μήτε . . . τέ. (Compare Kühner, § 775, 3, *a. ed. Jelf.*)

Advehebantur. "Were conveyed to their places of destination." The verb *advehi* properly refers to transportation in ships; here, however, it is made to apply also to movements by land.—*Utque sic dixerim, adversus Oceanus.* "And, so to express myself, down-streaming ocean." The ancients had a notion that this part of the world was higher than the rest; so that, in sailing to it, they had to go, as it were, *uphill*. (*Gronov., ad loc.*) Compare *Hist.*, ii., 98: "*In alia adverso, in alia prono mari;*" and the expression *adversum flumen*, as opposed to *secundum flumen*. Tacitus prefixes the words *utque sic dixerim* (for *atque ut sic dixerim*) as a kind of apology for the employment here of so unusual an epithet in the case of the ocean; and this alone would show that the different meanings assigned to the term by different editors, of "hostile," or "opposing," or "lying opposite," *i. e.*, belonging, as it were, to the antipodes, can not be intended. Compare the version of Dureau de Lamalle: "*Ocean, qu'il faut remonter, pour ainsi dire.*"

Ab orbe nostro. "From our part of the world." The allusion is to the countries lying around the Mediterranean, and forming part of the Roman empire.—*Asia.* Asia Minor is meant, with the adjacent coast of Syria.—*Africa.* The Mediterranean coast of Africa.—*Asperam cælo.* "Rigorous in climate."—*Tristem.* "Cheerless."—*Nisi si.* "Unless, if (chance so will it)," *i. e.*, unless, perchance. In *nisi si* the conjunction *si* is used elliptically, and the ellipsis must be supplied in each case, according to the nature of the context. The phrase is employed to denote mere possibility without any definite assertion. (*Walther, ad Ann.*, ii., 63; *Hand, ad Tur-sell.*, vol. iv., p. 239.)

Tuisconem deum. The name *Tuisco* is very probably connected with that of *Teutones*, which occurs in various forms; as *Theutisci, Theotisci, Tuitschi*, and in the old dialects of Germany, *Teut, Tuit, Thiuda*; in the Belgic, *Duitsche, Duiske*.—*Terra editum.* "Sprung from the earth," *i. e.*, indigenous.—*Mannum.* Mannus, the son of Tuisco, is merely a personification of the German man (*Mann*) or race, and the three sons of Mannus are the three main geographical divisions of this race.—*Ingævones . . . Herminones . . . Istævones.* Consult Geographical Index.—*Vocentur.* The subjunctive is here employed because the opinion of others is given, not that of Tacitus himself (*Madvig*, § 358).

Licentia vetustatis. "Through the (usual) license of antiquity," *i. e.*,

availling themselves of the license which so remote a period affords for hazarding bold speculations.—*Deo*. Supply *illo*. The reference is to *Tuisco*.—*Marsos*, &c. Consult Geographical Index.—*Ceterum Germaniæ vocabulum*, &c. “That the name of ‘Germany,’ moreover, is of recent origin, and lately added.” Supply *esse*.—*Expulerint*. The subjunctive again, as conveying the opinion of others. So also *vocati sint*. After *Tungri*, supply *vocentur*.—*Germani*. This name is supposed by some to mean *men of war*, and to be derived from the old German word *Werr*, “war,” and *Mann*, “a man” (i. e., *Werrmänner*). The Roman alphabet, not having any *w*, converted this letter into a *g*. (Compare the French *guerre*.) But consult, for other etymologies, Geographical Index.—*Ita nationis nomen*, &c. “That the name of a particular tribe, not of the whole race, so widely by degrees extended itself, that all called themselves *Germani*, by an appellation assumed in the first instance by the victorious tribe in order to inspire terror, (and) subsequently adopted by themselves.” Observe the middle force of *vocarentur*, and the employment of the subjunctive, as indicating an account given by others. Observe also the zeugma in *invento*. The reading which we have followed in this much-contested passage is that of all the MSS. and early editions. The meaning is simply this. The *Tungri*, who first crossed the Rhine, and drove out the Gauls dwelling near that river from their settlements, called themselves, in order to strike terror into their Gallic opponents, “*Werrmänner*” (*Germani*), an appellation which gradually became so popular that the whole German race eventually adopted it.—*Obmetum*. Equivalent to *ut metum facerent*. (*Ritter, ad loc.*)

CHAP. III.—*Herculem*. “A Hercules.” By Hercules here is merely meant a mythic personification of valor and manliness, called by a Roman name, as is usual with the Latin writers. In this sense almost every nation had its Hercules.—*Memorant*. The reference is not to the Germans speaking of themselves (for then *apud eos* would have been *apud se*), but to the accounts given of them by others.—*Primum*. “As the first,” i. e., the most pre-eminent. Equivalent to *principem*.

Quorum relatu. “By the chanting of which.” More literally, “by the recital of which.” Tacitus purposely employs the term *relatu* here, to indicate that the *carmina* were actual narratives of illustrious exploits.—*Quem baritum vocant*. “Which they call *baritus*.” This term is supposed to be formed from the old German *baren*, “to shout,” *-itus* being a mere Latin ending. This is the *cantus trux* which our author speaks of elsewhere, *Hist.*, ii., 22. Freund thinks that Tacitus has here erroneously given the name of the war-cry for that of the war-song. The form *baritum* is more correct than *barritum*. Several MSS. and editions read *barditum*; but the *barids* were a Celtic order, and did not exist among the Germans.

Terrent enim trepidantve, &c. “For they cause terror, or tremble themselves with alarm, according as the line of battle has sounded forth (the strain).”—*Nec tam vocis ille*, &c. “Nor does that appear so much a chorus of human voices as the conspiring cry of valor itself.” The MS. read

ing is *voces illæ . . . videntur*, but we have not hesitated to adopt the emendation of Rhenanus with the Bipont editor, Oberlin, Bekker, Lemaire, and others. It is far more in the spirit of Tacitus.—*Fractum murmur*. “A broken, sullen roar.” The term *murmur* is not unfrequently employed to denote a low, sullen roar, like that of the sea, thunder, an earthquake, &c.

Quidam opinantur. Among these, Strabo (iii., p. 149) contends that Ulysses advanced beyond Tartessus, and founded 'Οδύσσεια (“Olisippo,” Lisbon), and Solinus (c. 26, 36) makes him to have touched at Britain.—*Fabuloso*. “Much sung,” *i. e.*, celebrated in many a legendary strain from Homer downward.—*Asciburgium*. The modern *Asburg*, or the neighboring hamlet of *Essenberg*, or *Orsoy*, on the left bank of the stream.

Ulixi. “By Ulysses.” A Hellenism for *ab Ulixe*. Others less correctly make it the dative simply, “to Ulysses.”—*Adjecto Laertæ patris nomine*. The meaning is, that on the pretended altar, after the name of Ulysses, was inscribed “Son of Laertes,” according to the Grecian custom.—*Græcis litteris inscriptos*. This, like the story about the altar, must be regarded as a mere fable. We learn, however, from Cæsar (*B. G.*, i., 29; v., 48; vi., 14), that the Gauls were acquainted with Grecian characters, which they probably received from the Phocæans who colonized Massilia, the modern *Marseilles*.—*Ex ingenio*. “According to his turn of mind.” If credulous, let him believe the story; if skeptical, let him withhold his assent.

CHAP. IV.—*Infectos*. “Changed.” The verbs *inficere*, *vitiare*, *corrumpere*, like *μιαίνειν*, *μολύνειν*, *φθείρειν*, &c., do not always imply a change for the worse, but often a mere blending, or an alteration of the primitive state of any thing.—*Propriam et sinceram . . . gentem*. “As a peculiar and unmixed race.”—*Sui similem*. In Cicero and most older writers, *similis* has a genitive when it relates to living beings, and a genitive or dative indifferently when it concerns inanimate objects. Livy and the poets of the Augustan age were the first who employed the dative as well as the genitive in the former case. (*Madvig, ad Cic. de Fin.* v., 5, 12.)

Habitus corporum. “The configuration of their frames,” *i. e.*, their physical characteristics.—*Truces et cærulei oculi*, &c. It is principally in Hesse, Westphalia, Pomerania, Hanover, Thuringia, and Bavaria, that we find traces at the present day of the physical characteristics which Tacitus here ascribes to the ancient German race. On the other hand, the communities that inhabit Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia, a part of Upper Saxony and Austria, display the marks of a blending with the Slavonic race.—*Magna corpora*. The large stature of the ancient Germans is frequently referred to by the writers of antiquity.—*Et tantum ad impetum valida*. “And powerful only for the first onset,” *i. e.*, the first shock of the conflict.—*Laboris atque operum*. “Of labor and prolonged exertions.”—*Cælo solove*. The particles *ve* and *vel* have always a disjunctive force. Here *cælo* is to be referred to *frigora*, and *solo* to *inediam*, which could not be the case if *ve* were equivalent to *que*. Translate, “Cold and hunger they are accustomed to endure by their climate and soil.”

CHAP. V.—*Etsi aliquanto specie differt.* “Although it varies considerably in aspect.” Literally, “although it differs (from itself).” *Differe* is here used absolutely. *Aliquanto*, *aliquantum*, and the other compounds of *ali*, which refer to number or space, almost invariably imply greatness of some kind. (*Ernesti, ad Suet. Cæs.*, 86.)—*Paludibus.* Especially in Westphalia and Lower Saxony. The cause is to be ascribed to the large forests, which hinder the drainage.—*Humidior, qua Gallias.* Supply *adspicit*. The western part of Germany is meant, but more particularly the territories of the Batavi and Frisii, now *Holland, Friesland, &c.* The greater degree of humidity is owing to the forests, rivers, lakes, and marshes in this quarter.—*Ventosior, qua Noricum, &c.* “More bleak, where it looks toward Noricum and Pannonia.” The southern and eastern parts of Germany are meant, where the country is more elevated and mountainous, and hence more exposed to the winds.

Satis ferax. “Productive for grain.” Literally, “for things sown in it.” *Satis* is the dative plural of *satus*, from *sero*. Observe that *satorum ferax* would signify “productive in grain,” *i. e.*, producing it in abundance; whereas *satis ferax* merely means, well fitted to produce it.—*Frugiferarum arborum patiens.* “Kindly to fruit trees.” The ordinary text has *impatiens*, “unkindly,” but this can not be correct, since the contrary is asserted by Dion Cassius (xlix., 36), Strabo (iv., 6, 8; vii., 5, 11), Pliny (*H. N.*, xii., 3), and Tacitus himself (c. 10, 23, 26). In the common reading the *im* might very easily have arisen from the *m* preceding. We have adopted, therefore, *patiens*, the conjecture of some editors.—*Sed plerumque improcera.* “But (these) for the most part (are) small of size.” Some make *improcera* here agree, by a bold figure of speech, with *terra* instead of *pecora*. This, however, is altogether too forced; *improcera* is a neuter plural, referring to *pecora*, so that the construction will be *sed improcera (illa sunt)*.

Suus honor aut gloria frontis. “Their usual stateliness or dignity of brow,” *i. e.*, they are not as large as those in other lands, nor are they supplied with horns of as imposing a size. Ritter thinks that horses are included in this passage under the term *armentis*, and that *suus honor* refers particularly to them, and *gloria frontis* to the oxen.—*Numero gaudent.* “They delight in a large number.” Ritter maintains that *gaudent* here has the force merely of *possident*, “they have,” and that Tacitus does not mean that they take any delight in a large number. This, however, is contradicted by *gratissimæ* immediately following.—*Nec tamen adfirmaverim, &c.* It is now well known that Germany abounds in these veins. The first was discovered in the reign of Otho I.

Possessione et usu haud perinde adficiuntur. “They are not affected by the possession and use (of these) in the same way (as other nations),” *i. e.*, like other nations. We must supply in sense *ac aliæ nationes* after *perinde*.—*Est videre.* “One may see.” So *ἔστι* for *ἔξεστι* in Greek.—*Non in alia vilitate.* “Held in no higher estimation.” Literally, “in no other cheapness.”—*Proximi.* “Those in our immediate vicinity,” *i. e.*, living on the borders.—*Usus commerciorum.* “Convenience in traffic.”—*In pretio hab-*

ent. "Hold in value."—*Simplicius et antiquius*. "After a simpler and more primitive fashion."—*Serratos, bigatosque*. "Those pieces, namely, with notched edges, and those stamped with a two-horse chariot." Supply *nummos*. The preference of the Germans for certain forms of Roman money was owing to their apprehension of being cheated with false coin. The notched pieces would be a preventive against this, since they had their edges cut like the teeth of a saw (*serra*), by which means it could be seen whether the metal was the same quite through, or only plated. The pieces termed *bigati* were, on the other hand, old coin of purer silver than the adulterated currency of the day.

Sequuntur. "They seek after."—*Nulla adfectione animi*. "From no predilection (for that metal)."—*Numerus*. "The counting." For *numerationis*.—*Argenteorum*. Supply *nummorum*.

CHAP. VI.—*Ne ferrum quidem superest*. "Not even iron abounds." Literally, "is over and above," *i. e.*, their actual wants. *Ne quidem* is always separated by the word which has the emphasis and forms the antithesis. (*Madvig*, § 457.)—*Conligitur*. "Is inferable."—*Frameas*. The term *framea* is *fram* Latinized; and the modern German word *Pfriem*, "an awl," appears to have some affinity to it.—*Habili*. "Convenient," *i. e.*, handy.—*Ratio*. "The case."

Nudi aut sagulo leves. "Being naked, or lightly covered with a small cloak." *Sagulum*, diminutive of *sagum*. There should be no full stop after *vibrant*; they use this light dress that they may have greater freedom of movement.—*Nulla cultus jactatio*. "They take no pride in personal equipments." Tacitus here, and in similar instances, uses the abstract noun. The writers of the Augustan age would have employed the verb.—*Cassis aut galea*. "A casque or a helmet." By *cassis*, strictly speaking, is meant a head-piece of metal; by *galea*, on the other hand, one that is made of skin or leather. This distinction, however, is not always observed, though it is intended to be so in the present instance.

Sed nec variare gyros, &c. ("Nor this alone), but they are not even taught to practice the various changes of the ring, after our fashion." Literally, "to vary circular movements." The reference is to the various changes of the ring as practiced by the Romans in training their steeds. Observe that *nec* is equivalent here to *ne quidem*. (*Hand, ad Turzell.*, iv., p. 105.)—*In rectum, aut uno flexu, &c.* "They urge them straight onward, or else by one continued turning toward the right, in so close a circle that no one is behind the rest," *i. e.*, in one continued circle. Tacitus is alluding here, not to any military movement, but to the German mode of training steeds, as contrasted with that of the Romans. The latter, as he has just informed us, practiced various changes of the ring, or, in other words, made the steed perform a variety of complicated movements, in order to render him, by dint of numerous turnings both to the right and left, more obedient to the rein; the Germans, on the other hand, had only two modes of proceeding, namely, either to ride straight onward, or else to move round

in one continued ring, by a constant turning of the horse to the right. And this movement was practiced by a number of riders at once, who followed one another so closely, that the ring or circle which they formed may be said to have had neither beginning nor end, and hence no one was behind the rest. (*Gerlach, ad loc.*)

Plus penes peditem roboris. The German cavalry, however, were generally superior to the Roman in their encounters, and they were frequently employed as auxiliaries in the Roman armies.—*Eoque mixti praeliantur.* “And on this account they fight intermingled,” *i. e.*, the infantry with the cavalry. A very graphic description of this mode of fighting is given by Cæsar in his Gallic Commentaries (i., 48). The same commander adopted it himself at the battle of Pharsalia (B.C., iii., 75).—*Centeni.* The division by hundreds appears to have been a widely-spread one, and to have pervaded the whole of Teutonic and Scandinavian antiquity. (*Grote, Hist. of Greece*, iii., p. 74, *note.*)—*Id ipsum.* “By this very name,” *i. e.*, the “Hundreders,” or a “Hundreder,” of such a canton. Literally, “this very thing.”—*Nomen et honor.* “An appellation and a source of distinction,” *i. e.*, a term of honor.

Cuneos. The term *cuneus* was applied to a body of foot-soldiers drawn up in the form of a wedge, for the purpose of breaking through an enemy's line.—*Consilii quam formidinis.* “A mark rather of prudence than of fear.” Supply *magis* before *quam*.—*Referunt.* “They carry off.” Literally, “they bear back,” *i. e.*, from the battle-field.—*Scutum reliquisse.* Compare Horace (*Od.*, ii., 7, 10), and the well-known injunctions of the Spartan women, when presenting their sons with their shields, Ἡ τὰν ἦ ἐπὶ τῆς, and Ταύτην ὁ πατήρ σοι ἀεὶ ἔσωζε, καὶ σὺ οὖν ταύτην σῶζε, ἢ μὴ ἔσο.—*Ignominioso.* “For one thus branded with ignominy.”—*Superstites.* (“Such) survivors.”

CHAP. VII.—*Ex nobilitate.* “According to nobility of birth.” *Ex* has here the force of *secundum*, as in chap. xii., *Distinctio poenarum ex delicto.* The king had charge of civil affairs, the *dux* or “leader,” of those appertaining to warfare. At the period of the great migration of the northern nations into Southern Europe, these two offices appear to have been united in one person.—*Et duces exemplo, &c.* “And their leaders (are so) through the force of example, rather than any exercise of authority,” *i. e.*, they command less through the force of authority than of example. *Exemplo* and *imperio* are ablatives, not datives.—*Admiratione præsumt.* “They take the lead through the admiration which they inspire.”—*Animadvertere.* “To put to death.” This verb commonly means “to punish” simply; here, however, it is to be taken in a stronger sense, as in *Hist.*, i., 46, and iv., 49, and we may supply *gladio* or something similar. Tacitus, it will be perceived, is descending from heavier to lighter punishments.

Non quasi in poenam, &c. What was thus inflicted by the priests was not regarded in the light of a mere judicial sentence, nor as emanating from the *dux*, or military leader, but as something coming from on high.—*Deo.* The god *Thor*, the German Mars, is meant. Thursday (*Thorstag*) was named

after him.—*Effigiesque et signa quædam, &c.* “(On this account), moreover, they carry to battle effigies (of animals), and certain standards taken down from their (sacred) groves,” *i. e.*, in consequence of this belief that the god Thor is present in the battle-field, they bear to the conflict the effigies of animals answering the purposes of standards, which, from the circumstance of their having been preserved in sacred groves, will, it is conceived, propitiate the favor of the divinity, and induce him to be on their side. With *effigies* supply *ferarum*. The expression *effigies et signa quædam* means nothing more, in fact, than effigies serving as a kind of standards, the *et* being merely explanatory. The standards referred to were probably like those represented on the columns of Trajan and Antoninus, namely, the figure of an animal at the top of a pole.—*Turmam aut cuneum*. “The troop of horse, or wedge of foot.”

Familia et propinquitates. “Families and kindreds.”—*Pignora*. “(Are their dearest) pledges,” *i. e.*, whatever they held most dear, their wives, children, &c.—*Unde*. Referring to *in proximo*.—*Audiri*. Supply *solent*.—*Sanctissimi testes*. “The most revered witnesses (of his bearing in the fight).”—*Exigere*. “To compare and examine minutely,” *i. e.*, to compare the wounds of the different warriors, and assign the highest praise to him who has received the largest number and the most honorable ones. (*Gronov., ad loc.*) Rhenanus conjectured *exsugere*, “to suck,” which the Bipont edition adopts, but the common reading is far more spirited.—*Cibos et hortamina*. Two very different things, connected rather singularly with one verb. Compare chap. i. : “*Mutuo metu aut montibus separatur.*”

CHAP. VIII.—*Inclinatas jam et labantes*. “Already giving way and ready to flee.”—*Constantia*. “By the persevering earnestness.”—*Objectu pectorum*. “By presenting unto them their breasts,” *i. e.*, by presenting their bared bosoms to their husbands and brothers, and begging death at their hands in preference to captivity. Tacitus often employs verbal nouns of the fourth declension, and in the ablative case, in place of participles.—*Nomine*. “On account of.” Compare *Cic., Dom., vii., 47*; *in Verr., v., 5*; *Hor., Od., iii., 21, 5*, and the remarks of Bentley on this last passage.—*Adeo*. “So much so.”—*Efficacius obligentur*. “Are more effectually bound to fidelity,” *i. e.*, in their observance of treaties.—*Inesse quin etiam, &c.* “Nay, they even think that there is something sacred and prescient in the female sex.” Supply *feminis*. A remarkable instance of this belief is given by Cæsar in the case of Ariovistus, the German leader, who delayed engaging, because the women had declared that their countrymen would not prove victorious if they should fight with the Romans before the new moon. (*Cæs., B. G., i., 50.*)

Vidimus. From this passage it has been erroneously supposed by some that Tacitus had himself been in Germany. He merely saw Velede, however, when brought captive to Rome. (*Ritter, ad loc.*)—*Sub divo Vespasiano*. “Under the (now) deified Vespasian,” *i. e.*, during the reign of the deceased Vespasian.—*Veledam*. Statius (*Silv., i., 4, 89*) makes the penult

of this word short, while Dio Cassius (lxvii., 5) writes it in Greek with the long quantity, Βελήδαν. The former appears more correct. Veleda was a female of the Bructeri, and had much to do with the project of Civilis to drive the Romans from Gaul. Her influence was very great among all classes of the Germans, and she contributed by her predictions to some of their most brilliant successes. She was surrendered to the Romans, however, by her own countrymen, perhaps by Civilis himself. Veleda dwelt in a cave at a place now called *Spillenburg*, on the right bank of the Luppia, now *Lippe*.

Aurinium. Tacitus, in all probability, has given us here, by mistake, a common instead of a proper name. The northern nations gave the name of *Arunen* to women of this kind, which some derive from *all*, "all," and *Runa*, "a mystery" or "secret," on account of their being supposed to be omniscient. Hence, in all likelihood, the conjecture of Lipsius, namely, *Alurinium*, presents us with the true reading here.—*Complures alias*. Among these may be named *Ganna*, who succeeded Veleda, and was held in equally high veneration. She accompanied Masyus, king of the Semnones, to Rome in the time of Domitian, and was very honorably received.—*Nec tamquam facerent deas*. "Nor as if they would make them divinities." A sarcastic allusion to the usages of his own countrymen. Ritter cites the instances of Poppæa's infant daughter, and of Poppæa herself, in the time of Nero (*Tac., Ann., xv., 23; Dio Cass., lxxiii., 29*).

CHAP. IX.—*Deorum maxime Mercurium colunt*. Scarcely any thing is known about the religion of the ancient Germans. The few notices we have respecting it are chiefly in the writings of the Greeks and Romans, who did not understand their language, and, with very few exceptions, had never visited their country; or in those of the Christian fathers and ecclesiastics, who were more eager to condemn the superstitions of the pagans, than to make minute researches into their character and origin. The deity, whom Tacitus here calls *Mercurius*, seems to have been the *Wodan* or *Odin* of the Germans. The Gauls and Thracians also honored Mercury above all the other gods. (*Cæs., B. G., vi., 17; Herod., v., 7*.) *Mercurii dies* is *Wodenstag*, or *Wednesday*.—*Cui certis diebus, &c.* "Whom, on stated days, they deem it right to propitiate with human victims also."—*Martem*. Mars, as before remarked, is the German *Thor*.—*Concessis*. "Usually allotted for sacrifice," *i. e.*, by other and more civilized nations, who offer up animals instead of human sacrifices.

Isidi. Isis, the wife of Osiris, and the mother of Horus, was one of the principal Egyptian divinities. The goddess whom Tacitus here calls Isis was the moon, which was worshipped by the Germans. The symbol of this deity would naturally be a crescent moon, the form of which might easily be confounded with that of a pinnacle.—*Signum ipsum*. "The symbol itself (of the goddess)."—*Liburnæ*. "Of a Liburnian galley." Supply *navis*. The Liburnians were a people of Illyricum, celebrated as bold and skillful mariners. Their ships were remarkable for their swift sailing, and

hence vessels built after the same model were called *Liburnicæ* or *Liburnæ naves*. They were commonly biremes, made very sharp in the bows and stern.

In ullam humani oris speciem adsimilare. "To liken them to any appearance of humanity."—*Ex magnitudine*. "In accordance with the greatness."—*Lucos et nemora*. "Groves and woodlands." *Nemus* is more extensive in signification than *lucus*, and has the same relation to it that the whole has to a part. It is the same as the Greek *νέμος*, and probably meant originally a pasture-ground.—*Deorumque nominibus*, &c. "And they call by the names of (different) deities that secret power, which they see with the eye of reverential faith alone." The allusion is to the secret and mysterious idea of deity, which they form unto themselves, and which they style by different names, such as Tuisco, Wodan, Thor, &c., but which they do not presume to embody into any external form.

CHAP. X.—*Ut qui maxime*. "As much as any people whatsoever," *i. e.*, no people is more addicted to them. The full expression would be *ut illi faciunt qui maxime observant*.—*Consuetudo*. "The usual mode of taking."—*In surculos amputant*. "They cut into small slips."—*Discretos*. "Distinguished."—*Temere ac fortuito*. "Without premeditation and at random." Compare the explanation of Ritter: "*Temere est nullo provisu consiliove spargentis; fortuito, ut casus et fors tulit*." A mode of divination somewhat similar to the one described in the text was practiced by the Scythians (*Herod.*, iv., 67).—*Si publice consuletur*. "If the lots shall be consulted by public authority," *i. e.*, by the state, in any matter of public importance. We have adopted *consuletur* with Ritter and others, as preferable to *consultatur*, the conjecture of Rhenanus. The reference is to something assumed as a fact.—*Ter singulos tollit*. "Thrice takes up a slip." Supply *surculos*. He takes up three slips one after the other; not, as some understand it, each slip three times.—*Si prohibuerunt*. Supply *surculi*, *i. e.*, *sortes*.—*Sin permissum*. Observe the change from the active *prohibuerunt* to the passive impersonal; a change of voices not unusual in Tacitus.—*Auspicioꝝ adhuc fides exigitur*. "The sanction of auspices is required in addition," *i. e.*, a confirmation by omens.

Illud. "That other custom." Referring to the custom prevalent in other lands, namely, among the Greeks and Romans.—*Proprium gentis*. "It is a peculiarity of this race," *i. e.*, of the Germans. Tacitus speaks here of the Germans in contrast merely with the Romans and the Greeks; for the same custom is recorded of the ancient Persians. (*Herod.*, i., 189; vii., 55).—*Iisdem nemoribus*, &c. Compare chapter ix.—*Nullo mortali opere contacti*. "Profaned by no human labor." Literally, "touched," *i. e.*, polluted or sullied.—*Pressos sacro curru*. "Harnessed to a sacred chariot." Literally, "pressed by," &c. Compare Ovid, *Met.*, xiv., 819: "*Pressos temone equos*."—*Ulli auspicio*. "To any (other) kind of augury."—*Se enim ministros deorum*, &c. "For they consider themselves (during the ceremony) as the ministers of the gods, the horses as privy (to their will)," *i. e.*, divinely

inspired. After *conscios* we may mentally supply *eorum voluntatis*, or something equivalent.

Observatio. "Mode of taking."—*Explorant*. "They seek to ascertain."—*Cum electo*. "With a chosen champion."—*Committunt*. "They match." The verbs *committere*, *comparare*, and *componere* are properly applied to matching two combatants together. So *incompositus*, "not well matched" (*De Or. D.*, 26).—*Pro præjudicio*. "As a presage." If the captive conquers, it is a bad omen for them; if, on the contrary, their own countryman proves victorious, it is a favorable presage. *Præjudicium* is, properly, "a judgment or sentence, which affords a precedent to be afterward followed," and therefore, in the present instance, signifies, literally, "a means of judging beforehand."

CHAP. XI.—*Quorum penes plebem, &c.* "The decision of which rests with the people."—*Pertractentur*. "Are carefully considered." This is the reading of all the early editions, and of almost all the MSS. Muretus and others, however, have preferred *prætractentur*; but, in the first place, the words *ea quoque* militate against this conjecture; and, besides, *prætractare* is found nowhere else, and is, in fact, not Latin, the ancient writers using *ante tractare*.—*Fortuitum et subitum*. "Accidental and sudden."—*Cum aut inchoatur luna, &c.* The moon was one of the principal deities of the Germans, and its changes, therefore, would naturally control their most important deliberations.

Nec dierum numerum, &c. A trace of this mode of reckoning appears in the English words *se'nnight* and *fortnight*. Compare, also, the language of the Sacred Writings: "And the evening and the morning were the first day" (*Gen.*, i., 5); and again, "In the ninth day of the month, from even unto even, shall ye celebrate your Sabbath." (*Levit.*, xxiii., 32.)

Sic constituunt, sic condicunt. "In this way they decree, in this way they summon," *i. e.*, when they appoint a time in which any thing is to be done, or summon an individual to justice, they compute and specify the period by so many nights, not by so many days. Brotier cites illustrations of this practice from the Salic laws: "*Inter decem noctes*" (*Tit.*, 48): "*In noctes quadraginta*" (*Tit.*, 50).—*Illud ex libertate vitium*. "The following evil habit arises from the freedom which they enjoy."—*Cunctatione*. This was not done purposely, and from intentional disobedience, but arose merely from negligence, because there was no one to compel them.

Ut turbæ placuit. "As soon as it has pleased the assembled throng." Observe that *ut* with the perfect indicative has the force of *simul ac*. Gro-novius conjectures *ut turbæ placuit*, "as soon as the number has appeared sufficient," *i. e.*, for the transaction of business. But the MSS. are all against this, neither is the change at all required.—*Quibus tum et coercedi jus est*. Compare chap. vii.—*Auctoritate suadendi, &c.* "More by reason of weight of influence in advising, than from any power to command."—*Ar-mis laudare*. Compare *Hist.*, v., 17: "*Ubi sono armorum tripudiisque (ita illis mos) adprobata sunt dicta.*"

CHAP. XII.—*Apud consilium*. The assemblies were convened chiefly to discuss matters relating to war, and the offences tried before them were principally such as affected the military interests of the nation. Other delinquencies were placed under the cognizance of the *principes*, who were elected to administer justice among the cantons and villages.—*Discrimen capitis intendere*. “To prefer a capital charge.” Literally, “to aim (or direct) at one a risk of life,” *i. e.*, a charge involving such a risk.—*Ex delicto*. “According to the degree of delinquency.”—*Infames*. “Polluted.”—*Insuper*. “On top of them.” Heavy stones were, in all probability, placed upon the hurdle. A body was found in 1817, at a considerable depth, in a moor in East Friesland, which is supposed to have undergone this punishment.—*Illuc respicit*. “Has the following principle in view.”—*Scelera*. “Crimes.”—*Flagitia*. “Acts of infamy.”—*Delictis*. The dative, not the ablative.—*Pro modo*. “According to the measure of the offence.”—*Pœna*. The conjecture of Acidalius, and given by the best editors. The common text has *pœnarum*, and the sentence runs on to *multantur*.

Qui vindicatur. “Who is righted,” *i. e.*, the injured party, whose wrongs are redressed.—*Eliguntur*, &c. Compare *Cæs.*, *B. G.*, vi., 23.—*Qui reddant*. “To dispense.” Far superior to the common reading *reddunt*.—*Consilium simul et auctoritas*. “As a council of advice, and, at the same time a means of enforcing authority.”

CHAP. XIII.—*Nihil autem*, &c. “They transact no business, however, either of a public or a private nature, without being armed.” Compare *Cæs.*, *B. G.*, v., 56. The early Greeks, in like manner, always went armed. (*Thucyd.*, i., 6.)—*Non moris*. “It is no part of their customs.” Supply *est*.—*Suffecturum probaverit*. “Shall have ascertained by actual trial that he will be equal to the task.” *Probaverit* implies that some kind of proof of his capabilities was to be given by the young man.—*Ornant*. The singular *ornat* would have accorded better with the disjunctive *vel*. Compare Zumpt, § 374.—*Hæc apud illos toga*. “This, with them, is the manly gown,” *i. e.*, this, with them, takes the place of the manly gown, or *toga virilis*, assumed by the Roman youth when first entering upon manhood.—*Mox reipublicæ*. With this ceremony, as with marriage in the case of daughters, the power of the father over the child ended, and the young man now took place in public assemblies, &c.

Dignationem. “The rank.” Not the office as yet, which would be *dignitatem*.—*Ceteris robustioribus*, &c. “They are associated, however, unto the other youths that are more robust of frame and have long since been approved, nor do they blush to be seen among the companions of these.” By *ceteris* are meant the younger class of chieftains, that are vigorous in early manhood, and have already distinguished themselves; not the elder chiefs. Some editors read *ceteri*, from a complete misapprehension of the meaning of the passage. With *rubor* supply *est illis*.

Gradus quin etiam, &c. “Moreover, even companionship itself has its several gradations.” The words *et ipse* are expunged by Walch, and look

very like a gloss upon *quin etiam*.—*Quibus primis*, &c. “As to who shall occupy the first place in the favor of their chief.” Supply *sit* with *quibus*.—*Si numero ac virtute*, &c. “If he be conspicuous for the number and valor of his followers.”—*Et ipsa plerumque fama*, &c. “And they, for the most part, nearly bring wars to a close by their reputation alone,” *i. e.*, if a tribe, when attacked by another, can secure the aid of some distinguished chieftain, the enemy, as soon as this is known, generally desist from their hostile movements in a great degree, if not entirely. *Profligare* is “to cause to totter,” literally. Hence it is frequently followed by *conficere*. From this has been derived the meaning of “nearly to finish.” Compare *Sen., de Benef.*, vii., 15: “*Profligata jam hæc, et pæne ad exitum perducta quæstio est.*” In the *Monumentum Ancyrantum* Augustus says, “*Cæpta profligataque opera a patre meo perfeci.*”

CHAP. XIV.—*Jam vero*. “Above all, however.” The expression *jam vero*, like *tum vero*, is always employed to introduce the climax, and requires, therefore, occasionally a somewhat freer mode of rendering.—*Infame et probrosum*. Observe that *infame* here refers to the actual infamy, considered *per se*, and *probrosum* to the reproaching of one with that stain upon his character.—*Præcipuum sacramentum est*. “Is their chief and most sacred obligation.” *Sacramentum* here denotes a sacred duty, and one generally guarded by an oath. Hence the term was specially applied to the military oath of the Roman soldiery; and Tacitus, therefore, expressly employs the word in the present case to show how binding among the Germans was the obligation to which he refers.

Exigunt enim, &c. Montesquieu derives from this the origin of *vassalage*. At first the prince gave to his nobles arms and provisions. As cupidity increased, money, and then lands were required, which last, from *beneficia*, became, at length, hereditary possessions, and were called *fiefs*. Hence arose the feudal system. (*Esprit des Lois*, xxx., 3.)—*Illum bellatorem equum*. “That war-steed.” The pronoun is here meant to express gesture, or a pointing at the object sought to be obtained. So, likewise, *illam* in the succeeding clause. The expression *bellatorem equum* is poetical. Virgil, *Georg.*, ii., 145.

Nam epulæ, et convictus, &c. “For banquets and common tables, although homely, yet marked by abundant supply, take the place of pay.” We have followed here the reading of the early editions, by which *largi apparatus* becomes the genitive of quality. The other reading is as follows: *Nam epulæ, et, quamquam incomiti, largi tamen apparatus*, &c. “For banquets and entertainments, although homely, yet plentiful, take the place of pay.” In this latter reading, *apparatus* becomes the nominative plural. The former lection, however, is undoubtedly the true one. The pay of the companions did not consist in mere occasional banquets, but in their sharing a daily table with their leader, or, as the term *convictus* literally means, “a living with” him.

Expectare annum. “To await the produce of the year.” Another poetic

form of expression. *Annus* is often used by the poets for *proventus anni*, or *messis*. Agriculture was not entirely neglected by the Germans; it was only not prosecuted with any degree of zeal. Compare *Cæs.*, *B. G.*, vi., 22: "*Agriculturæ non student.*" The cultivation of the field was left, as Tacitus himself informs us (*chap. xv.*), to the women, old men, &c.—*Vocare*. "To challenge."—*Mereri*. "To earn." *Pigrum et iners*. "Spiritless and inert."

CHAP. XV.—*Multum venatibus*, &c. The MSS. have *non multum*, but the negative has been deservedly rejected from the text by many editors, at the suggestion of Lipsius, who in this way seeks to reconcile the account of Tacitus with that of Cæsar (*B. G.*, vi., 21), who states expressly of the ancient Germans that "*Vita omnis in venationibus atque in studiis rei militaris consistit.*" So again (*B. G.*, iv., 1) it is said of the ancient Suevi, that "*multum sunt in venationibus.*" Ritter has an excellent note on the subject, in which he fully justifies the rejection of the negative. Walther supposes *non multum* to be taken comparatively in conjunction with *plus* that follows: "*Venatibus etiam temporis aliquid transigunt, nec vero tam multum quam per otium.*" Few, however, will favor so forced an interpretation.—*Per otium*. Observe that *per* with the accusative denotes more of continuance than the simple ablative *venatibus* which precedes.

Delegata. "Having been given over." *Delegare* or *legare* properly signifies "to commission another to act for you."—*Penatium*. "Family affairs." The *Penates* were the household deities of the Romans, presiding over all the affairs of the family, and the term is here employed figuratively for the family affairs themselves. Tacitus transfers the word from Roman to German customs.—*Familia*. Here "the family;" properly, however, it means the "gang of slaves" belonging to a family.—*Diversitate*. "Contrariety."—*Inertiam*. "Indolence," *i. e.*, exemption from active employment in the management of their private affairs.—*Quietem*. "Public repose," *i. e.*, the absence of warfare.—*Vel armentorum vel frugum*. Partitive genitives, "some portion either of cattle or of grain." We may supply *aliquid*.—*Gaudent*. Referring to the *principes*.—*Phalera torquesque*. "Rich trappings and gold chains."—*Jam et pecuniam*. The Romans had not only procured the friendship of Ariovistus, Segestes, Maloventus, and others, in this way, but had also begun to purchase peace of the Germans. Compare *chap. xlii.*

CHAP. XVI.—*Nullas Germanorum populis*, &c. Towns are, however, mentioned by Tacitus (*Ann.*, ii., 62), Cæsar (*B. G.*, iv., 19), &c. Bekker contends that Tacitus, deceived by the false reports of others, has made a mistake here. As a general rule, however, especially for *Germania Transrhenana*, his observation seems correct.—*Inter se junctas sedes*. "Contiguous habitations," *i. e.*, *sedes junctas inter se*. He speaks first of the individual abodes, and then, shortly after, of the *vici*, or villages.—*Colunt discreti ac diversi*. "They dwell separate and scattered."—*Ut fons, ut campus*,

&c. Traces of this early mode of dwelling remain in the endings of the names of many towns and villages, such as *Born* (spring), *Bach* (brook), *Feld* (field), *Wald* (wood), *Hayn* (grove), *Berg* (mountain), &c.—*Connexis et cohærentibus ædificiis*. “With the buildings adjoining one another and running on in rows.”—*Cæmentorum*. “Of building stone.” *Cæmenta* are, properly, the chips made in hewing stones (from *cædo*). The term is, then, applied to any kind of hewn stone for building purposes.—*Materia*. “Timber.”—*Citra speciem aut delectationem*. “Without any thing pleasing to the eye, or calculated to attract.” The meaning is, that they took no pains to make it look well. *Citra* implies a stopping short of something; it could not have been used if they had taken pains to make it ugly.

Quædam loca, &c. “They smear over certain parts of their dwellings with more than ordinary care,” &c. With *diligentius* supply *solito*.—*Terra*. A kind of gypsum is meant.—*Ut picturam, &c.* “As to give the appearance of a painting and colored outlines.”—*Aperire*. “To dig.”—*Suffugium hiemi*. In these subterranean dwellings they appear to have carried on their manufacture of linen. Compare Pliny (*H. N.*, xix., 2): “*Germani autem defossi atque sub terra id opus agunt*.”—*Ignorantur*. “Remain unknown.”—*Fallunt*. “Escape observation.”—*Quod quærenda sunt*. Compare Ritter: “*Dum hostis quærit ubi nihil est, eoque tempus perdit, pauca illa et fida receptacula latent ipsum et effugiunt*.”

CHAP. XVII.—*Sagum*. The *sagum* was a mantle of coarse wool, or of goats' hair with the nap left on, fastened by a brooch, or other means, on the top of the left shoulder, and coming down as far as the knees. It was, more especially, the military costume for both officers and common soldiers. It was likewise worn by rustics. *Sagum* is properly a Celtic word, and the original of our “shag.”—*Consertum*. “Fastened.”—*Cetera intecti*. “Uncovered as to the rest of their persons.”—Compare Cæsar's account of the endurance of cold by the Suevi. (*B. G.*, iv., 1.)—*Fluitante*. “Flowing loosely.”—*Sicut Sarmatæ ac Parthi*. The Oriental nations, in general, were accustomed to wear loose and flowing garments. The attire of the Sarmatians and Parthians appears on coins.—*Singulos artus exprimente*. “Exhibiting the shape of each limb.”

Ripæ. The bank as well of the Danube as the Rhine is meant; in other words, the whole Roman frontier.—*Negligenter*. “With little care (in their selection).”—*Exquisitius*. “With more nicety (of choice).” The tribes near the Roman frontiers, having the means of procuring other kinds of dress, by commerce, did not exercise much care in selecting skins and furs; those in the interior, however, having no such means, were compelled to be more particular.—*Nullus cultus*. “No other kind of dress.”

Velamina. Put for *pelles*.—*Spargunt*. “They diversify.”—*Pellibusque belluarum*. “And with strips of the fur of marine animals.” Seals and the like are meant. We have placed a comma after *maculis*, to show that we have no hendiadys here, as some maintain, but that the allusion in *maculis* is to actual colored spots.—*Exterior oceanus atque ignotum mare*. According

to Brotier, the northern ocean and the icy sea.—*Purpura*. A vegetable dye is meant.—*Partem vestitus superioris*. Put for *superiorem vestitus partem*.—*Brachia ac lacertos*. “As to their arms below and above the elbow.” *Brachium* is from the hand to the elbow; *lacertus*, from the elbow to the shoulder.

CHAP. XVIII.—*Sed et proxima pars pectoris patet*. “(Nor this alone), but,” &c. Some editions place these words at the end of the previous chapter. Our arrangement is the neater one.—*Quamquam severa*, &c. “Although there matrimonial ties are rigidly observed.”—*Qui non libidine*, &c. “Who, not through incontinence (on their part), but on account of their rank, are solicited by very many offers of marriage.” An illustration of the language of Tacitus may be found in the case of Ariovistus, as mentioned by Cæsar (*B. G.*, i., 53).—*Intersunt parentes*. Observe that *adesse* means merely “to be present,” but *interesse*, “to be present and take part” in what is going on.—*Munera probant*. “Pass their approbation on the presents,” i. e., examine into their sufficiency.—*Munera non ad delicias*, &c. The repetition of *munera* here is intended to add force to the narration, and is an instance of what grammarians term *ἐπαναδίπλωσις*.—*Comatur*. “May be adorned.” *Cōmo* is not derived from *cōma*, “the hair,” but is compounded of *co* (*con*) and *emo*, and signifies, therefore, “to put together,” “arrange,” “adorn.” It is a word especially applicable to the female sex. Compare Terence (*Heaut.*, ii., 2, 11): “*Dum moluntur, dum comuntur, annus est.*”

In hæc munera. “On the strength of these presents.” The preposition *in* with the accusative is here equivalent to the Greek *ἐπί* with the dative (*ἐπὶ τοῦτοις τοῖς δώροις*), the gifts being considered as the condition on which the whole rests. Compare Ritter, *ad loc.*—*Hoc maximum vinculum*, &c. “This they regard as the firmest bond of union, these as their mysterious rites, these as their conjugal deities.” This is all in opposition to Roman customs. The *arcana sacra*, in the case of the latter people, were connected with the ceremony of the *confarreatio*, the taking of the auspices, the sacrificing of a cow to Juno, &c. Among the Germans, on the other hand, they consisted merely in the giving of these simple bridal presents.—*Extra virtutum cogitationes*, &c. “Excused from exertions of fortitude, and exempt from the casualties of war.”—*Auspiciis*. “Ceremonies.”—*Denuntiant*. “Proclaim.”—*Accipere se, quæ*, &c. “That she receives what she is to transmit inviolate and worthy of their acceptance to her children; what her daughters-in-law are to receive, and, in their turn, deliver over to her grandchildren.” The reference is to the *arma*, which are not to be disgraced by any unfaithful conduct on her part, but to be handed down as heir-looms.—*Referant*. We have given here the conjecture of Rhenanus. The MS. lection is *referantur*, which some make still worse by reading *rursus quæ*.

CHAP. XIX.—*Septæ pudicitia*. “Fenced around by feelings of chastity.” Several MSS. and editions have *septa* in the ablative, which would imply

that a strict guard was kept over them, to preserve them from corruption; whereas *septæ* means that their own modesty was a sufficient defence against all attempts upon their honor, which agrees much better with the general sense of the description.—*Nullis spectaculorum illecebris*, &c. This is purposely in contrast with Roman manners. On the corrupting influence of the Roman games and entertainments, consult Seneca, *Epist.*, vii., 27; Juvenal, *Sat.*, i., 55, *seqq.*, &c.—*Literarum secreta*. “Clandestine correspondence in writing.”—*Paucissima in tam numerosa gente adulteria*. On the frequency of this crime at Rome under the emperors, consult *Ann.*, ii., 85; *Juv.*, vi., 48; *Id.*, ix., 22.—*Quorum pœna præsens*. “The punishment of these is immediate.”

Accisis crinibus. “With her hair cut short.” Cutting off the hair was regarded as a most disgraceful punishment. In Luitprand’s *Laws of the Langobardi* (ii., 17), we find it ordered, “*adulteras decalvari, et fustigari per vicos vicinantes ipsius loci*.”—*Per omnem vicum*. For *per totum vicum*.—*Publicatæ pudicitia*. “To open prostitution.”—*Non invenerit*. “Such an offender will not easily find.” Observe the employment of the subjunctive as a softened future (*Madvig*, § 350, b).—*Sæculum*. “The fashion of the age.” Another hit at the corrupt manners of the Romans.

Melius quidem adhuc, &c. “Still better, indeed, do those states act,” *i. e.*, those communities of the Germans. Supply *agunt*. The later Latin writers use *adhuc* to strengthen comparatives, where the earlier ones (Cicero, for example) would have employed *etiam*.—*Et cum spe votoque*, &c. “And (in which) the expectations and wishes of the wife are brought to a close once for all.” Literally, “and (in which) it is done for with the expectation and wish of a wife,” &c. According to Procopius (ii., 14), wives among the Heruli were accustomed to hang themselves at the graves of their first and only husbands. This is like the practice of the Suttees in India.

Ultra. “Beyond this,” *i. e.*, their first union.—*Ne tamquam maritum*, &c. “That they may love him, not as it were a husband, but as marriage itself.” On losing their husbands they lose marriage itself.—*Finire*. “To limit,” *i. e.*, by murder or abortion.—*Ex agnatis*. By *agnati* Tacitus means children born after there was already an heir to the name and property of the father. Generally by *agnati* in Roman law were meant relations on the father’s side. On the frequency of infanticide among the Romans, on the other hand, consult *Ann.*, iii., 25, 26; xv., 19; *Juvenal*, ii., 32; vi., 366, *seqq.*—*Quam alibi bonæ leges*. Corruption was never more rife at Rome than after the passage of the *Lex Julia* and the *Lex Papia Poppæa*. The earliest laws of the Germans, those, namely, of the Salic code, date only from the fifth century of our era.

CHAP. XX.—*Nudi ac sordidi*. “Naked and dirty.” This refers to the young children, just growing up. In more advanced youth a scanty attire would be worn.—*In hos artus*, &c. The Germans, as already remarked, were of great personal size as compared with the Romans and other civilized

nations. Compare chap. iv., "*Magna corpora*," and Cæsar, *B. G.*, i., 39.—*Uberibus*. The term *ubera* is generally employed when speaking of animals.—*Nec ancillis*, &c. Among the Romans, on the contrary, the care of the child was generally given over to Greek nurses, and some of the common domestic slaves.

Dominum ac servum. The subject-class among the ancient Germans may be divided into three branches: 1. Tributaries, composed of those who, when any country was conquered, retained their possessions, but paid an annual tribute to the conquerors for this privilege. 2. Serfs (*adscripti glebæ*). 3. Common household slaves (*servi, mancipia*).—*Nullis educationis deliciis*. "By no indulgence in the mode of bringing up."—*Donec ætas separet*, &c. Age is here said to separate the free-born, when they are found on trial to be able to bear arms (compare chap. xiii.). Valor, again, is said to recognise them as her own, when they display deeds of bravery, which, it is presumed, can only be displayed by the free. As regards *donec* with the subjunctive, consult notes on chap. i.

Juvenum Venus. "The marriages of the young men."—*Inexhausta pubertas*. "Their youthful vigor is unimpaired."—*Festinantur*. "Brought forward at an early period," *i. e.*, given early in marriage. Tacitus is here comparing northern with southern habits. In Italy, and other southern countries, the sexes arrive at maturity much sooner than among northern nations. Cicero's daughter, for instance, was betrothed at ten years of age, and married probably at thirteen or fourteen.—*Eadem juvena, similis proceritas*. "There is the same period of youth, a similar development of form." Compare Weishaupt, *ad loc.* "*Virgines in commune non sunt ætate minores quam juvenes quibus nubunt. Sponsa fere eadem statura et magnitudine corporis est, qua sponsus*."—*Pares validæque miscentur*. "They are united equally-matched and robust."—*Referunt*. "Inherit." Literally, "bring back again," *i. e.*, exhibit again to the view.

Sororum filiis, &c. Hence, in the history of the Merovingian kings of France, so many instances occur of attachment and favor shown toward sisters and their children, and so many wars undertaken on their account. Compare Montesquieu, *Esprit des Lois*, xviii., 22.—*Qui apud patrem*. "As with the father." We have given *apud*, the conjecture of Rhenanus, with Bekker, Ritter, and other editors. The MS. reading is *ad*, unless an abbreviation for *apud* be mistaken for it, which is more than probable.—*Et in accipiendis*, &c. In taking hostages from any one, they demand the children of his sister rather than his own.—*Tamquam ii*, &c. "As if these both hold a firmer sway over the affections, and possess a wider influence over the family at large." *Tamquam* is followed by the subjunctive here, because the views and sentiments of others are given. Some editions read *in a num*, making *in* have the force of *quod attinet ad*, and introducing a very awkward construction. This is justly condemned by Ritter, who thinks that *in* has crept in here from *in accipiendis* preceding.

Liberi. Under this term are here included the *nepotes* and *pronepotes*.—*Nullum testamentum*. There was no will, because the rules of succession

were established by law.—*Patrui, avunculi*. “Paternal uncles, maternal ones.”—*Quanto plus propinquorum, &c.* By *propinqui* are meant “blood-relations;” by *affines*, “relations by marriage.”—*Nec ulla orbitatis præmia*. “Nor are there any advantages resulting from being childless.” Tacitus alludes to the court paid at Rome to rich persons without children by legacy-hunters. This practice formed a frequent subject of censure and ridicule with the Roman writers.

CHAP. XXI.—*Suscipere*. “To adopt.”—*Nec implacabiles durant*. “These (enmities), however, do not continue implacable.” Observe that *nec* has here the force of *non tamen* (*Weishaupt, ad loc.*)—*Homicidium*. This word occurs also in Pliny the elder, Petronius, and Quintilian, but never in the writers of the golden age of Latinity.—*Recipitque satisfactionem, &c.* “And the whole family (of the offender) becomes responsible for the payment of the fine.” *Recipit* is here put for *recipit in se*. Some, less correctly, interpret this to mean that the whole family of the injured party receives a portion of the fine. A law did actually exist in Germany, in ancient times, in accordance with the view which we have taken of this passage, as we learn from the *Lex Tal.*, tit., 61., leg., 1, 2. It was afterward abrogated by King Childebert.—*Juxta libertatem*. “When united with freedom,” *i. e.*, in a free state. This employment of *juxta* in the sense of *apud*, or *in* with the ablative, is characteristic of the writers of the silver age.

Convictibus et hospitibus. “In common tables and acts of hospitality.” Compare *Weishaupt, ad loc.* “*Convictus sunt conventicula socialia inter amicos; hospitium est exceptio peregrinorum.*”—*Pro fortuna adparatis epulis*. “With a carefully prepared banquet according to his means.”—*Cum defecere*. Supply *epulæ*, in the sense of “the means of entertainment.”—*Hospes*. “The host.”—*Monstrator hospitii et comes*. “Becomes the guide and companion to the hospitable board of another.”—*Humanitate*. “Cordiality.”—*Quantum ad jus hospitii*. “As far as regards the rights of hospitality,” *i. e.*, the right of the individual to a hospitable reception.—*Sed nec data imputant, &c.* “But they neither set down things given (by them) to the account of another, nor do they feel themselves bound by things which have been received (by them),” *i. e.*, they neither consider that they confer an obligation by what they give, nor incur one by what they receive. Observe here the middle meaning of *obligantur*.—*Victus inter hospites comis*. “Their manner of living among their (regularly-invited) guests is marked by affability.” This is probably a mere gloss or marginal note which has crept into the text. It certainly is not much, if at all, needed.

CHAP. XXII.—*Statim e somno*. “Immediately after sleep.” So *ἐκ* in Greek, *γελαῖν ἐκ τῶν πρόσθεν δακρύων* (*Xen., Cyrop.*, i. 4, 28). *Ab* is used in the same way by Livy (xxii., 40), “*Ab hoc sermone profectum.*”—*In diem*. The Romans, on the contrary, rose early.—*Lavantur*. “They wash themselves.” In a middle sense, like *obligantur* in the previous chapter.—*Plurimum*. “During the greatest part of the year.” Supply *anni* or *temporis*.

—*Separatæ singulis sedes, &c.* Eating at separate tables is generally an indication of voracity. Traces of it occur also in the Homeric poems.—*Diem noctemque continuare potando.* “To keep drinking day and night without intermission.” Literally, “to make day and night continuous by drinking.”—*Ut.* “As is usual.” Supply *esse solet.*—*Sed et de reconciliandis, &c.* Herodotus relates the same thing of the Persians (i., 133; ii., 72).—*Adsciscendis.* In the sense of *eligendis.*—*Simplices.* “Sincere.”—*Magnas.* “Heroic ones.”

Gens non astuta nec callida, &c. “This nation, not acute nor crafty, still disclose the secrets of the breast amid the freedom of festivity.” *Adhuc* is here equivalent to *ad hoc usque tempus.* The Germans, according to Tacitus, had not yet learned that vice of civilized nations, the art of hiding the secret sentiments of the bosom. Ritter connects *adhuc* with *secreta*, explaining the phrase by *quæ adhuc pectore clausa erant.* This, however, wants force.—*Mens.* “The plans and opinions.”—*Et salva utriusque temporis, &c.* “And the account of each time is kept even.” The expression *salva ratio* is properly used when the debtor and creditor sides of an account balance one another. So here Tacitus means to say, that by the method they pursued of deliberating when they knew not how to dissemble, and deciding when there was no chance of their erring, they kept the balance even, so that their rashness and caution mutually checked and restrained each other.

The following remarks of Passow deserve to be inserted here. In almost every instance, he observes, that is mentioned in this chapter, the habits of the Romans were opposed to those of the Germans. They used to rise before daylight, to play at ball or take exercise of some kind before they washed or bathed; at dinner they used seats which were joined together. By the laws of the Twelve Tables they were forbidden to appear in arms in the city; to drink in the day time was esteemed disgraceful; and, lastly, mutual diffidence and distrust prevailed at their banquets.

CHAP. XXIII.—*Potui.* “For drink.”—*Frumento.* “Wheat.” The proper Latin term for this was *triticum.*—*Corruptus.* “Changed by fermentation.” The allusion here is to ale or beer. Observe that *corruptus* does not necessarily imply being spoiled; it would be applied to any natural production, the character of which is completely changed by art to adapt it to the use of man. A beverage, similar to the one mentioned here by Tacitus, was in use among the Egyptians (*Herod.*, ii., 77).—*Ripæ.* The reference is to the banks of both the Rhine and Danube, but more particularly the former. According to Cæsar (*B. G.*, iv., 2), they allowed no wine to be brought in among them. The first vines were introduced into Germany by the Emperor Probus, as is thought. (*Vopisc.*, c. 19.)

Agrestia poma. “Wild fruit.” *Pomum* is a very general term, and includes any eatable fruit.—*Recens fera.* “Fresh venison.” More literally, “fresh wild meat.” Supply *caro.* The Romans, on the other hand, preferred such viands in a tainted state. Compare Gruber, *ad loc.*, and

Horace, *Sat.*, ii., 8, 6.—*Lac concretum*. “Coagulated milk.” Curds are meant. The Germans did not understand the art of making cheese. They were acquainted, however, with the process of making butter, which was used by the higher class. Some incorrectly think that butter is here meant by Tacitus.—*Adparatu*. “Studied preparation.”—*Blandimentis*. “Coaxings of the appetite.”—*Ebrietati*. “Their propensity to intoxication.”—*Haud minus facile*, &c. This is not to be understood as meaning that the Germans were easy to be conquered by arms, but merely that their own vices proved formidable means of subjugation.

CHAP. XXIV.—*Quibus id ludicrum est*. “Who engage in this sport.”—*Infestas*. “Pointed at them.” Observe that there is nothing in *infestus* itself which ever implies hostility. *Festus* is only the old participle of *fero*, like *gestus* from *gero*.—*Artem*. “Skill.”—*Decōrem*. “Gracefulness of movement.” *Decor* is, properly, a poetical word, and was probably not employed in prose until after the Augustan age. It is especially frequent in Quintilian.—*Non in quæstum tamen*, &c. “(They do) not, however, (do this) as a source of gain, or for hire.” Supply *hoc faciunt*. The case was directly the reverse among the Romans, in both their scenic and circensian celebrations.—*Lasciviæ pretium est*. “Is the (sole) recompense of a piece of sport.”

Aleam (quod mirere), &c. Although the Romans were much addicted to gambling, yet it was esteemed disreputable, and was forbidden by the laws, except during the Saturnalia.—*Sobrii inter seria*. “When sober, amid serious employments,” *i. e.*, regarding it as one of these.—*Extremo ac novissimo jactu*. “With the closing and latest throw.” A thing is said to be *extremum* as closing a series, and *novissimum* as being the newest or latest that presents itself.—*Juvenior*. The more usual form is *junior*; still, however, the more regularly constructed *juvenior* is defended by good MSS.—*Ea est in re prava pervicacia*. “Such is their obstinate perseverance in a bad practice.”—*Fidem*. “Honor.” The good faith of the ancient Germans in keeping their promises was proverbial.—*Tradunt*. “They hand over to others,” *i. e.*, they rid themselves of.—*Victoria*. “Of such a victory.”

CHAP. XXV.—*Ceteris servis*. From the slaves that are sold by them he now comes to those that are retained for domestic employments.—*Discriptis* “Distributed.” The true reading here is undoubtedly *discriptis*, which though of frequent occurrence in the MSS., is commonly altered in the editions to *descriptis*. This latter form, however, does not lead to the idea of distribution, since *describere* is merely “to mark out,” &c.—*Non in nostrum morem*. The Romans went to a very great length in appointing slaves to superintend the various departments of their domestic economy. Among the wealthy, in later times, there was scarcely a single household duty that was not allotted to some particular slave, who attended to that and nothing else. Compare *Blair's Slavery among the Romans*, p. 131, *seqq.*

Quisque. “Each slave.” The slaves here meant, as appears from what

follows, were a kind of rustic bondsmen, and their condition was the same as that of the vassals, or serfs, who a few centuries ago made up the great body of the people in every country in Europe. They were attached to the soil, and went with it like the Roman *coloni*, and hence we see why each had an abode (*sedes*) of his own, and regulated his own household affairs (*suos penates*). The Germans, at a later period, imitating the Romans, had slaves of inferior condition, to whom the name of slave became appropriated, while those in a state of rural vassalage were called *Liden* (*Liti* or *Litones*).

Ut colono. "As upon a tenant," *i. e.*, as upon one of those whom we Romans call *coloni*. The term *colonus* is here employed in the sense which it had during the later imperial period. The *coloni* paid a certain yearly rent for the land on which they lived, and were attached to the soil (*glebæ adscripti*), from which, as a general rule, they could not be separated.—*Hactenus.* "Thus far," *i. e.*, he is not bound to render any other service.—*Cetera domus officia, &c.* "The other (which are) household duties his own wife and children discharge," *i. e.*, the wife and children of the master. *Domus* here refers to the house of the master, as distinguished from the lowly dwelling of the slave. The Germans did not employ at this period slaves in household duties, but used for this purpose the services of their own wives and children.

Non disciplina et severitate. "Not in the way of chastisement, and from any severe infliction of the same." Not a mere hendiadys, as some make it, for *disciplinæ severitate*, but a much stronger form of expression.—*Nisi quod impune.* "Except that they do it with impunity," *i. e.*, kill their slave with impunity. A private enemy could not, on the other hand, be slain with impunity, since a fine (*Wergeld*) was affixed to the homicide; but a man might kill his own slave without any punishment. If, however, he killed another person's slave, he was obliged to pay his price to the owner.

Libertini non multum, &c. Among the Franks, the freedmen seldom attained to the full right of those who were free-born. They could not inherit property, or give testimony against free-born men. If a freedman, moreover, died without children, his property went to the treasury, as appears from the Ripuarian Code (tit. lviii., 1, 4). The true reading here is *libertini*, not *liberti*, as many give. The Roman writers employ the term *libertus* when referring to some particular master; as *Cæsaris libertus*, *Augusti libertus*, &c.; but they use *libertinus* when designating the class generally; as, *libertinus erat*.—*Momentum.* "Weight," *i. e.*, influence.—*Numquam in civitate.* Directly the reverse of the state of things in Rome under evil emperors.

Quæ regnantur. "Which are governed by kings." Literally, "which are reigned over." This employment of *regno* in the passive voice departs from ordinary usage, since in the active voice it is used intransitively, and we would expect, therefore, the impersonal construction, "*quibus regnatum est* or *regnatur*. Similar instances, however, occur in other parts of Tacitus.—*Ibi enim, &c.* As at Rome under bad emperors.—*Impares libertini, &c.* "The subordinate condition of freedmen is a proof of the value of freedom,"

i. e., the fact that freedmen are held in such low estimation is a proof of the value set upon freedom and the rights of freemen.

CHAP. XXVI.—*Fenus agitare*. “To lend out money at interest.”—*Et in usuras extendere*. “And to increase it by interest upon interest,” *i. e.*, compound interest. This was called by the Greeks *ἀνατοκισμός*. Compare the explanation of Weishaupt: “*Fenus in usuras extendere est facere fenus de usuris (non solum de sorte), usuram de usura sumere, fructum de fructu.*”—*Ideoque magis servatur, &c.* “And, therefore, the abstaining from this practice is more effectually observed, than if the practice itself had been actually forbidden.” A remarkable instance of conciseness in the original, which can not be imitated in a translation. The reference to what precedes is rather a mental than a grammatical one, and we must therefore supply with *servatur* (which here has the force of *observatur*) some such expression as *abstinentia a fenore agitando*, the negative idea arising from *ignotum*.—*Quam si vetitum esset*. Usury was forbidden at Rome, though in vain, by the laws of the Twelve Tables, and also by various enactments brought forward by Licinius, Genucius, Sempronius, Julius Cæsar, and others.

Ab universis in vices. “By whole communities in turn.” Tacitus means that the same territories were occupied by different tribes or communities in turn, to a greater or less extent, according to the number of persons to till them. The best commentary on the whole passage is to be found in the account given by Cæsar of the Suevi (*B. G.*, iv., 1). Some editors, however, disregarding the authority of Cæsar, read *vici* for *in vices*, interpreting it as meaning the communities formed by the assemblage of different clans and families. Ritter, again, reads *in vicos*, “by villages,” equivalent, according to him, to *ut fiant vici*. The interpretation which we have adopted, however, is decidedly the best.

Et superest ager. “And a portion of ground remains over and above (each division),” *i. e.*, there is always a portion of ground remaining undivided. This was allowed to lie fallow until new cultivators took possession of it in the following year. There was no danger, therefore, of the lands becoming exhausted by repeated sowings on the part of each successive body of settlers, since all the land was not put under cultivation at any one time.

Nec enim contendunt. “Nor, indeed, do they attempt to vie.” Tacitus means that they do not pretend to bestow on the culture of the soil a degree of labor that may equal its fertility and extent.—*Sola seges*. “A crop of grain alone,” *i. e.*, wheat and barley, to the exclusion of green crops, pulse, and vegetables.—*Species*. “Seasons.” The different “aspects” of nature in different portions of the year.—*Intellectum ac vocabula habent*. “Are known and have names.” The employment here of the noun *intellectus* indicates the silver age of Latinity, and *intellectum habent* is equivalent to *intelliguntur*, *i. e.*, *nota sunt*.—*Auctumni perinde nomen, &c.* Tacitus, at first view, seems to be in error here. The Germans had a term *Herbist* or *Herpist*, in more modern German *Herbst*, whence the English *harvest*. Thus

in Eginhart's Life of Charlemagne (c. 29), the month of November is called *Herbist-manoth* (i. e., *Herbst-monat*). But the truth is, the word *Herbist* or *Herbst* marked rather the crop itself than the season which produced it.—*Bona*. Particularly the grape and olive.

CHAP. XXVII.—*Funerum nulla ambitio*. “There is no parade about their funerals.” Among the Romans it was directly the reverse. At Rome funerals were often extremely expensive and magnificent, and plays were acted, and gladiatorial combats exhibited in honor of the deceased. Sumptuary laws were enacted at various times to restrain the lavish expenditure on these occasions. (*Ann.*, iii., 2; *Hist.*, iv., 47; *Plin.*, *H. N.*, xii., 41.)—*Certis lignis*. “By means of particular kinds of wood,” i. e., such as were set apart for this purpose by law or custom. The custom of burning the bodies of the dead continued to prevail in Germany, even after the introduction of Christianity, until forbidden under pain of capital punishment by Charlemagne.—*Struem rogi cumulant*. “They load the heap of the funeral pile,” i. e., the wood heaped up to form the pile.—*Sua cuique arma*, &c. The deceased was supposed to follow the same occupations after death as in life.—*Equus*. On opening the tomb of one of the old Frank kings, a horse-shoe was found, the earliest specimen of the kind known.

Sepulcrum cespes erigit. “A grassy mound forms the elevation of the tomb.” The construction is a poetical one. We find also, in Seneca (*Ep.*, 8), “*Hanc domum utrum cespes erexerit, an varius lapis.*” Barrows (*tumuli*) containing urns, in which the ashes were deposited, are of frequent occurrence in Britain, Germany, and other countries.—*Monumentorum*, &c. Tacitus had in view the splendid mausoleum of Augustus, as well as the other lofty and expensive funeral structures in the vicinity of the Roman capital.—*Arduum*. Here “lofty.” Its proper meaning is “steep.”—*Ponunt*. “They lay aside.” For *deponunt*.—*Lugere*. “To bewail the loss of friends.” *Lugeo* and *luctus* always refer to mourning for the dead. (*Doederlein*, *Lat. Syn.*, iii., p. 237.)—*In commune*. Latinity of the silver age.—*Omnium*. “Taken collectively.”—*Instituta ritusque*. The former of these terms refers to civil, the latter to religious affairs.—*Quæ nationes*. “What tribes.” Ritter thinks the asyndeton here a harsh one, in consequence of the introduction of a new idea, and suggests that Tacitus may have written *quæque* (i. e., *et quæ*), from which *quæ* arose by a mistake of the copyists.

CHAP. XXVIII.—*Summus auctorum*, &c. “The deified Julius, the highest of authorities.” The reference is to the account given of Germany by Julius Cæsar (*B. G.*, vi., 24). On the acquaintance of the ancients with Germany, consult Geographical Index.—*Divus*. Consult notes on chap. viii.: “*sub divo Vespasiano.*”—*Quantulum enim amnis obstabat*, &c. “For how small an obstacle did a river oppose, according as each nation had become powerful, to its seizing upon and changing settlements, as yet lying in common and divided off by no power of monarchies,” i. e., and un-

appropriated by any powerful monarchies. The River Rhine is meant.—*Igitur inter*. Supply *loca* before *inter*. For a similar use of *igitur* at the beginning of a sentence, see *Vit. Agric.*, c. 13.—*Hercyniam silvam . . . Mœnum*. Consult Geographical Index.—*Boiemi nomen*. “The name of Boiemum.” *Boiemum* or *Boihemum* probably means “the home of the Boii” (*Heim, Heimath*). So that, in all likelihood, *Bohemia* is the *Boiemum* of Tacitus. Latham, however, contends for *Bavaria* (Boioaria).—*Significatque loci, &c.* “And implies a long-standing reminiscence of the original settlement.”—*Quamvis mutatis cultoribus*. Observe that *quamvis* is here for *quamquam*, a usage occurring only, as already remarked, in the later prose writers.

Sed utrum Aravisci, &c. Tacitus here calls the Osi a German nation, whereas in chapter xliii. he remarks that their use of the Pannonian tongue proves them not to be Germans. Some editors think that in the present passage their settlements only are referred to, but the contradiction is too manifest to be remedied in this way. Passow regards *Germanorum natione* as an interpolation, which is probably the true view of the case.—*Eadem utriusque ripæ, &c.* “The advantages and disadvantages of either bank were the same,” *i. e.*, there was the same freedom and the same poverty on both sides of the stream. The river here meant is the Danube.—*Treveri et Nervii*. Consult Geographical Index.—*Circa adfectationem, &c.* “As regards an eager striving after a German origin.” We have here two specimens of the Latinity of the silver age, namely, the employment of *circa* in the sense of *quod adinet ad*, and the use of the noun *adfectatio*.—*Separentur*. In a middle sense.

Vangionēs, Tribōci, Nemētes. Consult Geographical Index.—*Ne Ubii quidem, &c.* The Ubii were the allies of Cæsar against the Suevi, and were afterward transported to the left bank of the Rhine by Agrippa (B.C. 38). By *origine* is meant their German origin before they became a colony.—*Quamquam esse meruerint*. “Although they have earned (the honor) of being.”—*Conditoris sui nomine*. We have no direct evidence as to who founded the colony in question. The town (now *Cologne*) was called *Colonia Agrippina* or *Agrippinensis*, the first of which names would mean, “the Colony of Agrippa,” and the second “the Colony of Agrippina.” Now Agrippa was engaged in this quarter on two occasions; while, on the other hand, Agrippina, the daughter of Germanicus, and grand-daughter of Agrippa, was born in this place. It is probable, therefore, that the colony was originally founded by Agrippa, and was called *Colonia Agrippina* merely, until Agrippina, after her union with Claudius, sent out her own colony, of which Tacitus elsewhere makes mention (*Ann.*, xii., 27), and the object of which, in all likelihood, was to strengthen the first. The name *Colonia Agrippinensis* began after this, it would seem, to be employed in common with the other.

Experimento fidei. “From trial having been made of their fidelity,” *i. e.*, in consequence of their tried fidelity. Observe that *experimento* is here the ablative.—*Ut arcerent, &c.* To keep their own countrymen in check and

prevent them from crossing over into the Roman territories; not placed there to be watched themselves by the Romans.

CHAP. XXIX.—*Virtute præcipui*. “The most conspicuous for valor.”—*Batavi*. Consult Geographical Index.—*Ripa*. When *ripa* is used alone, in speaking of the Rhine, it generally means, as in the present instance, the left bank of the stream.—*Insulam Rheni amnis*. Known in Ancient Geography as the *Insula Batavorum*, the chief town in which was *Lugdunum Batavorum*, now *Leyden*.—*Seditione domestica, &c.* The time when this happened is not given. Cæsar found them already established in their new seats.—*In quibus, &c.* “To become in these a part of the Roman empire.” This marks, of course, the consequence, not the intent. Equivalent to *ut in his . . . fierent*. Hence the subjunctive.—*Manet honos, &c.* “The honor and the badge of this early alliance still remains.”—*Nec contemnuntur*. “They are neither insulted.” Referring to the degradation connected with the payment of tribute.—*Publicanus*. The *publicani*, “or farmers of the revenue,” were principally members of the equestrian order. They did not themselves, however, take any part in the actual levying or collecting of the taxes in the provinces, but this part of the business was performed by an inferior class of men, who were notorious for their insolence and oppression.—*Adterit*. A peculiarly appropriate term. The verb *adterere* denotes, properly, “to wear away by dint of rubbing,” and is here very fitly applied to the waste of private substance occasioned by repeated and ruinous exactions.

Oneribus et collationibus. “From burthens and contributions.” *Onera*, as Ritter remarks, refer to the ordinary taxation; *collationes*, to contributions imposed by the Romans on special occasions.—*In eodem obsequio*. “In the same state of obedience.”—*Ultra Rhenum*. The Rhine was always regarded as the natural line of division between the Roman and German sway.—*Ita sede finibusque, &c.* “Thus, as regards settlement and borders, they live on their own bank (of the stream); in sentiment and attachment they act with us.” After *ripa* supply *agunt* in the sense of *vivunt*. There is nothing synonymous here, as some suppose, in *mente* and *animo*. By *mens* is here meant *cogitatio*; by *animus*, on the other hand, *voluntas*.—*Adhuc . . . acrius animantur*. “They are still rendered more spirited.” They occupied a mountainous and woody country, and had hence a more rigorous climate. Bötticher (*Lex. Tacit.*, p. 33) gives *adhuc* in this passage the meaning of *insuper* or *præterea*; but it is better to regard it, with Gruber, as a particle of time.

Non numeraverim. “I do not feel inclined to number.” Compare note on *crediderim*, chapter ii.—*Decumates agros*. “The tithe-lands.” Consult Geographical Index.—*Dubiæ possessionis*. At first these lands lay beyond the Roman boundary, and were unprotected against the incursions of the hostile Germans.—*Limite acto, &c.* “A boundary line having been run, and fortified posts having been pushed forward.”—*Sinus*. “A nook.”—*Provincia*. *Germania Cisirhenana, or Rætia*.

CHAP. XXX.—*Ultra hos*. Tacitus means, beyond the tribes already mentioned as dwelling on or near the Rhine; not those occupying the *Decumates Agri*.—*Initium sedis*, &c. “Make the first rude beginning of their settlements from the Hercynian forest.” Observe the peculiar force of the expression *initium inchoant*, which is by no means pleonastic, as some suppose. The verb *inchoare* strictly refers to the first sketch or rude outline of any work, or to the first rude commencement of any thing, and is here peculiarly apposite.—*Effusis*. “Level.”—*Durant siquidem colles*. “Since hills continue on here in a long range.” That is, the hills here are not isolated hills, but continue for a long distance, and gradually subside.—*Rarescunt*. “Become scattered.”

Prosequitur. When a magistrate left Rome to take the command of a province, it was usual for his friends to “escort” him part of the way; the term used for this was *prosequi*.—*Deponit*. “Sets down.” The settlements of the Catti lie along a continuous range of hills. When the ridge sinks down, and the chain is broken, it bends to the east and leaves the Catti. The image conveyed by the whole clause is a very striking one. Observe, moreover, the peculiar beauty of the possessive *suos* as indicating intimate companionship.

Duriora corpora. “Hardier frames than ordinary.” Supply *solito*.—*Stricti*. “Compact.”—*Ut inter Germanos*. “As far as (we may expect this) among Germans.” More freely, “considering they are Germans.” The Germans were regarded by the Romans as deficient in the qualities mentioned in the text.—*Præponere electos*. “To place over themselves chosen leaders.” The infinitives that follow here do not depend, as some think, on *solent* understood, but are closely connected with what precedes, each clause being explanatory of, or in apposition with *multum rationis ac sollertiæ*.—*Nosse*. “To keep.”—*Differre impetus*. “To restrain impetuous movements.”—*Disponere diem*, &c. “To assign to each part of the day its proper duty to fortify themselves during the night.”

Nec nisi Romanæ, &c. In the age of Tacitus, the wars carried on by the Romans were only against undisciplined barbarians; so that order and discipline might, with some reason, be claimed as peculiar to the Romans. We have given here *Romanæ* with Orelli, Walch, Selling, and others. The common reading is *nec nisi ratione disciplinæ concessum*, “nor conceded save by the steady operation of discipline,” *i. e.*, only as a consequence of discipline.—*Feramentis*. “With iron tools,” as axes, spades, pickaxes, &c.—*Copiis*. “Provisions.”—*Alios ad prælium*, &c. Other tribes of the Germans think only of the first battle; the Catti, on the other hand, adopt a regular plan for a campaign.—*Velocitas juxta formidinem*, &c. “Rapid movements border upon fear; deliberate ones are more akin to steady valor.” That is, equestrian conflicts are uncertain, and marked by sudden changes of fortune; whereas the steady movements of infantry are more generally crowned with lasting success.

CHAP. XXXI.—*Et aliis Germanorum populis*, &c. “What among other

tribes of the Germans is usually done through rare and individual daring, has become among the Catti a matter of common consent," *i. e.*, a regular and established custom. Literally, "through rare and private daring on the part of each individual."—*Vertit*. For *conversum est*. Many transitive verbs, especially such as express motion, are used either intransitively or for passives. Compare Bentley, *ad Hor.*, *Carm.*, iv., 10, 5; Kritz, *ad Sall.*, *Cat.*, p. 37.—*Adoleverint*. The subjunctive, because a custom is referred to.—*Votivum obligatumque*, &c. "A condition of visage, the result of a vow, and by which they have bound themselves to a life of daring."—*Revelant frontem*. By cutting the hair and shaving the beard.—*Pretia nascendi retulisse*. "Have paid the debt of their birth," *i. e.*, the debt they owed to their country and parents for having been born.—*Squalor*. "Their squalid guise."

Fortissimus quisque, &c. It was very common in the middle ages for those who were under a vow of penance to wear an iron ring till they had fulfilled their vow.—*Ignominiosum id genti*. The iron ring seems to have been a badge of slavery.—*Placet*. "Possesses lasting charms." They retain this appearance even after they have slain an enemy, as though they were bound by a vow from which they could only be released by death.—*Jamque cānent insignes*. "And at last they grow hoary under the mark."—*Visu torva*. "Stern of visage." We have adopted *torva* here with the Biondotti editor, Oberlin, Bekker, and others. The ordinary reading is *nova*, "strange," which does not well accord with what is stated in the next sentence.—*Mansuescunt*. "Do they become softened down." Literally, "do they become tame." Said properly of wild animals.—*Aliqua cura*. "Any domestic care," especially of procuring food.—*Donec exsanguis senectus*, &c. "Until exhausted old age renders them unequal to so rigorous a career of military virtue."

CHAP. XXXII.—*Certum jam alveo*. "Now settled in its channel." More literally, "now certain (*i. e.*, to be relied upon) in what relates to the bed of the river." The reference is to the quarter where the stream is now confined within fixed limits, and does not form so many branches and lakes as in the country of the Batavi.—*Usipii ac Tencteri*. These two tribes generally go together in geography and history. They frequently changed their settlements. Consult Geographical Index.—*Super solitum bellorum decus*. "In addition to the warlike reputation usual (with the German race)." Supply *cæteris Germanis* after *solitum*.—*Equestris disciplinæ*, &c. Compare the account given by Cæsar of the superiority of the German cavalry (*B. G.*, iv., 2, 11, 12, 16).

Æmulatio. "The point of emulation."—*Familiam*. "The household." By *familia* is here meant the dwelling and all things connected with it, furniture, slaves, &c.—*Excipit*. "Inherits." Equivalent to *hæreditate accipit*, "receives by inheritance," *i. e.*, the horses, *equos* being understood.—*Prout ferox bello*, &c. "According as he is fierce in war, and superior (in this respect to the rest)." There is no tautology here, as some suppose. Compare the explanation of Walther: "*Excipit equos ferox bello inter non feroces: inter feroces excipit ferocior sive melior.*"

CHAP. XXXIII.—*Occurrebant*. “Met the view.” Supply *oculis*.—*Penitus excisis*. Tacitus appears to be mistaken in his assertion that the Bructeri were entirely extirpated, for we find the Roman commander, Spurius, engaged with them in the reign of Trajan; and in later times they appear as a powerful people among the Franks.—*Nam ne spectaculo quidem, &c.* “For they did not begrudge us even in the matter of allowing us to be spectators of a battle.” Observe that *spectaculo* is here in the ablative, and that *invidere* governs the dative of the person (*nobis*) understood. This is the Latinity of the silver age. Cicero would have said *ne spectaculum quidem prælii nobis inviderunt*, “they did not begrudge us even the spectacle of a battle.”—*Oblectioni oculisque*. “For our entertainment and the mere pleasure of the spectacle.” There is no hendiadys here, but a much stronger mode of expression. The conflict alluded to in the text is supposed to have taken place near the Canal of Drusus (*Fossa Drusiana*), from which quarter the Roman garrison could be spectators of it, and the time to have been the first year of the reign of Trajan.

Duretque. “And continue strongly seated.”—*Odium sui*. “A feeling of animosity towards each other.”—*Urgentibus imperii fatis*. “When the fate of the empire is (thus) urgent,” *i. e.*, in the present critical condition of the empire. As this treatise was written in the reign of Trajan, when the affairs of the Romans appeared unusually prosperous, some critics have imagined that Tacitus wrote *vigentibus*, “flourishing,” instead of *urgentibus*. But it is sufficiently evident, from other passages, that the causes which were operating gradually, but surely, to the destruction of the empire, did not escape the penetration of Tacitus, even when disguised by the most flattering appearances. The common reading, therefore, must stand.

CHAP. XXXIV.—*A tergo cludunt*. “Shut in from behind,” *i. e.*, from the east.—*Aliæque gentes*. Such as the Ansibarii, Tubantes, Turonii, &c.—*A fronte, &c.* “In front the Frisii succeed,” *i. e.*, toward the west, or near the River Rhine.—*Majoribus minoribusque, &c.* “They have the appellation of Greater and Less Frisii, according to the measure of their strength.” The name stands here in the dative by attraction to *illis* understood. (*Madvig*, § 246; *Obs.* 2.)—*Rheno prætexuntur*. “Are bordered in front by the Rhine,” *i. e.*, the settlements of both stretch along the Rhine.—*Immensos lacus*. Anciently this country was covered by large lakes, which were made still larger by frequent inundations of the sea. Since the inundation, however, of 1569, which submerged almost all Friesland, the *Zuyder Zee* has taken the place of most of them.—*Illa tentavimus*. “We have explored in that quarter.” Supply *regione*. Drusus, Tiberius, and Germanicus explored this sea. Drusus is said to have penetrated into the Sinus Dollarius, at the mouth of the Amisia or *Ems*. Tiberius navigated the Albis or *Elbe*. The shipwreck of the fleet of Germanicus proved likewise a source of discovery, and, according to Mannert (*Geog.*, iii., p. 91), pointed out to navigators the way to the Baltic.

Herculis columnas. Besides the well-known Pillars of Hercules at the

Straits of Gibraltar, the ancient writers speak of similar ones in the North, a tradition which arose, in all probability, from the existence of similar natural features in that quarter. Where, however, the northern promontories were that received this name in the text has never been satisfactorily ascertained. It is generally supposed that the legend points to the *Sound*, between Denmark and Sweden.—*Adiit*. “Really visited that quarter.”—*Clarity*. “Renown.”—*Druso Germanico*. Mentioned in a preceding note by the name of Drusus merely, which is his more usual appellation. He was the brother of Tiberius and step-son of Augustus. The younger Drusus was the son of Tiberius.

Mox nemo tentavit. “Soon after, no one (any longer) made the attempt.” The meaning is, that although the sea was navigated by some one after Drusus, yet that the expeditions of the Romans in this quarter were soon abandoned.—*De actis deorum credere*, &c. “To entertain a belief concerning the actions of the gods, than to seek to become actually acquainted with them,” *i. e.*, to believe in the present instance that Hercules actually visited the North, and that pillars erected by him do really exist in that quarter, rather than to seek to ascertain their real position.

CHAP. XXXV.—*Novimus*. “We have examined.”—*Ingenti flexu*. This bend is formed by the Cimbric Chersonese, or modern *Jutland*, which Tacitus conceived to be rather curved and round than angular and pointed.—*Primo statim*. “In the very outset,” *i. e.*, immediately after the bend begins.—*Caucorum gens*. Their name is still preserved in that of their harbor, *Cuxhaven*.—*Lateribus obtenditur*. “Is stretched along the flanks,” *i. e.*, the eastern flanks.—*Sinuetur*. They bend round first in a southeastern and then in a southerly direction, and meet the Catti near the River *Werra*.—*Inter Germanos*. For the partitive genitive *Germanorum* (*Madvig*, § 284, *Obs.* 1).—*Malit*. The subjunctive, because the relative which precedes is equivalent to *talis ut*. (*Madvig*, § 364).—*Tueri*. “To uphold.”

Sine cupiditate, sine impotentia. “Without ambition, without ungoverned desires.” *Impotentia* is here equivalent to *impotentia sui*, and denotes a want of command over one’s passions.—*Quod, ut superiores agant*, &c. “That they do not seek to acquire their superiority by acts of injustice.” Observe that *ut superiores agant* is an expression borrowed from the language of the stage, in which *agere aliquem* is the same as *partes alicujus agere*, “to represent or exhibit any character.”

Ac, si res poscat, exercitus. After *exercitus* supply *quoque promptus est*. Some editors remove the comma after *poscat*, making *exercitus* the accusative plural depending on that verb. But this is contrary to the usage of Tacitus, who always employs the formula *si res poscat* absolutely, and without any case attached to show what is required or demanded.—*Et quiescentibus*, &c. “And they enjoy the same renown, even though remaining inactive,” *i. e.*, even in inaction. Their warlike reputation is not at all injured by their pacific spirit.

CHAP. XXXVI.—*Nimiam ac marcentem*, &c. “Long cherished, from their being unattacked by any foe, a too lasting and enfeebling state of repose.” We have taken *marcentem* here, with Bredow and others, in a transitive sense, “*quæ robur atque virtutem detrahit.*” The verb *marceo* is properly intransitive.—*Impotentes*. Supply *sui*, and compare note on *impotentia*, chap. xxxv. It may be here rendered “the ambitious.”—*Falso quiescas*. “You stand a chance of enjoying a false security.” Observe the force of the subjunctive.—*Ubi manu agitur*, &c. “When matters are decided by the sword, moderation and mildness are terms belonging to the victor,” *i. e.*, moderation and mildness are ascribed, not to the weak and inactive, but to those who possess the power of injuring their neighbors without abusing it.

Boni æquique Cherusci. Some derive the name *Cherusci* from an old word (*cherusk*), meaning “just.”—*Nunc inertes ac stulti vocantur*. The name here referred to is *Thuringi* (Thuringer), from *thoring*, “stupid.”—*In sapientiam cessit*. “Has passed for wisdom.” The meaning of the whole passage is this: The success of the Catti, which was due to their good fortune, has, since they gained the mastery, been placed to the account of their wisdom.—*Tracti*. The earlier editions, and some modern ones, have *tacti*, which would make the allusion a figurative one to a contagious disease. But *tracti* is a much stronger form of expression.—*Cum fuissent*. “Although they had been.” *Cum* has the subjunctive here, because expressing a kind of comparison between the leading proposition and the subordinate one, especially a contrast (*Madvig*, § 358; *Obs.* 3).

CHAP. XXXVII.—*Eundem Germaniæ sinum*. “This same bend of Germany,” *i. e.*, this same quarter of Germany, which bends, as just stated, to the north. The reference is to the *ingens flexus* mentioned at the beginning of chapter xxxv.—*Cimbri*. The *Cimbri* never dwelt in the quarter here assigned to them by Tacitus, namely, on the Cimbric Chersonese, or modern *Jutland*. Their real country lay, probably, on the northeastern side of Germany. (Consult Geographical Index.)—*Parva nunc civitas*. No state of the *Cimbri* ever existed here, as we have just remarked. Tacitus was misled by some vague report.—*Gloria*. The ablative.—*Utraque ripa*, &c. “Encampments, namely, and lines on either bank.” Another vague statement, and which has given rise to a great diversity of opinions. Brotier and others refer *utraque ripa* to both shores of the Cimbric Chersonese. Cluver and Dithmar, on the other hand, suppose that these encampments are to be sought for either in Italy, upon the River *Athesis* (*Adige*), or in *Gallia Narbonensis*, near *Aquæ Sextiæ* (*Aix*), where *Florus* (iii., 3) mentions that the *Teutones*, defeated by *Marius*, took post in a valley with a stream running through it. According, however, to the established *usus loquendi*, the reference must be either to the *Rhine* or the *Danube*, most probably the former.—*Molem manusque gentis*. “The massy numbers and the military strength of the nation.”—*Exitus*. “Migration.” Compare *Cic.*, *Parad.*, iv., 1; *Cæs.*, *B. Civ.*, iii., 69.—*Fidem*. “The credibility.”

Sexcentessimum et quadragesimum, &c. This date corresponds to B.C.

114; but the more correct date is 641 A.U.C., or B.C. 113, in which latter year, not in B.C. 114, Metellus and Carbo were consuls.—*Audita sunt arma*. In Noricum, and on the banks of the Danube.—*Ad alterum imperatoris, &c.* “To the second consulship of the Emperor Trajan.” Trajan was five times consul. The second time was in A.D. 98, in which same year Nerva died, and Trajan ascended the throne. The present tense (*vincitur*) employed by Tacitus a little farther on, shows that the latter was engaged in writing this work at the time he speaks of, namely, A.D. 98.—*Colliguntur*. “Are comprised.”—*Tamdiu Germania vincitur*. “So long is Germany getting conquered.” It never was conquered by the Roman arms.

Medio tam longi ævi spatio. “During the interval of so long a period,” *i. e.*, during so long an intervening period, namely, of nearly two hundred and ten years.—*Non Samnis*. “Not the Samnite,” *i. e.*, the Samnite nation. The allusion is to the fierce and obstinate struggle between the Romans and Samnites, and especially to the former being compelled to pass under the yoke at the Caudine Forks (*Liv.*, ix., 2).—*Pæni*. Alluding to the disastrous defeats inflicted by Hannibal.—*Hispaniæ*. “The Spains,” *i. e.*, the two divisions of Spain, namely, *Tarraconensis* and *Bætica*, separated by the Iberus, now *Ebro*. Wars were carried on by the Romans in these two provinces against the Carthaginians, Viriathus, the Numantines, Sertorius, and others.—*Galliæ*. “The Gauls.” Transalpine and Cisalpine Gaul.

Parthi. Alluding particularly to the overthrow of Crassus, and the check received by Marc Antony.—*Sæpius admonuere*. “Have more frequently reminded us (of our weakness),” *i. e.*, that we are not invincible. We have here an ellipsis more in thought than in word. Compare the explanation of Longolius: “*admonuere*, scil. nos cladibus, nos vinci posse.”—*Quippe regno Arsacis, &c.* “No doubt because the impatience of control which characterizes the Germans is more vigorous than the despotism of Arsaces,” *i. e.*, proves a greater stimulus to exertion. Observe that *regno Arsacis* is the same as *regno Parthico*, the monarchs of Parthia being in the time of Tacitus of the dynasty of the Arsacidæ, so called from Arsaces, the founder of the empire.

Quid enim aliud, &c. “For what else has the East, &c., to boast of against us.”—*Cædem Crassi*. Crassus was defeated and slain by the Parthians, B.C. 53.—*Amisso et ipso Pacōro*. This was in B.C. 38. After the defeat of P. Decidius Saxa, lieutenant of Syria, by the Parthians, and the seizure of Syria by Pacorus, son of King Orodes, P. Ventidius Bassus, having been sent thither by Marc Antony, slew Pacorus, and completely restored the Roman affairs.—*Infra Ventidium dejectus*. “Humbled beneath a Ventidius.” Ventidius, already mentioned in the preceding note, though a man of great military ability, was of very humble origin, and when he first grew up to man’s estate, got a poor living by undertaking to furnish mules and vehicles for those magistrates who went from Rome to administer a province. Hence the peculiar force of *infra Ventidium*, as implying that the once haughty empire of the Parthians had been brought so low, as to be

compelled to yield to the arms of a man of so lowly an origin. Compare Ritter: "*unter einem Ventidius.*"

Carbone. Cn. Papirius Carbo was defeated by the Cimbri at Noreia, B.C. 113. (*Liv., Epit., 63.*)—*Cassio.* L. Cassius Longinus was sent under the yoke, and slain by the Tigurini, who had joined themselves to the Cimbri, B.C. 107. (*Cæs., B. G., i., 7, 12.*)—*Scauro Aurelio.* M. Aurelius Scaurus, the same year, was defeated and taken prisoner by the Cimbri, and slain by Boiorix. (*Liv., Ep., 67.*)—*Servilio Cæpione, &c.* Q. Servilius Cæpio and Cn. Manlius (B.C. 105), through their rashness and dissensions, suffered a severe defeat from the Cimbri, near Tolosa (*Toulouse*) (*Liv., Ep., 67.*)—*Cnæo quoque Manlio.* All the old MSS. and editions have *M. quoque Manlio.* Cn. and M. are frequently confounded in the MSS. In the present instance, however, the true reading is *Cnæo*, since it had been decreed after the death of M. Manlius Capitolinus, who was accused by the patrician party of aiming at royal power, that no one of this family should bear the name of Marcus. (*Liv., vi., 20; Cic., Phil., i., 13.*)

Varum. The reference is to P. Quintilius Varus, who was defeated by the Germans under Arminius, in the *Saltus Teutoburgiensis*, in the upper valley of the Lippe. His defeat was followed by the loss of all the Roman possessions between the Weser and the Rhine, and this latter river again became the boundary of the Roman dominions.—*Cæsari.* Augustus Cæsar.—*Caius Marius.* The allusion is to the famous defeat of the Cimbri, in the Raudii Campi, near Vercellæ, by Marius and Catulus, B.C. 101. Marius had previously defeated the Teutones and Ambrones at Aquæ Sextiæ (*Aix*), in Gaul.—*Divus Julius in Gallia.* For the campaigns of Julius Cæsar against the Germans, consult *Cæs., B. G., i., 32, seqq.; ii., 1, seqq.; iv., 1, seqq.; vi., 9, seqq.*

Drusus ac Nero et Germanicus. By Drusus is here meant Drusus Germanicus, the brother of Tiberius, and by Nero, Tiberius himself, whose full name was Claudius Tiberius Nero Drusus. Germanicus was the son of Drusus, and nephew of Tiberius. Observe the change of the conjunction *ac* in this sentence, because Drusus and Nero were more on an equality with one another as brothers, than with Germanicus. For an account of the expeditions of Drusus, &c., consult Geographical Index, *s. v. Germani.*—*Mox.* A.D. 39.—*Caii Cæsaris.* Caligula. Compare *Suet., Calig., 45, seqq.; Dio Cass., lix., 25.*

Inde otium. During the reigns of Claudius and Nero.—*Civilium armorum.* The civil wars carried on by Galba, Otho, Vitellius, and Vespasian.—*Expugnatis legionum hibernis.* This was done in A.D. 69, by the Batavi under Civilis. (*Hist., iv., 12, seqq.; v., 20.*)—*Etiam Gallias adfectavere.* "They even aimed at the possession of the Gauls."—*Proximis his temporibus.* Not only in the reign of Domitian, but also in the reigns of Nerva, Trajan, and Hadrian.—*Triumphati.* The cognomen of *Germanicus* and the honor of a triumph were frequently, out of flattery, conferred on the emperors, or their sons and favorites.

CHAP. XXXVIII.—*Suevis*. According to Tacitus, the Suevi possessed all the land from the banks of the Danube northward to the Baltic Sea, between the Elbe and the Vistula.—*Propriis adhuc nationibus, &c.* “Distinguished from one another, up to the present time, by particular nations and names.” The different nations into which the Suevi were divided are enumerated from chapter xxxix. to xlv., both inclusive.—*In commune*. “In common.” An expression belonging to the silver age of Latinity.—*Insigne gentis, &c.* “It is a badge of the race to turn back the hair over the head, and to fasten it up in a knot,” *i. e.*, not to leave the hair hanging down straight, but to turn or comb it back, &c. The knot into which the hair was formed was not on the top, but at the back part of the head.—*Substringere*. Properly, “to bind below or under,” and hence, “to bind from below,” or, in other words, “to bind or tie up.” It is a poetic form, and belongs to the silver age of Latinity.—*A ceteris Germanis*. Other ancient writers, however, make this mode of wearing the hair a badge of the Germans in general. Compare Seneca, *De Ira*, iii., 26, and Juvenal, *Sat.*, xiii., 164.—*Separantur*. “Are distinguished.”—*A servis*. The slaves wore their hair cut close and short, as was the custom afterward with this class of persons among the Franks. Long hair was the badge of a freeman. Compare *Greg. Turon.*, iii., 8; *Leg. Burgund.*, vi., 4; *Grimm, Deutsche Rechtsalt.*, p. 284.

Usque ad canitiem, &c. “They put back their bristly locks even up to the time of hoary hairs, and frequently bind them in a knot on the very crown.” Literally, “they follow back,” as referring to a constant and pains-taking habit of putting back the hairs. By *solo vertice* is meant just on the crown, and nowhere else. Observe, moreover, that the old men wear the knot on the crown, the others at the back of the head.—*Ea*. For *talis*.—*Innoxia*. “A harmless one,” *i. e.*, not springing from the same corrupt motives as among the Romans. A less forcible reading is *innocia*.—*In altitudinem quamdam, &c.* “Decked in this way, when about to proceed to wars, to make themselves appear taller, and thus strike terror,” &c.

CHAP. XXXIX.—*Vetustissimos*. “The oldest.” Earlier writers more frequently employ *vetustus* in an unfavorable sense, as in *Cic., Brut.*, 21, “*sed multo tamen vetustior et horridior ille.*” Tacitus, however, uses it in almost the same signification as *vetus*. (*Bötticher, Lex. Tac.*, p. 488.)—*Fides antiquitatis, &c.* “The belief in their antiquity is strengthened by a religious observance.” The observance in question was connected with a human sacrifice, a rite belonging properly to the earliest times.—*In silvam*. This wood is supposed to be the *Sonnewald* and *Finsterwald*, between the *Elster* and the *Spree*.—*Auguriis patrum, &c.* These words, down to *sacram* inclusive, form an hexameter line.—*Prisca formidine*. “By the awe-inspiring associations of former times.”—*Primordia*. The human sacrifice formed the beginning of the rite; what the remainder of the ceremony was our author does not inform us.

Reverentia. “Mark of reverential homage.”—*Ut minor*. “As an inferior being.”—*Præ se ferens*. “Displaying in his own person,” *i. e.*, in the chain

that fetters him.—*Evolvuntur*. “They roll themselves out.” Middle voice.—*Eo respicit*. “Has reference to this,” *i. e.*, has this import.—*Inde*. “From this spot,” *i. e.*, from the sacred grove. They believed in the indigenous origin of their race.—*Adjicit auctoritatem*. Supply *superstitioni illi*.—*Centum pagis habitant*. Cæsar says the same of the Suevi (*B. G.*, i., 37; iv., 1).—*Magno corpore*. Supply *civitatis*.

CHAP. XL.—*Paucitas nobilitat*. Because, though few in number, they maintained their ground against the tribes by whom they were surrounded (the Cherusci, Marcomanni, Semnones, Hermunduri, Cauci, and Marsi).—*Reudigni*, &c. For an account of all the tribes mentioned here, consult Geographical Index.—*Hertham*. The MSS. and earlier editions have *Nerthum*, which Rhenanus (in 1519) corrected into *Herthum*, and Oberlin finally into *Hertham*. The word is manifestly the same as the German *Erde*, and the English *Earth*, and its more Germanic form was probably *Ærth-a*, with the Latin declension-suffix. Compare Latham, *ad loc.*—*Eamque intervenire*, &c. “And they think that she takes part in the affairs of men, that she visits the different nations.” Literally, “that she bears herself among the nations.” Observe that *populis* is here the ablative, and not the dative, as some suppose.

Insula. There are various opinions respecting the situation of this island. It is identified by different writers with Rugen, Mona, Heligoland, &c., but *Rugen* probably is the island meant. The wood spoken of seems to be that of *Stubnitz*, and the lake the *Burgsee*. In this forest is a lofty rock, to this day called Hertha's rock, with a lake at the bottom of it, in shape nearly circular, of immense depth, and surrounded by very thick woods. Among the northern nations islands were almost invariably selected for the performance of their religious rites, as was the case with Anglesea, the Isle of Man, Iona, &c.—*Castum*. “Unpolluted.”

Is adesse penetrati, &c. “He becomes conscious of the entrance of the goddess into her secret abiding-place,” *i. e.*, into the covered vehicle.—*Bubus feminis*. When nouns denoting animals are of the common gender, and the sex of the particular animal is to be stated, the term *mas* or *femina* is added (*Zumpt*, § 42).—*Læti tunc dies*, &c. The full form of expression would be, *læti tunc dies aguntur, festa tunc illa loca sunt*, &c.—*Quæcunque adventu*, &c. “Whatsoever ones she deems worthy of visiting and being entertained in.”—*Non bella ineunt*, &c. A festival called *Alla manna frith* (*i. e.*, *Allmann's Friede*), in which they abstained from war, continued to be celebrated in Gothland even after the introduction of Christianity.—*Pax et quies*. The former of these terms refers to foreign wars, the latter to internal dissensions.

Templo. “To her sacred abode,” *i. e.*, the sacred grove or inclosure. *Templum* is here employed in its primitive meaning, not as implying any building, but merely a space marked out, or set apart. Compare the Greek *τέμενος*, from the same root (*τεμ*, *cut*) with the verb *τέμνω*.—*Numen ipsum*. The goddess was feigned to have become polluted by mortal converse, and

therefore required ablution.—*Haurit*. “Swallows up.” The slaves were drowned in order that the imposture of the priests might not be divulged. The ostensible reason, however, was, that those persons must needs perish, who had beheld the goddess herself in her real form.—*Quid sit illud*, &c. “As to what that can be, which those only see who are doomed to perish,” *i. e.*, who, in consequence of seeing, must immediately thereafter perish.

Nearly all the circumstances mentioned here concerning the worship of Hertha agree with those practiced at the worship of the Deity of the Earth (called Rhea, Ops, Demeter, Cybele, &c.), in Thrace and Phrygia, by the Corybantes, Idæi Dactyli, and others. At Pessinus festive days were kept, in which the image of the goddess was drawn in a car by cows through the towns of Phrygia. At every place through which she passed sacrifices were offered; and in Italy, moreover, after the celebration of her festival, her car and statue were always purified in the waters of the River Almo. Similar customs are still observed by the Brahmins in India, at the festival of Baghawadi.

CHAP. XLI.—*Secretiora*. “The more remote recesses.”—*Proprior*. “Nearer (unto us is).” Supply *nobis est*.—*Non in ripa*. “Not on the bank merely.” Supply *solum* after *non*. The southern bank of the Danube is meant.—*Penitus*. “Far in the interior.”—*Splendidissima Rætia*, &c. This is generally supposed to be Augusta Vindelicorum, now *Augsburg*.—*Transeunt*. Over the Danube, or Roman frontier.—*Cum*. “While.” Followed by the subjunctive as implying a comparison. (*Madvig*, § 358, *Obs.* 3.)—*Non concupiscentibus*. “Not coveting them,” *i. e.*, without exciting their cupidity.—*Notum olim*. Through the expeditions of Drusus, Domitius, and Tiberius.—*Nunc tantum auditur*. “Now it is only heard of,” *i. e.*, it is known merely by report, since the tide of Roman invasion has been rolled back.

CHAP. XLII.—*Gloria viresque*. Supply *sunt*.—*Parta*. Supply *erant*.—*Nec Narisci Quadive degenerant*. “Nor do the Narisci or the Quadi fall short (of them in valor),” *i. e.*, nor are they inferior in valor to the Marcomanni. Supply *ab iis virtute* after *degenerant*.—*Eaque velut Germaniæ*, &c. “And this is, as it were, the front of Germany, so far forth as it is formed by the Danube,” *i. e.*, so far forth as the Danube forms this front, and separates Germany in this quarter from the Roman possessions. With *peragitur* (which here has the force of *efficitur*) supply *frons* from the previous clause. Passow understands *iter*, which appears much less appropriate. Some editors read *pergitur*, others *porrigitur*, but all the MSS. and early editions have *peragitur*.

Nobile Marobodui, &c. Of Maroboduus mention will be found in the Geographical Index, *s. v.* Marcomanni. Tudor or Tudrus is not mentioned by any other writer but Tacitus, nor by the latter elsewhere than in the present passage. Neither are other kings of the Marcomanni and Quadi spoken of except by writers of a later age.—*Externos*. Supply *reges*. As,

for instance, Catualda, Vannius, Vangio, &c. Catualda was subsequently driven out by Vibilius, king of the Hermunduri (*Ann.*, ii., 45, 62). The Quadi received Vannius from the Romans.—*Sed vis et potentia*, &c. Partly on account of the support afforded them by the Romans against the different factions of their kingdoms, partly because some of them owed their royalty to the Romans.—*Sæpius pecunia*. In point of fact, however, the Romans themselves were sometimes compelled to pay tribute to these princes, as to Decebalus, the king of the Daci, and his allies the Marcomanni and Quadi. Compare *Dio Cass.*, lxxvii., 7; lxxviii., 9.

CHAP. XLIII.—*Retro*. “Farther back,” *i. e.*, farther from the Danube, and more in the interior.—*Terga cludent*. “They shut in the rear.”—*Referunt*. “Resemble.”—*Osos Pannonica lingua*. Compare notes on chapter xxviii.—*Sarmatæ*. By the Sarmatæ here are probably meant the Iazyges Metanastæ, who dwelt in the neighborhood of the Quadi, or else the Sidones.—*Gothini, quo magis pudeat*, &c. Because the iron mines in their country ought to furnish them with arms, with which to assert their freedom. The Greeks and Romans generally employed slaves to work in the mines.—*Pauca campestrium*. “A small extent (only) of level country.” Observe the poetical form of expression. The more ordinary form would be *pauca campestria loca*.

Dirimit enim scinditque, &c. “For a continuous ridge of mountains divides and cleaves asunder Suevia.” Tacitus does not give us the name of this chain of mountains, but from his description it appears to be identical with the Asciburgian range of Ptolemy, and the modern *Riesengebirge*.—*Lygiorum nomen*. “The nation of the Lygii.” Poetical. Compare the well-known form, *nomen Latinum*.—*Helveconas*. Greek form of the accusative. Compare note on *Oxionas*, chap. xlvi.

Antiquæ religionis. “Connected with early religious rites.”—*Muliebri ornatu*. The priest was probably attired in a flowing robe, which, contrasting as it did with the closely-fitting attire of the Germans in general, was mistaken for a female dress.—*Sed deos, interpretatione Romana*, &c. “But they say that the gods (worshipped there) are, according to Roman interpretation, Castor and Pollux,” *i. e.*, writers and travellers inform us that the gods worshipped in this sacred grove resemble in their attributes, and are the same with, the Roman deities Castor and Pollux.—*Ea vis numini*, &c. “Such are the attributes assigned to their godhead; their name is Alci.” *Alcis* is the dative plural. Compare note on *Majoribus minoribusque Frisiis*, &c., chap. xxxiv. The full form would be *est illis nomen Alcis*. This dative is to be deduced from a nominative plural *Alci*, and not from such a form as *Alces*, which would make *Alcibus*. Anton derives the name from the Slavonic *holcz*, “a youth,” in the plural *holczy*, with which we may compare the well-known epithet of *Διόσκοροι*, “sons of Jove,” applied to Castor and Pollux. (*Anton, Gesch. der Deutschen*, i., p. 381.)

Ut fratres tamen, &c. Like the Roman Castor and Pollux.—*Venerantur*. Is transitive: the passive was not in use except in the participle.—*Enume-*

ratos paulo ante populos. The Marsigni, Gothini, and Osi.—*Insitæ feritati, &c.* “Increase the effect of their innate ferocity, by calling art and a particular time to their aid.” Literally, “pander to their innate ferocity by means of art and time.” *Arte* refers to their black shields and stained bodies; *tempore* to the murky nights chosen for their encounters.—*Ipsa formidine, &c.* “By the very alarm (which their aspect occasions), and by the shade-like appearance of their funereal host.” The funereal gloom of their sable bands makes them resemble so many spectres. Ritter very tamely refers *umbra* to the shadows cast by their bodies, which would appear greater amid the gloom.—*Novum ac velut infernum adspectum.* “Their strange, and, as it were, unearthly look.”

Regnantur. Consult notes on chap. xxv.—*Paulo jam adductius.* “With an already somewhat tighter rein.” *Jam* implies that as we go farther and farther northward, the people degenerate more and more from the spirit of liberty which characterized the more southern tribes, till at last we come to a people with an absolute ruler.—*Supra.* “To a degree incompatible with.”—*Protinus deinde ab oceano.* “Immediately thereafter, along the ocean.” Literally, “from the ocean,” *i. e.*, extending from the ocean inward. Their territory, in other words, reached from that of the Gotones to the ocean. By “the ocean” the Baltic Sea is here meant. As regards the force of the preposition *ab* in this passage, compare the remarks of *Hand, ad Tursell.*, vol. i., p. 48.

CHAP. XLIV.—*Suionum.* The Suiones inhabited the south of Sweden, which was supposed by the ancients to be an island.—*Ipsa in oceano.* Alluding to their supposed insular situation. By the ocean here is meant the Baltic Sea.—*Eo differt.* “Differs in this respect from that of ours.”—*Quod utrinque prora, &c.* Resembling the canoes still used by the Swedes and by our own aborigines.—*Paratam semper appulsui, &c.* “Affords a front always ready for driving up on the beach,” *i. e.*, for coming to land.—*Nec ministrantur.* “They are neither worked.”—*In ordinem.* “So as to form a row.”—*Solutum, ut in quibusdam, &c.* “Their mode of rowing is without any regularity, as is practiced on some rivers (with us), and changes, as occasion requires, on this side or on that.” The movement here described is like the paddling of a canoe. *Solutum* appears to refer to the oars being without straps, so that they may easily be shifted from side to side. Tacitus compares this to the mode pursued on some Italian rivers, where the high banks would require a similar shifting of the oars in order that the boat might be brought close to them.—*In quibusdam fluminum.* Pronouns, adjectives, and participles in the plural, joined with a genitive, are of frequent occurrence in Tacitus.

Est apud illos et opibus honos. The wealth here referred to was acquired by traffic. This respect paid to wealth was unknown to the rest of the Germans.—*Nullis jam exceptionibus, &c.* “With no exceptions now, with no precarious conditions of allegiance.” As regards the force of *jam* here, compare the note on *paulo jam adductius*, chap. xliii: The expression *non pre-*

cario jure parendi may be rendered more freely, "with an absolute claim upon their obedience." *Precarium jus* is a right granted to a person's entreaties.—*Nec arma in promiscuo*. "Nor are arms allowed to be kept promiscuously." Supply *concessa sunt*.—*Et quidem servo*. "And he, too, a slave."—*Oceanus*. In allusion to their supposed insular situation.—*Quia . . . lasciviunt*. This is the reason why arms are not allowed to the public without distinction.—*Regia utilitas est*. "It is the policy of kings." We have here the reason why the charge of arms is intrusted to a slave.

CHAP. XLV.—*Suionas*. Greek form of the accusative. Compare *Helveconas*, chap. xliiii., and note on *Oxionas*, chap. xlvi.—*Aliud mare*. The Northern or Frozen Ocean.—*Pigrum ac prope immotum*. "Sluggish and almost without any motion," *i. e.*, on account of the ice. Compare *Agric.*, 10.—*Hinc*. "From the following circumstance." Referring to what immediately follows, namely, *quod extremus*, &c.—*In ortus edurat adeo clarus*. "Continues so vivid till its (daily) risings." In the age of Pliny and Tacitus the globular form of the earth was well known. Tacitus considered the earth, though not completely spherical, as a globe at rest in the centre of the universe, with the land completely surrounded by water. The part of the earth from Britain to the pole he conceived to be flatter than that from Italy to Britain, since there was no chain of mountains at all to be compared with the Alps, and hence he talks of the "*extrema et plana terrarum*" (*Agric.*, 12). And as night is nothing else than the shadow of the earth (*Plin.*, *H. N.*, ii., 10) rising in the form of a cone, since the body illumined is less than the body that illumines it, the notion entertained by Tacitus is, that at the time of the solstice, when the sun approaches nearer the pole (*Plin.*, *H. N.*, ii., 75), and accordingly does not sink far below the horizon, the shadow of the flatter parts of the earth toward the pole can not shroud the whole heavens in darkness ("*extrema et plana terrarum non erigunt tenebras*"); but the surface of the earth only is darkened, while the sky and stars appear above the shadow, and are illumined by the rays of the sun ("*infra cælum et sidera nox cadit*." *Agric.*, 12).

Sonum insuper audiri, &c. "Popular belief adds, that a sound is more-over heard," &c. The allusion is evidently to the Aurora Borealis; and so, also, the *formas deorum et radios capitis* refer to the fanciful shapes assumed by the electrical phænomena.—*Illuc usque*, &c. "Thus far only, and report says true, does nature extend." With *fama* supply *est*. Observe that *tantum* is joined in construction with *illuc usque*.—*Ergo jam*. "To return, therefore, now."—*Suevici maris*. The Baltic.—*Alluuntur*. "Are washed by its waves."

Matrem deum. The same with the Hertha of the Suevi already mentioned.—*Formas aprorum gestant*. They wore these as amulets. The boar, as the symbol of fecundity, was sacred to Hertha. Many remnants of this superstition still remain in Sweden. At the time of the festival anciently celebrated in honor of Frea, the rustics make bread into the form of a hog, which is applied to various superstitious uses.—*Pro*. "Supplying the

place of.”—*Frumenta ceterosque fructus, &c.* “They bestow labor on the culture of corn and the other productions of the earth, with more patient industry than might have been expected from the usual indolence of the Germans.” Compare chapters xiv., xv.

Succinum. “Amber.” So called because it was believed to be the sap (*succus*) of a tree.—*Quod ipsi glesum vocant.* “Which they themselves call *glese*,” i. e., glass, from its brightness (*gleissen*, “to shine,” “to glisten”). The term *glesum*, it will be perceived, is nothing more than the old German word *glas* or *glaes* Latinized, and converted into a neuter noun.—*Inter vada atque in ipso littore.* On the shores of Pomerania, Curonia, and Prussia; now, however, principally on the coast of Samland. It first became known in the south of Europe through the Phœnicians.

Nec, quæ natura, &c. “Nor has it been inquired into or found out by them, as being barbarians, what may be its nature, or what principle of production may give it birth,” i. e., as is natural among barbarians. *Barbaris* is the dative, agreeing with *iis* understood after *compertum*.—*Ejectamenta.* “Things thrown up by.” The term *ejectamentum* is of rare occurrence. We meet with it also in Apuleius (*Apol.*, 297). Tacitus appears partial to words of this termination: thus we have *placamenta* (*Hist.*, i., 13); *meditamenta* (*Hist.*, iv., 26); *turbamenta* (*Hist.*, i., 23); *tentamenta* (*Hist.*, ii., 38), &c.—*Ipsis in nullo usu.* This remark must be received with some abatement, since it would appear that amber was certainly held in some estimation by the ancient Germans. Small balls of this substance, strung on horse-hair, and large unwrought pieces, have been found in tombs. (*Klemm, Germ. Alterthumsk.*, p. 22.)

Perfertur. By traders, through Pannonia to the Adriatic, and thence to Rome.—*Succum arborum, &c.* The same notion is advanced by Pliny (*H. N.*, xxxvii., 2, 3). Compare also the remarks of Berendt, “*Der Bernstein*,” &c. Berol., 1845, p. 8, as quoted by Ritter. Modern naturalists agree in making amber a fossil resin.—*Interlucent.* “Appear through it.”—*Implicata humore.* “Entangled in it while in a liquid state.”—*Durescente materia.* “As the substance hardens.”—*Fecundiora igitur nemora, &c.* “For my own part, therefore, I believe, that, as in the remote regions of the East, where incense and balsam are exuded, so there are in the islands and lands of the west woods and groves of more than ordinary luxuriance, the juices of which, forced out and rendered liquid by the rays of the sun close to them, flow,” &c. Observe that *quæ* refers grammatically to *nemora lucosque*, but is equivalent in fact to *quorum succus*. The reference in *tura* is to Arabia; in *balsama*, to Judæa and Arabia.—*Ut in picem resinamve lentescit.* “It resolves itself into a glutinous mass, as if into pitch or resin,” i. e., resembling pitch or resin.

Continuantur. “Are contiguous to,” i. e., follow immediately after. Compare Freund, s. v.—*In tantum.* “To such an extent.”—*A servitute degenerant.* In being slaves to a woman.—*Finis.* That is to the North.

CHAP. XLVI.—*Sede ac domiciliis.* “In fixedness of settlement and in

the nature of their dwellings." The settlements and habitations of the Peucini were fixed and stationary, whereas the Sarmatæ wandered about in their wagons.—*Sordes omnium ac torpor*. "Filth and laziness are characteristics of all." Some editors place a colon after *procerum*, and no stop after *torpor*, which makes a very awkward reading.—*Procerum connubiis mixtis*, &c. "Through the intermarriages of their chiefs with the Sarmatians, they are gradually assuming the disgusting character of that people.'—*Ex moribus*. Supply *Sarmatarum*.—*Hi tamen*, &c. Ptolemy and others, more correctly, make them a branch of the Sarmatians.—*Domos figunt*. "They have fixed habitations," *i. e.*, do not wander about in wagons like the Sarmatæ. Another, but less correct reading, is *figunt*.

Fennis. The Fenni are the inhabitants of modern Finland.—*Cubili humus*. "Their couch is the ground." Observe the change of construction. We would naturally have expected *cubili humus*, but the nominative is substituted as more emphatic.—*Ossibus asperant*. "They roughly head with bones." The Siberians, at the present day, employ for a like purpose the bones of fish. The verb *aspero* is poetic. It never appears in Cicero.—*Comitantur*. "They accompany their husbands." Supply *viros*.

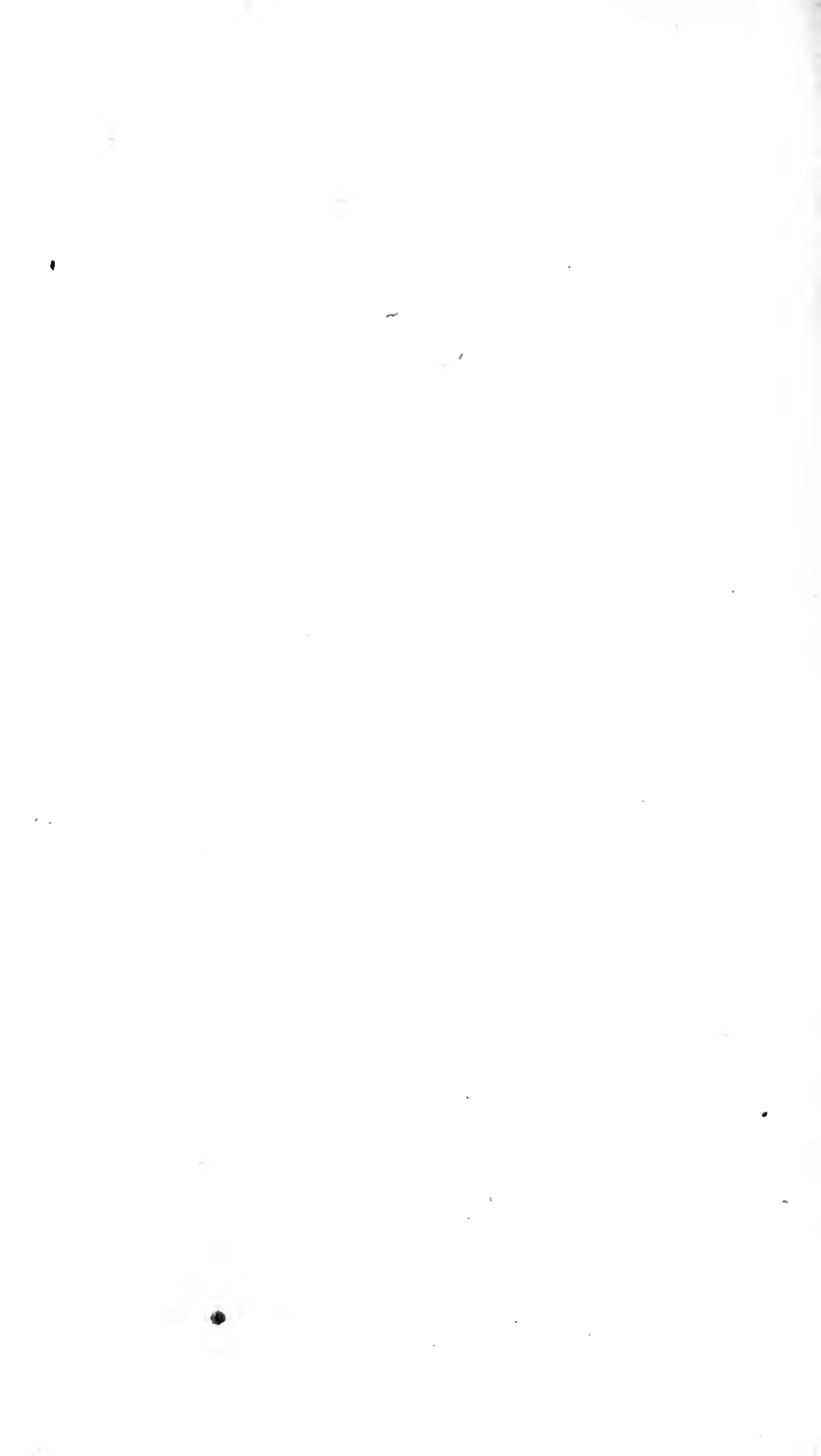
Ingemere agris, illaborare domibus. "To groan over fields, to labor upon dwellings," *i. e.*, to groan over the plough, to labor in the erection of dwellings. The verb *illaborare* is here formed after the model of *ingemere*. It nowhere else appears in this meaning, since *illaboratus*, which does occur, has the signification of "not labored," "done without labor."—*Suas alienasque*, &c. "To keep their own fortunes and those of others in a state of constant disquiet, through mingled hope and fear," *i. e.*, to be harassed by the alternate hopes and fears of enriching or ruining themselves and others in trade and traffic.

Securi. This does not mean here "safe," but "without care and anxiety."—*Ut illis ne voto*, &c. "That they would not need even a wish." Rhenanus conjectured *opus sit* for *opus esset*, and his emendation was adopted by all subsequent editors until the time of Ernesti, who restored *esset*, without, however, assigning a very satisfactory reason. The true reason is this: Tacitus does not mean to say that they have no need even of a wish, as if stating a fact; but he gives merely the result of his own reflections, namely, that they would not need even a wish, if there were any thing to be actually wished for.—*Hellusios et Oxionas*. Probably the inhabitants of Lapland. The fable here stated may possibly have arisen from their wearing the skins of wild animals.—*Oxionas*. Tacitus occasionally uses this Greek ending, as in *Helveconas*, chap. xliii.; *Suionas*, chap. xlv. So also *Vangionas ac Nemetas*, *Ann.*, xii., 27. Consult Madvig, § 45, 6. The usage is properly a poetical one.—*In medium relinquam*. "I will leave, as a subject of doubt, undecided," *i. e.*, I will make a subject of doubt and leave undecided. Equivalent to *in dubium vocatum relinquam in medio*. (*Bötticher, Lex. Tac.*, p. 25. Compare remarks on the style of Tacitus, p. xliii. of this volume.)

N O T E S

ON

T H E A G R I C O L A .



NOTES ON THE AGRICOLA.

THE composition of this work may be assigned, from internal and external evidence, to the year of Rome 850-1 (A.D. 97-98), four years after Agricola's death. The first three chapters comprise the preface, the substance of which is as follows: In times of yore, when there was no reason, as now, to dread men's ignorance of virtue, and their envy of her votaries, it was usual to hand down to posterity the exploits and characters of famous men; and a man was not found fault with even if he narrated his own life. But in times like these, when we have only lately seen that to praise illustrious men was a capital crime, I must plead for favor and indulgence; which I should not have done, had not my path lain through times inimical to virtue, in which even those remain unpunished through whose charges Agricola fell, and through whose means many have been calumniated. At length, however, spirit and liberty are returning, though the desire of writing springs up but gradually and slowly, since talents and zeal may be more quickly smothered and suppressed than roused again to vigor and activity; and since sloth, at first the object of our hatred, ends with ingratiating itself into our favor. Hence I am led to hope that I shall meet with excuse for having formed the design of writing this memoir.

CHAP. I.—*Antiquitus usitatum*. "A custom prevalent in early days." *Usitatum* is here the accusative singular neuter of the participle, agreeing with the preceding clause.—*Quamquam incuriosa suorum*. "Though taking little interest in its own (eminent individuals)."—*Omisit*. In the sense of *omittere solet*. Compare *Wex, Proleg.*, p. 150.—*Virtus*. "Merit."—*Ignorantiam recti et invidiam*. "An insensibility to, and an envying of virtue." Observe that *rectum* here corresponds to $\delta\rho\theta\acute{o}\nu$, $\delta\rho\theta\acute{o}\tau\eta\varsigma$, in the Platonic sense.

Pronum magisque in aperto erat. "Was easy, and more unobstructed (than in our own times)." *Pronum* properly means "bending forward," "inclined," and hence "easy." It is by no means, however, merely synonymous with *in aperto*, as some suppose. Things are said to be *in aperto* in two ways; first, as regards a becoming acquainted with them, and then they are clear and free from all obscurity; and, secondly, as regards a performing of them, and then they are free from obstruction and impediment. It is in the latter sense that *in aperto* is here used.—*Virtutis*. "Of departed worth."—*Sine gratia aut ambitione*. "Without predilection or a desire to

gain notoriety." The term *ambitio* is not used here in the old Roman sense of an honorable suing for preferment or public favor, but in the meaning which it acquired during the silver age. Hence Spalding (*ad Quinctil.*, i., 2, 22), correctly explains it in the present passage by "*vanæ gloriæ affectatio*."—*Pretio*. "By the recompense (merely)."

Plerique. "Many." Tacitus frequently makes *plerique*, as in the present instance, equivalent merely to *πολλοί*, and not to have its full force of *οἱ πολλοί*.—*Suam ipsi vitam narrare*. Ordinary Latinity would require either *suam ipsorum vitam narrare*, or *suam ipsos vitam narrare*. Tacitus, avoiding such a construction as unpleasing to the ear, uses *ipsi* by a species of attraction to the leading verb of the sentence, *arbitrati sunt*. (*Ritter, ad loc.*)—*Fiduciam morum*. "As confidence in their own integrity."—*Nec id Rutilio et Scauro, &c.* "Nor did this prove unto a Rutilius and a Scaurus a ground for withholding full credit, or a source of censure," *i. e.*, this writing of their own lives did not take away credit from their statements, nor were they even found fault with on this account. Compare note on "*citra speciem*," *Germ.*, c. xvi.

Rutilio. Rutilius, in addition to a biography of himself (of which Tacitus alone makes mention), composed a history and some orations. He was accused of bribery by Scaurus, was unjustly condemned, and went into exile at Smyrna, of which place he became a citizen, and refused to return to Rome at the invitation of Sulla.—*Scauro*. M. Æmilius Scaurus, consul in A.U.C. 639, and again in 647, and censor in 645. He was one of the commissioners sent into Africa in the time of Jugurtha, and suffered himself to be corrupted by that prince, but managed by his great influence to escape punishment. His autobiography is highly praised by Cicero.—*Adeo*. "So true it is that." Literally, "to such a degree."

CHAP. II.—*At mihi, nunc narraturo, &c.* "Unto me, however, when about, at a period like the present, to narrate the life of a deceased individual, there was need of indulgence." The explanation of this passage has already been given in the general summary prefixed to the notes on the previous chapter. Observe that *fuit* is here the aorist, and refers back to the time when Tacitus first formed the design of writing the present work. *Nunc* has reference to the reign of Trajan, when this biography was composed. The meaning of the whole passage is exceedingly simple, but has been obscured, as usual, by the laborious efforts of numerous commentators.—*Ni cursaturus tempora*. "Were I not about to traverse times." A metaphor borrowed from the Roman circus. Some of the early editions read *ni incursaturus*, from which Lipsius conjectured *ni incusaturus*, and this last has been adopted by several subsequent editors. No change, however, is required in the common text. The explanation of the passage is given in the general summary already referred to.

Legimus cum Aruleno Rustico, &c. Both occurrences took place in Domitian's reign, A.U.C. 846 or 847. Tacitus was present at the death of Senecio, as we learn from chap. xlv. The reference in *legimus* is to the

Acta Diurna ("Proceedings of the Day"), a kind of gazette, published daily at Rome, under the authority of the government, and containing an account of the proceedings of the public assemblies, courts of law, of the punishment of offenders, and also a list of births, marriages, deaths, &c. (Consult *Dict. Ant.*, s. v., and *Le Clerc, Journaux chez les Romains*, p. 197, seqq.)

Aruleno Rustico. Dion Cassius states that Domitian put Arulenus to death because he was a philosopher, and because he had given Thræsea the appellation of "holy" (*ἅγιος*). *Dion Cass.*, lxxvii., 11.—*Pætus Thræsea*. For the account of the death of this individual under Nero, consult *Ann.*, xvi., 21.—*Herennio Senecioni*. With regard to this individual, consult chap. xlv.—*Priscus Helvidius*. Helvidius Priscus was the son-in-law of Thræsea. He was banished and put to death by Vespasian. (*Suet.*, *Vesp.*, 15.)—*Laudati essent*. The subjunctive after *cum*, which is here a causal conjunction. (*Zumpt*, § 577.)—*Triumviris*. The *Triumviri Capitaless* are meant, among whose other duties was that of carrying into effect the sentences of the law, &c. They were attended by eight lictors to execute their orders.—*In comitio ac foro*. The *comitium* adjoined the *forum*, and was the place of public execution in the time of the emperors. Originally it was the spot where the *Comitia Curiata* were held. The words *ac foro* are added, to denote, as Wex remarks, that the burning of the books in question was intended as a spectacle for the public eye.

Conscientiam generis humani. "The secret convictions of mankind." This is well explained by the Delphin editor: "*Cognitio hæc interna et arcana omnium mortalium, quæ simul et secreta ac tacita accusatio fuit scelerum Domitiani*."—*Expulsis insuper sapientiæ professoribus*. Eusebius mentions that the philosophers (who are here meant by *sapientiæ professores*) were twice expelled by Domitian, first in A.D. 89, and again in A.D. 96. Tacitus refers to the latter of these. As, however, this expulsion of the philosophers is spoken of as the consequence of the deaths of Senecio and Arulenus, it should probably be placed in the commencement of A.U.C. 847, or A.D. 94.

Vetus ætas. "The olden time." This expression, like *prius ævum* (*Hist.*, i., 1), generally refers in Tacitus to the period before the battle of Actium.—*Ultimum*. "The farthest limit." By the *ultimum in libertate* we are not to understand the greatest happiness, nor the last remnants of liberty under Augustus and Tiberius; but rather unbridled licentiousness, the *immoderata libertas* of Cicero.—*Per inquisitiones*. "By spyings (in the very bosoms of our families)." Compare Walch; "*heimliche Nachspähungen*." The allusion is to the informers kept in pay by Domitian, who insinuated themselves into private circles, in order to find grounds of accusation against the unsuspecting.—*Et loquendi*, &c. The conjunction *et* has here the force of *etiam*, "even."—*Commercio*. "The intercourse."—*Memoriam quoque ipsam*, &c. The idea is, we would have gone so far in our patient endurance of tyranny as not to have dared even to remember, if this had been possible.

CHAP. III.—*Animus*. "Courage."—*Et quamquam*. The conjunction *et*

has here the force of *et tamen*, "and yet."—*Beatissimi sæculi*. The term *sæculum* here does not mean a century, but a "period" of uncertain duration, lasting until another emperor introduced a new order of things. Thus Pliny (*Ep.*, x., 2) styles the reign of Domitian "*tristissimum sæculum*." The period, to the commencement of which Tacitus here alludes, deserved, as the event abundantly showed, the epithet *beatissimum*. It began when, after the death of Domitian, the imperial authority devolved on Nerva, and the virtues of this prince were emulated by the successive emperors, Trajan, Hadrian, and the two Antonines. The reigns of these five monarchs, embracing a period of nearly ninety years, formed the happiest era in the history of the Roman empire.

Nerva Cæsar. Since Tacitus does not apply to him the term *Divus*, it may be conjectured that the Life of Agricola was published while Nerva was still living, that is, between the 16th of September, A.D. 97, when Trajan was adopted, and the 27th of January, A.D. 98, the date of Nerva's death.—*Olim dissociabiles*. "Before irreconcilable."—*Nerva Trajanus*. Trajan was so called when adopted by Nerva.—*Nec spem modo ac votum*, &c. "And the public security has not only conceived hopes and wishes, but has attained unto confidence and stability," *i. e.*, confidence in the fulfillment of those very wishes, and a state of stable and secure repose. Observe the zeugma in *assumerit*. The public security is here personified, and there is an allusion to the medallions struck by the emperors, with the figure of the goddess *Securitas*, and the inscription *SECVRITAS* or *SECVRITATI PERPETVAE*.

Natura tamen infirmitatis humanæ. "Still, from the very nature of human weakness."—*Ingenia studiaque*. "Talents and literary exertion."—*Subit*. "Steals over us." Analogous to the Greek *ὑπέρχεται*.—*Per quindecim annos*. During which Domitian reigned; that is, from A.D. 81 to 96.—*Multi fortuitis casibus*. This is the emendation of Lipsius, and is adopted by the best editors. The common text has *multis fortuitis casibus*.—*Promtissimus*. "Most distinguished for readiness and activity." Compare Wex: "*entschlossene, thatkräftige, muthvolle Männer*."

Pauci, ut ita dixerim, &c. "A few of us are survivors not only of others, but, so to speak, even of our own selves," *i. e.*, have outlived not only others, in a corporeal sense, but even our own selves in what relates to the mind; or, in other words, have been able to resume our former habits of mental activity, which had so long been discontinued under the yoke of a tyrant. Compare Ritter: "*Pauci extinctum diutino temporis intervallo animi vigorem in priorem mentis vitam excitare potuerunt*." Tacitus employs the words *ut ita dixerim* as an apology for the boldness of expression in *nostri superstites*. The perfect subjunctive, in such a case, in place of the present *dicam*, belongs properly to later Latinity. Compare *Zumpt*, § 528, n. 1.

Quibus juvenes ad senectutem, &c. Tacitus could not include himself among the *senes*, since at this period he was only about forty-five years old.—*Per silentium*. By *silentium* is here meant the repression of mental activity, referring to what he had said before, *studia represseris facilius quam*

revocaveris.—*Vel incondita ac rudi voce.* “Even in unskillful and inelegant language.” Tacitus alludes here to the legal style to which he had been accustomed in his pleadings at the bar, as contrasted with the higher and more dignified tone which historic narrative demanded. Compare Wex: “*Inconditam* igitur et *rudem* vocem dicit eam, quæ a vera artis historicæ forma ac perfectione abest (*in kunst- und formloser- Sprache*).” *Proleg.*, p. 157. Consult also *Walch, ad loc.* The cultivation of the true historic style had been completely suspended during the mental silence imposed by tyranny, and Tacitus thus apologizes for his want of practice therein.

Memoriam prioris servitutis. “A memorial of former servitude.” Namely, in his Annals and Histories.—*Testimonium præsentium bonorum.* In the history of Nerva and Trajan, which he intended to compose in his old age. (Compare *Hist.*, i., 1.)—*Destinatus.* “Dedicated.”—*Professione pietatis, &c.* “Will be either praised or excused, from its profession of filial piety,” *i. e.*, from the feeling of filial piety in which it professes to have been composed, or, in other words, from the piety of the intent.

CHAP. IV.—*Forojuliensium Colonia.* The town of Forumjulii was situate in Gallia Narbonensis, and is now *Frejus*. It must not be confounded with Forumjulii in Venetia, now *Friuli*. The term *illustris* is here applied to the former, not so much from its own intrinsic importance, as from the renown of its founder, Julius Cæsar. It was founded about B.C. 43, on the site of the ancient Oxubia.—*Procuratorem Cæsarum.* “An imperial procurator.” These *procuratores* not only exacted the tribute from the provinces, and acted as stewards where the emperor had possessions, but collected the *vigesima hæreditatum* and other imperial perquisites.—*Quæ equestris nobilitas est.* The procurator enjoyed the rank of an *eques illustris*, and also the right to sit in the senate and wear the *latus clavus*. A distinction of rank had arisen even in the time of Augustus among the equites.

Julius Græcinus. Seneca bears very honorable testimony to his character, and says that he was put to death by Caligula because it was inexpedient for a tyrant to have so virtuous a subject. (*Senec., de Benef.*, ii., 21.)—*Sapientiæ.* Philosophy is meant.—*Notus.* Supply *erat*.—*Caii Cæsaris.* The historical name of Caligula was Caius Cæsar.—*Meritus.* Supply *est*. “Incurred.”—*Silanum.* Silanus was consul A.D. 19. In A.D. 33, Caligula married his daughter Junia Claudilla. He was appointed proconsul of Africa, and afterward put to death by the emperor (*Hist.*, iv., 48; *Suet., Cal.*, 23.)—*Jussus.* Supply *est*.

In hujus sinu, &c. “Brought up in the bosom, and beneath the affectionate care of this parent.” The expression *in sinu* refers to the strict supervision exercised by his parent, and *indulgentia* (which is here to be taken in a good sense) to the mildness with which that supervision was affectionately enforced. Agricola’s mother followed the old Roman custom of superintending in person the early education of her son, instead of leaving him to the care of slaves. Hence the peculiar aptness of the expression *in sinu*.

—*Per omnem honestarum, &c.* We must construe *omnem* here in sense with *artium*; “in the cultivation of all liberal studies.”

Arcebat eum . . . quod, &c. “It served to keep him, &c., that from earliest boyhood,” &c.—*Magistram.* “Directress.”—*Massiliam.* Massilia, called by the Greeks Massalia (Μασσαλία), and now *Marseilles*, was a celebrated colony of the Phocæans, on the Mediterranean coast of Gaul. It became famous under the Roman emperors as a school of literature and the sciences.—*Locum Græca comitate, &c.* “A place where Grecian refinement was mingled and well united with provincial frugality.” Enallage, for *locum, in quo Græca comitas et provincialis parsimonia mixtæ ac bene compositæ erant.*

Acrius hausisse. “Drank in too eagerly (and would have imbibed too deeply).” *Hausisse* is here commonly regarded as equivalent to *hausurum fuisse.* Wex, however, regards the clause as elliptical in its nature, and explains as follows: “*Agricola hausit studium, sed τὸ haurire erat initium ejus, de quo agitur, imbibendi. Est igitur: hausit (sive hauriebat) Agricola, atque toto animo imbibisset, ni mater prohibuisset,*” &c.

Ultra quam concessum, &c. Observe that by *senatori* is here properly meant, not an actual senator, but a person of senatorian birth, that is, whose father was a senator (*Dronke, ad loc.*). The study of philosophy was never held in high estimation by the Romans. Here, however, the reference is to the state of things under the empire, when philosophical studies, especially those connected with the doctrines of the Stoics, were viewed by bad princes with a suspicious eye, as tending to foster sentiments hostile to tyranny.

Pulchritudinem ac speciem. “The beauty and the array.” Not a hendiadys, as some maintain, for *pulchram speciem*; on the contrary, *species* increases the force of *pulchritudo.* Compare Bötticher (*Prolegom. ad Tac.*, p. lxxx.), “*Auget species vim pulchritudinis, eamque designat qua oculis hominum se præbet.*”—*Vehementius quam caute.* The more regular construction would have been *vehementius quam cautius.*—*Mox.* “Subsequently.”—*Retinuitque, quod est difficillimum, &c.* “And, what is most difficult, he retained from the study of wisdom moderation.” The ancient philosophers taught that nothing is good in itself unless under the regulation of φρόνησις. (*Plat., Men.*, p. 88, B.; *Arist., Eth. ad Nic.*, ii., 5.)

CHAP. V.—*Prima castrorum rudimenta, &c.* “He acquired the first rudiments of military training in Britain, to the full satisfaction of Suetonius Paulinus, an active and prudent commander, having been selected (by him) as one of whom he might form an estimate through the intimacy of a common mess.” *Æstimare* implies the attentive contemplation of an object in order to discover its value and quality. It is here applied to the study of character. It was usual for young men of rank and talents to be admitted to familiar intercourse with the general, and to become members of his military family, as a sort of initiation into the duties of a military life. They were thus a sort of aids. *Contubernium* properly denotes a tenting

together, that is, a certain number of soldiers quartered in the same tent, and messing together.

Suetonio Paulino. Suetonius Paulinus was appointed to the command of Britain in A.D. 59, during the reign of Nero, and Agricola probably came with him to the island. At all events, he was in Britain in A.D. 61.—*Approbavit.* When a person contracted to perform a piece of work, and brought it back completed according to the terms of the agreement, he was said *approbare opus locatori.* (*Gronov. ad Plaut. Amphit., Prol., 13.*) Hence the figurative employment of the verb on the present occasion.

Nec Agricola ad voluptates, &c. “Neither did Agricola, &c., avail himself of the rank of tribune, and his military inexperience, for indulging in pleasures and in furloughs.” Literally, “nor did he refer the rank of tribune, &c., to pleasures,” &c. Observe that *licenter* refers to *voluptates*, and *segniter* to *commeatus*. The young men, who were attached to the military family of the commander, were a species of titular tribunes, that is, they had the rank (*titulus*) of tribune, but were not invested with any actual command; hence theirs was not *peritia*, but *inscitia*. Having consequently much time on their hands, some gave themselves up to a life of dissipation, others to indolence and the enjoyment of frequent furloughs. Compare *Wex, Prolegom.*, p. 136, and *Ritter, ad loc.*

Noscere. Historical infinitive. So, also, the other infinitives in the sentence. The grouping together of these gives great animation and rapidity to the style.—*In jactationem.* “For mere display.”—*Simulque anxius et intentus agere.* “And discharged his duties at one and the same time with solicitude and with spirit.” The adjectives have here the force of adverbs. Observe, moreover, that *anxius* refers to things future, *intentus* to things present.

Exercitior. “In a more agitated state.” Poetic usage. The prose form of expression would be *bello exercitior.*—*Trucidati veterani, incensa colonia.* The veterans in the colony of Camulodunum (*Colchester*) are meant, whose town also was completely destroyed.—*Intercepti exercitus.* “Our armies were cut off and destroyed.” Tacitus refers here to the legion under Petilius Cerealis, which was coming to the assistance of the veterans. The disturbance was quelled by Suetonius Paulinus, on his return from Mona. (*Ann.*, xiv., 29, *seqq.*) Camulodunum was the only colony in Britain, and hence it has been proposed to read *incensa colonia*; but the alteration is unnecessary, since Tacitus only appears to have used the plural in an oratorical manner, as the other words *veterani* and *exercitus* are in the plural. Londinium was not a colony; and Verulamium (*St. Alban's*) was a municipium. Besides, we are not told that these places were burned.

Alerius. Suetonius Paulinus.—*Summa rerum.* “The control of affairs.”—*Artem et usum et stimulos.* “Professional skill, and experience, and incentives.”—*Juveni.* Agricola.—*Ingrata temporibus.* “Uncongenial to the times.” Those, namely, of Nero.—*Sinistra erga eminentes interpretatio.* “A sinister construction was put on the conduct of those who made themselves in any way conspicuous.”—*Fama.* “Reputation.”

CHAP. VI.—*In urbem digressus*. This was in A.D. 62, and in Agricola's 22d year. He could not sue for office, however, until his 24th year, according to the rule which prevailed under the empire.—*Domitiam Decidianam*. The name *Decidiana* may probably have arisen from her mother having been called *Decidia*. The names *Vespasianus* and *Domitianus* arose in a similar way.—*Decus ac robur fuit*. It secured for him, in seeking preferment, the influence of the powerful *Gens Domitia*.—*Et invicem se anteposendo*. “And by each giving the preference to the other.” More literally, “by mutually preferring one another.”

Nisi quod in bona uxore, &c. Observe that *laus* is here used for whatever is praiseworthy, and its opposite, *culpa*, for whatever is blamable. *Nisi quod*, which restricts or connects something that has been said before, is often used with an ellipsis, which must be supplied by the reader. So here the meaning of the sentence is, They both loved one another sincerely, and each gave the other the preference; for which both deserve credit; only we must allow that in a virtuous wife there is proportionably as much more of what is praiseworthy, as in a bad wife there is of what is blamable; that is, when placed in comparison with the virtues and vices of the husband; because, from the weaker character of woman, the restraining of any evil propensities is more worthy of praise.

Sors quæsturæ. “The lot of the quæstorship.” The office of quæstor was the entrance to all public employments, and was consequently the one first held by Agricola. He obtained it in his 25th year, A.D. 65. The quæstors, with the exception of the *Candidati Principis*, drew lots for their several provinces, that there might be no previous connection between them and the governors of the same, but that they might serve as checks upon each other.—*Salvium Titianum*. Lucius Salvius Otho Titianus, the elder brother of M. Salvius Otho, the future emperor, who was at that time serving as proconsul in Lusitania. (*Ann.*, xii., 52; *Hist.*, i., 77, 90, &c.).

Parata peccantibus. “Prepared for delinquents,” *i. e.*, where many of the inhabitants stood ready to be the instruments of the crimes of their rulers.—*Quantalibet facilitate*. “By any facility, however great,” *i. e.*, by allowing Agricola any facility for plundering which he might wish.—*Dissimulationem mali*. “Concealment of guilt.”—*Filia*. Afterward the wife of Tacitus.—*Ante sublatum*. “Previously born.” Literally, “previously taken up,” *i. e.*, taken up and acknowledged. New-born infants were placed on the ground, and, if the father chose to acknowledge and rear them, he lifted them up (*tollebat*); if he did not do so, they were exposed.—*Brevi amisit*. He also lost a second son, born twenty years afterward. Compare chap. xxviii.

Inter quæsturam ac tribunatum plebis. “The year between his quæstorship and tribuneship of the commons.” Supply *annum* before *inter*. The year here meant was A.D. 66, and Agricola was then in his 26th year.—*Præturæ*. Agricola was prætor in A.D. 68. We have followed Wex in these official dates. (*Proleg.*, p. 208.)—*Nec enim jurisdictio obvenerat*. “For no actual jurisdiction had fallen to his lot.” He was neither *Prætor urbanus* nor *Prætor peregrinus*, but of the number of those from whom all

judicial functions had virtually been taken by the usurpation of the emperors; for even the *Quæstiones Perpetuæ* were in the hands of the senate, and carried on under imperial direction. Little else, therefore, was left to the prætors than the management and superintendence of the games.

Ludos et inania honoris, &c. "He exhibited the games and empty pageantry connected with official preferment, by keeping within the limit prescribed by proper calculation and the extent of his own means; as, on the one hand, far removed from lavish expenditure, so, on the other, nearer to an honorable fame," *i. e.*, he exhibited them in such a way that, though celebrated without any great profusion, they would be extolled for their splendor, rather than passed over in silence, as though exhibited in a paltry manner. The games, &c., here referred to were those exhibited by the prætors on attaining to office, and on which those magistrates usually spent enormous sums, in order to ingratiate themselves with the people, and pave the way for higher preferment.—*Modo rationis atque abundantia, &c.* This is the uniform reading of the earlier editions. One of the MSS., however, has *medio*, altered probably by some copyist from the more difficult *modo*. If we adopt this latter reading, the meaning will be, "by pursuing a middle course between rational expenditure and profusion." The main objection to this reading is the presence of *atque*, which should connect cognate, not opposite things, as Doederlein correctly remarks. (*Zumpt*, § 333.) Lipsius conjectures *moderationis atque abundantia*, giving *duxit* the force of *putavit*, and supplying *rem esse*. The true reading, however, is the one which we have given.—*Duxit*. Observe that *ducere* is here equivalent to *edere*. The notion of *leading* a procession, &c., gave rise to that of "taking the lead in," "presiding over," "managing," &c. The verb ἡγείσθαι is used in a similar way in Greek.

Diligentissima conquisitione, &c. Not only were the temples destroyed by the conflagration in the reign of Nero; but, when Nero himself was in want of money for the erection of his palace, he despoiled the temples of their offerings. (*Ann.*, xv., 38, *seqq.*) Tacitus means to say, that Agricola succeeded in recovering most of the treasure from the hands of those who had appropriated it during the confusion, except such parts as had been plundered by Nero. These *conquisitiones sacrorum* were not unfrequently instituted. Compare *Liv.*, xxv., 7.—*Ne sensisset*. "Should not have felt," *i. e.*, did not feel. There is no enallage of tense here, as some suppose. The reference is merely to what was passing at the time in the mind of Agricola, before the object in view was accomplished. He exerted himself to bring it about that the state should not have felt the sacrilege, &c., after the matter might have been brought to a close. (*Walther, ad loc.*)

CHAP. VII.—*Sequens annus, &c.* The affair here alluded to occurred in the month of March, A.D. 69, during the brief reign of Otho, and his contest with Vitellius. The cruelties and depredations committed on the coast of Italy by this fleet of Otho's are elsewhere described in striking colors by Tacitus (*Hist.*, ii., 12, *seqq.*).—*Intemelios*. "The Intemelii," *i. e.*, the terri-

tory of the Intemelii. The name of their chief town was *Albium Intemelium*, now *Vintimiglia*. The attack was made on this place and its vicinity.—*In prædiis suis*. “On her own estates.”—*Causa*. “The inciting cause.”

Ad solennia pietatis. “To discharge the solemn duties of filial piety.” *Nuntio affectati*, &c. “Was unexpectedly overtaken by the intelligence of the empire’s having been laid claim to by Vespasian.” The term *affectati* does not refer here, as some suppose, to an actual seizure of the empire, but merely to Vespasian’s having made an open demonstration of his intention to seize it by force of arms. With *deprehensus* supply *est*. The verb *deprehendo* is generally employed to denote unexpected and sudden intelligence; both ideas are blended here.—*Ac statim in partes transgressus*. With *partes* supply *ejus*, referring to Vespasian. The adverb *statim* here, like *mox*, *modo*, *nuper*, &c., elsewhere in Tacitus, must not be taken in too strict a sense. At least three months must have elapsed between the death of his mother and his going over to Vespasian, as will appear from the following dates. Thus, Otho’s death, after the battle of Bedriacum, took place in April, A.D. 69 (*Hist.*, ii., 55); Vitellius visited the battle-field forty days after the battle (*Hist.*, ii., 70); and Vitellius’s entry into Rome took place on the 18th of July (*Hist.*, ii., 91).

Initia principatus. “The commencement of the new reign,” *i. e.*, that of Vespasian. At first, indeed, Antonius Primus marched into Rome at the end of December, A.D. 69; but in the following January Mucianus arrived, and acquired all the power (*Hist.*, iv., 11).—*Admodum juvene*. He was at that time only eighteen years old.—*Tantum licentiam usurpante*. “Claiming only the privilege of indulging in licentiousness.” Domitian became afterward one of the most ferocious and detestable of the Roman emperors.

Is. Referring to Mucianus.—*Missum ad delectus agendos*. In the beginning of A.D. 70. Agricola set out for Britain probably in the spring of the same year.—*Integreque ac strenue versatum*. “And who had conducted himself (in that employment) with fidelity and vigor.”—*Vicesimæ legioni*, &c. The reason why, of the four legions posted in Britain (the second, ninth, fourteenth, and twentieth), the second only took the oath promptly, is given by Tacitus elsewhere (*Hist.*, iii., 44). The twentieth legion was stationed among the Cornavii, at Deva, now *Chester*.—*Decessor*. “His predecessor.” The individual here meant was Roscius Cælius. For an account of the affair, consult *Hist.*, i., 60. Vettius Bolanus was sent to supply the place of Trebellius, whom Cælius had forced to fly to Vitellius, at Lyons.

Quippe legatis quoque consularibus, &c. “For this legion was too much for, and formidable even unto the consular lieutenants,” *i. e.*, even unto Trebellius Maximus and Vettius Bolanus. The *legati consulares*, in the time of the emperors, were individuals who had been consuls, and were governors of the province and commanders over all the legions stationed in it. On the other hand, the *legati prætorii* were those who had filled the office of prætor, and were in command of only a single legion. The *legatus prætorius*, in the present instance, was Roscius Cælius (*Hist.*, i., 60).—*Incertum*.

suo an militum ingenio. Either because he did not know how to command, or they to obey.

CHAP. VIII.—*Placidius.* “With more mildness.”—*Dignum est.* Some have proposed *esset* here instead of *est*; but though this would do very well if it were merely a remark of Tacitus, founded upon past events, *est* is equally well suited to the time in which Tacitus was writing; for, after the death of Agricola, Britain, or at least Caledonia, had thrown off the yoke (*Hist.*, i., 2).—*Vim suam.* “His native spirit.”—*Ne incretueret.* “That he might not grow too much into notice,” *i. e.*, become too conspicuous, and appear to eclipse his commander. Some refer *incretueret* to *ardorem*, but then, as Ernesti remarks, *ne incretueret* would be pleonastic.—*Brevi deinde Britannia, &c.* This was in A.D. 71. Petilius Cerealis had before this been lieutenant of the ninth legion under Suetonius Paulinus. He was afterward one of the generals of Vespasian, to whom he was related.—*Spatium exemplorum.* “Room for displaying themselves as examples.”

Communicabat. “Share with him,” *i. e.*, with Agricola. Supply *cum illo.*—*Ex eventu.* “From the issue,” *i. e.*, in consequence of the successful termination of some affair. Equivalent to *quum eventus id suasisset.* (*Hand, ad Tursell.*, ii., p. 659).—*In suam famam.* “In order to increase his own renown.” Observe here the peculiar construction of *in* with the accusative, and compare Livy (xxi., 43). Generally, in the older writers, when *in* or *ad* is used after a verb to express an object, a participle is subjoined. Others join *in suam famam* with *factis.*—*Ad auctorem et ducem, &c.* “He constantly, as a subordinate officer, gave the honor of his good fortune to the individual with whom his orders originated, and who was likewise his leader.”—*Nec extra gloriam erat.* Observe that *nec* is here for *nec tamen.*

CHAP. IX.—*Revertentem ab legatione legionis.* “On his return from the lieutenancy of the legion,” *i. e.*, from the command of it. The twentieth legion is meant.—*Divus.* Consult notes on chap. xxviii. of the *Germania.*—*Provincia Aquitaniæ.* Gallia Comata comprised three provinces, Aquitania, Gallia Lugdunensis or Celtica, and Belgica. Aquitania was the tract between the Garonne, the Loire, the Pyrenees, and the Cevennes. It was annexed to the Roman empire under Augustus.—*Splendide in primis dignitatis, &c.* “An office of the first distinction, on account of the importance of the command itself, and the hope it gave rise to of the consulship, to which he (Vespasian) had destined him.” *Administratione* is well explained by Wex: “*Propter magnitudinem rerum ibi gerendarum.*” After *destinabat* supply *eum.* Agricola was placed over this province in A.D. 74, in his 34th year.

Subtilitatem. “Acuteness.”—*Secura et obtusior.* “Careless (respecting the niceties of law), and more blunt in character.”—*Manu.* “In an off-hand way.” Some render this “by physical force,” but very incorrectly. Compare the explanation of Wex: “*Sine fori ambagibus celeriter res conficit noxios plectendo; nos: Kurzen Process machen, summarisch*

verfahren."—*Calliditatem fori non exerceat*. "Does not call into exercise the subtle distinctions of the bar." The subjunctive here indicates the sentiments of others, not those of Tacitus himself.

Naturali prudentia. "By dint of native sagacity."—*Inter togatos*. "In the midst of civilians." The allusion here is to the *conventus juridici*, or circuit courts (assizes), in which Agricola, as governor of the province, was now called to preside. The term *togatos* is here equivalent to *litigantes*. Suits could only be carried on in the toga, and in Latin. We must be careful, therefore, not to regard *togatos* here as applying to lawyers or advocates alone, or to citizens merely in opposition to soldiers.—*Agebat*. "Decided."

Jam. "From this time forward."—*Curarum remissionumque*. "Of business and relaxation."—*Officio*. "Official duty."—*Nulla ultra potestatis persona*. "There was no playing the part of the man in power after this," *i. e.*, of the magistrate. Observe here the figurative meaning of *persona*. Its literal signification is "a theatrical mask," whence it obtains the sense of sustaining a character or playing a part.—*Tristitiam et arrogantiam et avaritiam*. "Official sternness, and the rigid requirement of respect, and unflinching severity in exacting what was due to the state." By *tristitia* is here meant the sternness which becoms a magistrate; by *arrogantia*, not the assumption of what does not belong to a person, but the rigid exaction of all the respect and attention to which he has a claim. The term *avaritia*, on the other hand, has here somewhat of its ordinary meaning. Agricola was not naturally *avarus*, any more than he was *tristis* or *arrogans*; but he was obliged to comply with the commands of Vespasian, who was likely enough to replenish his exhausted coffers by exactions from this wealthy province. Hence *avaritia*, in the present passage, implies the greatest severity in exacting tribute, or what was due to the state. Some editors, misunderstanding the force of *avaritia* here, give *exuere* the meaning of "to be entirely free from," but there is no authority whatever for such an interpretation.—*Facilitas*. "Affability."

Abstinentiam. "Freedom from corruption."—*Per artem*. By means of such arts as governors frequently employ to secure the good-will of their provincial subjects. There is an allusion perhaps, also, to addresses of thanks from the inhabitants of the province to the emperor, during and after the time of administration.—*Collegas*. Magistrates who were created at the same comitia, and, when these were no longer held, by the senate and emperors, were called *collegæ*. So in *Hist.*, ii., 10, the colleagues of Mucianus are the governors of Judæa, Cappadocia, and Egypt; as, here, the colleagues of Agricola are all the provincial prefects, especially those appointed over the Gallic and Spanish provinces.—*Procuratores*. Each province had only one procurator at a time, and it does not seem that they were often changed; so that this plural must imply disputes such as commonly arise between governors and procurators.—*Vincere*. In such disputes as these.—*Atteri sordidum*. "To be worsted was a positive disgrace." *Atteri* here implies an infringement upon a person's dignity, or upon the respect and attention to which he has claim

Minus triennium. Supply *quam* after *minus* (*Zumpt*, § 485).—*Comitante opinione.* “Public opinion accompanying him,” *i. e.*, while, at the same time, a general opinion prevailed.—*Nullis in hoc*, &c. “On account of no remarks of his own to this effect.”—*Par.* “Equal to the station.”—*Aliquando et elegit.* “Sometimes it has even determined a choice.”

Consul. “When consul.” This was in A.D. 77, when Vespasian, for the eighth time, and Titus for the sixth, entered upon the consulship, and were succeeded, on the first of July, by Domitian, then consul for the sixth time, and Agricola.—*Egregiæ tum spei filiam.* Agricola’s daughter was almost fourteen. Tacitus was in his twenty-fifth year. Observe the force of *tum*, as referring to the hopes that were then formed of the female in question, and that were subsequently realized.—*Adjecto pontificatus sacerdotio.* This never ceased to be reckoned a mark of distinction.

CHAP. X.—*Multis scriptoribus.* As, for example, Cæsar (*B. G.*, iv., 21, *seqq.*; v., 8, *seqq.*, &c.), Pliny (*H. N.*, iv., 16), Ptolemy (iii., 2), Diodorus Siculus (v., 21, 22), Agathemerus (ii., 4), Strabo (ii., p. 116, 120, 128; iii., p. 137, 195; iv., p. 199, 200), Livy (i., 105), Fabius Rusticus, Pomponius Mela, and others.

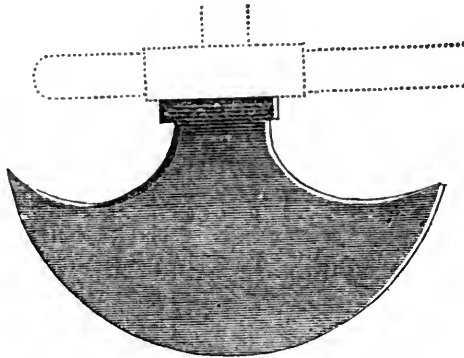
Non in comparationem, &c. “Not with the view of comparing my accuracy or talent (with that of others).” Compare note on *in suam famam*, chap. viii.—*Perdomita est.* “It was completely subdued.”—*Percoluere.* “Have embellished.”—*Rerum fide.* “With fidelity of facts,” *i. e.*, from the evidence of actual discoveries.—*Spatio ac cælo.* “In situation and climate.” The old geographers gave the northern coast of Spain a northwesterly direction; and, unacquainted with the extent to which Bretagne reached westward, made the coasts of Gaul and Germany run in an almost uniform north-easterly direction. Tacitus seems to have placed Britain in the angle thus formed. He means to say here that it is situated between nearly the same degrees, both of latitude and longitude, as those parts of the coast of Spain and Germany opposite to which it lies. From chap. xxiv. it appears that he imagined Ireland to lie between Britain and Spain, though there is no reason to suppose that he placed it on the southwest of Britain.

In orientem Germaniæ, &c. “On the east toward Germany, on the west toward Spain.” Observe that *Germaniæ* and *Hispaniæ* are datives depending on *obtenditur*.—*Gallis in meridiem etiam inspicitur.* “It is even seen by the Gauls on the south.” He means that it lies so near Gaul on the south as even to be plainly seen from it.—*Nullis contra terris.* Examples of ablatives absolute, used in this same manner, are found in other writers besides Tacitus. Thus, *Cic.*, *Phil.*, i., 10: “*Bonis tribunis plebis;*” and *Liv.*, xxxvi., 6: “*Multorum eo statu, qui diuturnus esse non posset.*”

Livius. In his 105th book (now lost, but of which we have the Epitome), in which he gave an account of Julius Cæsar’s expedition into Britain.—*Fabius Rusticus.* A contemporary of Claudius and Nero, and a near friend of Seneca, more so than was consistent with the unbiased statement of truth, which should characterize the historian. (*Ann.*, xiii., 20.) He wrote

the history of his own times, and probably mentioned Britain when speaking of the expedition of Claudius (A.D. 43).

Oblongæ scutulæ. “To an oblong scutula.” The *scutula* was properly a small kind of dish or tray. Wex gives the following delineation of both the *scutula* and *bipennis*.



Et est ea facies, &c. ‘And this is, in reality, its appearance, exclusive of Caledonia; and hence the popular report respecting its form has passed over (and been applied) unto the whole island.’ Observe that *fama* is here the nominative, and we must supply with it a genitive from *facies*. The expression *in universum* is equivalent here to *in universam Britanniam*.—*Sed immensum et enorme, &c.* “But an immense and irregular extent of land, jutting out from that part where the coast now almost comes to an end, is gradually contracted, as it were, into the form of a wedge.” Observe that the words *extremo jam littore* are not to be joined, by means of the figure called *hyperbaton*, with *velut in cuneum tenuatur*, but with *terrarum procurrentium*. In the words *extremo jam littore* Tacitus alludes to the narrow isthmus between the Clota (*Clyde*) and Bodotria (*Forth*), the southern boundary of Caledonia.

Novissimi maris. “Of the farthest sea.”—*Tunc primum.* Referring to the time of Agricola.—*Incognitas ad id tempus insulas.* But, according to Eusebius, Claudius had already annexed these islands to his dominions; and the same is asserted by Eutropius (vii. 5); and certainly a report of

their existence had reached Rome by that time. Mela estimates their number at thirty; Pliny at forty; so that perhaps *incognitas* may here be equivalent to *leviter* or *non penitus cognitas*.—*Dispecta est et Thule*. “Thule, also, was but just discerned in the distance.” The verb *dispici* is used when speaking of any thing which can not be distinguished without difficulty. Thule is variously identified by different authors with *Mainland* (one of the Shetland Isles), *Norway*, and *Iceland*. The Thule of Ptolemy is probably the first of these; the Thule of Tacitus, the last-mentioned country.—*Quam hactenus nix et hiems abdebat*. The text here is doubtful. Some editions have *Dispecta est et Thule quadamtenus; nix et hiems adpetebat*: “Thule, also, was to some extent descried; snow and winter were seeking to make it their own.” Our reading, however, gives the best sense, *hactenus abdebat* signifying “were accustomed hitherto to conceal.” Other variations from the common reading may be seen in Walther and Ritter.

Pigrum et grave remigantibus. “Sluggish and laborious to rowers.” It would appear that the first navigators of Britain, in order, no doubt, to enhance the idea of their dangers and hardships, had represented the Northern Sea as in so thickened and half solid a state, that the oars could scarcely be worked, or the water agitated by the winds. Tacitus, however, rather chooses to explain its stagnant condition from the want of winds, and the difficulty of moving so great a body of waters. But the fact, taken either way, is erroneous; as this sea is never observed to be frozen, and is remarkably stormy and tempestuous.—*Perinde*. “As it is elsewhere.” Compare note on *perinde*, chap. v. of the *Germania*.

Rariores. “Are here of rarer occurrence.” Supply *sunt hic*.—*Continui maris*. “Of one continued expanse of sea.”—*Impellitur*. “Is set in motion.”—*Æstus*. The ebb and flow of the tide in the Northern Ocean was a matter of some astonishment to the Romans, as in the Mediterranean Sea there is scarcely any tide at all. (*Plin., H. N., xvi., 1.*)—*Ac*. “And, besides.”—*Multi retulere*. As, for example, Pytheas of Massilia (*ap Plut. Plac. Philos., iii., 17*), Pliny (*H. N., ii., 97, 99*), Seneca (*Quæst. Nat., iii., 28*), and Lucan (*Phars., i., 409*).

Nusquam latius dominari mare, &c. “That the sea nowhere exercises a more extensive dominion; that it bears along many currents in this direction and in that; and that not as far as the shore merely does it increase or is it drawn back, but that it flows far inland, and winds about, and insinuates itself even among hills and mountains, as if in its native bed,” *i. e.*, its ebbings and flowings are not confined to the shore, but it penetrates into the heart of the country, and works its way among hills and mountains, as in its native bed. The great number of friths and inlets, which almost cut through the northern parts of the island, as well as the height of the tides on the coast, render this language of Tacitus peculiarly proper.—*Velut in suo*. Equivalent, in fact, to *veluti jugis montibusque in suo*. The ancients as the moderns do, taught that the bed of the sea, like the continent, contained valleys and mountains, the summits of which formed rocks and islands. (*Plin., H. N., ii., 102; vi., 22.*)

CHAP. XI.—*Indigenæ*. Cæsar mentions that the inhabitants of the interior parts of the island were supposed to be of indigenous origin. (*B. G.*, v., 12.)—*Ut inter barbaros*. “As is usual among barbarians.” Supply *feri solet*.—*Habitus corporum*. “The characteristics of their frames,” *i. e.*, their physical appearance.—*Argumenta*. “Arguments (are drawn),” *i. e.*, as to their origin. Supply *sunt*, or *colliguntur*.—*Namque*. There is the same difference between *nam* and *namque* as between *enim* and *etenim*, γὰρ and καὶ γάρ. *Namque* may be frequently translated, as in the present passage, “thus, for instance.”—*Rutilæ comæ*, &c. Compare chap. iv. of the *Germania*, where the physical appearance of the Germans is described.—*Germanicam originem*. The inhabitants of Caledonia were not, as Tacitus here asserts, of German, but of Celtic origin.

Silurum colorati vultus. “The swarthy complexions of the Silures.” The Silures answer to the people of Wales. They occupied what are now the counties of *Brecknock*, *Glamorgan*, *Monmouth*, *Hereford*, and *Radnor*.—*Torti*. “Curly.”—*Iberos*. An Iberian origin for the Silures is quite out of the question. They were of the old British or Celtic stock.—*Proximi Gallis*, &c. “Those nearest the Gauls resemble, also, the inhabitants of that country.” Literally, “are also like (them).” Of these, the inhabitants of the modern *Kent* are most favorably spoken of by Cæsar, as regards civilization. (*B. G.*, v., 14.)—*Seu durante originis vi*, &c. “Either because the influence of a common origin still remains, or because, the lands running out in opposite directions (until they approach one another), climate has given this character to their frames.” He means the southern part of Britain and the northern part of Gaul. Thus, Britain running in a southern direction, according to him, and Gaul in a northern one, the two countries would approach each other, until they lay opposite. With *habitu* supply *eum*.

Eorum sacra deprehendas, &c. “You may discover traces of their religious system in the firm belief (of the Britons) in certain superstitions.” *Eorum* refers to the Gauls, the people mentioned at the close of the previous sentence. The superstitious rites here meant are particularly the mysterious and bloody solemnities of the Druids. From the language of Tacitus it would seem to follow that Druidism came into Britain from Gaul, and this, no doubt, is the correct view of the matter. According to Cæsar, however, the institution originated in Britain (*B. G.*, vi., 13). The parent home of Druidism is now thought to have been the remote East.—*Superstitionum persuasione*. Equivalent to *persuasione de superstitionibus*. So *persuasio falsæ scientiæ*. (*Quintil.*, i., 1, 8.)—*In deprecandis periculis*. “In courting dangers.” This tallies precisely with Cæsar’s account of the Gauls. (*B. G.*, iii., 19.)—*Formido*. “Want of nerve.”—*Ferociæ*. “Martial spirit.” *Feroæ* does not mean “ferocious,” but “proud and dauntless.”—*Otio*. “Repose from warfare.”—*Britannorum olim victis*. “To those of the Britons who have long been subdued,” *i. e.*, the subjects of Cynobellinus, conquered by Claudius. (*Walch*, *ad loc.*)

CHAP. XII.—*Honestior auriga*, &c. “The more honorable individual is charioteer; his vassals fight for him,” *i. e.*, the noble drives the chariot; his dependants fight from the same. In the Homeric poems, on the contrary, among the Greeks and Trojans, the *ἡνίοχος* was the less noble of the two.—*Nunc per principes*, &c. “Now they are torn asunder by the nobles with parties and factions.” *Trahuntur* for *distrahuntur*, *i. e.*, *vexantur*.—*Duabus tribusque civitatibus*. “On the part of two or three states.” Literally, “unto two and three states.” Observe the force of the dative here, which approximates in meaning to the genitive, by a poetic idiom. (*Madvig*, § 241; *Obs.* 3.)—*Conventus*. Tacitus is speaking of assemblies for the formation of plans for their common operations.

✓ *Cælum crebris imbribus*, &c. A remark still fully applicable to the climate of Britain.—*Ultra nostri orbis mensuram*. Elliptical for *ultra mensuram dierum nostri orbis!* Pliny says that in Italy the longest day lasts fifteen hours; in Britain, seventeen. (*H. N.*, ii., 75.)—*Discrimine*. “Interval.”—*Solis fulgorem*. If by *solis fulgor* we could understand the light arising from the refracted rays of the sun, this would be strictly true; but the words *nec occidere . . . sed transire* are hardly applicable to this, and must refer to the sun itself.—*Transire*. “Moves across the sky.”

Scilicet extrema et plana terrarum, &c. This has already been explained in the notes on chap. xlv. of the *Germania*.—*Non erigunt tenebras*. “Do not cast their shadow in a perpendicular direction,” *i. e.*, do not shroud the whole heaven in darkness.—*Infraque cælum et sidera nox cadit*. That is, the surface of the earth only is darkened, while the sky and stars appear above the shadow, and are illumined by the rays of the sun.—*Præter*. “Except.”—*Patiens frugum*. For a long time Britain was the granary of the Roman army on the Rhine. Zosimus (iii., 5) speaks of eight hundred vessels employed, by order of the Emperor Julian, in transporting corn to Germany.—*Tarde mitescunt, cito proveniunt*. “They ripen slowly, they come forth quickly,” *i. e.*, growth is quick, but maturation slow. With *mitescunt* and *proveniunt* the term *fruges* must be mentally supplied.—*Cæli*. “The atmosphere.”

Fert Britannia aurum. Strabo (iv., p. 138) agrees with Tacitus. Cicero, on the contrary, denies that any precious metals (or, rather, that any silver) was found in Britain. (*Ep. ad Att.*, iv., 16.) Camden speaks of gold mines in Cumberland and Scotland, and of silver mines near Ilfracomb.—*Margarita*. The neuter plural, from *margaritum*, which, however, is of rare occurrence, and does not appear in Cicero. The feminine form is the more usual. Pliny says that the British pearls were small and discolored (*H. N.*, ix., 35). Bede, on the contrary (*Hist. Angl.*, i., 4): “*In quibus sunt musculæ, quibus inclusam sæpe margaritam omnis coloris quidem optimam inveniunt, i. e., rubicundi et purpurei, et hyacinthini et prasini, sed maxime candidi.*” The pearls which are found in Caernarvonshire, in the River Conway, and in Cumberland, in the River Irt, are equal to the best of those brought from the Indian Ocean; but they are so few and small as not to repay the trouble of searching for them.

Artem. "Skill," *i. e.*, in detaching the shell-fish from the rocks.—*Rubro Mari.* "The Indian Ocean." Between Ceylon and Persia. The *Rubrum Mare* (ἡ ἐρυθρὰ θάλασσα) of the ancients included both the *Sinus Persicus* and the *Sinus Arabicus*.—*Prout expulsa sint.* "As they have been thrown up (by the sea)."—*Naturam margaritis deesse.* "That a proper nature is wanting to the pearls (of this country)." By *natura* is here meant what the Greeks term ποιότης φυσική, that is, in the present instance, brilliancy and whiteness, which the Indian pearls possess. Compare *Wex, ad loc.*

CHAP. XIII.—*Ipsi Britannii.* From an account of the island, he now proceeds to that of the inhabitants themselves. Compare a similar employment of the pronoun *ipse* in the *Germania*, chap. ii.—*Impigre obeunt.* "Cheerfully undergo."—*Injuria.* "Injurious treatment," *i. e.*, the insolence of oppression.—*Igitur.* "Thus." This particle is here intended to be explanatory of what immediately precedes, namely, *jam domiti ut pareant, &c.* Compare *Hand, ad Tursell.*, iii., p. 186, *seqq.*—*Britanniam ingressus.* In B.C. 55 and 54.—*Divus Julius.* Consult notes on chap. viii. of the *Germania*.—*Mox bella civilia.* Supply *fuere*.—*Principum.* "Of the leaders."—*Consilium.* "Policy." Strabo (ii., p. 115; iv., p. 200) assigns the reason for this conduct in relation to Britain. The Romans had nothing to fear from that island, nor would much advantage be derived from the possession of it; and, at the same time, it could not be conquered and kept in subjection without considerable expense.—*Præceptum.* "An injunction (on the part of his predecessor)."

Agitasse C. Cæsarem. "That Caius Cæsar had formed the design." Caligula is meant. This expedition was undertaken not from Gaul, but from the Batavian shores. The light-house which Caligula built was at the second mouth of the Rhine, now choked with sand, where the remains of it still exist, and are called by sailors the *Calla-Thurm*.—*Ni velox ingenio, &c.* "(And he would have carried out this design) had he not been precipitate in forming schemes, fickle in changing his mind," &c. Observe the elliptical commencement of the sentence. With *ni* supply *fuisse*. We have followed Bekker in *mobilis pœnitentia*. Others have *mobilis pœnitentiæ* or *mobilis pœnitentia*, both of which are less in the style of Tacitus.—*Ingentes adversus Germaniam, &c.* Consult notes on chap. xxxvii. of the *Germania*.

Auctor operis. "Was the author of the work," *i. e.*, was the one that carried these designs into effect. For an account of the successes of Claudius, or, rather, of Plautius and Vespasian, in A.D. 43, consult *Hist.*, iii., 44; *Suet., Claud.*, 17.—*In partem rerum.* "To a share in the undertaking."—*Monstratus fatis.* "Was pointed out by the fates." As this expedition laid the foundation of Vespasian's subsequent elevation to the throne, by the fame which he thereby acquired of an able commander, it may well be said that the fates now began to give indications of his future career. Observe that *fatis* is here the ablative without *a*, instances of which construction are not unfrequently found.

CHAP. XIV.—*Aulus Plautius*. He was the *legatus consularis* during the years A.U.C. 796–800.—*Præpositus*. “Was placed over the island.” For *præpositus est insulæ*.—*Subinde Ostorius Scapula*. During the years 800–803. For an account of his contests with the Silures under Caractacus, consult *Ann.*, xii., 31, *seqq.* Though he penetrated to the Irish Sea, and Caractacus was delivered up by Cartismandua, the queen of the Brigantes, he did not subdue the Silures. *Oyster Hill*, near Hereford, the site of a Roman camp, received its name from him.—*Proxima*. “Nearest unto us,” *i. e.*, to Italy and Rome. How much of the southern part of the island is included in this expression can not be determined.—*Veteranorum Colonia*. This was at Camulodunum, now *Colchester*, the residence of Cynobellinus. Camulodunum means “the city of Mars” (*Camulus* among the Britons answering to Mars). It was called *Colonia victrix*, and was chosen for the station of the fourteenth legion. Compare *Ann.*, xii., 32.

Cogiduno. Cogidunus is not mentioned elsewhere. He was, perhaps, a vassal of the sons of Cynobellinus.—*Vetere ac jam pridem recepta, &c.* “According to the old and long established custom of the Roman people, to have even kings as the instruments of slavery.”—*Didius Gallus*. He held the command during A.U.C. 804–810.—*In ulteriora promotis*. “Having been pushed forward into the more remote regions.” Apparently into the territory of the Silures.—*Fama aucti officii*. “The credit of having extended the bounds of his administration,” *i. e.*, of having enlarged his province.—*Veranius*. This commander made some incursions into the territory of the Silures, and would no doubt have pushed his conquests farther, had he not been cut off by a premature death. Consult *Ann.*, ii., 56, 74; iii., 10, 13, &c.

Subactis nationibus. “In the subjection of tribes,” not “after the rebellious tribes had been subdued,” as some erroneously translate it. The past participle has a similar force in *Ann.*, xvi., 21: “*Nero virtutem ipsam excindere concupivit, interfecto Thræsea Pæto*,” “Nero wished to destroy virtue itself by killing Thræsea Pætus.”—*Monam insulam*. The Mona of Tacitus is now the *Isle of Anglesea*, whereas the Mona of Cæsar is the *Isle of Man*. The Mona of Tacitus was the chief seat of the Druidical religion in Britain, and was on this account attacked by Paulinus, who wished to put an end, by these means, to the influence exercised by the Druid-priesthood in stirring up the Britons against the Roman power. Paulinus took the island, and destroyed the groves in which human sacrifices were accustomed to be offered. For a spirited sketch of the affair, consult *Ann.*, xiv., 30.

Vires. Tacitus says that the island was powerful in its inhabitants (*in colis validam*).—*Terga occasione patefecit*. “Laid open to a surprise the settlements behind him.” Tacitus alludes to the revolt of the Britons under Boadicea, of which an account is given in *Ann.*, xiv., 31, as well as in the two following chapters of the present work.

CHAP. XV.—*Interpretando*. “By commenting upon them.”—*Ex facili*. “Easily.” This expression has been formed after the model of such phrases as *ex inopinato, ex insperato, ex abundantanti* (*Quintil.*, iv., 5, 15); *ex affluentibus*

(*Hist.*, i., 57), &c. The same idiom occurs in Greek, as, ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανέος (*Herod.*, iii., 150); ἐξ ἀέλλπτων (*Soph.*, *Aj.*, 715), &c.—*Singulos sibi olim*, &c. “That formerly they had only one king for each nation.” Observe the force of *singulos* here; one king for each nation; not merely one king, which would have been *unum regem*.—*Sæviret*. The subjunctive, as indicating the sentiments of the speaker, not those of the writer.—*Æque . . . æque*. So *pariter . . . pariter*. (*Ovid*, *Met.*, xii., 36.) Ὀμοίως . . . ὁμοίως are used in the same manner.—*Alterius manus, centuriones alterius*, &c. “That the officials of the one, the centurions of the other, mingled violence and insults,” *i. e.*, treated them with mingled violence and insult. The first *alterius* refers to the procurator, and by *manus* are meant his under-officers; the second *alterius* refers to the legatus. Compare *Walch*, *ad loc.*

Exceptum. “Excepted from,” *i. e.*, unviolated by.—*Spoliet*. Compare note on *sæviret*.—*Tamquam mori tantum*, &c. “As if ignorant only how to die for their country.”—*Nescientibus* agrees with *illis* understood in the preceding clauses.—*Quantum*. “How mere a handful.” One of the MSS. has *quantulum*, the correction of some copyist, who was ignorant that *tantus*, *quantus*, and the like, are employed to express diminution as often as enlargement.—*Sic Germanias excussisse jugum*. By the overthrow of Varus, and the slaughter of his legions. The plural form *Germanias* has reference to the Roman subdivisions of that country. Consult notes on chap. i. of the *Germania*.—*Et*. “And yet.”—*Non oceano*. As the Britons were.

Divus Julius. This expression seems rather strange in the mouth of a barbarian; but the Roman writers were not so scrupulously exact in such matters as modern criticism requires.—*Recessisset*. Compare note on *sæviret*, above.—*Impetus*. “Of impetuous feeling.”—*Qui detinerent*. “Since they detained.” The subjunctive with the relative, because containing the reason of what precedes.—*Quod difficillimum fuerit*. “What has ever been most difficult.” The subjunctive as in *sæviret*, before mentioned.—*Porro*. “In fine.”—*Audere*. “To dare to put them into execution.”

CHAP. XVI.—*Boadicea*. The name is variously spelt, *Boudicea*, *Boodicea*, *Boadicea*. The last form has most authority in its favor. She was the wife of Prasutagus, king of the Iceni, a tribe inhabiting the eastern coast of Britain. She put an end to her own life A.D. 61. The story of her wrongs is given in *Ann.*, xiv., 31.—*Sumsere bellum*. So *Ann.*, ii., 45, and “*prælium sumsere*,” *Hist.*, ii., 42. Compare the Greek πόλεμον ἤραντο (*Thucyd.*, iii., 39).—*Expugnatis præsidiiis*. Camulodunum was taken and destroyed by fire. Londinium was also taken, and Verulamium soon after experienced a similar fate. In these places nearly seventy thousand Romans and Roman allies were put to death with cruel tortures.—*In barbaris*. “Usual among barbarians.”—*Ira et victoria*. “Anger and the license of victory.” No hendiadys, as some imagine.

Quod nisi Paulinus, &c. “Had not Paulinus, therefore,” &c.—*Veteri patientiæ*. “To its ancient subjection.” The forces of Suetonius amounted to only about ten thousand, while those of the Britons under Boadicea are

said to have been two hundred and thirty thousand. About eighty thousand Britons are said to have fallen in the battle, and not more than four hundred Romans. Boadicea would not survive this irreparable calamity, but put an end to her life by poison. This victory finally established the Roman dominion in Britain. (*Ann.*, xiv., 31–37.)—*Tenentibus arma plerisque*. “Although many still retained arms,” *i. e.*, remained in arms. Compare note on *plerique*, chap. i.—*Propius agitabat*. “Affected more nearly.”

Egregius. “Though exemplary.”—*Durius*. “With too much severity.”—*Petronius Turpilianus*. Sent A.U.C. 815. He was put to death by Galba (*Hist.*, i., 6, 37). From this time forward, Britain, as far as Anglesea, may be considered as under the Roman dominion.—*Delictis hostium novus*, &c. “New to the offences of the enemy, and on that account milder to their repentance,” *i. e.*, unacquainted personally with the excesses of which the foe had been guilty, and therefore the more disposed to treat them mildly on their repenting. Compare “*novus dolori*” (*Sil. Ital.*, vi., 254): “*firmus adversis*” (*Agric.*, xxxv).—*Compositis prioribus*. “The previous disturbances having been allayed.”—*Trebellio Maximo provinciam tradidit*. At what time is uncertain: probably in A.D. 64. Trebellius’s flight took place in A.D. 69 (*Hist.*, i., 60; ii., 55).—*Nullis experimentis*. For *nulla experientia*.—*Comitate quadam curandi*, &c. “Retained in subjection the province by a certain courtesy in governing.” *Curare* is not unfrequently used by Sallust and Tacitus in the sense of “governing,” “commanding,” &c. Thus, “*in ea parte curabat*.” (*Sall.*, *Jug.*, 60): “*Qui proconsul Asiam curaverat*.” (*Ann.*, iv., 36.)

Vitiis blandientibus. “Through the seductive influence of our vices,” *i. e.*, the seductive charms of luxury. Literally, “our vices coaxing (them into this state of feeling).”—*Et interventus civilium armorum*, &c. Namely, in order that the empire might not be harassed by foreign wars at the same time that it was torn by intestine convulsions.—*Sed discordia laboratum*. “Trouble, however, was occasioned by mutiny.”—*Lasciviret*. “Began to grow insubordinate.”—*Indecorus atque humilis*. “Dishonored and abased.”—*Precario*. Consult notes on chap. xlv. of the *Germania*.—*Præfuit*. Scil. *exercitui*.—*Ac velut pacti*, &c. “And, as if they had stipulated, the army for unbridled freedom, the general for personal safety,” &c. With *pacti* supply *sunt*.—*Vettius Bolanus*. Consult chap. viii. This governor arrived in Britain between April and May, A.D. 69. During his administration the circumstances happened which are recounted elsewhere by Tacitus (*Hist.*, iii., 45).—*Disciplina*. “By any severity of discipline.”—*Petulantia castrorum*. “Insolence in the camp.”—*Et nullis delictis invisus*, &c. “And, hated for no crimes, had procured for himself affection in lieu of authority,” *i. e.*, had made himself loved rather than feared.

CHAP. XVII.—*Et Britanniam reciperavit*. “Recovered Britain also,” *i. e.*, restored it to the benefits of a firm and wise administration of affairs at Rome. Vespasian placed the Roman world once more upon a firm basis, after it had been shaken to its centre by the civil contest between Otho and

Vitellius.—*Reciperavit*. The earlier form of *recuperavit*.—*Magni duces, egregii exercitus*. “Our generals (in that island) were men of great abilities, our armies were excellent.”—*Petilius Cerealis*. Already mentioned in chap. viii.—*Brigantum*. The Brigantes inhabited what are now the counties of York, Westmoreland, Durham, and Lancaster.—*Aut victoria amplexus, &c.* Observe that *victoria amplecti* is “to subdue,” but *bello amplecti* “to overrun.”

Et cum Cerealis quidem, &c. “And although Cerealis, indeed, might have obscured (by his own abilities) the administration and fame of another successor, yet Julius Frontinus also, a man of great talents, sustained the burden (of competition), as far as was permitted,” *i. e.*, the conduct and reputation of Cerealis were so brilliant that they might easily have eclipsed the splendor of a successor, and yet Julius Frontinus supported the arduous competition as far as circumstances would admit. (Compare *Wex, ad loc.*) *Alter*, although it is commonly synonymous with *ἕτερος*, sometimes stands for *ἕτερός τις*, and is even occasionally, as here, equivalent to *ἄλλος*. The reason why Tacitus expressed himself on this occasion so cautiously may probably be owing to the fact that Frontinus was still alive. In *Hist.*, iv., 71; v., 21, he uses greater freedom.

Quantum licebat. As far as was permitted by the times in which he lived, when to appear eminent was dangerous; and it was dangerous, especially for the governor of so important a province, even in the time of Vespasian. Frontinus lived till A.D. 106, and was an augur at the time of his death. He was the author of a work upon the art of war (*Stratagematica*), and of another upon the Aqueducts of Rome, the superintendence of which was intrusted to him during the reigns of Nerva and Trajan.—*Validamque et pugnacem, &c.* Since the victories of Suetonius Paulinus, from about A.D. 62 to 75, we hear nothing of the struggles with the Silures. But that the subjection of this wild mountain tribe had not yet been accomplished is shown not only by Frontinus’s expedition, but by Agricola’s enterprise against Mona.—*Super*. “Besides.”

CHAP. XVIII.—*Hunc Britannicæ statum, &c.* “Found this condition of Britain, these vicissitudes of warlike operations,” *i. e.*, found Britain in this state, as resulting from the fluctuating fortune of the contests which have just been mentioned. *Vices* here marks a result, not what was passing at the time.—*Media jam æstate*. This was in A.D. 78.—*Cum et milites, &c.* “When both our own soldiers, as if all onward movements had been given over, were turning their attention to enjoyments free from care, and the enemy to the seizure of the opportunity thus offered them.” Literally, “were turning themselves.” Middle voice.—*Ordovicum*. The Ordovices inhabited the counties of Flint, Denbigh, Caernarvon, Merioneth, and Montgomery.—*Alam in finibus suis agentem, &c.* “Had destroyed, almost to a man, a troop of horse acting within their confines.” The *ala* was the body of cavalry belonging to a legion, in number generally about three hundred. The period between the departure of Frontinus and the arrival of Agricola,

when the island was without a governor, probably afforded the opportunity for this occurrence.

Ut quibus bellum volentibus erat. "Since a war was what they wished for." Compare the Greek idiom, of which this is an imitation, οἷς πόλεμος βουλομένοις ἦν. (*Kühner, G. G.*, § 599, 3, *ed. Jelf.*) The regular Latin form of expression would have been *ut qui bellum volebant.*—*Probare exemplum, &c.* That is, some did the one, some the other; though all were for war. The infinitives here are historical.—*Numeri.* "The various divisions of the forces." The term *numerus* is here employed in its military sense, a meaning which appears to have come in during the reign of Augustus. It is well explained by *Torrentius (ad Suet., Vesp., 6)*: "*Est militare vocabulum, non solum pro catalogo seu breviculo militum, quam etiam matriculam vocant, sed pro ordinibus ipsis turmisque et cohortibus militum.*" Compare *Bötticher: "die Truppenabtheilungen."* *Walch* renders it "*die Cohorten,*" but this is too limited.—*Tarda et contraria bellum inchoaturo.* "Circumstances which delay and thwart one who is about to begin a war." Referring to what immediately precedes.—*Custodiri suspecta.* "That the suspected parts of the country should be watched merely," *i. e.*, those parts where the inhabitants were suspected of an intention to throw off the Roman yoke.

Contractisque legionum vexillis. "And having drawn together the veterans of the legions." *Vexillis* is here put for *vexillariis*. From the time of Augustus, those veterans who had served sixteen campaigns were released from their military oath, but were retained, till their complete discharge, under a flag (*vexillum*) by themselves. They were free from all other military duties, except to render assistance in the more severe battles, to guard the frontiers of the empire, and to keep in subjection those provinces that had been newly conquered, and were, therefore, more disposed to revolt. There were *vexillarii* attached to each legion, and it would appear that they amounted in number to five hundred. (*Ann.*, iii., 21.) When there was any necessity, they were detached from their legions, and sometimes, as in the present instance, were all united into one body.

In æquum. "Into the plain."—*Erexit aciem.* "Led his force in battle array up the mountain."—*Instandum famæ.* "That renown must be followed up."—*Cessissent.* "Should have turned out." For *processissent.*—*Cujus possessione.* Observe the omission of the preposition *a.*—*Ut in dubiis consiliis.* "As in the case of plans the issue of which is doubtful." The meaning appears to be, that *Agricola* had had some intention of invading *Mona* previous to his campaign against the *Ordovices*; but, as the result of that campaign was doubtful, he had not provided vessels; and he had not had time to do so after the conquest of the *Ordovices*, when he had fully determined to invade the island.—*Ratio et constantia, &c.* "The ability and resolution of the general transported his forces across." Supply *copias.*—*Auxiliarium.* These must have been Britons, as appears from what immediately follows.—*Et patrius nandi usus.* "And the mode of swimming was the peculiar one of their country."

Qui classem, qui naves, &c. “Who expected a (Roman) fleet, who expected ships, who expected the (difficulties of the) sea,” *i. e.*, the difficulties which would be opposed to the progress of the Romans by the intervening straits.—*Invictum.* “Insuperable.”—*Officiorum ambitum.* “The compliments of office,” *i. e.*, efforts to procure the homage and flattery of the inhabitants.—*Expeditionem aut victoriam, &c.* “Call the having curbed those already conquered an expedition or a victory.”—*Ne laureatis quidem, &c.* “He did not even follow up his victory with bay-decked dispatches.” Supply *litteris* after *laureatis*. According to Roman usage, after any successful battle had been won, or a province subdued, the successful commander forwarded to Rome a dispatch decked with leaves of bay, this tree being regarded by the Romans as the peculiar emblem of victory.—*Æstimantibus.* “Men considering.” Ablative absolute, and an imitation of a well-known Greek idiom.

CHAP. XIX.—*Animorum prudens.* “Being well aware of the tone of feeling.”—*Per aliena experimenta.* “By the experience of others.” More closely, “by the trials which others had made.”—*Excidere.* “To eradicate.”—*Domum suam.* “His own household,” *i. e.*, his own suite (military family) and attendants.—*Nihil publicæ rei.* “He transacted no public business.” Supply *agere*, the historical infinitive.—*Non milites adscire.* “He promoted no recruits (to the ranks of the legion).” Tacitus is here speaking, not of levying soldiers, but of the promotion of recruits to the honor of serving in the legion, that is, of becoming regular soldiers. The term *milites*, in its full force, belonged only to the legionary troops. The *tirones* thought much of the honor of serving in the legion, and frequently endeavored to obtain it through private favor, or on the recommendation of the centurions.—*Exsequi.* Equivalent here to *punire*, a meaning deduced naturally enough from the literal signification of “to follow out.”

Commodare. “He applied.” There is no need of regarding this as an instance of zeugma, with Walch and others. The meaning we have here given to the verb, and which is closely allied to its literal one, will suit equally well both *veniam* and *severitatem*.—*Frumenti et tributorum, &c.* “He mitigated the increase of the supply of corn and of the taxes by an equalizing of burdens,” *i. e.*, he took care that all the inhabitants should be rated fairly, according to their property; so that the poor might not have to contribute more than the rich. *Munus* is the amount at which each one was assessed. In the term *tributa* Tacitus refers to poll-taxes and taxes upon property. These were increased, and in some cases doubled by Vespasian.—*Circumcisis.* “All those exactions having been abolished.”—*In quæstum reperta.* “Devised for private gain.” The meaning is, that Agricola put an end to all those devices for enriching themselves, which had been practiced by the inferior officers of government, and were esteemed heavier burdens than the taxes themselves.

Namque per ludibrium, &c. “For they were compelled, in mockery, to sit by the closed granaries, and to buy, besides their own corn, and to sell

it out again at a (small) fixed price." From the provinces, at least during the time of the republic, and from Sicily, the Romans procured corn in three different ways; namely, by means of the *frumentum decumanum*, *emtum*, and *æstimatum*. The *frumentum decumanum* was the tenth part of the produce of the *ager publicus* or *decumanus*. It was exacted from the cultivators without payment, and had to be carried down to the sea, but was generally purchased or contracted for by the revenue-farmers, who were thence called *decumani*, and who either sent it to Rome or sold it in the provinces. The *emtum frumentum* was corn which was furnished in compliance with the orders of the proconsul, to supply the wants of the armies or of the capital, and for which a fixed price was paid, at first from the public treasury, and afterward from that of the emperor. When the governor of the province was in league with the *decumani*, the latter, by means of such edicts as those mentioned by Cicero (*in Verr.*, ii., 3, 13), got all the corn in the country into their power, as in the case of the Britons alluded to in the text, who were compelled to purchase it back from the Romans at a high price, both for their own consumption, and in order to furnish the *emtum frumentum*, for which they were paid only the small fixed price.—*Utro*. Compare the explanation of Wex: "*noch obendrein, noch dazu*;" and consult *Bötticher, Lex. Tac.*, s. v.

Devortia itinerum, &c. "By-roads and distant parts of the country were appointed," *i. e.*, as the quarters unto which the corn was to be carried. Tacitus here refers to the *frumentum æstimatum*, as it was termed. The provincial magistrates had money given them from the treasury, or from the emperor's purse, for the purpose of buying corn for their own use, at a valuation fixed by the senate, and this corn was to be carried to whatever place they chose. They might either exact the corn, or else a certain sum for that and for the expense of its conveyance. Now, corrupt and fraudulent magistrates always appointed some place at a great distance, and away from the common route, unto which the corn was to be conveyed, and then commuted in money with the farmer, at a heavy loss to the latter and a great profit to themselves. (*Ascon. in Verr.*, 29.)—*Defferent*. Supply *frumenta*.—*Quod omnibus in promptu erat*. "What offered itself in abundance to all."—*Paucis*. The governor of the province and his officials.

CHAP. XX.—*Hæc comprimendo*. "By suppressing these abuses."—*Egregiam famam paci circumdedit*. "He threw around peace an excellent reputation," *i. e.*, he established a very favorable idea of peace. Compare the Greek idiom, *περιτιθέναι τινὲ ἀτιμίαν* (*Thucyd.*, vi., 89).—*Quæ*. The antecedent is *paæ*. The Britons were despoiled and oppressed in peace just as much as in war, and therefore the former was no less dreaded than the latter.—*Tolerantia*. "Connivance." More literally, "sufferance," *i. e.*, suffering oppression to be exercised, and secretly sharing in the spoils. We have given here *tolerantia*, the emendation of Rhenanus, as far superior to *intolerantia* ("oppression"), the MS. reading.

Sed ubi æstas advenit. During this summer Agricola seems to have pen

etrated to the Solway Firth. That he did not proceed farther appears from the subsequent chapters. In chapter xxii., the expression *Tertius expeditio-
num annus novas gentes aperuit* would hardly have been used if he had already penetrated as far as Edinburgh, as some imagine, in the second summer. It was the western portion of the Brigantes whom he now subdued, and, accordingly, the conquests of Cerealis lay in the eastern part of their country. They were only partially subdued by the latter (chap. xvii.); and his successor, Frontinus, seems not to have completed his undertakings.—*Militum in agmine, &c.* Some editors read *multum*, others *multus*. Both of these, however, are too abrupt here, though *multus* is better, in point of Latinity, than *multum*.—*Disjectos coercere*. “He restrained the stragglers.”

Loca castris ipse capere. Many traces of these encampments still remain; two in particular, situated in Annandale, called *Burnswork* and *Middleby*, are described by Gordon (*Itin. Sept.*, p. 16, 18).—*Æstuaria*. The term *æstuarium* is used to denote the wide mouths of rivers, which are fordable or very shallow at low water, but resemble arms of the sea at high tide. Such, on the western coast, are those of the *Dee*, the *Mersey*, the *Ribble*, *Morecambe Bay*, and *Solway Firth*.—*Quo minus popularetur*. “But ravaged.” Literally, “as that he should not ravage.”—*Irritamenta pacis*. “The incentives to peace.”—*Ex æquo egerant*. “Had acted on an equality (with the Romans),” *i. e.*, had maintained their ground, and preserved their independence against the encroachments of the Roman power.

Et præsiidiis castellisque circumdatæ, &c. “And were surrounded with garrisons and forts, (disposed) with so much judgment and care, that no part of Britain, new (to us) before, could fall away without being (at the instant) attacked,” *i. e.*, could pass over to the foe unhindered. *Transierit* for *transire potuerit*. The true reading and meaning of this passage are extremely doubtful. We have given the explanation of Walther as the most satisfactory.

CHAP. XXI.—*Sequens hiems*. This was in A.D. 78–80.—*Saluberrimis consiliis*. “In most wholesome measures.”—*In bella faciles*. “Prone to war.”—*Ut templa, fora, domus exstruerent*. Julius’s hof, or house (the house of Julius Agricola), and Arthur’s oven, in Stirling, near the mouth of the Carron, are said to have been built under the direction of Agricola. As we soon afterward find Eboracum an important city, the residence of the British governor, and sometimes of the emperor himself, it is not unlikely that Agricola founded the city about this same time, in the country of the Brigantes, to promote the civilization of this wild tribe.—*Ita honoris æmulatio, &c.* “In this way an honorable rivalry supplied the place of compulsion,” *i. e.*, in this way he excited a spirit of honorable rivalry, which had all the force of compulsion.

Jam vero principum, &c. The same line of policy was pursued by Augustus (*Suet.*, *Aug.*, 48) and by other Roman emperors (*Ann.*, ii., 2; xi., 16). Perhaps Agricola established schools, as Caligula did in Gaul and Belgium.

—*Et ingenia Britannorum, &c.* “And he gave the preference to the natural talents of the Britons over the laborious efforts exerted by the Gauls,” *i. e.*, over the mere learning of the Gauls. Some suppose that *anteferre* here means “to cause to excel,” but without any necessity. Gauls frequently found their way to Britain, and ingratiated themselves with the princes of that country, to the exclusion of the more talented but less cultivated natives.—*Ut.* “So that.”—*Eloquentiam concupiscerent.* “Began now to desire its eloquence,” *i. e.*, were now ambitious of becoming eloquent in it. In their communications with the governor, and in judicial proceedings, the Britons would be required to use the Latin tongue.—*Habitus nostri honor.* “Our mode of dress began to be held in honor.” Supply *erat.*—*Delinimenta vitiorum.* “The blandishments of vicious pleasures”—*Humanitas.* “Refinement.”—*Cum.* “When, in reality.”

CHAP. XXII.—*Tertius annus.* The time meant is A.D. 80.—*Novas gentes.* Those, namely, between the Solway Firth and the Firth of Tay, in Annandale, Clydesdale, Tweeddale, Berwick, Lothian, Stirling, Menteith, Perth, and Fife, through which ran a Roman road.—*Taum.* The Taus was not the *Tweed*, which does not form an estuary, but the *Tay*. *Cerealis* had before this penetrated to the *Tweed*.—*Quamquam conflictatum.* “Though having to struggle with.”—*Castellis.* The remains of some of these are still to be seen between *Ardoch* and *Innerpeffery*. The principal one was at *Ardoch*, and so situated as to command the entrance into two valleys, *Strathallen* and *Strathern*, thus illustrating the remark made immediately after this by Tacitus, respecting the skill displayed by Agricola in choosing advantageous situations for his forts.—*Aut pactione ac fuga desertum.* “Or was abandoned through capitulation and flight.”

Annis copiis. “By supplies of provisions for a whole year.” Some, less correctly, refer this to supplies of fresh troops.—*Inrepida.* “Passed without alarm.” Supply *erat.*—*Irritis.* “Being baffled.”—*Pensare.* “To make up for.” The simple verb for the compound *compensare*.—*Juxta pellebantur.* “They were alike pressed hard.”—*Per alios gesta, &c.* “Greedily intercept (the glory of) things achieved by others,” *i. e.*, with a greedy desire of distinction. *Avidus* has here, by a poetic usage, the force of an adverb. (*Zumpt*, § 682.)—*Incorruptum facti, &c.* “He had (in Agricola) an impartial witness of what was done,” *i. e.*, of his achievement.—*Acerbior in conviciis.* “Somewhat harsh in his reproaches,” *i. e.*, in reproof, when reproving any one.—*Injucundus.* “Austere.”—*Secretum et silentium ejus.* “His reserve and silence,” *i. e.*, his reserved and silent manner.—*Odisse.* “To cherish secret hatred.”

CHAP. XXIII.—*Quarta æstas.* A.D. 81.—*Obtinendis quæ percurrerat.* “In securing the country which he had overrun.” Supply *loca.* Observe that *obtineo* is used here in its common signification of “to hold against another,” “to secure the possession of,” &c. Compare the remark of Gronovius: “*Obtinere est perseverare in tenendo; quod Galli dicunt mantener.*”

It is used in a different sense, however, in *Ann.*, xv., 8: "*Percursando quæ obtineri non poterant.*"—*Pateretur.* "Had allowed."—*Inventus.* Supply *fuisset.*—*Terminus.* "A limit (to our conquests)." This limit would have been found in that part of the island described immediately after as lying to the south of the *Firths* of *Clyde* and *Forth.* Here ancient *Britannia* ended and *Caledonia* began. It was in this same quarter that the rampart of *Antoninus* was subsequently erected by *Lollius Urbicus*, the imperial legate.

Clota et Bodotria, &c. "The estuaries of *Clota* and *Bodotria*, carried back deep into the land by the tides of opposite seas," &c. The reference is, as already remarked, to the *Firth* of *Clyde* and the *Firth* of *Forth.*—*Re-vectæ.* Observe that *re* has not unfrequently the force here assigned it in composition; as in *repositus*, "placed far back." Compare, also, *Horace's reducta vallis* (*Epod.*, ii., 11).

Atque omnis propior sinus tenebatur. "And the whole bend of the coast, in the more immediate neighborhood (of the isthmus), was (likewise) occupied (with forts)." As regards the force of *sinus* here, consult notes on chap. i. of the *Germania.* The chain of forts across the isthmus was sufficient to prevent any irruption of the enemy by land; while, to check their attempts by sea, in which way the *Picts* made their incursions in later times, *Agricola* had fortresses built east and west in the adjacent region, which were united with the main chain. It is this adjacent region, to the east and west of the isthmus, that *Tacitus* means to indicate by the expression "*propior sinus.*" The work now called *Graham's Dyke* was erected by *Lollius* under the *Antonines*, but coincided with *Agricola's* line, which ran from *Old Kirk-Patrick* on the *Firth* of *Clyde*, to *Abercorn* on the *Firth* of *Forth.*

CHAP. XXIV.—*Quinto anno.* A.D. 82.—*Nave prima transgressus.* "Having crossed over in the first ship," *i. e.*, having crossed the estuary of the *Clota* (*Clyde*) in the first Roman fleet that had ventured narrowly to examine this part of the coast. *Agricola* might have marched his forces through the isthmus without having recourse to ships, but probably the appearance of a fleet would be more calculated to strike terror into the nations along the coast.—*Eamque partem Britannia, &c.* The reference is to *Carrick*, *Galloway*, *Wight*, and perhaps also to *Argyle*, *Annan*, and *Bute.*—*Copiis.* "With troops."—*In spem, &c.* More because *Agricola* hoped at some future time to achieve the conquest of *Ireland*, than because he dreaded any interruption from that quarter.—*Medio inter Britanniam, &c.* Compare chap. x.—*Opportuna.* "Lying commodiously."—*Valentissimam imperii partem, &c.* "Might unite the most powerful portion of our empire by great mutual advantages," *i. e.*, might form a very beneficial connection between the most powerful parts of our empire, namely, *Britain*, *Gaul*, and *Spain*, by means of commercial transactions, and an interchange of their respective products.—*Miscuerit.* In Greek we should have had *ἄν* with the optative.

Nostri maris. The *Mediterranean.*—*Ingenia cultusque.* "The intellectual character and the usages."—*Aditus.* "The approaches to its coasts."

A great deal of unnecessary trouble has been taken by commentators with the sentence of which this word forms part. *Melius* does not mean "better (than those of Britain)," but "better (than the soil, climate, &c.)," which are alluded to vaguely, and without any precision, in the words "*haud multum differunt.*" Compare *Ritter, ad loc.—Unum ex regulis.* "One of the petty kings."—*Sæpe ex eo audivi.* Some take *eo* to mean this petty king, and accordingly conclude that Tacitus was at this time in Britain. But there can be little doubt that it refers to Agricola.—*Arma.* Supply *essent.*

CHAP. XXV.—*Æstate, qua sextum, &c.* This was in A.D. 83.—*Officii.* "Of his government."—*Amplexus.* "Having embraced (in his plans)." The fuller and more Augustan form of expression would have been *ad subigendum animo et cogitatione complexus.*—*Civitates trans Bodotriam sitas.* The reference is to the eastern parts of Scotland, north of the *Firth of Forth*, where are now the counties of Fife, Kinross, Perth, Angus, &c.—*Infesta.* "Infested by." Taken in a passive sense. A much inferior reading is *infesta hostilis exercitus*, where *infesta itinera* must be rendered "hostile inroads," and *infesta* taken actively.—*Portus classe exploravit.* Agricola's plan was apparently this, that the fleet should support the army, which probably kept near the coast; and, in case the latter met with too powerful an opposition at any of the passes, should land troops in the rear of the enemy.

In partem virium. "As a part of his forces." *Virium* is here equivalent to *copiarum.*—*Egregia specie.* "With imposing display."—*Impelleretur.* "Was urged on."—*Mixti copiis et lætitia.* "Mingled together in forces and in joy," *i. e.*, mingled together in joyous groups. We have followed in this explanation some of the best editors. Others, however, refer *copiis* to the camp-stores of provisions; but this is far less natural.—*Attollerent.* In the sense of *extollerent.*—*Adversa.* "The hardships."—*Victus oceanus.* We have adopted here the emendation of Lipsius. The common reading is *auctus oceanus*, "the ocean swelled by tempests." But *victus oceanus* is far more spirited, and is also more in unison with *militari jactantia* immediately following. Compare, also, "*domitus oceanus*" (*Suet., Claud., 17*), and "*spolia oceani*" (*Suet., Cal., 46*).

Secreto. "The secret retreat."—*Ad manus et arma.* "To action and to arms."—*Paratu magno, majore fama, &c.* "With great preparation, with the still greater fame (as is usual with reports concerning what is unknown) that they had commenced hostilities." The infinitive *oppugnasse* depends on *fama*, as Walch correctly remarks; and, according to this same commentator, the meaning of the passage is the same as if Tacitus had written *Magisque id fama celebrante "en oppugnarunt Britanni ultro Romana castella."*—*Castella.* Some forts in Fife, Perth, and Strathern, the remains of which still exist; manifestly, from what follows, not the line of fortifications between the *Firths of Clyde and Forth.*—*Specie prudentium.* "With the air of prudent advisers," *i. e.*, under the mask of prudence.—*Hostes pluribus agminibus irrupturos.* "That the enemy intended to bear down upon him in several bodies."—*Et ipse.* "He himself also."

CHAP. XXVI.—*Unversi nonam legionem, &c.* Brotier, following Gordon (*It. Sept.*, p. 32), places the scene of this occurrence in Fife, where the remains of a Roman camp are found at *Lochore*. We must not suppose, however, that all the remains of Roman intrenchments in this part of the country are to be referred to the time of Agricola; many were built under the Antonines and Severus. After a careful examination of the whole subject, Walch comes to the conclusion that the ninth legion, which the enemy, altering their plan, fell upon with their whole force, must have been posted farther northward than Fife, in Angus, or perhaps Mar. If Agricola had been in the district of Fife, which is hardly eight miles broad, he would probably have immediately sought the enemy at the entrenchments.

Assultare. “To charge.”—*Propinqua luce*. “At daybreak.”—*Ancipiti malo*. The battle in front and rear.—*Securi pro salute, &c.* “At ease respecting their safety, they (now) vied with each other for glory.” Observe here the force of the preposition *de*, and compare the explanation of Walther: “*Illi de gloria certabant non pro gloria, i. e., ad gloriam parandam, non ut paratam tuerentur.*”—*Erupere*. This refers to the Romans in the encampment, who, not content with holding their ground, now rushed forth and drove back their assailants, who were received in the rear by the forces of Agricola that were now near the gates.—*Utroque exercitu*. The ninth legion in the camp, and the troops that had come to their aid.—*Debellatum foret*. “The war would have been ended.”

CHAP. XXVII.—*Cujus constantia, &c.* “The army elated by the intrepidity and fame of this achievement.” Observe that *cujus* refers back to *victoria* in the previous chapter. Lipsius reads *conscientia* for *constantia*, on conjecture (a reading afterward actually found in one of the MSS.), and which Ernesti, Dronke, and others have adopted. This, however, as Walther correctly remarks, wants spirit.—*Inivium*. “Inaccessible.”—*Continuo cursu*. “By one continued career.”—*Modo cauti, &c.* Consult chap. xxv.

At Britanni, &c. “The Britons, however, thinking (that it had been brought about) not by valor, but (merely) by a fortunate concurrence of circumstances, and by the skill of the (Roman) commander.” After *rati* supply *evenisse*. Commentators generally think that there is something corrupt in this sentence, and propose various corrections. There is no need, however, of any alteration. The passage is merely an elliptical one, in full accordance with the wonted conciseness of Tacitus.—*Quo minus armarent*. “But armed.” More literally, “so as not to arm.”—*Atque ita irritatis, &c.* “And thus the parties separated with embittered feelings on both sides.”

CHAP. XXVIII.—*Cohors Usipiorum*. Compare chap. xxxii. of the *Germania*. This cohort was probably a part of the forces stationed by Agricola in what is now Kintyre, Carrick, and Galloway. It would appear from Dio Cassius (lxvi., 20), that the course of their circumnavigation was from west to east, that is, they set out from the western side of the island, and coast-

ing along all that part of Scotland, abounding in intricate and dangerous navigation, passed round by the north.—*Magnum ac memorabile facinus* “A daring and memorable enterprise.”

—*Exemplum et rectores habebantur*. “Served as a pattern, and (at the same time) as controllers of their conduct.”—*Liburnicas*. Supply *naves*, and compare notes on chap. ix. of the *Germania*.—*Adactis*. “Having been compelled to go on board.”—*Et uno remigrante*. “And one (of the three pilots) escaping.” Literally, “going back.” One of the MSS. has *repigante*, which Lallemand, Oberlin, and some others adopt; but this, as Walch remarks, is neither Latin nor sense. The Latin idiom requires *gubernante*, since we say of a pilot, *navem gubernare*, not *remigare*; and then, again, the words *uno remigrante* stand in almost direct contradiction to *amissis per inscitiam regendi navibus*.—*Rumore*. “The report of the affair,” *i. e.*, of their mutiny and flight.—*Ut miraculum prævehebantur*. “They were carried along (the coast) as a kind of prodigy.” Observe that *prævehebantur* is equivalent here to *prætervehebantur*. The inhabitants of the islands and shores on the west of Britain, along which the Usipii sailed, were astonished at the wonderful sight, and regarded it in the light of a prodigy.

Eo inopiæ. “To that degree of want.”—*Infirmos*. Strict classical usage would require the ablative with *vescerentur*. Compare *Zumpt*, § 466.—*Mox sorte ductos*. “And then upon those drawn by lot.”—*Atque ita circumvecti*, &c. After they had reached the northern extremity of Scotland, they passed through the Pentland Firth toward the east, sustaining new encounters with the inhabitants of Caithness, Sutherland, Murray, Buchan, &c. Dio mentions that they nearly lighted upon the Roman camp.—*Suevis*. We must suppose that, either when attempting to reach their native country by land, after having arrived on the German coast, or when endeavoring to work their way round on the wrecks of their vessels, they were intercepted by some Suevi, and these, in turn, were captured by some Frisian pirates.—*In nostram ripam*. The left bank of the Rhine is meant.—*Indicium tanti casus illustravit*. “The proof (thus afforded) of so extraordinary an adventure made objects of notoriety.”

CHAP. XXIX.—*Initio æstatis*. This was the commencement of a new summer, A.D. 84. The expression *eadem æstate* (chap. xxviii.) shows that Tacitus had finished his regular account of Agricola's proceedings during the previous year, and that the narrative of the adventures of the Usipii is to be looked upon as a kind of supplement. Some editors, however, supply *septimæ* here, which, when abbreviated into *vii.*, might be absorbed by the letters *VIT* at the close of the last chapter.—*Neque ambiciose tulit*. “He neither endured with an ostentatious firmness,” *i. e.*, he did not affect a stoical indifference in order to excite the admiration of others.—*Rursus*. “On the other hand.”—*Et in luctu*. Observe that *et* has here the force of *sed*. (*Bötticher, Lex. Tac.*, p. 178.)

Quæ. “In order that it.” Equivalent to *ut ea*, and hence followed by the subjunctive.—*Magnum et incertum terrorem*. “An extensive and du-

bious alarm." That is, the fleet would touch at many and various points and the foe would thus be left in uncertainty as to each successive place of attack.—*Exploratos*. "Those who had been tried," *i. e.*, whose allegiance had been tested.—*Montem Grampium*. In the ancient Scottish tongue this ridge was called *Grantzbain*, now the *Grampian Hills*.—*Fracti*. "Dispirited."—*Cruda ac viridis senectus*. "A hale and vigorous old age." Compare *Virg.*, *Æn.*, vi., 304.—*Sua decora*. "Their honorary distinctions," *i. e.*, the trophies won from enemies, not, as *Ernesti* thinks, the rewards they had received for their valor.—*Calgacus*. The more correct form of the name, as restored from MSS. The common text has *Galgacus*.

CHAP. XXX.—*Causas belli et necessitatem nostram*. "The causes of the war and our present necessity," *i. e.*, the motives that necessarily impel us to war.—*Magnus animus*. "A strong persuasion."—*Expertes*. "Free as yet." Supply *sumus*.—*Prælium atque arma*. "Battle and arms." By no means synonymous, as some suppose. *Prælium* marks the beginning of the conflict, and *arma* the maintaining of it gallantly by arms and prowess.—*Priores pugnæ*. In which *Calgacus* and his followers had taken no part. In ordinary prose the whole sentence would have run thus: "*Priorum pugnarum spes sita est in nostris manibus*," and the general idea is this: In all the battles which have hitherto been fought against the Romans, our countrymen may be deemed to have reposed their final hopes and security in us.—*Nobilissimi*. The Caledonians looked upon themselves as an indigenous race, and therefore styled themselves the noblest sons of Britain. Compare *Cæsar*, *B. G.*, vi., 12: "*Interior pars ab iis colitur, quos natos in insula ipsa memoriæ proditur*."—*In ipsis penetralibus*. "In its very inmost recesses." As in the *penetralia* of a dwelling all that was most valued was preserved, so here, in the very heart of Britain, in the very sanctuary, as it were, of the land, dwelt the noblest and bravest of her sons.

Recessus ipse ac sinus famæ, &c. "Our very remoteness, and the bosom of fame have, up to this day, defended." The expression *sinus famæ* is a poetical one, and means that the Caledonians are the cherished ones of Fame, whom she is rearing for future distinction. They have been hitherto *in sinu famæ conditi*, that is, screened from observation by the nursing bosom of Fame, until the day of maturity and glory, now near at hand, shall have arrived. Various other explanations have been given of this passage, but they are all unsatisfactory.—*Nunc terminus Britannia patet, &c.* The first part of the sentence, *terminus Britannia patet*, gives the reason why their remoteness of situation will no longer defend them; and the latter part, *omne ignotum pro magnifico est*, shows in like manner why their former fame will no longer preserve them from aggression; for the Romans, who, when at a distance, magnified their strength, from knowing little concerning it, will, now that they are near, conceive a less formidable opinion concerning it.

Sed nulla jam ultra gens, &c. The connecting idea between this and the previous sentence is purposely suppressed by the writer, from motives of brevity, and must be supplied by the reader: "Some one here may say

'Let us then ask the aid of other nations;' but there is now no nation beyond us.—*Et infestiores Romani*. "And (on the other side are) the Romans, more hostile (even than these)," *i. e.*, even than the waves and rocks.—*Raptores*. "The plunderers."—*Et mare*. "The ocean also."—*Opes atque inopiam*. "Wealth and indigence," *i. e.*, wealthy and indigent communities. Equivalent to *opulentos atque inopes*.—*Imperium*. "Empire."

CHAP. XXXI.—*Hi per delectus*, &c. Britons are traced in Illyricum, Gaul, Spain, and elsewhere. So we find Sigambri in Thrace (*Ann.*, iv., 47), and Ligurians in Numidia (*Sall.*, *Jug.*, 100).—*Bona fortunasque in tributum egerunt*, &c. "They consume our goods and property in taxes, the produce of year after year in contributions of corn." We must not confound *egērent* here (from *egero*) with *egērunt* (from *ago*), as some have very strangely done. As regards the force of *egerunt* here, compare *Quintil.*, *Declam.*, v., 17: "*Census in exsequias egerere*," and consult *Walch*, *ad loc.*—*Annos*. Employed here for *proventus annorum*.—*Silvis ac paludibus emuniendis*. "In making roads through woods and over marshes." *Munire* is used properly when a piece of work is performed by a number of persons, to each of whom a portion is allotted. The root is the same as in *munus*, "a task." Hence *munire viam* is not "to fortify a road," but simply "to make one."—*Verbera inter ac contumelias*. Observe the anastrophe of the preposition here, after the manner of the poets, an arrangement admitted also, though less frequently, by other writers besides Tacitus, but chiefly, like him, of the silver age. So we have "*insulam inter Germanosque*" (*Hist.*, v., 19): "*ripam ad Euphratis*" (*Ann.*, vi., 37): "*hostem propter*" (*Ann.*, iv., 48).

~~+~~ *Britannia servitutum suam*, &c. Namely, by paying tribute, and supplying the Roman armies with food. *Pascere* is properly used with reference to cattle.—*Et conservis*. Observe that *et* has here the force of *etiam*, which some give as a reading.—*In hoc orbis terrarum vetere famulatu*. "In this old slave-service of the world," *i. e.*, amid the troop of nations subjected from of old to the Roman power.—*Novi nos et viles*. Equivalent to *nos tamquam novi et viles*.—*Quibus exercendis reservemur*. "For bestowing our labors upon which we may be reserved." We have given *exercendis* here a general signification, which suits equally well all three nouns that precede. In strictness, however, there is a zeugma in the term, since *exercendis* properly applies only to *arva* and *metalla*, "the working of fields and mines," while in connection with *portus* it refers to the collection of customs and port-duties for the benefit of others.

Brigantes, femina duce, &c. Camden substituted *Trinobantes* here for *Brigantes*, from Dio Cassius (lxii., 1), and *Ann.*, xiv., 31; and in this he has been followed by several editors. But the alteration is unnecessary. The insurrection of the Britons against Suetonius Paulinus began with the Iceni, and their queen Boadicea. With the Iceni were united the Trinobantes, *et qui alii, nondum servitio fracti, resumere libertatem occultis conjurationibus pepigerant* (*Ann.*, xiv., 31). By these we can not well understand the Silures, in whose territory Suetonius was posted; and accordingly we

must look to the northern tribes above the Iceni. The wide extent of the Brigantes, the loose connection of some of the tribes with their queen, Cartimandua, and their fondness for warlike adventures, render it not unlikely that some of the southern divisions of this race took part in the insurrection of their neighbors.

Et libertatem non in præsentia laturi. "And who have not now, for the first time, to win our freedom." The words *libertatem laturi* are to be explained in the sense of carrying off a prize. Compare "*plus flagitii et periculi laturus*" (*Ann.*, vi., 34), and *οἰσόμενοι δόξαν* (*Thucyd.*, ii., 12).—*Non ostendamus.* The employment of *non* for *nonne* is not unfrequent. Compare *Cic. in Verr.*, iv., 7: "*Quis vestrum igitur nescit, quanti hæc æstimentur? In auctione signum æneum non magnum HS. CXX. millibus venire non vidimus?*" and *Virg.*, *Æn.*, ix., 144: "*At non viderunt mœnia Trojæ, Neptuni fabricata manu, considerare in ignes?*"—*Seposuerit.* "Has reserved (for her defence)."

CHAP. XXXII.—*Lasciviam.* "Dissoluteness."—*Vitia.* "The faults."—*Diversissimis gentibus.* As, for example, the Britanni, Batavi, Tungri, Galli, Itali, &c. Compare chapters xiii., and xxxvi.—*Nisi si.* Consult note on "*nisi si patria sit*," chap. ii. of the *Germania*.—*Pudet dictu.* Instead of *puget dicere*.—*Licet dominationi alienæ, &c.* "Although they afford their blood unto a foreign dominion, yet for a longer period its foes than its subjects," *i. e.*, although they are now shedding their blood in support of a foreign yoke, &c. Observe that *commodare* has here its proper signification, namely, "*in gratiam alicujus aliquid præbere*," and consult *Bötticher, Lex. Tac.*, s. v.—*Metus et terror est, &c.* "It is fear and terror (that retains them), feeble bonds of attachment," *i. e.*, that retains them in loyalty and affection (*fide et affectu tenet*).

Aut nulla plerisque patria, aut alia est. "Most of them have either no country, or else a different one from this," *i. e.*, one far away. The meaning is as follows: the greater part are either the betrayers of their country, as the Britanni; or are fighting in a foreign land, as the Batavi, Tungri, Galli, &c.—*Circum trepidos ignorantia.* Some editors take *circum trepidos* here to be equivalent to *circum trepidantes*, or *trepide circum vagantes*, while others strike out *circum*. But this last would be equivalent to saying, *qui non solum omnino trepidi sunt ignorantia, verum etiam ignorant, quæ in cælo, &c., appareant.* Most probably some such word as *locorum, viarum, or regionum* has been lost before *circum*, and *circum* must then be taken as in *Ann.*, xii., 55: "*Duri circum loci.*" The words may then be translated, "dismayed through their ignorance of the surrounding country."

Nostras manus. "Our own bands," *i. e.*, numbers ready to unite with us. He alludes not merely to the Britons, but to the Gauls also, and the Germans.—*Tamquam nuper Usipii, &c.* Compare chap. xxviii.—*Senum coloniarum.* Only one colony is, in fact, meant. Consult note on "*trucidati veterani, incensæ coloniarum*," chap. v.—*Ægra et discordantia.* "Disaffected and distracted."—*Hic dux, hic exercitus.* "Here there is a leader, here an army."

i. e., here on our side. *Ibi*, in the next clause, means on the side of the Romans, where tributes, working in mines, &c., await the Britons if vanquished. Compare Wex: "*Hic exercitus estis cum duce; hinc si fugeritis, servi eritis, ad poenas damnati et nullo in numero habiti.*"—*In hoc campo est.* "Depends upon this field," *i. e.*, upon your exertions in the coming fight.

CHAP. XXXIII.—*Excepere orationem.* "They received this harangue. The verb *excipere* is used in the same manner by Livy (xxiv., 31): "*Exceptus clamor ab aliis.*" Compare also *Ann.*, ii., 38: "*Hæc plures per silentium aut occultum murmur excepere.*"—*Et barbari moris.* "And, as is the custom of barbarians." Supply *ut est*. Some editions have *ut barbari moris*, but this can only refer back to *alacres*, and such a general assertion, as Ritter remarks, would be untrue, since in some cases the harangue of a leader would be listened to with dejected feelings.—*Jamque agmina.* Supply *apparebant*.—*Audentissimi cujusque præcurso.* "Through the hurrying to the front on the part of each most daring one." This assigns the reason why the *armorum fulgores* were seen, and there ought, therefore, as Walch remarks, to be a comma after *agmina*.—*Instruebatur acies.* "The army (of the Caledonians) was being drawn up in line."—*Coercitum.* "Capable of being restrained." This has here the force of an adjective in *ilis*. So, "*Genus mobile, infidum, neque beneficio neque metu coercitum.*" (*Sall.*, *Jug.*, 91.)

Militem adhortatus. This perfect participle is in meaning equivalent to a present participle. Compare *Hist.*, ii., 96, "*insectatus*," *Ann.*, i., 40, "*complexus*," &c. Grammarians call this usage the employing of the perfect participle *ὑποπίπτως*, or indefinitely.—*Octavus annus est.* It was, in fact, only the seventh summer since he had arrived in Britain. But he probably includes the year 77, in which he was appointed governor, though he did not arrive in Britain till A.D. 78. It is possible, however, that *octavus* (viii.) may be a mistake of the copyist for *septimus* (vii.).—*Virtute et auspiciis imperii Romani*," &c. "Through the energy and auspices of the Roman empire, you have by your fidelity and perseverance been conquering Britain."

Veterum legatorum. For *priorum legatorum*.—*Terminos.* Governed by *egressi*.—*Non fama nec rumore.* "Not by widely disseminated accounts nor by mere uncertain rumor." For the distinction between *fama* and *rumor*, consult *Doederlein*, *Lat. Syn.*, v., p. 233.—*Et vota virtusque in aperto.* "And your wishes and your valor have now free scope."—*Silvas evasisse.* "The having made our way through forests."—*Pulchrum ac decorum in frontem.* "Is glorious and full of honor to an army marching against the foe." *Frons* is here equivalent to "*acies, quæ adversus hostem progreditur*" (*Veget.*, iii., 14); and *pulchrum in frontem* is for *pulchrum fronti*. The common form of expression in Latin is *pulchrum, jucundum, gratum mihi*, but Tacitus uses "*grata in vulgus*" (*Ann.*, ii., 59). So other writers say, "*dissimilis alicui*," but Tacitus has "*haud dissimili in dominum*" (*Ann.*, ii., 39).

Jam pridem mihi decretum est. "I have long since come to the conclusion." *i. e.*, it has long been a principle of action with me.—*Neque exercitus,*

neque ducis terga tuta esse. Compare *Xen., Cyrop.*, i., 3: Μωρόν γὰρ τὸ κρατεῖν βουλομένους τὰ τυφλὰ τοῦ σώματος, καὶ ἄσπλα, καὶ ἄχειρα, ταῦτα ἐναντία τάττειν τοῖς πολεμίοις φεύγοντας.

CHAP. XXXIV.—*Constitisset.* “Had been standing in array (against you),” *i. e.*, were now standing.—*Nunc.* “As matters now are, however.”—*Decora.* “The military honors you have won.”—*Furto noctis.* “Under the stealthy covering of the night.”—*Clamore.* “By a mere shout.”—*Et ceterorum Britannorum fugacissimi.* “These, in respect of the rest of the Britons, the greatest fugitives of all.” Observe here the peculiar and apparently illogical construction of *ceterorum* with the superlative, and which we have endeavored to soften down in translating. It is in fact, however, a Greek idiom imitated in Latin. Thus we have (*Soph., Ant.*, 100), κάλλιστον τῶν προτέρων φάος: and (*Thucyd.*, i., 1), ἀξιολογώτατον τῶν προγεγενημένων πολέμων, &c. Compare *Wex, ad loc.*

Fortissimum quodque animal robore, &c. “Each fiercest animal is laid low by the strength, the timorous and weak ones are put to flight by the very noise of the band; so,” &c. There is a species of zeugma here, and with *robore* we must supply *pellitur*, in the sense of *cæditur*. The old reading in this passage was *ruere*, for which we have given *robore*, which seems to be called for by the very opposition indicated by *sono*.—*Reliquus est numerus,* &c. “There remains only a number of cowardly and timid men, who, as regards your having at length found them, have not opposed you, but have (merely) been overtaken because they were the last,” *i. e.*, whom you have found at last, not because they opposed you, but because, being the last, they have been overtaken and caught by you. The expression *quos quod tandem invenistis non restiterunt* is an imitation of the Greek idiom, for *qui, quod tandem invenistis eos, non restiterunt*.

In his vestigiis. “In this place where they are standing.”—*In quibus ederetis.* “In order that you might, in this same place, show forth unto the world.” Equivalent to *ut in iis (i. e., vestigiis) ederetis*.—*Transigite cum expeditionibus.* “Bring (now) your expeditions to a close,” *i. e.*, complete them. Compare *Germ.*, chap. lx.: “*Cum spe votoque uxoris semel transigitur.*”—*Imponite quinquaginta annis magnum diem.* “Crown the fifty years with one glorious day.” He is speaking in round numbers; from the expedition of A. Plautius it was only forty-two years.—*Approbate reipublicæ.* “Prove to your countrymen.”

CHAP. XXXV.—*Et alloquente adhuc Agricola.* “Both while Agricola was yet addressing them.”—*Instinctos.* Compare chap. xvi.: “*His atque talibus invicem instincti.*”—*Mediam aciem firmarent.* “Formed a strong centre.” *Firmarent* is here equivalent to *firmando formarent*. Under the expression *mediam aciem* Tacitus includes all the infantry between the two bodies of cavalry.—*Cornibus affunderentur.* “Were poured upon the wings,” *i. e.*, were spread out and formed the wings.—*Pro vallo.* “Before the intrenchments,” *i. e.*, in the rear of the auxiliaries. Some make *pro vallo* mean

here "on the rampart," but this is justly condemned by Wex, who remarks, "*At totæ legiones non possunt in vallo stare, sed ante vallum illæ steterunt.*"—*Ingens . . . decus . . . bellanti.* Equivalent to *ingens duci decus si bellaret.*—*Citra Romanum sanguinem.* "Without any effusion of Roman blood."

Ut primum agmen æquo, &c. "That the first line stood upon the plain, the others, as if linked together, rose one above the other along the ascent of the mountain."—*Media campi.* "The intervening space (between the two armies)." The space between the van of the Caledonians and the Roman line.—*Covinarius.* "The charioteers." Singular for the plural, as in *eques* immediately after. *Covinarius* signifies the driver of a *covinus* (Celtic *Kowain*), a kind of car, the spokes of which were armed with long sickles, and which was used as a war chariot chiefly by the ancient Belgians and Britons.—*Eques.* The cavalry of the Britons is meant (for they had both charioteers and horse), not that of the Romans.

Simul et latera. Gesner, without any necessity, reads *et in latera.* The preposition is understood.—*Diductis ordinibus.* "Having extended his ranks." Compare *Duker, ad Liv., v., 28.*—*Porrector.* "More drawn out," *i. e.*, weaker.—*Promptior in spem.* Tacitus also uses *promptior alicui.* Thus, *Ann., iv., 60:* "*Mater promptior Neroni erat.*" Older writers commonly have *promptus ad aliquid.*—*Pedes ante vexilla constitit.* "He took his station on foot before the ensigns."

CHAP. XXXVI.—*Constantia.* "With steadiness."—*Arte.* "With dexterity."—*Ingentibus gladiis, &c.* "With huge swords and short targets." These targets (*cetræ*) were small and round, and made of the hide of a quadruped. The broad-sword and target long remained, even in modern times, the peculiar arms of the Scottish Highlanders.—*Excutere.* "Struck aside." According to Vegetius (*i., 4*), the Roman recruit was instructed "*plagam prudenter evitare, et obliquis ictibus venientia tela deflectere.*" This is what Tacitus expresses here by the words *evitare* and *excutere.*

Ad mucrones ac manūs. "To the sword-point and a hand-to-hand fight." The Britons struck with the edge of their swords (*cæsım*); the Romans, on the contrary, and the allies that were armed after the Roman fashion, used their shorter weapons for both cutting and thrusting (*cæsım et punctım*). On the present occasion, the Batavi and Tungri were ordered to rush into close quarters and employ the thrust, which would place their opponents completely at their mercy. Compare *Vegetius, i., 12,* and *Brotier, ad loc.*—*Quod et ipsis, &c.* "A movement that was both familiar unto themselves, from long experience in warfare, and embarrassing to the foe," &c. The small shields of the Caledonians did not cover their bodies, and their huge swords, moreover, were not easily wielded at close quarters.—*Complexum armorum, &c.* "The thrusts of the Roman weapons, and a close fight." According to Ernesti, *complexus armorum* is "*pugna quæ fit cominus et conserendis manibus.*" Brotier also understands it in this sense, making it equivalent to the French "*la mêlée.*" If, however, this interpretation were correct, *complexus armorum* would have the same meaning as *in arcto pugna,*

which immediately follows, that is, *pugna cominus*. But as *in arcto pugnam* refers, apparently, to *manus* preceding (*ut rem ad mucrones ac manus adducerent*), so *complexus* may refer to *mucrones*, and it will then merely mean the blows or thrusts of the Roman weapons.

Miscere ictus, ferire umbonibus, &c. Observe the air of rapidity and animation which the succession of infinitives imparts to the narration.—*Erigere aciem*. Consult note on “*erexit aciem*,” chap. xviii.—*Æmulatione et impetu*. “Through emulation of their example, and their own native impetuosity.”—*Festinatione victoriæ*. “In their eager pursuit of victory.” Observe that *festinatio* here follows the active meaning, which *festino* and *propereo* nearly always have in Tacitus. Compare *Ann.*, xiii., 17; *Hist.*, iii., 25.

Equitum turmæ fugere. This is the reading of all the early editions. Many editors have suspected the text of being corrupt, and have indulged in various emendations, all of which are perfectly unnecessary. By *equitum* Tacitus means the cavalry of the Britons put to flight by the Romans, and the expression *turmæ*, which has misled so many commentators, may be applied to the British as well as to the Roman horse. Thus Tacitus elsewhere (*Ann.*, xiv., 34) writes, “*Britannorum copiæ passim per catervas et turmas exsultabant*.”

Covinariii peditum se prælio miscuere. While the cavalry of the Caledonians, on their defeat by the Roman horse, fled from the scene of action, the charioteers, in like manner repulsed, retreated to their own infantry. By *peditum*, therefore, the Caledonian foot-soldiers are meant, not, as some think, the Roman.—*Densis tamen hostium agminibus, &c.* “Were now, however, entangled among the crowded bands of the enemy, and the inequalities of the ground.” By *hostium* are here meant the Caledonians themselves, not the Romans. On retreating to their own infantry, the charioteers, who had occasioned some consternation by their first shock, now became of little, if any service; for the crowded bands of their own countrymen, already thrown into confusion by the charge of the Batavians and Tungri, as well as the inequalities of the ground, since the Romans were now making their way up the acclivity, prevented them from using their chariots freely.

Minimeque equestris, &c. The true reading of this passage is extremely uncertain. The one which we have given is adopted by Brotier and others, and appears to give the best sense. When the charioteers had reached their own infantry, and were struggling with their vehicles in the midst of this disorderly throng, the confused appearance thus presented was very different, according to our author, from that which a battle of horse usually presents; for, keeping their footing with difficulty on the declivity, they were every moment either impelled downward by the mere weight of the bodies of the horses, or were dragged about by the affrighted steeds in utter disorder, encountering friends and foes alike.

CHAP. XXXVII.—*Vacui spernebant*. “Were regarding with contempt while thus disengaged.” Observe that *vacui* gets its force here from *pugnæ expertes*, which precedes. Some, less correctly, give it the meaning of “free

from apprehension.”—*Ni id ipsum veritus Agricola, &c.* “(And they would have accomplished their object), had not Agricola, having apprehended this very movement,” &c. As regards the elliptical usage of *ni* here, compare note on *agitasse C. Cæsarem, &c.*, chap. xiii.—*Ad subita belli retentas.* “Held in reserve for the sudden emergencies of battle.”—*Accurrerant.* Dronke writes *accucurrerant.* The reduplicated form, however, occurs only once in Tacitus, in *decucurrit* (*Ann.*, ii., 7).—*Transvectæque præcepto ducis, &c.* “And the squadrons having then, by order of the general, been moved across the field from the front of the battle,” &c., *i. e.*, having been ordered to wheel from the front.

Tum vero patentibus locis, &c. Imitated from Sallust (*Jug.*, 101), “*Tum spectaculum horribile campis patentibus,*” &c. Observe the animated effect produced in both passages by the series of historical infinitives, and the omission of the connecting conjunction.—*Eosdem, oblati aliis, trucidare.* “Slaughtered these same, as others came in their way.” More literally, “as others offered themselves.” By *eosdem* are meant those who had been taken.—*Catervæ.* “Crowds.”—*Inermes.* “Though unarmed.”—*Est aliquando.* “At times.” An imitation of the Greek *ἔστιν ὄτε*. An inferior reading is *et aliquando*.—*Ira virtusque.* Supply *erant*.

Quodni frequens ubique, &c. “And had not Agricola, who was every where present, ordered some strong and lightly-equipped cohorts to encompass the ground after the manner of a hunting-circle, and, if any where there were thickets, a part of his cavalry to dismount and make their way through these, and, at the same time, another part on horseback to scour the more open woods, some disaster would have been encountered through excess of confidence.” Observe the zeugma in *persultare*, by which the verb acquires three different meanings in three successive clauses.—*Indaginis modo.* The term *indago* refers to that mode of hunting in which the hunters formed a complete circle round a large space of ground; and, gradually contracting it, drove all the animals together into the centre, where they fell an easy prey to their darts.—*Sicubi arctiora erant.* Supply *loca*.

Compositos firmis ordinibus. “Arranged in close order.”—*Agminibus.* “In bands.”—*Vitabundi invicem.* “Mutually avoiding each other.”—*Satietas.* “Satiety (of slaughter).” We may supply *cædendi*.—*Sexaginta.* Some editions have *quadraginta*. The change is very slight, XL for LX—*Ferocia.* “The impetuosity.”

CHAP. XXXVIII.—*Gaudio prædaque læta victoribus.* “Was rendered gladsome to the victors by the joy of success and by plunder.”—*Miscere . . . separare.* “They arranged some plans together, then deliberated by themselves.” Tacitus means, that sometimes they conferred together; and again, at other times, deliberated with themselves, and consulted for their individual safety. With *separare* supply *alia, i. e., consilia*.—*Frangi aspectu pignorum suorum.* “Were broken down in spirit at the sight of their pledges of affection,” *i. e.*, their wives and little ones.—*Concitari.* “Were roused to fury.”—*Sævisse in.* “Laid violent hands upon.”

Secreti colles. "Deserted hills." Compare "*secretum maris*" (chapter xxv.): "*longinquitas et secretum*" (chap. xxxi.).—*Ubi incerta fugæ vestigia, &c.* "When it was ascertained that the tracks of flight were all uncertain," &c.—*Spargi bellum nequibat.* "The war could not well be spread (throughout the country)."—*Horestorum.* Richard of Cirencester places the tribe of the Horesti in the peninsula of Fife. All that appears with regard to their situation from the narrative of Tacitus is, that they lay somewhere between the Grampian Hills and the previously conquered nations to the south of the Forth.—*Circumvehi Britanniam.* This was more for the sake of conquest than of discovery. Hence the expression employed immediately after, *datæ ad id vires*, "a sufficient force was given him for that purpose."

Ipsa transitus mora. "By the very slowness of his march through them."—*Secunda tempestate ac fama.* "With favorable weather and fame," *i. e.*, both favored by prosperous gales, and bearing along with it the fame of the Roman arms.—*Trutulensem portum.* Where this harbor was is not known. Brotier seeks to identify it with the *portus Rutupinus* or *Rutupensis*, the modern Sandwich; others with Portsmouth or Plymouth; but Mannert's opinion is probably the true one, that it was near the Firth of Tay, and that the fleet only sailed along enough of the coast to prove that Britain was an island. (*Mannert, Geogr.*, ii., p. 67.)

CHAP. XXXIX.—*Nulla verborum jactantia auctum.* "Unadorned by any pomp of words." We have given *auctum*, with Ritter, Wex, and others, the very happy emendation of Lipsius, instead of *actum*, the reading of the common text. The Latinity of such an expression as *rerum cursum epistolis agere* is extremely doubtful.—*Inerat conscientia.* "He was conscious." More literally, "there was in (his bosom) a consciousness."—*Falsum e Germania triumphum.* This refers to his first fictitious triumph over the Catti, in A.D. 84. After this, in the following year, he triumphed over the Daci, Marcomanni, and Quadi.—*Emtis per commercia, &c.* He purchased a number of slaves, and attired them like Germans, having also caused their hair to be dyed in imitation of the ruddy locks of that nation, and then paraded them in triumph through the streets of Rome as so many real captives. Caligula had set him the example. (*Suet., Cal.*, 47.)

Id sibi maxime formidolosum. Supply *putabat* or *existimabat* from *inerat conscientia*. Observe, moreover, that *formidolosum* is here passive, "to be apprehended."—*Frustra studia fori, &c.* Domitian thought that it was of no use for him to have put an end to the study of eloquence and polite literature, and to have banished those who excelled in such pursuits (compare chap. ii.), if some one should obtain popularity by his success in war.—*Et cetera utcunque facilius, &c.* "That all other accomplishments, moreover, whether more or less easily, are capable of being concealed from view (by their possessor); that the talents of an able commander, (however), form an attribute of empire." More literally, "are imperial," *i. e.*, mark their possessor as a fit individual to attain unto empire. In earlier Latinity, the

clause would have run as follows: *et cetera, utcunq̄ue sit, facilius dissimulari.*

Quodque sævæ cogitationis indicium erat, &c. “And, what was a sure indication of some malignant intent, having brooded over them for a long time in his wonted privacy.” More literally, “having sated himself with his wonted privacy.” The allusion is to that love of solitude which became the most confirmed of all the habits of Domitian, and in which he indulged either for the purpose of plotting mischief against others, or of gratifying his own vicious propensities. Compare *Suet., Dom., 3.—Impetus famæ.* “The first impulse of public opinion.”—*Britanniam obtinebat.* “Held the command of Britain.”

CHAP. XL.—*Triumphalia ornamenta.* Since A.U.C. 735, after Agrippa's victory over the Cantabri, the honor of the triumph itself belonged to the emperor and to the princes of the imperial family. Other generals were forced to be contented with the mere insignia of the triumph, namely, the bay chaplet, the toga prætexta, the trabea triumphalis, triumphal statue (*illustris*), curule chair, ivory sceptre, &c. In the expression *quidquid pro triumpho datur* are included public sacrifices and thanksgivings.—*Multo verborum honore cumulata.* “Loaded with much complimentary language,” *i. e.*, together with a profusion of complimentary expressions.—*Additque insuper opinionem.* “And he causes, also, the expectation to be entertained.” The common text has *addique*, for which we have given the emendation of Murætus, which has been adopted by Ernesti, the Bipont editor, Oberlin, Bekker, and many others.—*Majoribus.* “For persons of more than ordinary distinction.” Equivalent here to *illustrioribus.* Compare *minores* in *Ann.*, xvi., 8; *Hist.*, iv., 85. The province of Syria embraced a very large portion of the East, and formed one of the most important and opulent of foreign commands.

Ex secretioribus ministeriis. “Of the number of those employed in confidential services.”—*Codicillos.* “Letters patent.” Literally, “tablets.” These were secured with a thread and seal, thus forming in the present instance an imperial dispatch.—*Ut si in Britannia foret, &c.* Agricola was immediately recalled; but the suspicious Domitian feared that he might maintain his post by force; and the senator, his confidential agent with letters patent, conferring on him the government of Syria, was merely a device to draw him away from Britain. If Agricola were already on his way to Rome, that would be unnecessary; and, accordingly, the freedman, meeting Agricola on his journey, returned to Rome without delivering the letters.—*In ipso freto oceani.* The Straits of Dover.—*Ex ingenio principis.* “In accordance with the character of the prince.”

Successori suo. The successor of Agricola was probably Sallustius Lucullus, who, as Suetonius informs us, was put to death by Domitian for permitting certain lances of a new construction to be called “Lucullean.” (*Suet., Dom., 10.*) The possession of the Highlands was lost after Agricola was recalled.—*Ac ne notabilis celebritate, &c.* “And lest his entrance into

the city might be too conspicuous through the rank and numbers of those going out to meet him."—*Amicorum officio*. "The salutation of his friends."—*Brevi osculo*. "With a slight kiss." To salute with a kiss was an ordinary custom, on the part of both sexes, among the Romans. The warmer the friendship, the heartier, of course, was the salutation. Under the emperors the custom still continued, and the prince was wont to receive with a kiss the more distinguished of those who sought an audience. This, however, soon became the *breve osculum*, or slight ceremonious salutation, amounting to a mere matter of form; and in some cases even this was not given.—*Turbæ servientium*. "With the servile throng," *i. e.*, of courtiers, &c.

Ut militare nomen temperaret. "That he might soften down the glare of military reputation."—*Otiosos*. "Those who lead lives of inaction." As *otium* is commonly used in opposition to *bellum*, so by *otiosi* here are meant the mere men of peace, if we may so express it, or, in other words, mere civilians.—*Tranquillitatem atque otium penitus auxit*. "He gave himself wholly up to tranquillity and inaction," *i. e.*, to a life of tranquil ease.—*Cultu*. "In his mode of life." *Cultus* here has a general reference, and is not to be restricted to mere attire.—*Facilis*. "Affable."—*Uno aut altero amicorum comitatus*. "Accompanied by one or two friends." *Comitatus* is here used passively, as in Cicero, *De Or.*, iii., 6: "*Eodem est instructu ornataque comitata*."—*Per ambitionem*. "By the appearance which they make in public." Compare the explanation of Brotier: "*Ex vitæ splendore et numero comitatu*."—*Quærent famam*. "Called in question his renown," *i. e.*, missed the splendor and display which they had looked for in one so renowned, and therefore began to doubt the very existence of that renown itself.—*Pauci interpretarentur*. "Few could interpret his conduct," *i. e.*, few understood his motives.

CHAP. XLI.—*Crebro per eos dies, &c.* Among the enemies of Agricola may be mentioned M. Regulus, Veiento, and Publius Certus. Their accusations were made in secret, and hence *absens accusatus*. Domitian himself, however, felt the gross injustice of these charges, and therefore acquitted Agricola at once, without either notifying him of these accusations or calling upon him for any defence; and hence *absens absolutus est*.—*Crimen*. "Crime against the state."—*Læsæ injusquam*. "From any private individual who had been injured by him."—*Laudantes*. "Eulogizers." Every word of praise bestowed upon Agricola would excite, of course, the jealousy of the tyrant.

Sileri. "To be passed over in silence."—*Tot exercitus, &c.* This refers to the wars with the Daci, Marcomanni, and Quadi, in the years 86–91, which ended with Domitian's second mock-triumph. The Romans, however, were in fact defeated, and Domitian was obliged to conclude peace with Decebalus, king of the Daci, on very humiliating terms.—*Tot militares viri, &c.* "So many men of military character, together with so many cohorts, defeated and taken prisoners." Compare *Lucret.*, iv., 1008: "*Reges expugnare*;" and *Liv.*, xxiii., 30: "*Obsessos fame expugnavit*."—*De limite*

imperii. This, in all probability, must be looked for in the line of Roman forts still visible between *Peterwardein* and *Becs*, on the *Teis*. Compare *Mannert*, iv., p. 170.—*Ripa*. The right bank of the Danube, as far as the *Quadi* and *Marcomanni*.

Funeribus et cladibus. “By losses of leaders and overthrows of armies.” *Funeribus* refers back to the *militares viri* previously mentioned, and *cladibus* to the forces under their charge.—*Cum inertia et formidine reorum*. “With the indolence and pusillanimity of those who were now accused (of incapacity),” *i. e.*, by the voice of the people. *Reorum* here is a conjectural reading; the MSS. have *eorum*. The term *reus* is frequently used, not merely in a strictly legal sense, in opposition to *accusator*, *petitor*, *actor*, but with a more extended meaning. (*Walch, ad loc.*)

Dum optimus quisque libertorum, &c. “While each best one of his freedmen, through affection and fidelity, the worst through malignity and envy, kept urging (to the choice) a prince prone of himself to follow the worse advisers.” *Dum* is more usually followed by the present tense; but there is nothing in the conjunction itself which necessarily requires this, and the imperfect, as here, is sometimes found with it.—*In ipsam gloriam præceps agebatur*. The idea intended to be conveyed by these words is, that *Agricola's* virtues, which were maliciously magnified by his enemies, raised his reputation and glory; but that this very glory was the cause of his ruin.

CHAP. XLII.—*Quo proconsulatum Asiæ, &c.* “In which he was to draw lots for the proconsulate of Asia and Africa.” *Et* has here, in fact, a disjunctive force, two distinct proconsulates being made the subject of lot, and the two senior consulars casting lots for the same. Some editors have conjectured *aut* for *et*, but this is unnecessary, since both provinces were, in fact, equally drawn for.—*Occiso Civica*. The reference is to *Civica Cerealis*, who, according to *Suetonius* (*Dom.*, 10), was put to death in his proconsulate of Asia, on the charge of meditating a revolt.—*Consilium*. “A lesson,” *i. e.*, a warning.—*Exemplum*. “A precedent.”

Cogitationum principis periti. “Well acquainted with the secret intentions of the prince,” *i. e.*, his wish that *Agricola* should not accept the foreign government, and his intention to prevent him.—*Occultius*. “Somewhat distantly.”—*In approbanda excusatione*. “In making good his excuse (to the emperor),” *i. e.*, his excuse for not accepting the proconsulate.—*Non jam obscuri*. This is a correction for *non tam obscuri*, and answers infinitely better to *primo occultius*. Besides, *ita*, not *tam*, would be required.—*Paratus simulatione, &c.* “Prepared with hypocrisy, having assumed a stately air.” Compare *Cic.*, *ad Att.*, ix., 13: “*paratus peditatu.*”—*Agi sibi gratias passus est*. Obliging persons to return thanks for an injury was a refinement in tyranny frequently practiced by the worst of the Roman emperors.—*Nec erubuit beneficii invidia*. “Nor did he blush at the invidious nature of the favor,” *i. e.*, nor did he blush with shame that *Agricola* should be made to receive as a favor so marked an injury. Observe that *invidia* is here put for *res invidiosa*.

Salarium. This was an allowance for the maintenance of the governor. The word is derived from *sal*, meaning, properly, money given for the purchase of salt. Compare Horace (*Sat.*, i., 5, 46): "*Parochi præbent ligna salemque quæ debent.*" It was first granted by Augustus, and amounted sometimes to two hundred and fifty thousand drachmæ, or over forty thousand dollars. During the empire we find instances of the *salarium* being paid to a person who had obtained a province, but was nevertheless not allowed to govern it. In this case the *salarium* was a compensation for the honor and advantages which he might have derived from the actual government of a province. Agricola's case would fall under this head.—*Ne quod vetuerat videretur emisse.* "Lest he might seem to have purchased what he had forbidden," *i. e.*, lest it might seem a bribe for what he had in reality extorted by his authority.

Proprium humani ingenii est. "It is a principle of human nature."—*Irrevocabilius.* "More implacable." Equivalent to *implacabilius*, a use of the term hardly found in any other writer (*Bötticher, Lex. Tac.*, p. 277).—*Sciant, quibus moris est, &c.* "Let those know whose custom it is to admire unlawful things," *i. e.*, to admire every opposition to control. *Illicita* here refers to the *contumacia* and *inanis libertutis jactatio*, frequently assumed by Stoics in those times; as, for example, when Helvidius Priscus openly celebrated the birth-day of Brutus and Cassius. Consult *Dio Cassius*, lxi., 12, 13, 15.—*Eo laudis excedere, &c.* "Attain unto the same degree of praise as that to which many, through abrupt and dangerous paths, but without any benefit to their country, have brilliantly attained by an ambitious death." Observe that *inclaruerunt* is equivalent here to *clarescentes pervenerunt*. By *abrupta* is meant what Tacitus elsewhere (*Ann.*, iv., 20) calls *abrupta contumacia*, opposed to *deforme obsequium*.

CHAP. XLIII.—*Finis vitæ, &c.* The death of Agricola was, as his biographer plainly hints in what follows, either immediately caused or certainly hastened by the emissaries of Domitian, who could not bear the presence of a man pointed out by universal feeling as alone fit to meet the exigency of times in which the Roman arms had suffered repeated reverses in Germany and the countries north of the Danube. *Dio Cassius* (lxi., 20) says expressly that he was killed by Domitian.—*Extraneis etiam, &c.* The epigram of Antiphilus (*Anthol. Brunck*, ii., 180) is commonly supposed to refer to him.—*Vulgus quoque, &c.* "The common people too, and that same populace who are in general indifferent about the affairs of others." *Populus* enlarges here on *vulgus*, and the expression *hic aliud agens populus* is employed to delineate more closely the character of the lower classes. These were now, contrary to their usual habits, deeply interested in the situation of Agricola. Compare *Wex, ad loc.*: "*Hoc loco aliud agens adjectiva naturam habet: incuriosus, gleichgültig, gedankenlos, theilnahmlös, nihil curans res, quæ dignæ sunt, ad quas animos advertant.*"

Nobis nihil comperti, &c. "For my own part, I can not venture to affirm that any thing has been found by us for certain." Supply *esse* after *nihil*

comperti, and refer *nobis* to the family and friends of Agricola. The clause is very obscurely worded, so much so, indeed, as to lead to the suspicion that the text has been corrupted. Various emendations, therefore, have been suggested by different editors, but all more or less unsatisfactory.—*Crebrius quam ex more, &c.* “More frequently than accords with the custom of sovereigns, who pay visits merely by formal messages.” Literally, “the custom of sovereignty, visiting by means of messages.”—*Medicorum intimi.* “The most confidential of the physicians (of the palace).”—*Inquisitio.* “A prying (into the progress of his disorder).”

Momenta deficientis. “The successive moments of the sinking man,” *i. e.*, the successive stages of the death-struggle. Compare Bötticher: “*die Stadien des Todeskampfes.*”—*Per dispositos cursores.* It appears that Domitian was at this time at his Alban villa, or certainly absent somewhere from Rome.—*Sic accelerari quæ tristis audiret.* “That tidings which he could hear with sadness were thus accelerated,” *i. e.*, that so much pains were taken to accelerate information which could prove other than acceptable.—*Cohæredem optimæ uxori, &c.* This, of course, would be the best way of securing to his family a portion of his property. Compare *Ann.*, xvi., 11.—*Piissimæ.* “Most dutiful,” *i. e.*, most devotedly affectionate.—*Lætatum eum velut honore judicioque.* “He was delighted therewith as if it had been an honorable testimony in his favor.” *Honore judicioque* is, by hendiadys, for *judicio honorifico*.

CHAP XLIV.—*Natus erat Agricola, &c.* The early editions, down to the time of Ursinus and Lipsius, have *Caio Cæs. ter. cons.*, which these editors enlarged to *Caio Cæsare tertium cons.*; and from that period *tertium consule* has remained the common reading. But Caligula's third consulate was in the year U.C. 793; the consulate of Collega and Priscus in 846. According to this, therefore, Agricola would have died in the fifty-fourth year of his age, being fifty-three years, two months, and ten days old. To get over this difficulty, some suppose that Tacitus wrote LIV, and not LVI; others, that he wrote *primum* instead of *tertium*. The first consulate of Caligula was in 790, so that the latter supposition is the more likely of the two, and we have accordingly followed it in the text. If, then, we take 790 as the year of Agricola's birth, he would be fifty-six years, two months, and ten days old, and, accordingly, properly in his fifty-seventh year. But *sexto et quinquagesimo anno mortuus est* may mean that he died either before or after the completion of his fifty-sixth year. Suetonius (*Aug.*, 26) says of Augustus: “*Consulatum vicesimo ætatis anno invasit.*” This was when Augustus wanted thirty-six days of having completed his twentieth year. Livy (*Ep.*, 119), on the contrary, says “*Nonum decimum ætatis,*” of a youth who was above nineteen years and ten months old. Now Agricola was prætor under Nero, and therefore before June 9th, 821. According to Dio Cassius (lii., 20), he must have then completed his twenty-ninth year. Taking the extreme case, if he was prætor after August 23d, 820, he must have been born in 791. But this is impossible, as Caligula was not consul in that year;

and, accordingly, we can only suppose that he was born in 790, and thus he would be quæstor after the completion of his twenty-fifth year, tribune after his twenty-seventh, prætor after his twenty-ninth, and consul after his thirty-ninth year.

Habitus ejus. "His personal appearance."—*Decentior quam sublimior fuit.* "He was rather well-made than tall."—*Nihil metus in vultu,* &c. "There was nothing in his countenance to inspire awe; a sweetness of expression was its prevalent characteristic." Literally, "abounded."—*Medio in spatio,* &c. According to Tacitus himself elsewhere (*Dial. de Or.*, 17), an *integra ætas*, or full and complete period of human life, was one hundred and twenty years.—*Quantum ad gloriam.* "Yet, as far as glory was concerned," *i. e.*, if his life be measured by the glory to which he attained.

Impleverat. "He had fully enjoyed." Equivalent to *plene assecutus erat.* Compare the Greek usage in the case of *ἀναπλῆσαι* (*Hom., Od.*, v., 208), and *ἀναπληρῶσαι* (*Lucian, Q. H. C. S.*, 8).—*Speciosæ contigerant.* "A handsome fortune had fallen to his lot." Dio Cassius (lxvi., 20) errs in saying that Agricola lived for the remainder of his life in dishonor and want (*ἐν τε ἀτιμίᾳ καὶ ἐν ἐνδείᾳ*). This is contradicted by his not asking for the proconsular allowance, and by what Tacitus says in chap. vi.—*Futura effugisse.* "In having escaped from impending evils."

Nam sicuti durare, &c. "For, as he used, in our hearing, to divine from auguries, and to express the desire by many a wish, that he would still be continuing to exist amid the present radiance of a most blissful age, and would behold Trajan emperor," &c. The common text has *quod augurio votisque,* &c. We have rejected *quod*, however, as suggested by Walch and others. The use of *durare* and *videre* for *se duraturum* and *visurum* may be defended from "*ratusque dedecus amoliri*" (*Ann.*, xiv., 14), and "*nusquam eas (pecunias) tutius sanctiusque deponere credentibus*" (*Liv.*, xxiv., 18). Observe, moreover, the zeugma in *ominabatur*, and compare the explanation of Walch: "*et auguriis ominabatur et votis concupiscebat.*" The omens here alluded to, and which were said to have foretold the elevation of Trajan to the imperial throne, are spoken of by Dio Cassius (lxvii., 12) and Pliny (*Paneg.*, 5, 94). They occurred in A.U.C. 844, and Agricola died in A.U.C. 846.

CHAP. XLV.—*Non vidit Agricola,* &c. "Agricola did not live to see the senate-house besieged." Consult *Ann.*, xvi., 27; *Suet., Dom.*, 10, 11; *Dio Cass.*, lxvii., 12.—*Tot consularium cædes.* Consult *Suet., Dom.*, 10, 15.—*Feminarum exsilia et fugas.* As, for example, Annia, Fannia, Gratilla, Flavia Domitilla, and Pontia Domitilla.—*Una adhuc victoria,* &c. "As yet, Carus Metius was estimated by merely a single victory." He was one of the most notorious informers under Domitian. Since as yet, however, but one victim had fallen beneath his accusations, no one could at that time estimate the mischief which he was shortly about to bring upon the nation. Hence his power to injure was as yet rated comparatively low.

Et intra Albanam arcem. &c. "And the counsel of Messalinus resound-

ed (as yet) only through the Alban villa, and Massa Bæbius (himself) was even at that time among the accused." The *arx Albana* was Domitian's villa, which he built on the Via Appia, at the foot of the Alban Mount. Hither he frequently summoned the senate and pontifices. Catullus Messalinus was an informer, concerning whom see *Juvenal*, iv., 113, *seqq.*, and *Dio Cassius*, lxxvii., 1. The meaning of Tacitus is, that Messalinus had not yet ventured to become an open and public informer at Rome, but that his accusations were as yet secret ones, and confined to the privacy of the Alban villa. Massa Bæbius or Bæbius was one of the most infamous informers of the latter part of the reign of Domitian. He was one of the procurators in Africa, A.D. 70; and afterward governor of Bætica, in which province he was guilty of great extortion. On his return to Rome, he was accused by the provincials, and condemned the same year that Agricola died, A.D. 93; but he seems to have escaped punishment through the favor of Domitian, and from this time became one of the informers and favorites of the tyrant.

Nostræ manus. "Our own hands," *i. e.*, the hands of one of our own body, or, in other words, a senator. As Publicius Certus, a member of the senate, had seized upon Helvidius and led him to prison, Tacitus imputes the crime to the whole senatorian order, himself included. Tacitus took his seat in the senate as a man of prætorian rank, after A.U.C. 841, and he uses the expression *nostræ manus*, therefore, although absent from Rome at the time when the arrest in question took place. Compare *Plin*, *Ep.*, ix., 13, and *Suet.*, *Dom.*, 10, where this affair is alluded to.—*Nos Maurici Rusticique visus*, &c. "The spectacle of Mauricus and Rusticus struck us with horror, Senecio bedewed us with innocent blood." This sentence affords a peculiar instance of the figure *zeugma*, where *perfudit*, as understood in the first clause, becomes equivalent to *horrore perculit*. Mauricus and Arulenus Rusticus were brothers, united not only by the ties of natural affection, but by the virtues of their private character. They were cruelly separated in the sight of the senate, when Rusticus was hurried away to execution, and Mauricus ordered into banishment. (*Hist.*, iv., 40; *Ann.*, xvi., 26.)—*Senecio*. Consult notes on chap. ii.

Videre et adspici. "To behold (him), and to be observed (by him)." The peculiar meaning of *adspici*, by which it rises in strength above *videre*, is worthy of notice. The reference is to the searching and suspicious look of the tyrant, and his watching the expression of every countenance in order to detect, if possible, some ground of accusation.—*Subscriberentur*. "Were made subjects of accusation against us." Others take the word to mean simply "were secretly noted down;" but this wants force in the present instance, however well it might answer in other passages. The evil complained of here was encouraged under Tiberius (*Ann.*, iv., 30), Caligula, Claudius, and Nero; was repressed under Vespasian and Titus (*Hist.*, iv., 44), but reached its height under Domitian.

Cum denotandis tot hominum palloribus, &c. "When that savage countenance, with its settled redness, &c., never tired in noting the pallid looks

of so many spectators." Domitian's complexion was of so deep a red, that nothing could add to his natural color, and he was therefore said by the younger Pliny (*Paneg.*, 48) to be a man of unblushing impudence.—*Quo muniebat.* The old reading was *a quo*, which might perhaps mean *a quo auxilium petens se muniebat.*

Opportunitate mortis. "In the seasonableness of thy death." Compare *Cic. de Orat.*, iii., 3, where the same expression occurs in speaking of the death of the orator Crassus.—*Constans et libens.* "With firmness and cheerfulness."—*Tamquam pro virili portione*, &c. "As if, so far as lay in thy power, thou wast bestowing innocence upon thy sovereign," *i. e.*, as if, so far as lay in thy power, thou didst wish, by thy calmness and serenity, to show that Domitian was guiltless of thy death. The expression *pro virili portione* means, literally, "for (*i. e.*, in proportion to) a man's share."

Filiæque. The allusion is to Tacitus's wife. This is a correction for *filioque.* Agricola's sons were both dead.—*Assidere valetudini.* "To sit by thy sick-bed." Literally, "by thy sickness."—*Nobis tam longæ absentiæ conditione*, &c. "To us wast thou lost four years before, by the circumstance of so long an absence." Observe that *ante quadriennium* is for *quadriennio ante.* So "*multos ante annos*," for *multis annis ante.* (*Ann.*, xiv., 9.) It appears that Tacitus and his wife, at the time of Agricola's death, had been four years absent from Rome, on what account we are nowhere informed.

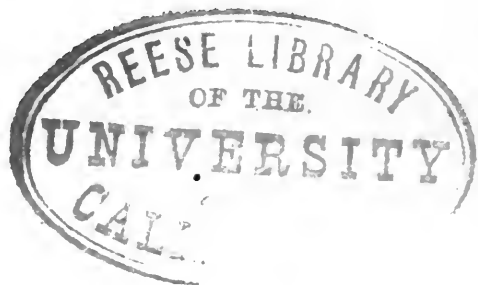
Omnia superfuere honori tuo. "Every mark of attention was abundantly rendered unto thee, their honored object." Literally, "all things, &c., abounded for thy honor," *i. e.*, for honoring thee and making thy last moments peaceful and comfortable.—*Compositus es.* "Thou wast laid to rest," *i. e.*, thy ashes were gathered into their last resting-place, the funeral urn. The verb *componere*, like the Greek *περιστέλλειν*, is especially used in this sense. (*Orelli, ad Horat., Sat.*, i., 9, 28.)—*Aliquid.* The reference is to his daughter, and her husband, Tacitus.

CHAP. XLVI.—*Si quis piorum manibus locus.* "If there be any abiding-place for the shades of the virtuous." The religious opinions of Tacitus partook of the character of his age. He had no strong convictions, no settled belief of a moral government of the world; his love of virtue, and his abhorrence of vice, were purely moral; they had no reference to a future existence. (Compare *Ann.*, iii., 18; vi., 22.) On the present occasion, in this, one of his earliest productions, he hopes, rather than expects, that the souls of the departed may still live, and be conscious of what is passing on earth; but in his latest writings there are no traces that his hopes or his wishes had ever ripened into a belief.

Ab infirmo desiderio. "From weak regret."—*Et immortalibus laudibus*, &c. The text here is very uncertain. We have given the reading of the best editions. The common text has *temporalibus laudibus . . . militum decoramus.* Consult Walther, *ad loc.*—*Æmulatu.* "By an imitation of thy example."—*Pietas.* "The affectionate duty."—*Famamque ac figuram animi*,

Ac. "And ever embrace in thought the glorious features of his mind rather than those of his person." There is a hendiadys in *famam ac figuram*. Muræus conjectured *formam* for *famam*; but, in the first place, this is against all the MSS., and, in the next, such a collocation as *formam ac figuram*, though Ciceronian, is not in accordance with the historical style of Tacitus. (*Walch, ad loc.*) Ritter conjectures *faciem* for *famam*.

Non quia intercedendum, &c. "Not because I think that we should prohibit those resemblances (of the departed)." Literally, "that we must put our veto upon." The verb *intercedo*, here employed in its figurative sense, refers properly to the interposing of a veto, or the prohibiting a thing on the part of a magistrate who has the right to do so.—*Per alienam materiam et artem*. "By means of any foreign material, and through another's skill," *i. e.*, through the skill of the artist.—*Mansurumque est, &c.* "And is destined to remain, in the hearts of men, in the eternal lapse of ages, in the fame of achievements." *Fama rerum* is only another designation for history.





N O T E S

ON

T H E A N N A L S.



NOTES ON THE ANNALS.

BOOK I.

CHAP. I.—*Urbem Romam . . . habuere.* These words form an hexameter line. In Tacitus there are several, and they often occur in other prose writers. Generally speaking, however, they are not so much the result of any actual intention on the part of the writer as of the emphatic arrangement of the sentence. Hexameters in prose militate against good taste, and were regarded as faults by the ancient critics. Compare *Cic. de Orat.*, iii., 47, 182; *Id. Orat.*, 56, 189; *Quintil.*, ix., 4, 72.—*Habuere.* “Held,” *i. e.*, governed.—*Ad tempus.* “For a time,” *i. e.*, either for a short time, to meet some pressing emergency, or for an indefinite period, whenever and as long as seemed necessary. The dictatorship, however, could not regularly be held for a longer period than six months.—*Decemviralis potestas.* “The decemviral office.” *Potestas* must be taken here in its strict sense of delegated or official authority, for the decemvirs were, in fact, at the head of the state in the third year also (B.C. 449), but then with usurped power.—*Ultra biennium.* In point of fact, it lasted a few months beyond the two years. But during the last seven months of their power, they maintained themselves by force.

Tribunorum militum. Military tribunes, with consular authority, were created from A.U.C. 310 to 388, though not uninterruptedly.—*Cinna.* Cinna held the consulship four times, from A.U.C. 667 to 670.—*Sulla.* Sulla continued dictator from A.U.C. 672 to 675. He was the first who was invested with the dictatorship for any lengthened period. Cæsar was the first who was made perpetual dictator.—*Cessere.* “Merged.”—*Nomine principis.* He was content with the title of *princeps*, in which there was nothing that savored of the despot or tyrant; being aware that the names of *king* and *dictator*, since the expulsion of Tarquin and the assassination of Cæsar, had become equally odious. Henceforth *principatus* and *principium* were used as equivalent to *imperium*.

Veteris populi Romani. The reference is to the time of the republic, up to the battle of Actium and the beginning of the rule of Augustus.—*Decora ingenia.* “Writers of handsome talents.” Doederlein thinks that Tacitus refers in particular to Asinius Pollio, Titus Labienus, and Cremutius Cordus.—*Deterrentur.* Men of high principle and honor would not stoop to flattery, and, on the other hand, could not dispense with it in their writings without danger.

Tiberii Caiique, &c. We have here the limits of the period embraced by the Annals. By Caius is meant Caligula, whose historical name was Caius Cæsar.—*Res.* “The histories.”—*Falsæ.* “Were full of falsification.” Supply *erant.*—*Et extrema.* “And these connected with the close of his life.”—*Et cetera.* What is called above *Caiique et Claudii ac Neronis res.*—*Studio.* “Partiality.”—*Quorum causas, &c.* “The incentives to which I have far removed from me,” *i. e.*, from the incentives to which I stand far aloof.

CHAP. II.—*Cæsis.* They fell by their own hands. (*Dio Cass.*, xlvii., 46.)—*Publica arma.* Forces intended to carry on war against foreign enemies, under the sanction of the senate and people. The individuals mentioned immediately after bore arms, not for the state, but for their own aggrandizement.—*Pompeius apud Siciliam oppressus.* “After Pompeius had been crushed off Sicily.” The allusion is to Sextus Pompeius, younger son of Pompey the Great, whose fleet was defeated with great loss off Naulochus, a naval station on the northern coast of Sicily, between Mylæ and the promontory of Pelorus, B.C. 36.—*Exuto.* “Having been stripped of his forces.” Octavianus bribed twenty legions to desert from him. (*Vell. Patern.*, ii., 80.)—*Interfecto Antonio.* By himself. (*Suet.*, *Aug.*, 17.)—*Cæsar.* C. Julius Cæsar Octavianus.

Posito triumviri nomine. This was the only triumvirate which was properly and truly so called. It was a magistracy with supreme authority, with which Octavianus, Antony, and Lepidus were invested for five years by the senate and people. The full title was *Triumviri reipublicæ ordinandæ.* The other triumvirates, of which we read, were called so ironically; for Marius, Sulla, and Cinna, and again Cæsar, Pompey, and Crassus, only privately entered into a league to unite their power, and neither received their authority by any public decree, nor made use of the name *triumviri.*

Consulem se ferens. “Styling himself consul.” From 31 to 23 B.C. he held nine consulships in succession. (*Suet.*, *Aug.*, 26.)—*Tribunicio jure contentum.* But the tribunician authority was in reality an instrument of great power in the hands of the emperors, as it had been in former times, and was frequently conferred upon them for five years by new decrees, and by them on their colleagues and successors in the government.—*Annona.* “By a distribution of corn.” This was done on some occasions gratuitously, on others at a low price.—*Dulcedine otii.* Augustus shut the temple of Janus three times. (*Suet.*, *Aug.*, 22.)

Munia . . . trahere. At the same time, in accordance with the advice of Mæcenas, he retained the names and dignities of the principal magistracies, that the people might be deceived by an empty show of liberty. The emperors themselves were released from the obligations of most of the laws, though not of all.—*Per acies.* “In battles.” Principally in those of Philippi and Actium.—*Opibus et honoribus.* Supply *tanto magis* at the beginning of the clause, and observe that *opibus* and *honoribus* are ablatives. (*Wolf, ad loc.*)

Illum rerum statum. Three words of similar ending. Consult notes on chap. xxiv.—*Certamina potentium.* Dating back as far as the times of Marius and Sulla.—*Turbabantur.* “Were interrupted in their execution.” The laws which were meant to protect the provincials against persons in office were those *de pecuniis repetundis.*

CHAP. III.—*Subsidia dominationi.* “As supports to his rule.” The dative is here elegantly employed for the ordinary genitive. So “*rector juveni*” (i., 24); “*dona templis*” (ii., 60); “*causas bello*” (ii., 64). Tacitus means, *ut essent subsidia dominationis si honoribus extollerentur.*—*Sororis filium.* Son of Octavia, by C. Claudius Marcellus, who was consul in B.C. 50. Augustus had no children besides his daughter Julia.—*Admodum adolescentem.* His death took place in the seventeenth year of his age, A.U.C. 731, in the baths of Baia; the suspicion of which fell upon Livia, who, as was supposed, wished to advance her own sons, Tiberius and Drusus. (*Dio Cass.*, liii., 33.)—*Pontificatu.* The office of pontifex was conferred upon Marcellus by Augustus, as it was upon Nero, the son of Germanicus, by Tiberius (iii., 29). The emperors, from Augustus to Gratianus, kept the office of Pontifex Maximus to themselves.

Marcum Agrippam. M. Vipsanius Agrippa, the son-in-law of Augustus, was consul in A.U.C. 717, 726, 727, and consul suffectus in A.U.C. 735. He was also prefect of the city from the year 734, and was united with Augustus in the tribunician power from 736.—*Geminatis consulatibus.* “By two successive consulships.” These were in A.U.C. 726 and 727, along with Augustus, to whom he was indebted for them. In 717 he was elected by the free votes of the tribes. (*Suet.*, *Cæs.*, 76; *Vell. Paterc.*, ii., 90, 96.)—*Generum sumsit.* Julia, who had been betrothed to Marcellus, was given to him in marriage. (*Suet.*, *Aug.*, 63.) Of this marriage were born Caius and Lucius Cæsar, Agrippa Postumus, Julia (iii., 24; iv., 71), and Agrippina (chap. xxxiii.).

Privignos. “His step-sons.” They were the sons of Livia.—*Imperatoris nominibus.* “With the title of emperor.” Not as he bore in permanence the title, but in the ancient way, namely, the being saluted as *imperator* by the legions.—*Integra etiam tum domo sua.* “His own line being even then entire,” *i. e.*, though there had even then been no diminution in the members of his house.—*Induxerat.* “He had already adopted.” Supply *adoptione.*—*Principes juventutis.* They were so called as leaders of the *centuriæ equitum.* After Augustus, the appellation of *princeps juventutis* implied a title to the succession to the throne. Caius was born A.U.C. 734; Lucius, A.U.C. 736. (*Dio Cass.*, liv., 18.)—*Destinari.* In the sense of *designari.*

Ut Agrippa vita concessit, &c. Agrippa died B.C. 12; Lucius Cæsar, A.D. 2; Caius, A.D. 4; Drusus, B.C. 9.—*Euntem ad Hispanienses exercitus, &c.* L. Cæsar died at Massilia (*Marseilles*); Caius at Limyra, in Lycia. A monument erected to their memory, on the confines of the Ubii and Treveri, was discovered in the last century at a place called *Junkerraht.*—*Livice*

dolus. Livia was endeavoring to secure the succession to her two sons, Tiberius Nero and Drusus. The latter died in the thirtieth year of his age, in consequence of a fall from his horse, by which he fractured his leg.—*Nero*. Tiberius.

Filius. He was adopted by Augustus A.D. 4.—*Collega imperii*. In A.D. 12.—*Consors tribunicia potestatis assumitur*. This was done three times. First, in B.C. 6, for five years, when thirty-six years of age; the second time in A.D. 4, also for five years; the third time in A.D. 13, in perpetuity.—*Ostentatur*. He was sent as *imperator*, now to this army, now to that one. (*Wolf, ad loc.*)—*Obscuris artibus*. “By the secret machinations.”—*Nepotem unicum*. “His only surviving grandson.” That is, after the death of Caius and Lucius.—*Agrippam Postumum*. Agrippa Postumus, the son of Agrippa and Julia, was born after the death of his father, and adopted by Augustus on the same day as Tiberius.—*Planasiam*. Planasia, now *Pianosa*, lay between Corsica and the coast of Etruria. Agrippa was banished to it in A.D. 7. Instead of Planasia, Suetonius (*Aug.*, 65) mentions Surrentum; and the scholiast on Juvenal (vi., 158), Sicily. This *deportatio in insulam*, generally a desert island, was a more severe punishment than the *relegatio*, and involved the loss of liberty, citizenship, and property.—*Robore corporis stolide ferocem*. “Stupidly priding himself upon his strength of body.”—*Compertum*. “Convicted.”

At hercule Germanicum, &c. The *at*, “and yet,” is employed here because, considering how much he was under the influence of Livia, one would not have expected that he would have placed beside Tiberius so dangerous a rival. The addition of the oath *hercule*, which may be rendered freely “strange to say, though true,” calls attention more fully to the unexpected nature of the transaction, and, at the same time, vouches for the accuracy of the account.—*Per adoptionem*. Hence Tiberius (though the uncle) is frequently called the father, and Drusus the younger (though the cousin) is styled the brother of Germanicus.—*Filius juvenis*. Drusus, his son by his first wife, Vipsania. (*Suet., Tib.*, 52.)—*Sed quo*. “But (he did this) in order that.” After *sed* supply *ita faciebat*.

Abolendæ infamiae. “For the sake of blotting out the disgrace (contracted).” Supply *causa*, and consult Madvig, § 417; *Obs.* 5.—*Cum Quinctilio Varo*. This was in A.D. 9. Compare chap. iv.; *Vell. Paterc.*, ii., 117; *Dio Cass.*, lvi., 18.—*Juniores*. Those between the ages of seventeen and forty-six were commonly called *juniores*, *juvenes*, or *adolescentes*; those between forty-six and sixty, *seniores*; and those above sixty, *senes*, and sometimes *seniores*. Again, *pueri minores* are those under fourteen; *pueri majores*, those between fourteen and eighteen. Marcellus, at the beginning of this chapter, is called *admodum adolescens* when seventeen years old.—*Rem publicam*. With a stress on the last word; the state, in which *all* have their share; the *commonwealth*, which, in and after the civil wars, became the booty of individuals (*res privata*).

CHAP. IV.—*Verso*. “Being completely changed.”—*Moris*. “Roman

spirit," *i. e.*, the spirit of ancient institutions.—*Exuta æqualitate*. "Political equality being entirely laid aside."—*Ægro et corpore fatigabatur*. Observe that *et* has here the force of *etiam*.—*Incassum disserere*. "Began to talk idly about." Observe the force of *incassum* here. These speeches could lead to nothing, because the old *libertas* was out of the question, and the *principatus* was absolutely necessary to the being of the state.—*Imminentes dominos, &c.* "Pulled to pieces, in various surmisings, (the characters of) the masters that impended over them." Observe the peculiar meaning of *differebant* here, and how exactly it tallies with a well-known English idiom, used in the same sense of handling a person's character rather roughly.

Agrippam. Agrippa Postumus, the grandson of Augustus.—*Ignominia accensum*. "Exasperated by contumely." Alluding to his banishment.—*Maturum annis*. He was now fifty-five.—*Spectatum bello*. In his expeditions in Germany. Consult ii., 26.—*Claudiae familiæ*. Compare *Suet.*, *Tib.*, 2.—*Quamquam premantur*. "Whatever endeavors may be made to repress them."—*Hunc et prima, &c.* Observe that *et* has here the force of "even."—*Congestos . . . triumphos*. Compare *Suet.*; *Tib.*, 9, 17, 20.—*Exsulem egerit*. Not, indeed, by public edict of the emperor, or decree of the senate, but in point of fact; since, at a later time, notwithstanding his supplications, a return to Rome was not granted by Augustus. His residence in Rhodes lasted from 6 B.C. to 2 A.D. Some editors propose to write *exsul* for *exsulem*, saying that *exsulem agere* means only "to feign being an exile." This, however, is not the case; such phrases as *principem, consulem agere*, are of frequent occurrence, implying the actual performance of the duties attendant upon those stations. Still, however, *exsul egerit* might very well be used.

Aliquid. "Any thing else." For *aliud quicquam*.—*Meditatum*. "Had he practiced."—*Muliebri impotentia*. "With all a woman's ungovernable spirit," *i. e.*, with the ungovernable spirit peculiar to her sex.—*Duobus . . . adolescentibus*. Drusus the actual son, and Germanicus the adopted son of Tiberius.—*Interim*. "For a while." Equivalent here to *aliquamdiu*.—*Quandoque*. "At some time or other." Equivalent here to *quandocunque*.

CHAP. V.—*Gravescere valetudo Augusti*. "The illness of Augustus grew daily more serious."—*Scelus uxoris suspectabant*. Livia was suspected of having given some poisoned figs to her husband. (*Dio Cass.*, lvi., 29, 30.)—*Incesserat*. "Had gone abroad."—*Electis consciis et comite uno*. "Having singled out a few to whom he communicated his purpose, and with but one companion." Observe that *electis* belongs merely to *consciis*.—*Fabio Maximo*. This was Q. Fabius Maximus Africanus, who was consul 10 B.C. He is described as the only companion, though in any case several accompanied Augustus, because he alone attended the emperor throughout the journey, and especially was present at the interview with Agrippa Postumus.—*Spem que ex eo*. "And that the hope (arose) from this circumstance."

Marcia. Marcia was the daughter of Marcus Philippus, Augustus's stepfather. Plutarch relates the whole story (*Περὶ ἀδολεσχίας*, p. 508, A),

but calls Fabius Φαύλβιος.—*Gnarum id Cæsari*. “That this became known to the emperor.” This passive use of *gnarus* is only found in Tacitus. (*Bötticher, Lex. Tac.*, p. 223.) *Ignarus*, however, is used passively by Virgil, Ovid, and Sallust. For *gnarum*, in this passage, Muretus conjectured *gnatum* to be the true reading.—*Quæsitâ morte*. “By a violent death.” *Quæsitâ* does not determine whether by suicide or in some other way. The latter supposition, however, is most probable.—*Quod fuisset*. Observe the force of the subjunctive; “for having been *as she herself said*.”

Ingressus Illyricum. Augustus had sent him thither a few days before his death. (*Suet., Aug.*, 97, 98.)—*Properis matris literis*. Observe the similarity of ending, and compare notes on chap. xxiv.—*Satis compertum est*. Velleius Paterculus, the lavish eulogizer of Tiberius, asserts (ii., 123) that the latter found Augustus still alive; and Suetonius (*Tib.*, 21) affirms that the former spent an entire day in private with the dying monarch. Dio, however, prefers to doubt with Tacitus (*Dio Cass.*, lvi., 31).—*Apud urbem Nolam*. The preposition *apud* is often employed by Tacitus, as in the present instance, with the meaning of “in,” not “by,” or “beside” a place. (*Bötticher, Lex. Tac.*, p. 64.)—*Nolam*. Nola was one of the most ancient towns in Campania, lying twenty-one Roman miles to the southeast of Capua.—*Acribus namque custodiis, &c.* Agrippina adopted a similar plan on the death of Claudius, in order to secure the throne for her son Nero. (*Ann.*, xii., 68.)

CHAP. VI.—*Inermum*. Another form is *inermis*. So there are two forms, *semermus* and *semermis* (iii., 39), *exanimus* and *exanimis*, &c.—*Quamvis firmatus animo*. “Although steeled in bosom for the task,” *i. e.*, although he had steeled his bosom for the task.—*Præscripsisset*. Observe the force of the subjunctive. Augustus had enjoined it on the tribune, *as he, Tiberius, alleged*.—*Quandoque*. “Whenever.” For *quandocunque*.

Duravit. Supply *se*.—*Nuntianti*. The proper word here would have been *renuntianti*, and the *re* might have been absorbed by the last syllable of the preceding word; but Tacitus, who imitates the phraseology of the poets, not unfrequently uses simple instead of compound verbs.—*Sallustius Crispus*. The grand nephew of the historian Sallust, and adopted by him. He was intimate with Augustus, and from him the *æs Sallustianum* received its name (ii., 40; iii., 30).—*Codicillos*. “The warrant.” Consult notes on *Agricola*, chap. xl.—*Ne reus subderetur*. “Lest he should be substituted as the accused party.”—*Juxta periculoso*. “It being alike dangerous.”—*Ficta seu vera promeret*. If he exculpated Tiberius, and took the responsibility upon himself, he ran the risk of being condemned by the senate; if, on the other hand, he accused Tiberius, he would render himself obnoxious to his displeasure.

Ne vulgarentur. “Should not be made matters of public notoriety.”—*Resolverit*. “Relax.”—*Eam*. For *talem*.—*Ut non aliter, &c.* “That the account can not balance in any other way than if it be laid for examination before a single individual,” *i. e.*, can only be balanced by being audited by

a single person. We have here a metaphor taken from accounts. The phrase *ratio constat* is used when the debtor and creditor sides of an account balance one another; and *rationem reddere alicui* is to lay an account before some one for examination. Hence the meaning here is, that the account passes as all right only if the ruler himself has the examining or auditing of it, because many things must be done such as *he* alone can approve, or allow to pass, for whose advantage they are done.

CHAP. VII.—*At Romæ, &c.* Tacitus refers to what was passing in the capital while Tiberius was coming thither slowly with the corpse of Augustus. The words *excubiæ, arma, &c.*, farther on, show his actual presence in Rome.—*Ne læti.* Supply *viderentur.* Compare remarks of Bötticher on the style of Tacitus, p. xliv. of this volume.—*Tristiores primordio.* “Too sorrowful at the commencement of a new reign.”—*Questus.* “Lamentations,” *i. e.*, for the death of Augustus.

In verba Tiberii Cæsaris juravere. “Took the oath according to the formula dictated by Tiberius,” *i. e.*, took the oath of allegiance to him. This phrase was originally used of soldiers, who swore fidelity to their general. The oath of allegiance was first taken under Julius Cæsar, and afterward under the emperors, as commanders-in-chief of all the armies in the empire. The formula of it was, “*Non me liberosque meos cariores habebō quam principem.*” (*Suet., Cæs., 84; Cal., 15.*) The *juramentum in acta principum*, spoken of in i., 72, and iv., 32, is different; it implied confirming the acts and decrees of the emperors. This oath was first taken upon the death of Julius Cæsar, to ratify his acts; and next after the battle of Actium, to honor Augustus. Under the emperors, it was renewed at the commencement of each year. (*Dio Cass., lx., 10.*)

Seius Strabo. The father of Ælius Sejanus (chap. xxiv.). He had the government of Egypt granted to him.—*Caius Turranius . . . præfectus . . . annonæ.* He was the first who bore this office. This magistracy was made an ordinary one by Augustus, who held it himself till shortly before his death, when he appointed Turranius (xi., 31; *Suet., Aug., 37.*)—*Prætoriarum cohortium præfectus.* These prefects were first appointed by Augustus. They were two in number. At this time there was probably no prefect of the city. Taurus Statilius was dead, and Piso was not appointed in his room until after an interval of some years.

Nam Tiberius . . . incipiebat. Not as if he had given orders to that effect; but by his inactivity he made it necessary for the consuls, as the first officers of the state, to take the initiative.—*Tribunicia potestatis præscriptione.* “Under the title of the tribunician authority.” The title (TR. POT. XVI.), *i. e.*, *tribunicia potestatis anno sexto decimo*, stood after his name, at the head of the address with which the edicts, like letters, began.—*Posuit.* For *proposuit*, as in iv., 27.—*Sub Augusto acceptæ.* Compare chap. iii.

Consulturum. Supply *patres.*—*Neque abscedere a corpore.* These words must be regarded as parenthetical. Tiberius means to say, that filial respect prevented his leaving the corpse of his parent, and that the assembling of

the senate was the only one of the tribunicial or senatoria duties which he could bring himself to perform.—*Usurpare*. “That he took upon himself.”

Signum. “The pass-word.” Called also *tessera*. In the time of the emperors, this *signum* was given by word of mouth. Compare xiii., 2; *Suet., Cal.*, 58; *Ner.*, 9.—*Cetera aula*. “The other appendages of a court.” These were the lictors, the *fascēs* bound with bay, and whatever else served to distinguish the emperor.—*Adepto*. Taken passively.—*Expectare*. “To wait for it.”

Dabat et famæ. “He allowed report also to have some influence with him.” After *dabat* supply *aliquid*. Hence the literal meaning is, “he gave somewhat to report also,” *i. e.*, he had an eye to his own reputation or character.—*Per uxorium ambitum, &c.* “Through the intrigues of a wife, and by adoption from a dotard.” The allusion is to Livia and Augustus.—*Ad introspiendas*. “For penetrating into.”—*Inductam dubitationem*. “That this irresolution had been assumed by him.” A metaphor borrowed from the stage, where the phrase is *personam inducere*, “to assume a character,” *i. e.*, to play a part.—*In crimen detorquens*. “Warping into a ground for (future) accusation.”—*Recondebat*. “He kept storing up in his bosom,” *i. e.*, against a day of vengeance.

CHAP. VIII.—*Passus*. Supply *est*. It is wanting in all the MSS., but, strictly speaking, ought to be inserted in the text, and is actually introduced by Nipperdey.—*De supremis Augusti*. “Concerning the last duties to be paid to the corpse of Augustus.”—*Virgines Vestæ*. It was a common practice to deposit wills and other documents of importance, as well as money, in temples, especially in that of *Vesta*. The treaty between Antony and Augustus was deposited there.—*Assumebatur*. The imperfect here implies, that Augustus had only expressed a desire that she should be adopted. From this time forward, in coins and inscriptions, she is called *Julia*, not *Livia* (i., 14; iii., 64; *Ovid, Fast.*, i., 532).—*In spem secundam, &c.* “In the second degree of succession, his grandchildren and great-grandchildren.” *Drusus*, *Germanicus*, and the three sons of the latter. (*Suet., Aug.*, 101).—*Sed jactantia gloriaque ad posteror.* “But (he did this) out of vain-glory and for future renown.”

Legata non ultra, &c. “The legacies were not beyond the measure of a citizen,” *i. e.*, did not exceed what might have been looked for from a citizen.—*Populo et plebi, &c.* “To the public treasury and to the poorer citizens forty-three million five hundred thousand sesterces.” Supply after *quinquies*, at the end of the clause, *centena millia sestertiorum*. Literally, “four hundred and thirty-five times a hundred thousand sesterces.” Of this sum forty millions were to be given to the *populus*, the remainder to the *plebs*. The sum bequeathed to the *populus* came into the *ærarium*; that bequeathed to the *plebs* was distributed among the poorer citizens. For, though the citizens who received distributions of corn, &c., are elsewhere called *populus* as well as *plebs*, yet when, as here, the two words are distinguished, the usage of the language requires us to understand by the former the people

collectively; by the latter, the lower orders of the people. What Tacitus expresses by *plebi*, Suetonius expresses by *tribubus*, meaning the order appointed for the distribution, namely, to the poorer members of each tribe (and, as there were thirty-five tribes in all, each tribe would receive one hundred thousand sesterces), for a bequest could not be made to any tribe for corporation purposes. Under the empire, *tribus* became almost synonymous with *plebs*, as meaning the lower orders.

Singula nummum millia. "A thousand sesterces each." *Nummum* is the contracted genitive plural for *nummorum*, i. e., *sestertiorum*.—*Legionariis trecentis*, &c. The MS. reading here is *legionariis aut cohortibus*, for which we have given the lection in the text, on the authority of the best editors. Some read *ac* for *aut*.—*Cohortibus civium Romanorum*. By this are meant the cohorts which belonged neither to the prætorians nor to the legionaries, though they ranked in all respects with the latter; the only point of difference being that they did not belong to any legion.

Ex quibus maxime insignes visi. "Of which the most noteworthy appeared (to be the following)." Compare the explanation of Wolf, "*visi sunt hi qui statim ponuntur.*" All that we have to do, therefore, in this much-contested passage, is to supply *sunt* after *visi*.—*Ut porta triumphali*, &c. Instead of writing *censuit* after *Asinius*, Tacitus contents himself with *censuere* after *Arruntius*, as referring in the plural to both speakers. The *Porta triumphalis* was not a gate, properly speaking, but an arch on the Campus Martius.

Addebat. "Proposed to add." The imperfect marks only the attempt.—*Messala Valerius*. Son of the famous orator Messala Corvinus.—*Sacramentum in nomen Tiberii*. "The oath of allegiance to Tiberius." This is equivalent to the *sacramentum in verba*, though it is not exactly the same thing. The latter implies that the emperor dictated the words of the oath; the former merely that his name was inserted in it. The soldiers renewed their oath of allegiance to their general every year.—*Ea sola species adulandi*, &c. "This was the only form of flattery which remained," i. e., which had not been exhausted. It was flattery under the cloak of free-spokenness.

Remisit. "Finally granted their request." *Remittere*, in its original sense, implies *letting go*, or *letting loose*, a cord that has been tightly stretched. Here it implies that, after a show of resistance, Tiberius suffered himself to be prevailed upon to grant their wishes.—*Arroganti moderatione*. His arrogance was shown in his regarding the honor as one rendered only to himself, and therefore pretending for a while to decline it; and with this was coupled a show of moderation, in giving his consent to a measure which he might have forbidden at once.—*Campo Martis, sede destinata*. The allusion is to the mausoleum built by him in the Campus Martius, between the bank of the Tiber and the Via Flaminia, called (iii., 4 and 9) "*tumulus Augusti*" and "*tumulus Cæsarum*." In a grove behind it was the *ustrina*, or the place where the corpses were burned.

Diem illum crudi, &c. "That day of slavery as yet crude, and of liberty unsuccessfully sought to be reclaimed," i. e., that memorable day when the

wound of slavery had not yet healed, and the recovery of freedom had been attempted without success.—*Occisus Cæsar*. Equivalent to *Occisio Cæsaris*. Compare “*Occisus Augusti pronepos*” (i., 42).—*In rempublicam*. “Against the state,” *i. e.*, for its enslavement.—*Scilicet*. “Forsooth.” Ironical.—*Tuendum*. Taken passively.

CHAP. IX.—*Vana*. “Things of no importance.”—*Idem dies, &c.* Here and in the *Dial. de Or.*, 17, his reign is dated from his first consulship, Aug. 19th, B.C. 43. Others reckoned from the battle of Actium, Sept. 2d, B.C. 31; others, again, from his seventh consulship, when the imperium was confirmed to him by the senate, and the cognomen of *Augustus* was given him, B.C. 27.—*Finivisset*. The subjunctive, as giving the assertion of another, not of the writer himself.—*Numerus consulatum*. He was consul thirteen times. Valerius Corvus, six times; Caius Marius, seven times.—*Nomen imperatoris*. “The title of emperor,” bestowed, according to the ancient custom, on account of victories gained by himself personally, or by his generals.

Hi. Supply *dicebant*,—*Parentem*. His adoptive father, Julius Cæsar.—*Per bonas artes*. “By means strictly commendable.”—*Dum interfectores, &c.* “Provided he might take vengeance upon the murderers of his father,” *i. e.*, of Cæsar, as above. *Dum* marks the condition upon which these concessions were made.—*Socordia senuerit*. “Had become enfeebled by sloth.” *Senescere* implies the loss of strength and vigor.—*Non regno tamen, &c.* “That the government, however, had been established by him, not in the form of a kingdom or a dictatorship, but merely under the title of prince.”—*Mari oceano*. “By the ocean.” *Oceanus* is sometimes used as an adjective. Compare *Cæs., B. G.*, iii., 7: “*Mare oceanum.*”

Legiones, provincias, &c. These words refer to the greater centralization of the military and provincial administration, the former of which he took entirely, the latter in the chief provinces, under his own supreme direction; to the suitable posting of standing armies and fleets, the fixing of single military stations, the making of roads, and the establishment of government couriers, of the two last of which Suetonius speaks (*Aug.* 30 and 49).—*Modestiam*. “A moderate exercise of authority.”—*Urbem ipsam magnifico ornatu*. Augustus introduced great improvements into all parts of the city, and both erected many public buildings himself, and induced all the leading nobles of his court to follow his example. So greatly had the appearance of the city improved during his long and prosperous reign, that he used to boast that he had found Rome of brick and had left it of marble. (*Suet., Aug.*, 28.)

CHAP. X.—*Tempora*. “The exigencies.”—*Obtentui*. “As a mere cloak.”—*Ceterum*. “That in reality, however.” Literally, “for the rest,” *i. e.*, what remains after deducting the *obtentus*, or “cloak;” and therefore, “in reality.”—*Consulis legiones*. The fourth legion, and the *legio Martia*, two out of four belonging to the consul Antonius. (*Dio Cass.*, xlv., 13;

Cic., Phil., iv., 2.)—*Simulatam Pompeianarum, &c.* “An attachment to the Pompeian party had been feigned by him.” Compare *Suet., Aug.*, 10, 12.—*Jus prætoris.* He became proprætor. (*Cic., Phil.*, v., 16, 45.)—*Abs-tulerat.* When nouns of different numbers and genders form the subject of a sentence, the number and gender of the predicate are commonly determined by those of the nearest noun of the subject.—*Occupavisse.* “He had seized upon.”

Invito senatu. The dative. It rested with the senate, which at that time directed all things, whether it would admit Octavianus, in spite of the legal impediments, as a candidate for the consulship.—*Acceperit.* Muretus conjectures *acceperat*, but this would make it a direct assertion on the part of Tacitus, not one merely on the part of the speaker.—*Ne ipsis quidem, &c.* These words refer to both the proscriptions and the divisions of lands. The triumvirs themselves could never *praise* them, but could only seek to *excuse* them under the plea of necessity.—*Sane Cassii et Brutorum exitus, &c.* “That the deaths of Cassius and the Bruti were, it must be admitted, offered (as sacrifices) to a father’s enmities,” *i. e.*, to his father’s hatred of them. By the Bruti are meant M. Junius Brutus and Brutus Albinus.—*Remittere.* “To give up.”—*Pompeium.* Sextus Pompeius, son of Pompey the Great.—*Post Antonium.* “That Antony subsequently.”—*Illectum.* “Having been entrapped.” The treaty of Brundisium was made 40 B.C., that of Tarentum 37 B.C. Tacitus mentions them in the inverse order, for the purpose of connecting the former with the marriage of Antony and Octavia, which was meant to strengthen the league.

Lollianas Varianasque clades. “That there were the disastrous overthrows of Lollius and of Varus.” M. Lollius was defeated in B.C. 16, in Westphalia. Quintilius Varus was overthrown by the celebrated Arminius, B.C. 9.—*Varrones, Egnatios, Iulos.* The plural is frequently used in this rhetorical way for the singular. Varro Muræna and Egnatius Rufus formed conspiracies against Augustus, the former 22 B.C., the latter 19 B.C. Antonius Iulus, son of the triumvir and Fulvia, was convicted of adultery with Julia, and was also suspected of aiming at the supremacy.—*Abducta Neroni uxor.* To the nominative here we must supply a *commemorabatur* from the preceding negative expression. Tiberius Nero, 38 B.C., seemingly of his own free will, resigned his wife Livia to Augustus. She was then pregnant with her second son Drusus. (*Vell. Paterc.*, ii., 79; *Suet., Tib.*, 4.)—*Q. Tedii.* Of this individual nothing is known. Some suspect here an error in the text.—*Vedii Pollionis.* Vedius Pollio was a Roman knight, and a monster of debauchery. He fattened his lampreys with slaves thrown alive into his ponds. (*Sen. de Clem.*, i., 18; *Id. de Ira*, iii., 40; *Plin., H. N.*, 23, 39.)

Cum se templis, &c. Not by the Roman citizens, but by the provincials, as Nipperdey correctly remarks, and that, too, only in connection with *Roma*. For so it is to be understood, when Suetonius (*Aug.*, 52, 59) and Dio Cassius (li., 20) relate that Augustus permitted this only in the provinces, not in Rome and Italy. This religious worship, therefore, must not be con-

founded with the divine honors paid to Augustus by the whole state after his decease. Observe that *vellet* is an invidious exaggeration; in truth, he only permitted it.—*Comparatione deterrima*. “By a comparison the most worthless.” It is not the comparison, in fact, but the conduct of Augustus himself which is thus stigmatized, for giving them such a successor merely for the sake of comparison, and as a foil to himself.

Postularet. For the third time. Consult notes on chap. iii.—*Honora*. “Complimentary.”—*De habitu, cultuque, et institutis ejus*. “Concerning his carriage, and personal habits, and principles.” Compare the account given of him by Suetonius: “*Incedebat cervice rigida et obstipa; adducto fere vultu, plerumque tacitus: nullo aut rarissimo etiam cum proximis sermone, eoque tardissimo, nec sine molli quadam digitorum gesticulatione.*” (*Suet., Tib., 68.*)—*Quæ exprobraret*. For *ut ea exprobraret*.

CHAP. XI.—*Cælestes religiones*. “Divine worship.” In the *Calendarium Amiterninum*, these *cælestes honores* are said to have been decreed on the 19th of September.—*Varie*. “Evasively.” More literally, “in varying tone.”—*Sua modestia*. “His own consciousness of incompetency.” Not the incompetency itself.—*In partem curarum*. “To a participation of his (public) cares.”—*Non ad unum*. Not *ne*, because of the antithesis understood, *sed ad plures*, which in fact follows in a different form.—*Munia rei publicæ exsecuturos*. “Would discharge the functions of the public administration.”

Dignitatis quam fidei. “Of dignity of sentiment than of sincerity.”—*Suspensa*. “Undecided.”—*In incertum*. “In uncertainty.” The accusative with *in*, as denoting the result, actual or intended. Equivalent, in fact, to “so that there resulted,” &c.—*Effigiem Augusti*. This was in the palace on the Palatine Hill, in which the senate assembled. Compare ii., 37.—*Libellum*. “The imperial register.” Suetonius calls it *rationarium* or *breviarium imperii*. (*Suet., Aug., 28, 101.*)—*Recitari*. By Drusus. (*Dio Cass., lvi., 33.*)

Opes publicæ. “A summary of the public resources.”—*Tributa*. “Direct taxes,” *i. e.*, taxes upon persons and property.—*Vectigalia*. “Indirect taxes,” *i. e.*, money raised by the customs, tithes, and letting of the public lands.—*Necessitates*. “The necessary public expenditures.” Livy (xxiii., 48) uses the word in the same sense.—*Terminos*. The Euphrates, the Danube, the Rhine, and the Ocean.—*Metu*. According to Dio Cassius (lvi., 33), Augustus himself expressed a fear that, in attempting to extend their conquests, they might lose what had been already acquired.

CHAP. XII.—*Ad infimas obtestationes procumbente*. “Stooping to the most humiliating importunities.” *Procumbente* is here used figuratively, and yet does not exclude the actual genuflections mentioned by Suetonius (*Tib., 24.*)—*Quæcumque pars*. Tiberius made a three-fold division of it: the first section comprising Rome and Italy; the second, the armies; the third, the provinces. (*Dio Cass., lvii., 2.*)—*Asinius Gallus*. The son of C. Asin-

ius Pollio, the friend of Augustus and Horace, who was prefect of Gaul in B.C. 42, consul in B.C. 40, and proconsul in B.C. 39. Asinius Gallus, the son, was consul in B.C. 8.—*Perculsus*. “Confounded.”—*Collecto animo*. “Having recovered himself.”—*Pudori*. “Modesty.”—*Cui excusari mallet*. A construction which does not elsewhere occur.—*Laudem*. As *laus* here denotes a laudatory speech, it takes the ablative with *de*.

In toga. “In a civil capacity.” Compare *Ann.*, xi., 7.—*Ideo*. “Even thus.”—*Vipsania*. Her mother was the daughter of Atticus, the friend of Cicero. Tiberius was obliged to part with her, when, upon the wish of Augustus, 11 B.C., he married Julia, that emperor’s daughter. Vipsania was the mother of the younger Drusus.—*Civilia*. “What suited the condition of a subject.”—*Ferociam*. “The haughty spirit.”

CHAP. XIII.—*Post quæ*. Tacitus frequently uses the relative in this manner. Cicero or Livy would have used *postea*.—*Promptum*. “Enterprising.”—*Pari fama publice*. “Of equal reputation with the people at large.” His reputation with the people was as high as his personal qualities.—*Suffecturi*. “Though they would be able to fill it.”—*Impares*. “Though unequal to it.”—*M. Lepidum*. M. Æmilius Lepidus, son of Æmilius Paulus, was consul A.D. 6. Some editors have erroneously substituted here the name of Manius Æmilius Lepidus, the son of Q. Lepidus, who was consul A.D. 11, and afterward proconsul of Asia; a man of no wealth, and of bad character.—*Avidum et minorem*. “Was aspiring, but of inferior talents.” *Et* is frequently thus used where we should have expected *sed*.—*Arruntium*. Arruntius was consul in A.D. 6, and was an orator and an historian. He killed himself in A.D. 37.

Cn. Pisonem. Not the consul in B.C. 23, but his son. Consul in B.C. 7, with Tiberius, who, in A.D. 17, made him governor of Syria.—*Omnisque præter Lepidum, &c.* Observe the employment of *omnes* for only two, since the words of Tacitus refer merely to the account that Augustus had named Lepidus, Asinius, and Arruntius. Tiberius had no hand whatever in the fall of Piso.—*Non adesse caput reipublicæ*. Although Tiberius seemingly hesitated to be the head of the state, he did not choose that any man should seriously believe that he was not so, and that another should obtain the post of *princeps*.—*Quod relationi consulum, &c.* “Because he (Tiberius) had not, by the right of the tribunician authority, put his veto on the motion of the consuls.” The consuls had moved that Tiberius should assume the *principatus*, which of course was the occasion of this discussion, as Tacitus takes for granted the reader will understand.

Genua advolveretur. There is a tendency to put the dative after middle verbs; but *advolvi* seems to have come to signify nothing more than “to embrace.”—*Augustam*. Livia. Consult notes on chap. viii.—*Curatissimis*. “Most earnest.” In the sense of *accuratissimis*. Post-Augustan Latinity

CHAP. XIV.—*Moderandos feminarum honores*. “That public honors in the case of females ought to be bestowed with moderation.”—*Ceterum*.

Consult notes on chap. x.—*Muliebre fastigium*. “The elevation of a woman.”—*Ne licitorem quidem*, &c. Livia was allowed, however, to employ a licitor when she acted as priestess of Augustus. (*Dio Cass.*, lvi., 46.)—*Aramque adoptionis*. This must be referred to the adoption of Livia (chap. viii.). Altars were frequently thus erected to perpetuate the memory of some remarkable event.

Proconsulare imperium. Tacitus means a perpetual proconsular imperium, which would give the young prince a title to the throne. Three years before this, in A.D. 11, Germanicus had been invested with the proconsular imperium for carrying on war, before he had filled the office of consul. (*Dio Cass.*, lvi., 25.)—*Candidatos præturæ*, &c. Whoever wished to be candidate for an office intimated his wish to the emperor, who named to the senate or the consuls those who had given in their names to him. If he passed by any, this was a tacit command for that person to desist. He might, therefore, have named more than twelve, even if he chose to have only this number elected; that he nominated no more than were of late elected was a token that he meant to abide by that number.—*Obstrinxit*. The following *se* belongs to the accusative, with the infinitive. Another *se* is understood with *obstrinxit*.

CHAP. XV.—*Tum primum*, &c. The election of all the magistrates now passed over to the senate from the people; or, in the words of Tacitus, the assemblies for electing magistrates were transferred from the Campus Martius to the senate. Compare *Vell. Patern.*, ii., 126: “*Summota e foro seditio, ambitio campo*.”—*Studiis*. “In compliance with the wishes.”—*Inanrumore*. “According to idle rumor.” There was a rumor that the people complained, but the people did not.—*Tenuit*. “Clung to the privilege conferred upon them.” With the exception of those who sought the quæstorship, all candidates for office were senators. Hence the language of the text, *libens tenuit*.—*Moderante*. “Restricting himself.”—*Ambitu*. “Canvassing.”

Inter quæ. For *interea*; like *post quæ* above, for *postea*.—*Fastis additi*. “Being added to the calendar,” *i. e.*, being recognized as yearly games to be solemnized by the state. In the old calendars, we find the 12th of October (*a. d. iv Id. Oct.*) marked as the day of their celebration.—*Utque*. This sentence depends upon *decretum est*, which must be understood from *decreta*.—*Curru*. The prætors, in presiding at the games, had, besides the triumphal robe, or *toga picta*, the chariot also. Compare *Juv.*, xi., 191.—*Annua*. The MS. reading is *annum*, which gives no sense. Some alter this to *annua*, others to *annuum*; the former is the better correction. The prætors would be elected annually, as a matter of course; and the position of the word would render *annuum* unnecessarily emphatic.

CHAP. XVI.—*Seditio incessit*. “A seditious spirit came upon.”—*Mutatus princeps*. For *mutatio principis*.—*Licentiam turbarum*. “Impunity for disturbances.”—*Ostendebat*. “Seemed to promise.”—*Junio Blæso*. Blæ

sus was acting as *legatus pro prætore*. Compare chap. xviii.—*Initiis*. “The accession.”—*Ob justitium aut gaudium*. “On account of the public mourning (in the one case), or the public joy (in the other).” The *justitium* was on account of the death of Augustus; the *gaudium* on account of the accession of Tiberius. Muretus, Wolf, and other critics, suppose the words *aut gaudium* to be an interpolation.

Theatralium operarum. “Of theatrical factions.” The term *operæ* is applied in the Latin writers to men hired for any purpose. So the gladiators employed by Clodius are called *Clodianæ operæ* (*Cic.*, *ad Att.*, i., 13, 14; iv., 3). The *operæ theatrales* were persons hired to back some particular actor, and hiss the others. Frequent disturbances arose in the theatre from the contests of rival parties of these *operæ*.—*Et miscere cœtus*, &c. “And well qualified, from his experience in theatrical party zeal, to stir up bodies of men,” *i. e.*, the bad passions of a crowd.—*Conditio*. Supply *futura sit*.—*Et dilapsis melioribus*. “And when the better disposed had retired to their respective quarters.”—*Promtis jam et aliis*, &c. “When other ministers of sedition also were now at hand (to second his designs).”

CHAP. XVII.—*Paucis centurionibus, paucioribus tribunis*. In every legion there were sixty centurions and six tribunes. A legion contained ten cohorts, thirty maniples, and sixty centuries.—*Ausuros*. In the oratio directæ, *audebimus*. (*Madvig*, § 405).—*Nutantem*. “Tottering on his throne.”—*Tricena aut quadragesima stipendia*. Formerly the regular period for military service was ten years for the cavalry, and sixteen or twenty for the infantry, and one who had served that number of years, between the ages of seventeen and forty-six or fifty, was called *emeritus* or *veteranus*. But in B.C. 13, Augustus fixed the period of service for the prætorian soldiers at twelve, and for the rest at sixteen years. Seventeen years afterward, the term was altered to sixteen years in the case of the former, and twenty in that of the latter. Percennius here exaggerates the length of their service.

Retentos. A conjectural reading, first given by Beroaldus, and followed subsequently by many editors. In the MS. there is a *t* at the end of one line, and *tentes* at the beginning of the next. Some, therefore, read *tendentes*, and this word is applied to soldiers in a tent (*tendentes tentoria*).—*Alio vocabulo*. They were called *vepillarii*.—*Eosdem labores*. This hardship was afterward alleviated. Compare chap. xxxvi.—*Adhuc*. “In addition to this.”—*Uligines paludum vel inculta montium*. “Swampy fens or mountain wastes.”

Denis in diem assibus. In the first ages of the republic, the soldiers served at their own expense. In A.U.C. 347, it was decreed that they should receive pay from the public treasury (*Liv.*, iv., 59). This amounted at first to three asses and a third a day. (*Niebuhr*, *Rom. Hist.*, iii., p. 439, *transl.*) The centurions received twice, and the cavalry three times that sum. Cæsar doubled the pay of the soldiers (*Suet.*, *Cæs.*, 26).—*Hinc vestem, arma, &c.* From this it would appear that when the pay of the soldiers was doubled, the law of Gracchus, ordaining that clothes should be given gratis

to the soldiers, was abrogated. This law, however, would appear to have been revived by some of the succeeding emperors. (Compare *Lamprid., Alex.*, 40). The soldiers, however, had to provide themselves with arms. (*Liv.*, i., 43.)

Exercitas aestates. "Laborious summers."—*Ut singulos denarios mererent.* The denarius was originally ten pounds of *aes* (bronze). In the time of the second Punic war, when the *as* was only an ounce, the denarius was equivalent to sixteen *asses*; and the sestertius, which was two and a half *asses*, when the denarius was ten *asses*, still maintained its proportion to the denarius, and was valued at four *asses*. After the reign of Augustus, the value of the denarius was twelve *asses*. In the case of the soldiers, however, the denarius retained its original value: though their pay was nominally a denarius a day, they received only ten *asses*. (*Plin., H. N.*, xxxiii., 3.)

Binos denarios. According to Dio Cassius (liii., 11), the senate decreed that the prætorian guards should receive twice as much pay as the rest of the forces. According to this, they received twenty *asses* a day. Either, then, Percennius uses the word *denarius*, according to the military valuation, and therefore in a sense different from that which it bears in the previous sentence, or else he intended his auditors to understand him as speaking of the ordinary denarius, in order to make the matter more flagrant. It is probable, also, that though their pay was twenty *asses*, the emperor allowed them two ordinary denarii.

Post sedecim annos. Augustus, when obliged to court the favor of the prætorian soldiers, fixed the term for military service at twelve years in their case, and sixteen in that of others. (*Dio Cass.*, liv., 25.) But in A.U.C. 758, the time was altered to sixteen years in the former case, and twenty in the latter; and, at the same time, their pay was increased. (*Dio Cass.*, lv., 23.)—*Non obtrectari.* "Were not sought to be disparaged."—*Apud horridas gentes.* "(Serving) among savage nations."

CHAP. XVIII.—*Adstrepebat vulgus.* "The crowd shouted assent."—*Exprobrantes.* "Pointing reproachfully to," *i. e.*, pointing to and telling of in bitter reproach.—*Ut tres legiones in unam miscere agitaverint.* "That they proposed to incorporate the three legions into one," *i. e.*, in order to make it impossible to separate them, and to distinguish which of them was most concerned in the mutiny. This incorporation would have been an act of impiety: the *signa* were objects of religious reverence, and at night were placed in a kind of shrine or temple. And, besides, the throwing away of their standards would have been a violation of their military oath, by which they bound themselves never to desert them.

Æmulatione. "By a feeling of jealousy."—*Alio vertunt.* "They turn their thoughts in a different direction." Observe the middle force of *verto*.—*Signa cohortium.* There is a dispute whether we are here to understand the standards of the maniples, or are to suppose that the cohorts had standards distinct from those of the maniples. In former ages, when the army

was drawn up by maniples, without any distinction of cohorts, there were of course, no standards for the cohorts. But when it became the custom to arrange the legion by cohorts, standards to mark the different maniples would be unnecessary. Hence Vegetius (ii., 13) mentions the standards of the legions and cohorts, but says nothing of any standards for the maniples; and Germanicus (chap. xxxiv.), when bidding the soldiers depart to their maniples, orders "*Signa præferri, ut id saltem discerneret cohortes.*"

Congerunt cespites. "They bring together pieces of turf," *i. e.*, in order to form a *tribunal*. The tribunal in the camp was generally of turf, but sometimes, in a stationary camp, of stone. From it the general addressed the soldiers, and here the consuls and the tribunes of the soldiers administered justice. When the general addressed the army from it, the standards were placed in front, and the army stood around it in order.—*Sedes.* "The place of the speaker."—*Properantibus advenit.* "Came up to them while hurrying on the work." *Properantibus* is the dative.—*Retinebat singulos.* "Tried to hold them back individually." Observe the force of the imperfect.—*In-columis.* "While alive."

CHAP. XIX.—*Aggerebatur.* "Was all the while getting brought."—*Pectori.* Tacitus frequently uses the dative, where other writers would have employed *ad* with the accusative.—*Pervicacia.* "By his importunity."—*Veteres.* "The soldiers of old."—*Tam nova.* "Things so novel in their character."—*Parum in tempore.* "That it was most inopportune."—*Tenderent tentare.* "They meant to try to gain." *Tenderent* is for the indicative future of the *oratio directa*; just as the subjunctive of the pluperfect takes the place of the *futurum exactum*. (*Madvig*, § 404.)

Filius Blæsi. Compare chap. xxix.; iii., 74; and vi., 40.—*Legatione ea fungeretur.* "Should discharge that office of delegate."—*Provenissent.* "Should have been forthcoming," *i. e.*, should have succeeded.—*Orator.* "As the advocate."—*Obtinuissent.* Expressing mere possibility, and hence equivalent here to *obtinere potuissent*.

CHAP. XX.—*Nauportum.* Nauportus was a town of Pannonia, on a river of the same name, a tributary of the Savus. It fell into decay after the founding of Æmona, now *Laibach*, which was only fifteen miles from it.—*Convellunt.* It is doubtful whether this means "tear to pieces," or "tear up from the ground;" the latter is probably the signification here. The word commonly used, however, for "to tear up" is *evellere*.—*Municipii instar.* Not merely an *oppidum*, because Roman citizens dwelt there.—*Retinentes.* "Trying to restrain them."—*Præfectum castrorum.* The prefect of the camp is an officer not spoken of before the times of the emperors. He is first mentioned in the reign of Augustus. There was one to each legion. According to Vegetius (ii., 10), it was his duty to attend to all matters connected with the making of a camp, such as the *vallum*, *fossa*, &c., and also the internal economy of it.—*An libenter ferret.* "Whether he bore with pleasure," *i. e.*, how he liked.

Revocabat. "Strove to recall." The force of the imperfect.—*Intentus operis ac laboris.* "Intent on heavy work (in the case of the soldiery)," *i. e.*, looking sharp after the labor of the soldiers. *Intentus operi ac labori* would have implied that he was himself engaged in the labor. Observe the hendiadys in *operis ac laboris*. We have given *intentus* here with some of the best editors. The MS. has *intus*, which makes no sense. Many editors suggest *vetus*. The expression *vetus*, "inured to," would imply that he had for a long time endured heavy toil, and was doing so still, which meaning does not suit this passage.—*Toleraverat.* "He had once endured it himself."

CHAP. XXI.—*Nam etiam tum, &c.* At a later period of the mutiny, the centurions were forced to flee (chap. xxiii.); the remaining well-disposed persons did not dare to act.—*Manipularium.* "Of the common soldiers." *Manipularis* is the common soldier of the legion, in opposition to the officers of the legion; *gregarius* to the officers of the whole army; *legionarius* to the allies.—*Centuriam.* The maniple is not invoked, because the second century (two centuries forming a maniple, as already remarked) would not add much to the succor.—*Nihil reliqui faciunt.* "They leave nothing untried."—*Permoverent.* The employment of *permoveo* with the accusative of the affection is a late usage. Observe, moreover, the historic present, *faciunt*, followed by the imperfect subjunctive.—*Sibi jam miscent.* Observe the force of *jam*, denoting that the mutiny had at last reached such a pitch that they allowed even deserters and criminals to join them.

CHAP. XXII.—*Flagrantior.* "Blazed forth with greater fury." Supply *erat.*—*His innocentibus et miserrimis.* Those who had just been released from confinement.—*A Germanico exercitu.* This was actually at the same time in an uproar (chap. xxxi., *seqq.*). But Tacitus makes it an invention of Vibulenus's that the German army was putting forward the same demands; for, if intelligence to that effect had been received, this was too important to have been omitted by Tacitus.—*De communibus commodis.* The common interests of the German and Pannonian armies.—*Gladiatores suos.* The procurators and other provincial magistrates were accustomed to maintain bodies of gladiators for the purpose of exhibiting public shows while abroad. As these expensive exhibitions led to acts of extortion, and the oppression of the provincials, the practice was forbidden by Nero (xiii., 31). In the present instance, moreover, these gladiators might serve as a sort of body-guard, to protect the general against the violence of the soldiers, which perhaps explains what follows: "*quos in exitium militum,*" &c.

Ubi. Not "whither," but "where," because the person throwing the corpse is represented not as flinging it to a distance from the place where he was, but as throwing it down at the place itself. It is the same, therefore, as saying, "Where have you left it flung away?"—*Sepultura invident.* We should have expected the accusative, but the ablative is not unfrequent. Compare notes on chap. xxxiii., of the *Germania.*—*Dum.* For

dummodo.—*Hi.* This is the reading of Muretus and Lipsius. The MS. has *ii.*

CHAP. XXIII.—*Incendebat hæc.* “He rendered these words still more inflammatory.”—*Disjectis.* “Those having been pushed aside.” Supply *iis.*—*Qui e servitio Blæsi erant.* “Who formed a portion of the slaves of Blæsus.”—*Familiam.* “Slave-band.”—*Haud multum ab exitio, &c.* Observe the employment of the imperfect indicative after *ni* with the subjunctive. The expression is, in fact, an elliptical one; the full form being, “*haud multum ab exitio legati aberant, et revera exitio ille occubisset.*” Compare *Zumpt*, § 519, b. In English, however, we commonly render it at once by the pluperfect subjunctive.

Præfectum castrorum. Consult notes on chap. xx.—*Cædo alteram.* “Give me another.” (*Zumpt*, § 223.)—*Fracta vite.* The centurions’ badge of office, with which they inflicted corporeal punishment, was a vine sapling.—*Promptum ingenium.* “His prompt capacity.”—*Sirpicum.* *Sirpicus* is a nickname, just like *Cædo alteram.* The meaning, however, is obscure: it may be connected, as *Nipperdey* remarks, with *sirpare*, “to twist,” or “plat,” whence *sirpiculus*, “a platted basket;” or with *sirpe*, the plant which produces the asafœtida. As an actual proper name it nowhere occurs.—*Ni . . . interjecisset.* “And they would have come to open collision, had not,” &c. Consult notes on chap. xiii., of the *Agricola.*

CHAP. XXIV.—*Abstrusum.* “Reserved.”—*Tristissima quæque.* “All events of a most disastrous nature.”—*Nullis satis certis mandatis.* Observe the similarity of ending, on which we have already remarked.—*Ex re consulturum.* “To take measures according to the exigencies of the case.”—*Robora Germanorum.* “The flower of the German troops.” After the defeat of Varus, Augustus had dismissed his German guards; but it appears that Tiberius had again taken them into his service. (*Suet.*, *Aug.*, 49.)—*Ælius Sejanus.* This is the individual who afterward became the confidant and prime minister of Tiberius. Consult *iv.*, 1.—*Straboni patri.* He was joined with his father, Seius Strabo, in the command of the prætorian guards. As regards Strabo, consult chap. vii.—*Rector juveni, &c.* “(Is also sent) as governor to the young prince, and a pointer out of dangers and rewards unto the rest.” Pointing out, namely, what dangers would await the rebellious, and what rewards would be bestowed upon those who returned to their duty. This is *Wolf’s* explanation, and appears to be the most natural. *Nipperdey* and others, however, explain the passage differently. According to them, he was to show the rest who were sent with Drusus, how they should bear themselves in dangers, and what rewards they were to expect; and he was to show the latter even in his own person, since, though of low birth, he had risen to a position of the highest dignity.

Per officium. “To show respect.”—*Neque insignibus fulgentes.* “Nor glittering with military decorations.” These would be the ornaments of

their arms, the adornment of the standards with bay and flowers, &c.—*Sed illuvie deformi*. “But in disfiguring want of cleanliness.”

CHAP. XXV.—*Stationibus*. The term *stationes* is used specially to denote the advanced posts thrown forward and in front of the gates.—*Stabat Drusus*. “There stood Drusus.”—*Retulerant*. Because the most, and especially the leaders, who stood in front in order to overlook the multitude, were obliged to turn round.—*Vocibus truculentis strepere*. “Spoke loud, in tones of fierce insolence.”—*Murmur incertum*. “A hollow and inarticulate murmur.”—*Diversis motibus*. “According to the different impulses.”

Quibuscum . . . toleravisset. In the years 12–9 B.C., and again 6–9 A.D., against the Pannonians and Dalmatians. Observe the employment of the subjunctive to denote the sentiments and language of another, and not of the writer.—*Quem neque gratiæ, &c.* “Who it was fitting should be regarded as devoid neither of clemency nor severity.” A covert exhortation so to demean themselves that they should not have to expect punishment. The odium of menace is adroitly avoided by putting forward the senate, and by a mixture of hope from the clemency of that body.

CHAP. XXVI.—*Perferret*. Because, in giving him the instructions (chap. xxiii.), it was supposed that he would have to go to Rome to execute them.—*Arbitrium senatus et patris*. “The power of deciding vested solely in the senate and his father,” *i. e.*, that it belonged only to the senate and his father to determine these matters.—*Augendis stipendiis*. The gerundive to denote a destination or purpose. (*Madvig*, § 415, 2.)—*Benefaciendi*. “Of alleviating their grievances.”—*Filios familiarum*. These, being *in patria potestate*, possessed, according to the Roman law, no property, and therefore also had no right to give away any thing. In the present instance, the term is employed figuratively, to denote their incapacity for granting any demands.—*Sub dominis*. “Under the control of many masters.”—*Sine arbitro*. “Without any mediator,” *i. e.*, without any one to whom to appeal.

CHAP. XXVII.—*Ut*. “As often as.” Joined here with the subjunctive, *occurreret*, to denote a repeated act. This is the practice of later writers. The older ones, such as Cicero, Cæsar, and Sallust, commonly use the indicative. (*Madvig*, § 359.)—*Manus intentantes*. “Stretching out their hands toward them in a menacing manner.”—*Causam discordiæ, &c.* Appositions to entire sentences or phrases (here *manus intentantes*) stand in the accusative when the verb of the sentence or of the phrase denotes an action. The accusative is dependent on the general notion of the *facere* implied in the verb, and denotes as well the effect as the purpose of the action, just as with many verbs there is a double accusative. Tacitus has carried this apposition to the same length as the Greeks (*Matthiæ*, § 432, 5; *Kühner*, § 500); Cicero uses it more sparingly.

Cn. Lentulo. His full name was *Cn. Cornelius Lentulus Cossus Gætulicus*. He was consul in B.C. 1, and in A.D. 6 was sent into Africa, where h

defeated the Gaetuli; whence his surname. His son of the same name, a poet and historian, who was consul A.D. 26, was put to death by Caligula, after having been governor of Upper Germany for ten years. Caligula feared his great popularity with the soldiers.

Ante alios. To be construed with *etate et gloria belli*, not, as Nipperdey maintains, with *firmare*.—*Firmare Drusum.* “To be encouraging Drusus,” *i. e.*, to resist the demands of the soldiery.—*Militiæ flagitia.* “Flagrant violations of military duty.”—*Digredientem cum Cæsare, &c.* Drusus accompanied him, in order to betake himself to the camp of his troops. But he was hindered from proceeding by the tumult: hence, chap. xxviii., *quousque filium imperatoris obsidebimus?* Drusus had come into the camp of the legions with only a part of his escort, the before-mentioned *prætoriani milites* and *amici Cæsaris*, and below, *multitudinis quæ cum Druso advenerat.* That the troops accompanying Drusus had a camp by themselves Tacitus has not mentioned, only because it would be understood, of course, that neither the camp of the legions would hold them, nor would these have admitted them.

CHAP. XXVIII.—*Languescere.* According to the calculations of Petavius, this eclipse happened September 26, A.D. 14.—*Accipiebat.* We have adopted here the emendation of Wopkens, approved of by Wolf. The common text has *accepit, ac, &c.*, but the presence of *ac* disturbs the sentence, and produces an anacoluthon. Some editors read *accepit* merely, and throw out *ac*. Others have *accepit, hanc.*—*Quæ pergerent.* “Which they were striving after.” *Pergere* is here used with the accusative, just as *festinare* (iv., 28; vi., 40, &c.) and *properare* (i., 18; ii., 6, &c.). There is nothing surprising in *pergo* being used with an accusative, when we remember that it is a compound of *per* and the transitive verb *rego*. (*Bötticher, Lex. Tac.*, p. 19.) There is no need, therefore, of changing *quæ* to *qua*, as Nipperdey does, nor of reading, with others, *peterent* instead of *pergerent*.—*Aeris sono.* According to the popular belief, that the moon was aided by such noises in resisting the evil influence that was acting upon her, and in regaining her light.—*Ut sunt mobiles, &c.* “As minds once stricken with terror are prone to superstition.”—*Aversari.* “Regard with aversion.” There is a dispute whether *aversari* or *adversari* is here the true reading. It makes very little difference in the sense of the passage. *Adversari* is sometimes used with the dative, as in chap. xxvii.; ii., 67; iv., 37; and sometimes with the accusative, as in *Hist.*, i., 1, 38; iv., 84.

Inclinatione. “Change of mind.”—*Vigiliis, stationibus, custodiis.* The abstracts for the concretes. The *stationes* (already mentioned in chap. xxv.) consisted each of one cohort and a troop of cavalry, and were posted, as before remarked, at the several gates of the camp. They were changed at mid-day (*Liv.*, xlv., 33).—*Neronibus et Drusis.* The imperial family was derived from both gentes, and bore both names.—*Ut novissimi in culpam.* Of course, these speeches were not held in presence of the ringleader. Again, the speakers could not address themselves exclusively to the

were actually the last to join the insurrection. But they denote all present as such, to make the guilty believe that their guilt was not known, and that they had, therefore, nothing to fear from the restoration of order.—*Privatam gratiam*, &c. “You may merit favor on your individual account instantly, you may instantly receive it.”

CHAP. XXIX.—*Orto die*. From the arrival of Drusus to the present time, a day and a night have elapsed.—*Nobilitate ingenua*. “With innate nobleness of feeling,” *i. e.*, from the impulse of a noble heart.—*Modestiam*. “Submission.”—*Exciperet*. Imperfect of the subjunctive in the *oratio obliqua*. (*Madvig*, § 404.)—*Orantibus*. “On their entreating it,” *i. e.*, that he would write to his father. When the subject to the ablative absolute of a participle or adjective is a pronoun (as *iis orantibus*), unless the pronoun be emphatic, it is not expressed. This use of the ablative absolute is somewhat rare, however, in more ancient authors.—*Idem Blæsus*. Supply mentally *qui antea missus erat*. Consult chap. xix.—*L. Apronius*. Distinguished, by the apposition which follows, from his father. He is the person mentioned at iii., 21, with the surname of *Cæsius*.—*E cohorte Drusi*. “Of the suite of Drusus.” Elsewhere they are called *comites* or *contubernales*. They consisted of the private friends or relations of the general, or of young men of rank whom he took with him on his own account. There were often different grades among these *comites*. Compare *Suet.*, *Tib.*, 46.

Opperiendos. That is, ere they advanced to final measures; for to go away before the return of the *legati* was not thought of till later. Compare the conclusion of chap. xxx.—*Comitate*. “By courteous treatment.”—*Modicum*. “That was not in extremes.”—*Promptum ad severiora*. “Readily inclined toward measures of severity.”—*Extra vallum*. Executions took place outside the camp, behind the *porta decumana*, just as outside the walls of cities.

CHAP. XXX.—*Vix tutari signa*. This was looked upon as a portent, the standards being objects of religious worship.—*Frustra*. “To no purpose.”—*Hebescere sidera*. Alluding to the recent eclipse.—*Castra infausta temerataque*. “An ill-starred and polluted camp.”—*Soluti piaculo*. “Freed from their guilt by some expiatory atonement.”—*Epistolas*. Here used in the plural to denote a single letter. This is a late usage of the plural, and arises from the analogy of *literæ*. Compare ii., 70, 78; iii., 59; *Hist.*, iii., 63. It is of very frequent occurrence in Justin.—*Desolatus*. “Left alone.”—*Satis consederant*. “Had become sufficiently settled.”

CHAP. XXXI.—*Germanicæ legiones*. In each of the two German provinces were four legions. Those in *Germania Superior* formed the *exercitus superior*; those in *Germania Inferior*, the *exercitus inferior*.—*Vi sua cuncta tracturis*. “Intending to manage all things by their own strength,” *i. e.*, who thought they had force sufficient to carry all things their own way.—*Cui nomen superiori*. Consult notes on chap. xxxiv., of the *Germania*.—C

Silio. Silius and Cæcina were both *legati pro prætore*.—*Regimen summæ rei.* “The command in chief.”

Agendo Galliarum censui. This census was for the purpose of apportioning the tribute and taxes. It was first taken by Augustus (*Liv., Epit.*, 134; *Dio Cass.*, liii., 22). Besides the tribute, the Gauls were subject to both a poll-tax and a property-tax. The charge of taking the census was looked upon as a distinction, and was entrusted to persons of high rank.

In rabiem prolapsus est. “Broke forth into open outrage.”—*Prima.* This legion, in an ancient inscription, is called *Germanica*.—*Ubiorum.* The Ubii were brought over from the right to the left bank of the Rhine by Agrippa. A colony of veterans was sent to the *Oppidum Ubiorum* by Agrippina, the daughter of Germanicus, and wife of Claudius. Consult notes on chap. xxviii., of the *Germania*.—*Vernacula multitudo.* That the “vernacular multitude” means those born in Rome, is shown by the addition *nuper acto in urbe delectu*. In itself, the phrase might equally well denote the Roman citizens born in the provinces; as in Hirtius, *Bell. Alex.*, 53, a legion in Spain, consisting of Roman citizens born there, is called *vernacula*. The great bulk of the native population of the capital was, as in all great cities, the very dregs of the Roman people; but still, in the term *vernaculus*, in and of itself, there is nothing contemptuous. The rest of the soldiers were levied in the other parts of Italy, or the neighboring provinces, or by long residence on the Rhine had become domesticated there. The levy here meant was held five years before, after the overthrow of Varus.

Impellere. The MS. has *implere*, but *impellere* is probably the right word, and is given by some of the best editors.—*Maturam.* “In due season.”—*Ora.* “Faces.”—*In suum cognomentum adscisci imperatores.* “That commanders of armies were admitted to their appellation.” The appellation meant is *Germanicus*. Observe that *cognomentum* here, as frequently in Tacitus and the poets, is not the “surname,” but a name attached to a person or thing, “an appellation;” for, in the case of the legions, *Germanicæ* is not surname, but name or appellation; it becomes surname only for the *imperatores*. Observe, moreover, that by *imperatores* are here meant the members of the imperial house, who have borne an *imperium*, and who, according to ancient custom, have been saluted *imperatores*. The cognomen *Germanicus* was granted by the senate to Drusus, the brother of Tiberius, and his descendants. By *imperatores*, therefore, in the present passage, we must understand Drusus himself and his son Germanicus; for, though Tiberius himself sometimes bore this title, it was too unusual with him to admit of his being thought of in this place.

CHAP. XXXII.—*Nec legatus obviam ibat.* That is, Cæcina did not oppose them as Blæsus opposed the Pannonian legions.—*Plurimum.* “Of the majority.”—*Constantiam.* “All firmness of spirit (on his part).”—*Lymphati.* “Transported with fury.” The term is properly applied to persons supposed to be driven mad by the water nymphs (*νυμφόληπτοι*), whose appearance in water was thought to terrify them, and inspire them with a

horror of that element. It is then figuratively applied to persons transported with rage or fury generally.—*Sexageni singulos*. The soldiers considered what had been done to individuals of them to have been done to all, as what is done to any part of the body is done to the whole. Therefore, as sixty centurions inflicted chastisement upon the legion, so now each centurion was chastised by sixty soldiers, by way of making each of them feel what hitherto the legion had felt. How many blows each soldier gave is quite indifferent, and therefore it was not necessary that all the centurions should be killed by the beating they received.

Convulsos laniatosque. “Torn and mangled.”—*Cæde C. Cæsaris*. Caligula was assassinated by Chærea, Sabinus, and others, on the 24th of January, A.D. 41.—*Tum adolescens*. He was above thirty years old at the time.—*Jus obtinuit*. “Retained any authority.”—*Præsens usus*. “Present necessity,” *i. e.*, the exigency of the moment.—*Militares animos altius conjectantibus*. “To those who penetrated more deeply into the spirit of the soldiery.” Observe that *conjectare aliquid* does not denote here, as usually, to form a conjecture concerning the existence of a thing, but to guess at its nature, property, or qualities. *Altius* denotes the deeper penetration of the surmise.—*Æqualitate et constantia*. “Uniformity and regularity.”—*Regi*. “That they were under the command of a single individual.”

CHAP. XXXIII.—*Neptem ejus*. Agrippina was the daughter of Julia, Marcellus’s widow, and Agrippa. Consult notes on chap. iii.—*Plures*. Nine (*Suet., Cal., 7*).—*Patruī aviæque*. Tiberius and Livia.—*Acriores quia iniquæ*. Because the thought of the person hated makes the hater feel ashamed of his own baseness, and at the same time degraded, because he is obliged to conceal his anger, and can not do what he wishes.—*Potitus foret*. Observe that *fore*, with the perfect participle of passive and deponent verbs, corresponds to the *futurum exactum*. Compare *Madvig, § 410; Obs. 2*.

Civile. “Such as became a citizen.”—*Obscuris*. “Reserved.”—*Muliebres offensiones*. “Female animosities,” *i. e.*, such as spring from petty womanish jealousies.—*Novercalibus Liviæ, &c.* “With all a step-mother’s rancor on the part of Livia toward Agrippina.” Livia was step-mother to Agrippina’s mother, Julia. But Julia, being in exile, was as good as dead (she actually died in this year, chap. liii.); Livia became a kind of step-mother to the daughter.—*Atque ipsa Agrippina, &c.* “And there was Agrippina herself, a little too irritable in disposition.” Supply *accedebat*. The *muliebres offensiones* were principally on Livia’s part; but Agrippina herself, by her passionate temper, was somewhat in fault.—*Nisi quod castitate, &c.* As her chastity restrained her from all vicious indulgence, her love for her husband from all that might have grieved him, her strong passions could show themselves only in what was good.—*Quamvis indomitum animum, &c.* “She always gave a good direction to her spirit, though unyielding.”

CHAP. XXXIV.—*Sequanos*. A Belgian community, between Mount Jura and the Arar, or *Saône*.—*Proximas et Belgarum, &c.* Like *ægro et corpore*, chap. iii.—*In verba ejus*. Consult notes on chap. vii.—*Tumultu*. “The mutiny.”—*Raptim*. “With all dispatch.”—*Discedere in manipulos*. “To depart into maniples,” *i. e.*, to separate and range themselves in maniples.—*Sic melius audituros*. “That they would hear better as they were,” *i. e.*, intermingled. This is commonly translated, “that they would thus hear his reply better,” making *responsum* a noun, and not a verb (*responsum scil. est*). But the former interpretation agrees better with what follows. Germanicus, giving way to them on this point, orders “ *vexilla præferri, ut id saltem discerneret cohortes*.” To follow the standard, and to stand by it, was the bounden duty of every soldier. According to this last order, therefore, the three *vexilla* of each cohort are to be set together, and to these the soldiers of the cohort are to gather themselves.

—*Veneratione*. Because the object of his panegyric was a god.—*Flevit*. “He turned away.”—*Apud Germanias*. This was after the death of his brother Drusus; first, 9 and 8 B.C.; then 4 and 5 A.D.; and lastly, after the defeat of Varus, 9–11 A.D.

CHAP. XXXV.—*Modestia militaris*. “Military subordination.”—*Exprobrant* Compare notes on chap. xviii.—*Indiscretis vocibus*. “With mingled outcries.”—*Pretia vacationum*. “The prices paid for exemptions from duty.” The centurions in the Roman army were very badly paid, and endeavored to make up for that by exactions from the soldiers.—*Propriis nominibus*. Opposed to *indiscretis vocibus*, and denoting that particular stress was laid upon what follows.—*Materiæ*. Timber, stakes for the vallum, &c.—*Lignorum*. “Fire-wood.”—*Si qua alia*. Making roads, bridges, canals, &c.—*Adversus*. “As a remedy against.”—*Neu mortem in iisdem laboribus, &c.* “And not to give unto them to die in those same toils, but an end of a service so rigid, and a comfortable retreat.” Observe here the very unusual zeugma in *orabant*, as if *daret* were expressed with *mortem*, and what follows. According to Ritter, Tacitus would seem by this violent construction to wish to imitate the *atrocissimus clamor* of the veterans.

Legatam. “Bequeathed.”—*Faustis in Germanicum ominibus*. “With cries of happy omen to Germanicus.” These *fausta omina*, and the offer that follows, they connect with their demand of the legacy, in order to show Germanicus that in the latter they have no wish to annoy him. It is Tiberius’s money that they want; to Germanicus they wish all that is good, and are ready to make the whole empire his. With *promptos* supply *se esse*. So, farther on, *moriturum* for *se moriturum esse*. Cicero would hardly have omitted the pronoun.—*Scelere*. “By their guilt,” *i. e.*, their treason.—*Deferebat . . . ni*. Consult notes on chap. xxiii.—*Quidam singuli*. “Some standing apart.”—*Spatium*. “A pause.” While the soldiers in their surprise hung back, and turned toward Calusidius.

CHAP. XXXVI.—*Ubiorum oppidum*. Afterward *Colonia Agrippinensis*,

now *Cologne*.—*Galliarum*. Gallia Belgica and Gallia Lugdunensis.—*Si omitteretur ripa*. “If the bank of the river were left unguarded,” *i. e.*, by the legions drawing off to Gaul.—*Suscipi*. Historical infinitive, for the imperfect.—*Periculosa severitas*. Supply *erat* in this and the succeeding clause.—*Inter se*. “And compared them with one another.”—*Exauctorari*. “Should receive a qualified discharge.” *Exauctorare* elsewhere denotes final discharge; but here it means the putting out of the ranks, and into the reserve.—*Sub vexillo*. “Under a standard of their own.”

CHAP. XXXVII.—*In tempus conficta*. “That these things were fabricated to meet the exigencies of the moment.”—*In hiberna cujusque*. That is, until they each reached their winter quarters.—*Non abscessere*, &c. They demanded immediate payment, not only for themselves, but for the first and twentieth legions also, as appears from what follows.—*Contracta ex viatico*. “Collected from the travelling funds.” *Viaticum* here means, not the money allowed by the state to those who were going into any of the provinces, but the money which they had brought on their own account, to provide for the expenses of the journey.

Fisci de imperatore rapti. “The money-bags extorted from their general.”—*Inter signa interque aquilas*. Just as money was frequently deposited in temples, so in the army it was kept by the standards, which were looked upon as sacred. The *signiferi* kept the accounts.

CHAP. XXXVIII.—*Caucis*. Consult chap. xxxv., of the *Germania*.—*Præsidium agitantes*, &c. “A party of veterans belonging to the disorderly legions, who were then in garrison.”—*Præsenti supplicio*. “By the immediate punishment.”—*Mennius*. Borghesi maintains that we should read here *M. Ennius*, which, however, we may be allowed to doubt.—*Bono ex emplo*. “With good example,” *i. e.*, in regard that by this act he set a precedent which might be advantageously followed in like emergencies.—*Concesso jure*. The right to inflict capital punishment upon the common soldiers belonged to none under the rank of *legatus pro prætore*. Compare *Dio Cass.*, liii., 22.—*Postquam intutæ latebræ*. “When his retreat afforded no security.”—*Non violari*. “Was not outraged.”—*Et nihil ausos*. “And yet having dared to do nothing.”

CHAP. XXXIX.—*Legati ab senatu*. Mentioned in chap. xiv.—*Regressum*. From the upper army. Compare chap. xxxvii.—*Aram Ubiorum*. This altar was probably erected to Augustus, like that at Lugdunum (*Suet.*, *Claud.*, 2). Not far from Bonn is a hill called *Godesberg*, which is probably the site of the altar of the Ubii. That this altar was somewhere near Bonn is pretty certain. The name *Godesberg* seems to indicate that the place was the seat of a religious worship of some kind.—*Missi sub vexillo*. “Discharged (but retained) under a standard of their own.”—*Munatium Plancum*. He had been consul the year previous, A.D. 13, and was a son of the famous orator *Plancus*, from whom there are letters extant among the *Epistles of Cicero*.

Vexillum. This was the purple flag by which the signal for battle was given, and which was always in the keeping of the general. When it was rung out, the soldiers were at liberty to make use of their arms.—*Extractum cubili*. “Forced to leave his couch,” not, as some render it, “dragged out of his bed.”—*Castra primæ legionis*. The two legions encamped apart from each other, with a common *vallum*, as the Pannonian legions. Compare chap. xviii.—*Religione sese tutabatur*. “He endeavored to protect himself by the sanctity in which they were held.”—*Rarum*. “A thing of rare occurrence.” The accusative in apposition with what precedes. Compare notes on chap. xxxvii.

Noscebantur. “Were able to be distinguished.”—*Fatalem increpans rabiem*. “Telling them in the language of rebuke, that their furious outbreak was brought about by the special agency of Heaven,” *i. e.*, as a punishment upon them. With *fatalem* supply *esse*, and observe that *increpans* is equivalent here to *increpando dicens*.—*Facunde miseratur*. “He laments in eloquent terms.”—*Attonita*. “Awed.”

CHAP. XL.—*Eo in metu*. “In this alarming crisis.”—*Arguere*. “Blamed.”—*Obsequia*, &c. Supply *erant*.—*Filium parvulum*. Caius Cæsar (Caligula), afterward emperor, born A.D. 12.—*Avo*. Of the two persons to be sent to Tiberius, the young child stood nearest to him, since, as adoptive father of Germanicus, he was *avus* to the child.—*Aspernantem*. “Spurning the idea of leaving him.”—*Degenerem ad pericula*. “Degenerate for facing dangers.”—*Perpulit*. Governs *uxorem*.—*Incedebat*. “Moved slowly along.”—*Profuga*. “A fugitive.”—*Nec minus tristes*. Supply *erant*.

CHAP. XLI.—*Non florentis*, &c. “The appearance of Cæsar, unlike that of a commander flourishing in the full enjoyment of power, and in his own camp,” &c. Literally, “of Cæsar not flourishing, nor in his own camp.”—*Non centurionem*, &c. Supply *habentes*.—*Treveros*. Gauls. Their capital, the modern *Treves*.—*Et externæ fidei*. “And to the protection of strangers.” *i. e.*, aliens, foreigners. Observe the change to the dative, the idea literally being, “for the purpose of obtaining the protection of strangers.”—*Socer Drusus*. “There, too, was her father-in-law, Drusus.” Supply *erat*, which is also to be supplied with the nominatives that follow.

In castris genitus. Tacitus here follows the popular opinion. That it is false, however, since Caligula was born at Antium, has been shown by Suetonius, *Cal.*, 8.—*Militari vocabulo*. “By an appellation such as the soldier is wont to give.” The *caliga* was a strong and heavy shoe worn by the Roman soldiers. Hence the term *caligati* is applied by Suetonius (*Aug.*, 25) to denote the common soldiers.—*Orant*. This verb denotes quite generally expressions of entreaty; special entreaties are expressed afterward, independently of this verb, by *rediret*, *maneret*. The verb *obsistunt* in its proper sense belongs only to *pars Agrippinæ occurrentes*; to the other clause, *plurimi ad Germanicum regressi*, we must supply only the general notion of op-

position.—*Recens dolore et ira.* The older writers would have said *recenti dolore et ira.*

CHAP. XLII.—*Liberos meos.* Besides Caligula, the two now at Rome, Nero and Drusus. With the two latter we must supply from *summoveo* only the general notion of keeping aloof.—*Quidquid istuc sceleris imminet.* “Whatever this guilt of yours be that threatens us.” *Istuc* is frequently used as the neuter pronoun in Plautus, Terence, and Cicero. Ernesti conjectured *istinc.*—*Pietur.* “May be done away.” Not meaning that thereby the guilt of the crime, but only that the crime itself is removed or made to cease.—*Tiberii nurus.* Agrippina, Germanicus being the adopted son of Tiberius.—*Cœtui.* “Gathering.”—*Filium imperatoris.* Germanicus, who had been adopted by him.—*Vallo.* Of the camp which the soldiers used against their general. The words refer as well to the occurrences in the *castra æstiva* as to the most recent tumult. On both occasions they would not have permitted him to withdraw. Compare chap. xxviii.

Hostium quoque jus . . . gentium. All these three expressions denote the same crime, namely, that against the ambassadors. It is the rhetorical figure of the *congeries verborum ac sententiarum idem significantium*, a kind of *amplificatio*, when the same thing is denoted in different ways, so that it seems to be many. Compare *Quintil.*, viii., 4, 26.—*Divus Julius.* This was in 47 B.C., before the expedition to Africa. Compare *Suet.*, *Cæs.*, 70.—*Quirites.* This was the term usually employed in addressing Roman citizens in their civil capacity. The soldiers would, of course, look upon the peaceable citizen with contempt, and would, moreover, feel deeply mortified at having such an appellation applied to themselves.—*Divus Augustus.* This was in 30 B.C., when the veterans sent after the battle of Actium to Brundisium, while Augustus wintered at Samos, were making a tumult. His arrival restored quiet. Compare *Suet.*, *Aug.*, 17; *Dio Cass.*, li., 3, 4.

Nos. Germanicus alone, whose mother *Antonia* was daughter of Augustus's sister *Octavia*, by the Triumvir M. Antonius. Tiberius was not descended from Augustus.—*Ut nondum eosdem, &c.* “As, on the one hand, not yet equal to them, so, on the other, descended from them.”—*Hispaniæ Syriæve miles.* Because he was personally unknown to these.—*Indignum erat.* The imperfect indicative is often used of a thing which, in a certain case that does not actually hold, would be right and proper, or possible, &c., at the present time, as if to show the duty and obligation or possibility more unconditionally. (*Madvig*, § 348, e.)

Primane, &c. The question whether a thing does happen, when we know that it does, marks it to be so wonderful as to be quite incredible. The interrogative particle, as a general rule, is affixed to the words which have the emphasis, as here, because opposed to *Hispaniæ Syriæve miles.*—*Egregiam gratiam refertis?* “Are you making this goodly return?” Ironical.—*Duci vestro.* Tiberius. Germanicus speaks here only of what they owe to Tiberius, because their treatment of himself was merely a consequence of their behavior to Tiberius.—*Legatos.* The commanders in the army are

meant. Each legion had usually at the head of it a *legatus*, not to be confounded with the *legatus pro prætore*. To these *legati* nothing had been done, but they were no more free to go than was Germanicus. The ambassadors from the senate had met with worse treatment. Compare chap. xxxix.

CHAP. XLIII.—*Enim*. Since he considers the danger to his life, caused by the behavior of the soldiery, as a proof that they are capable of wishing his death (*precaria anima*).—*Melius et amantius ille*. Supply *fecit*.—*Tot flagitiorum exercitui meo conscius*. Tacitus has formed this construction after that of the personal pronoun, to express that the guilt of the army presses upon Germanicus as if it were his own. Where mere participation of knowledge is meant, the phrase is, *consciis alteri in or de re, or facti alterius conscius*.—*Offerentium*. “Offering their services.”—*Istud*. If *istud* be the right word here, it must have lost by this time its original meaning, as a demonstrative of the second person.

Imago. The person as present to their imagination, heightened by the more comprehensive *tui memoria*.—*Hanc maculam*. Not, as some think, the overthrow of Varus, but the mutiny which has just taken place.—*Si legatos senatui, &c.* What Germanicus says of the *legati*, and his wife and child, is to be taken figuratively; for, in point of fact, they had done both. To the senate they give back its ambassadors, when, by repentance and punishment of their crime they give it satisfaction for their offence; to Germanicus his wife and son, when they return to such a course of behavior that he can resolve to let these remain in the camp.—*A contactu*. “From all contact with the guilty,” *i. e.*, from their infectious touch.—*Stabile*. “Stable ground.”

CHAP. XLIV.—*Ob imminentem, &c.* “On account of her approaching delivery and the advance of winter.” Observe that *imminentem* refers to *hiemem* as well as *partum*.—*Legatum legionis primæ*. Consult note on “*legatos*,” chap. xlii.—*Pro concione*. “After the manner of an assembly,” *i. e.*, as an assembly. In quite a different sense an orator speaks *pro concione*. “before an assembly,” as at ii., 22.—*Invidia*. “The odium.”—*Rætiam*. *Rætia* is here meant in the more extended sense, comprehending not only *Rætia* proper, now the *Grisons* and the greater part of the *Tyrol*, but also *Vindelicia*, answering to part of *Baden, Wirtemberg, Bavaria*, and the northern portion of the *Tyrol*.—*Suevos*. By the *Suevi* are here meant the nations forming the kingdom of *Maroboduus*. Compare ii., 44. Those of them which bordered on *Rætia* were chiefly the *Hermunduri*.—*Ceterum*. “But in reality.” Opposed to *specie*. Literally “for the rest,” *i. e.*, what remains after deducting *species* or “appearance,” and, therefore, “in reality.” Compare notes on chap. x.

Centurionatum. “A muster of the centurions.” The word *centurionatus*, except in this passage, occurs only in *Valerius Maximus* (iii., 2, 23), in the sense of “office of centurion,” like *decurionatus*. But the other meaning here given to it is not less agreeable to the derivation. Various alterations

of the text have been proposed, but without any necessity.—*Fecisset*. According to his own statement. Hence the subjunctive.—*Industriam*. “His diligent discharge of duty.”—*Approbaverant . . . objectavissent*. Observe that here, where mention is made of a repeated act, we have in one clause the indicative, which in this case the older writers almost exclusively use and in the other the subjunctive, which is most usual in the more modern style. (*Madvig*, § 359.) Compare notes on chap. xxvii.—*Solvebatur militia*. “He was cashiered.” This was the *missio ignominiosa*.

CHAP. XLV.—*Haud minor moles supererat*. “No less great a mass of trouble remained.”—*Ferociam*. “The outrageous conduct.”—*Sexagesimum apud lapidem*. “At the sixtieth milestone.” More freely, “sixty miles off.” The distance, of course, is computed from the *Oppidum Ubiorum*, where Germanicus then was.—*Vetera*. A town of the Gugerni, on the banks of the Rhine, between the Ubii and Batavi, on the site of the modern *Santen* or *Xanten*. In the itinerary of Antonine (p. 370), the distance between *Vetera* and the *Oppidum Ubiorum* is made sixty-three miles.—*Pœnitentia*. Not their own, as *Nipperdey* maintains, but that of the others who had mutinied.—*Imperium*. “His authority.”—*Certaturus*. Marking determination.

CHAP. XLVI.—*In Illyrico*. Properly in Pannonia. Compare chap. xvi., *seqq.*—*Invalida et inermia*. Senate and people, in their totality, are here taken as parts or members of the general body of the state. Hence the neuter. Compare chap. lvi.: “*Ut, quod imbecillum ætate ac sexu, statim captum aut trucidatum sit.*”—*Cunctatione ficta*. Compare chap. xi., *seqq.*—*Duorum adolescentium*. *Drusus* and *Germanicus*.—*Adulta*. “Matured.”—*Severitatis et munificentia summum*. “The supreme arbiter of rigorous punishment and liberal reward.”—*An Augustum potuisse*. On this elliptical use of the accusative with the infinitive, consult *Zumpt*, § 609.—*Cavillan-tem*. “Wresting from their intended meaning.” Consult *Forcellini*, *Lex.*, s. v.—*Fomenta*. “Conciliatory measures.”

CHAP. XLVII.—*Immotum adversus*, &c. “Unshaken and fixed against these remarks was the resolve unto *Tiberius*, not to leave the capital,” &c. Compare *Virgil* (*Æn.*, iv., 15): “*Si mihi non animo fixum immotumque sederet.*”—*Diversa*. “Conflicting considerations.”—*Quos igitur anteferret?* This use of *quos* for *utros* is of rare occurrence.—*Ac, ne postpositi*, &c. “And it also proved a source of disquietude unto him, lest those who were not preferred might be exasperated by the affront.” With *ac* supply *angebant*, from the *angebant* at the beginning of the passage, and observe that *ac* is introduced the better to distinguish the two grounds of anxiety; the difficulty of deciding, and the fear of the consequences that might ensue from that decision.—*At per filios pariter adiri*, &c. “Whereas they could be approached by him through his sons in an equal degree,” the imperial dignity remaining meanwhile unimpaired;” *i. e.*, whereas, by sending one of his

sons to each, he treated them both alike, without impairing the imperial dignity.

Excusatum. Supply *fore*.—*Impedimenta.* “Wagons and beasts of burden.” Compare *Suet., Tib., 38*.—*Naves.* Ships might be employed either across the *Mare Superum*, or from *Ostia* to *Massilia*, as in the *Britannic expedition* of *Claudius* (*Suet., Claud., 17*).—*Prudentes fefellit.* “He imposed upon men of sense.”

CHAP. XLVIII.—*Si recenti exemplo, &c.* “To see whether, through the force of the late example, they themselves would consult for their own safety.” Compare *iv., 49*: “*Exercitum ostendit si barbari prælium auderent.*”—*Cæcinam.* It appears, therefore, that *Cæcina*, after he had led the first and twentieth legions to the city of the *Ubii* (*chap. xxxvii.*), had probably, after the return of *Germanicus* (*chap. xxxix.*), gone to *Vetera*.—*Aquiliferis.* The first centurion of the first maniple of the *triarii* had charge of the eagle of the legion. He stood next in rank to the *tribuni militum*, and had a seat in the military council.—*Maxime sincerum.* “Least disaffected.”—*Causas et merita spectari.* “Motives and merits were regarded.”—*Fædissimum.* “Most depraved.”—*Noscente.* Not perhaps “knowing,” but “learning,” as in *chap. lxii., nullo noscente*, “none recognizing,” or “being able to ascertain.”

CHAP. XLIX.—*Diversa omnium, &c.* “The character of all the civil conflicts that ever happened was different from that of this one.”—*Discedunt in partes.* This accords with *non prælio, non adversis e castris*, only by a *zeugma*, that is, by supplying the general notion of opposition; since in the fight, and in the case of hostile camps, the parties are already divided. Render, therefore, “Not in fight, not from opposed camps (do they encounter one another), but,” &c.—*Simul quietos.* “Reposing together.”—*Bonorum.* ‘Of the well-affected.’

Non medicinam illud, &c. “Calling that, with very many tears, not a remedy, but a massacre.” Observe the employment of *illud* here. In the older style the attraction *illam* would have been indispensable. *Tacitus* has neglected it here, and in *ii., 36*: “*Non enim preces sunt istud, sed efflagitatio;*” as also in *iv., 19*: “*quasi aut Varro consul aut illud res publica esset;*” and *xvi., 22*: “*secessionem jam id et partes,*” &c.—*Piaculum furoris.* In apposition with *eundi in hostem*.—*Sequitur.* “Falls in with.”—*Legionibus.* The four legions on the Lower Rhine.—*Quarum.* Referring as well to *cohortes* as to *alas*.—*Modestia.* “Sense of duty.”

CHAP. L.—*Agitabant.* “Were passing their time.” Frequentative of *agebant*.—*Attinemur.* “We are held back.”—*Agmine propero, &c.* “By a forced march make their way through the *Cæasian forest*, and cross the barrier laid out by *Tiberius*.” The *Cæasian forest* lay over against *Vetera*, where *Germanicus* crossed the *Rhine*, in the neighborhood of *Wesel*. The term *scindit* does not mean that they cut a way through this forest, but that they go through it, and cross the *limes*. Upon the *limes*, which was a broad

dyke, they pitch their camp. To have actually broken a way through the *limes* would have been a useless and mischievous labor, as it would have to be closed again. The term *captum* is employed, not because the *limes* was incomplete, but because it was capable of being made more complete. Compare xi., 1: "(hortos) a *Iucullo* *captos insigni magnificentia extollebat.*"—*Concædibus*. "With piles of hewn timber," *i. e.*, trees cut down and piled up as barricades.

Saltus obscuros. "Gloomy forest grounds." A continuation probably of the *Silva Cæsia*.—*Incautum*. "Unguarded." Used passively, as in Livy, xxv., 38. This road led to the Amisia (*Ems*), and the country of the Marsi; the other, along the Luppia (*Lippe*) to the Cherusci.—*Ac solennibus epulis ludicram*. "And celebrated with a customary banquet and with sports." At the banquet there were games, armor-dances, &c. Compare chap. xxiv., of the *Germania*.—*Obstantia silvarum*. Compare "*occulta saltuum,*" and "*humido paludum,*" chap. lxi.; "*aperta oceani*" (ii., 23); "*angusta viarum*" (iii., 82), &c.

Marsorum. The Marsi here meant were situate between the *Lippe* and the *Ruhr*, in the interior. They are mentioned in Strabo (vii., p. 444, A), and appear as a highly important people in Tacitus, in this and the following book, but nowhere afterward. The explanation probably is, that they were not a nation, but a confederation of nations.—*Stationes*. "Parties of armed men."—*Antepositis*. "Being stationed in advance."—*Belli*. "Of any hostile attack."—*Pax*. "A state of repose."—*Nisi languida et soluta*. "Other than the result of languor and remissness," *i. e.*, one arising from the languor and torpor of drunkenness, and without the restraints and precautions which are usual even in time of peace.

CHAP. LI.—*Avidas*. "Eager," *i. e.*, to commence the onslaught.—*Cuneos*. "Columns." Besides its literal meaning of a "wedge," *cuneus* is applied generally, as here, to a body of troops drawn up in column. Compare *Hist.*, ii., 42; *Curt.*, iii., 2.—*Templum*. Not a temple in our sense of the word; for, according to Tacitus (*Germ.*, ix.), the Germans had none, but, as in *Germ.*, xl., a sacred grove, with an altar, and the like appendages, for worship. Compare iv., 73: "*lucum quem Baduhennæ vocant.*"—*Tanfanæ*. This deity is not spoken of except in the present passage, and in one inscription. There is nothing to guide us to the meaning or derivation of the name, at which various guesses have been made, without arriving at any very probable result.—*Sine vulnere milites*. Supply *fuere*.—*Semisomnos, inermes, aut palantes*. "Men half asleep, (or else) unarmed, or (if armed) straggling about singly." Three different classes are meant.

Bructeros . . . Usipetes. Compare *Germ.*, xxxii., *seq.*—*Tubantes*. In the southern part of the duchy of *Westphalia*, and the northern part of the country of *Mark*, on the southern side of the Luppia, or *Lippe*.—*Saltusque*. On the *Lippe*, those which they entered immediately after crossing the frontier.—*Quod gnarum duci*. Consult notes on chap. v., "*gnarum id Cæsari.*"—*Incessitque itineri et prælio*. "And he advanced (in an order adapted at

once) for marching and fighting." The dative marks the object. There is no need of supplying *paratus*, as some do.—*Pars equitum*, &c. He is describing the *agmen quadratum* of this period, an order intended to guard against an attack from any quarter.—*Auxiliaria cohortes*. "Some cohorts of the allies." Not all, because others are mentioned as closing the rear.

Donec agmen porrigeretur. "Until the line of march was stretched out," and consequently weakened. This was done when they had defiled into the mountain forests.—*Leves cohortes*. Those whom above he calls *ceteri sociorum*.—*Obliterandæ seditionis*. "Of obliterating the scandal of sedition."—*Redigunt*. "They drive back."—*Evasere silvas*. So, "*angustias isthmi evadit*" (v., 10.), and "*evasurum juventam*" (vi., 48).—*Fidens* "Elated."

CHAP. LII.—*Quævisisset*. He had sought it, because Germanicus had acted in his name, and he was obliged to ratify his concessions.—*Rettulit ad senatum*. "He consulted the senate."—*Intentior*. "More in earnest."—*Fida*. "Sincere."—*Cunctaque, quæ Germanicus indulserat, servavit*. "And he fulfilled all the concessions which Germanicus had made."—*Pannonicos exercitus*. "The Pannonian forces." The plural, because several legions.

CHAP. LIII.—*Julia*. The daughter of Augustus, married successively to Agrippa and Tiberius.—*Pandateria*. A small island in the Gulf of Puteoli, off the coast of Campania, now *Vendutene*. Another and more usual form of the name was *Pandataria*, as given by Strabo.—*Oppido Rheginorum*. The town of Rhegium is meant, the modern *Reggio*. The words *qui Siculum fretum accolunt* are added, to distinguish this place from *Regium Lepidi*, now *Reggio*, in the duchy of Modena.—*Ut imparem*. "As one unequal to her in birth," i. e., beneath her rank, because she was the emperor's daughter. Otherwise, the Claudian gens was quite upon a par with hers.—*Tam intima causa*. "So cogent a motive."—*Cur Rhodum abscederet*. Consult chap. iv.—*Post interfectum*, &c. She had no hope that Germanicus would rise against Tiberius.—*Longinquitate exilii*. Since 2 B.C. She died A.D. 14. *Longinquitas* here refers to time.

Sollers ingenio et prave facundus. "Shrewd in point of intellect, and eloquent without principle."—*Contumacia et odiis*. "Through the defiance and hatred with which he had inspired her toward him."—*Amotus Cercinam*. At the same time with Quinctius Crispinus, Appius Claudius, Scipio, and others of less note. (*Dio Cass.*, lv., 10.) Cercina (now *Chercara* or *Karkenah*) was an island in the mouth of the Lesser Syrtis, off the northern coast of Africa.—*Quatuordecim annis*. Not as Julia fifteen years, probably because he was that one of her paramours of whom Dio Cassius (lv., 10) says, *καὶ ἐπειδὴ καὶ δῆμαρχός τις ἐν αὐτοῖς ἦν, οὐ πρότερον πρὶν διάρξαι ἐκρίθη*.—*L. Asprenate*. Asprenas was consul suffectus A.D. 6. He was legatus under Varus A.D. 9, and saved himself with his two legions. (*Vell.*, iii., 120.) As an orator, Seneca (*Contr.*, v., *præf.*, p. 318, *ed. Bip.*) reckons

him among those "*quorum fama cum ipsis extincta est*," while from his brother, P. Asprenas, he cites much.

CHAP. LIV.—*Sodalium Augustalium sacerdotio*. "The religious order of the Augustalian brotherhood." They were called *Augustales*, and were instituted to take charge of the worship of Augustus and the Julian gens.—*Retinendis sacris*. "For preserving the rites." Tacitus in this passage corrects the view he had before expressed in *Hist.*, ii., 95, that the *sodales Titii* were instituted by Romulus in honor of Tadius.—*Claudius*. Afterward emperor; brother of Germanicus.—*Histrionum*. Here, as almost invariably in these times, the term *histriones* is applied to the players of pantomime, which had all but superseded every other kind of acting.—*Indulserat ei ludicro*. "Had countenanced that pastime."—*Studiis*. "Pursuits."—*Civile*. "Popular."—*Morum via*. "Turn of character."—*Molliter habitum*. "Humored."—*Duriora*. "Severer objects of attention."

CHAP. LV.—*Druso Cæsare, &c.* This was in A.U.C. 768, A.D. 15.—*Manente bello*. "While the war still continued."—*Præcepit*. "He anticipated it."—*Dissidere hostem, &c.* "That the enemy were divided into opposite factions between Arminius and Segestes." The expression here is the same as in *verba partiendi*, taking *in* with the accusative of the person or persons to whom the shares fall.—*Arminius*. The German name *Hermann* Latinized.—*Crimina et innoxios*. Instead of saying, "guilty and innocent," or "guilt and innocence." Tacitus, aiming at variety and contrast, takes one term from the former, and the other from the latter mode of expression.—*Consensu*. "By the universal agreement."—*Privatim*. "By motives of a domestic nature."—*Filiam*. Thusnelda.—*Gener invisus inimici soceri*. Instances of this kind of tautology are not uncommon. Compare "*Fratris filio juveni patruus senex parere dedignabatur*" (ii., 45); "*Utinam ego potius filio juveni, quam ille patri seni cecisset*" (iii., 16); "*Fratrem ne desere frater*" (*Virg.*, *Æn.*, x., 600).

CHAP. LVI.—*Tumultuarias catervas*. "Some hastily-enrolled bands." The term *tumultuarii* is properly applied to soldiers raised hastily on some sudden or dangerous war breaking out (*tumultus*) in Italy or Cisalpine Gaul. Here it is used in a general sense.—*Germanorum cis Rhenum colentium*. The Ubii, Batavi, and Sigambri, the latter transplanted to the left bank. The Vangiones, Triboci, and Nemetes were probably not called because they belonged to the upper province:—*Positoque castello . . . in monte Tauno*. Mons Taunus is now called not only by its ancient name, but also *die Höhe* and *der Heyrich*. The fort mentioned in the text as having been first erected by Drusus, and afterward rebuilt by Germanicus, was not that on the Fulda (now *Cassel*), but was in the territory of Mattium; and some remains are still to be seen near Homburg.

L. Apronio. L. Apronius had distinguished himself in the Pannonian war, A.D. 6–9. (*Vell.*, ii., 116). He had been consul suffectus in A.D. 8,

and he was now *legatus* of Germanicus, and with the same dignity as the military commanders of the two German provinces, namely, *legatus pro prætore*, as appears from the award of the *insignia triumphi* to all three (chap. lxxii.).—*Ad munitiones viarum*, &c. “For repairing the roads and bridging the rivers.” The *munitiones viarum* refer properly to the raising and strengthening of the banks, in order to guard against inundations. Compare notes on *Agric.*, xxxi., where the phrase *munire viam* is explained. The proper meaning of *munitio fluminum* is the “damming up of rivers,” but this is out of the question here.

Imbresque et fluminum auctus. The former were the cause of the latter but, independently of that, they were feared, because in themselves they made the ways impracticable.—*Adranam*. The Eder. Mannert makes it very probable that Tacitus here has fallen into an error, and that for *Adranam* he ought to have written *Loganam*. The Logana is now the *Lahne*. (*Mannert, Geogr.*, iii., p. 564.)—*Quod illi moris*, &c. “Which is their custom, as often as they have fled, more from craft than from fear.”

CHAP. LVII.—*Circumsedebatur*. “He was besieged.”—*Quando*. In the sense of *quoniam*, as in i., 44, 59; ii., 26.—*Quanto quis audacia*, &c. Tacitus frequently has, with *quanto . . . tanto*, in one member the positive of an adjective, &c., and in the other the comparative, where the earlier writers have in both clauses the comparative.—*Rebusque motis potior*. “And the more to be preferred in times of commotion.”—*Anno quo Germaniæ descivere*. This was in A.D. 9, and was shortly followed by the disaster of Varus.—*Germaniæ*. Not the two Roman provinces on the left bank, nor yet those on the left, and the rest of Germany on the right bank, but simply the latter. The plural denotes the districts occupied by the several nations or tribes.—*Aram Ubiorum*. Consult notes on chap. xxxix.—*Ruperat*. “He had rent.”

Gallicam in ripam. Although the two German provinces lay on the left bank of the Rhine, it is called, from the bulk of its population, the *Gallic bank*, in opposition to the right bank, which was entirely German.—*Germanico pretium fuit*, &c. “It appeared to Germanicus worth his while to march back.” The full form would be *operæ pretium fuit*, as used by the earlier writers.—*Clientium*. Compare *Germ.*, xiii.—*Victa in lacrimas*. “Subdued to tears.”—*Intra sinum*. “Within the folds of her dress,” *i. e.*, between her breast and waist.

CHAP. LVIII.—*Simul Segestes ipse*. “At the same time appeared Segestes himself.” The generic notion of “appeared” is to be supplied from *ferebantur*, at the close of the previous chapter.—*Bonæ*. “Well and faithfully kept.”—*Ex vestris utilitatibus*. “With reference to your interests.”—*Conducere*. With this verb we must supply *judicabam*, from *probabam*, at the end of the sentence, which latter includes the notion of judging and deciding.—*Reum feci*. “I arraigned.”—*Conscios*. “His accomplices.”—*Illanox*. Compare chap. lv. The wish that follows is added by him because he had taken part in the destruction of Varus, and in the later wars; to

which also the next sentence refers.—*Defleri*. He means by the Germans.

Ubi primum tui copia. “As soon as an opportunity is afforded of conferring with you.”—*Ob præmium*. “With any view to reward.”—*Conciliator*. “Mediator,” *i. e.*, of peace and alliance with the Romans.—*Quod ex Arminio concepit*, &c. That is, that she is the wife of Arminius, or the daughter of Segestes.—*Vetere in provincia*. On the left bank of the Rhine. The “New Province” would be that which the Romans, before the overthrow of Varus, possessed on the right bank, as they had neither given up their supposed right to this, nor abandoned the hope of regaining it.—*Nomen imperatoris*. This was now given for the second time. Compare *Orelli, Insc. Rom.*, 656.—*Ludibrio*. “Mockery.” The story, whatever it is, is lost. In xi., 16, A.D. 47, the son of Arminius is spoken of as dead.

CHAP. LIX.—*Ut quibusque bellum invitis*, &c. Compare notes on *Agric.*, xviii.: “*Bellum volentibus erat*.”—*Unam mulierculam*. “One poor woman,” *i. e.*, feeble and unprotected.—*Redderet filio*, &c. The common reading is *Redderet filio sacerdotium; hominem Germanos nunquam satis excusatu- ros*, &c. But here *hominem* (meaning Segestes) is in its wrong place. Several alterations have been proposed; but that of Wolf’s, which is adopted in the text, is by far the best; it improves both sentences. Arminius speaks with contempt of a Roman priesthood being bestowed upon a Cheruscan chief.—*Aliis gentibus ignorantia*, &c. He means to say, that other tribes, who, through their ignorance of the character of the Roman dominion, do not make a strenuous resistance, may be more easily excused than those who have experienced it, and do not make every effort to escape from it.—*Nescia*. “Unknown.”

Quando. In the sense of *quoniam*. Compare chap. lvii.—*Delectus*. For carrying on the war in Germany. Compare *Suet., Tib.*, 18; *Vell.*, ii., 120.—*Imperitum adolescentulum*. Germanicus. And yet Arminius himself was not much older than the Roman prince.—*Patriam, parentes*. The slave of right possesses neither.—*Colonias novas*. This is said with reference to the old colonies planted by the Romans, for the purpose of protecting the conquered territory, and which had been destroyed after the victory of Arminius.

CHAP. LX.—*Sed conterminæ gentes*. Supply *etiam* after *sed*. It is frequently thus omitted. Compare *Sall., Cat.*, 18: “*Non consulibus modo, sed plerisque senatoribus*.” Sometimes we find the *sed* omitted, as in iv., 35: “*non modo libertas, etiam libido impunita*.”—*Quadraginta cohortibus Romanis*. The four legions of the Lower Rhine. The expression “forty cohorts” is used merely for the sake of variety.—*Bructeros*. Compare *Germ.*, xxxiii.—*Amisiam*. Not to be confounded with the Amisia, which falls into the German Ocean. The river here meant separates Westphalia, Mark, and Dortmund, and falls into the Rhine.—*Pedo*. Probably C. Pedo Albinovanus, of whose poetry we have a fragment remaining, on the voyage of Ger-

manicus down the Amisia to the ocean. Compare ii., 23; *Ovid. ex Pont.*, iv., 10, 16.—*Frisiorum*. Compare *Germ.*, xxxiv.

Quatuor legiones. Those of the Upper Rhine.—*Lacus*. The lakes are now united in the Zuyder Zée. He entered them from the Rhine, by the *Fossa Drusiana*, now the *Yssel*.—*Prædictum*. “Before mentioned.” A usage frequent in Velleius and later writers.—*L. Stertinus*. He formed here the advanced guard of the army, moving from north to south.—*Amisiam et Luppian amnes inter*. The collocation of the preposition, after two words combined by a copulative particle, is a modern usage. The preposition must be a dissyllable, with its first syllable long.—*Teutoburgiensi saltu*. The Teutoburgian forest is here meant. The locality of the field of battle where Varus was overthrown has not been determined with any certainty, though not a little has been written on the subject. Most writers have looked for the spot in the vicinity of *Teuteberg*, near *Detmold*, of *Winfeld*, and *Varenholz* (the wood of Varus).

CHAP. LXI.—*Aggeres*. “Causeways.”—*Humido paludum*. “Over the watery portion of the morasses.”—*Fallacibus*. “Insecure.”—*Incedunt*. “They enter upon.”—*Prima Vari castra*. Germanicus came from the west, Varus had fallen back from the east. As the description here follows Varus’s line of march, it appears that Germanicus had pushed beyond the first camp of Varus, for the purpose of reviewing the localities according to the order of the events.—*Dimensis principis*. From the marking out of the *principia* proceeded that of the entire camp, and the lines of tents all led up to this.—*Trium legionum manus ostentabant*. “Showed the hands of three legions,” *i. e.*, that the hands of three legions had been employed upon it. In other words, showed that when the camp was formed the three legions were still entire.

Dein. This refers to some spot distinct from that just spoken of. This second camp was made on the second day, on some hill or other. Compare *Dio Cass.*, lvi., 21.—*Semiruto vallo*. The circumstance that this *vallum* of the second camp was half fallen in, showed that it was not strongly made in the first instance.—*Medio campi*. “In the intervening portion of the plain.” Not only between the two camps, but generally between the mountains and the forests.—*Simul truncis*, &c. To this supply from *adjacebant* only the general notion of proximity.—*Ora*. “Human skulls.”—*Legatos*. The separate commanders of the legions.—*Infelici*. Because compelled to such an act. The act in itself is not hereby censured.—*Invenierit*. Earlier writers would have employed *invenisset* after *referebant*.—*Patibula*. The *patibulum* was a piece of timber, forked above, to the arms of which the outspread hands were nailed, thus answering the same purpose as a cross.—*Scrobes*. In which they were tortured.

CHAP. LXII.—*Romanus qui aderat exercitus*. Nipperdey compares this iteration of the same words, as in the beginning of the previous chapter, to the antistrophic respension in lyrical measures, and to be intended to ex

press strong feeling. Of a similar character, as regards the indication of deep emotion, is the neglect of strict grammatical form in *omnes . . . consanguineos* after *trium legionum ossa*, and *mæsti . . . condebant* after *Romanus . . . exercitus*.—*Nullo noscente*. “No one being able to ascertain.”—*In deterius trahenti*. “Putting an unfavorable construction upon.”—*Formidolosiore*. Used here in the rarer sense “fearful of.” Elsewhere in Tacitus *formidolosus* always occurs in the sense of “formidable,” “to be feared by,” &c.—*Vetustissimis cærimoniis*, &c. By “endowed with most ancient ceremonies,” Tacitus means, put in possession of the knowledge of them, and invested with authority to exercise them.—*Attrectare feralia*. By contact with dead bodies consecrated places (*templa*) and priests were defiled.

CHAP. LXIII.—*Campumque . . . eripi*. This is a phrase borrowed from the Roman circus. When four chariots started from the *carceres*, if that which came through the first door-way won the prize, they said *occupavit et vicit*; if that which came through the second, *successit et vicit*; if that which came through the third, *eripuit* (*campum præcedentibus*) *et vicit*. Compare *Gronov.*, *ad loc.*—*Colligi*. “To keep close together.”—*Vertit*. “Wheeled about.”—*Subsidiaria*. “Forming the reserve of the cavalry.” That they were *socii* is shown by their being called simply *cohortes*, without mention of the contrary; always so to be understood in Tacitus, unless the context itself implies that the case was otherwise.—*Trudebanturque*. Both *eques* and *cohortes*.—*Ni Cæsar*, &c. Consult notes on chapters xxiii. and xxxv.—*Productas legiones instruxisset*. “Drawn out the legions in order of battle.”—*Manibus æquis*. “On equal terms,” *i. e.*, without advantage on either side. So “*æqua manu*,” *Sall.*, *Cat.*, 39.

Litore oceani. Compare “*finibus Frisiorum*,” chap. lx.—*Suum militem*. The legions of *Germania inferior*, which he usually commanded. Compare chap. xxxi.—*Pontes longos*. These *pontes longi* were discovered in 1818, beneath the marshy soil in the province of *Drenthe*, not far from *Cævorda* and *Valthe*, running from the forest of *Weerding* to *Ter-Haar*. They consist of gravel heaped up and held together by stakes and beams on each side. The stakes have been worn away at the extremities by age, but still exist beneath the surface.—*Aggeratus*. “Raised.” More literally, “heaped up.” Compare previous note.—*Tenacia gravi cæno*. That is, the feet of those who stepped upon them stuck in the clay.—*In loco*. Namely, where he was.—*Ut opus et alii*, &c. This omission of the first *alii* is rather violent. Compare *Liv.*, iii., 37: “*Virgis cædi, alii securi subijci*.” *Primum* is omitted in a similar manner in chap. lxxvii.: “*Ut hi, mox pedes*,” &c.

CHAP. LXIV.—*Stationes*. “The outposts.”—*Lacessunt*. In front; *circumgrediuntur*, on the flanks; *occursant*, the instant the Romans make a movement in any direction, especially when they want to prevent those attempting to get in their rear.—*Uligine profunda*. “Deep with ooze.” Literally, “of deep ooze.”—*Gradum*. The posture with the legs apart, as for stepping. Compare xiv., 37: “*Legio gradæ immota*,” and *Hist.*, ii., 35:

“*stabili gradu.*” Often *de gradu dejicere.*—*Inclinantes jam.* The MS. has *tam*, changed by some editors into *tum*; but Wolf’s correction, *jam*, gives a much clearer sense. Compare *Germ.*, viii.

Subjecta. “The low grounds.” Supply *loca.*—*Duplicatus militi labor.* That is, they had to do all their work over again.—*Medio montium et paludum.* Before and behind were morasses, on both sides mountains. The plain in question he wished to reach on the following day, and, with a view to this, adopts the order of march which follows. On this plain he will, then, keep off the enemy until the main body of his army has passed.—*Tenuem aciem.* “A small army.” He intends, as just remarked, to take up a position there with only a part of his force, while the heavier portion of the troops, including the wounded and the baggage, pass on.

CHAP. LXV.—*Nox per diversa iniquis.* “The night was a restless one (to both armies), but from different causes.”—*Sonore.* A poetical word used by Lucretius and Virgil; by Tacitus also in iv., 48, and xiv., 36.—*Resultantes.* “Re-echoing.”—*Invalidi ignes.* “Feeble watch-fires.”—*Voces.* The cries of the sentinels.—*Atque ipsi.* This refers to the soldiers in general, as distinguished from the sentinels.—*Dira quies.* “A direful vision during his sleep.”—*Intendentis*, scil. *Vari*, to drag Cæcina along with him.—*Quamquam libero incursu.* “Although with nothing to impede his attacking.”—*Fossis.* “Holes.” Natural holes or pits are here meant.—*Utque tali tempore.* Not a repetition of the *ut* before *hæsere*, but “and as is natural at such a time.”—*Adversum.* “Towards.”—*Eodem fato vincæ.* “Bound down by the same destiny.”

Simul hæc. Supply *dixit.*—*Scindit.* “Breaks through.”—*Enisæ.* “Struggled forth.”—*Agger.* “The materials for the mound,” *i. e.*, earth and turf for the *vallum.*—*Per quæ*, &c. Circumlocution, to avoid mentioning the common names of the tools.—*Fomenta.* “Remedies.”—*Funestas tentbras.* “The funereal darkness.”

CHAP. LXVI.—*Vinculis.* “His fastenings.”—*Obturbavit.* Equivalent here to *prostravit.* (*Bött.*, *Lex. Tac.*, s. v.).—*Consternatio.* Supply *orta est.*—*Decumana.* Opposite to the *Porta Prætoria.* There were also two side gates, *principalis dextra* and *sinistra.*—*Comperto.* For *quum comperisset.*—*Obsistere aut retinere.* “To stop or hold back.”—*Projectus.* “Having flung himself prostrate.”

CHAP. LXVII.—*Contractos in principia.* The *principia* was the principal street of the Roman camp, stretching right across in front of the tents of the tribunes, and one hundred feet wide. In this part of the camp was the *tribunal*, near which the standards were deposited.—*Temporis et necessitatis monet.* “Warns them of the urgent necessity of the crisis.”—Hendiadys.—*Consilio temperanda.* “Must be guided by counsel.”—*Donec expugnandi*, &c. Dislocation of words from the usual order, where, however, no misunderstanding can result. Tacitus has other instances of similar transpo-

sition. Thus, “*Ereptum jus legatis ducendi in hostem*” (xiii., 54); and again, “*Ardore retinendæ Agrippinam potentiæ eo usque provectam*” (xiv., 2).—*Quæ in castris honesta*. Their character for bravery, keeping their standards, in short, their honor as soldiers.—*Equos dehinc*, &c. The fury of the enemy had been principally directed against the horses. Compare chap. lxx.—*Ut hi*. Supply *primum*.

CHAP. LXVIII.—*Agebat*. Equivalent, in fact, to the simple *erat*, though, grammatically we may supply *noctem* or *tempus*.—*Inguiomero*. Compare chap. lx.—*Læta*. “Acceptable.”—*Proruunt fossas*. They break down forward the banks of the fosses, so as to fill them up. Now, as the banks form the foss, and without them it does not exist, what is done with them may be predicated of the whole foss.—*Summa valli prensant*. Compare *Liv.*, ix., 14, 9: “*Cum pars fossas explerent, pars vellerent vallum atque in fossas pruerent*.”—*Postquam hæserè munimentis*. Meaning that they were all upon the fortifications, and were wholly set on carrying them by storm, not that they were entangled or had stuck fast any where.—*Æquis locis æquos deos*. As we would say, “equal chances in a fair field.”—*Excidium*, scil. *castrorum*.—*Cogitanti*. “Expecting.”

CHAP. LXIX.—*Pervaserat fama*. “A report had spread.”—*Impositum Rheno pontem*. As Cæcina, with the legions of the Lower Province, fell back from the Ems, this bridge must have been at *Vetera*, where was the winter camp of the fifth and twenty-first legions, two of those which Cæcina commanded. Lipsius is incorrect in referring this bridge to the country of the Treveri.—*Induit*. “Took upon herself.”—*C. Plinius*. Pliny the elder. He wrote twenty books on the German wars, thirty-one of the history of his own times, from the point at which the narrative of Aufidius Bassus ceased, and several other works, including a celebrated Natural History. This last, in thirty-seven books, is the only production of his which has come down to us.—*Laudes et grates habentem*. The usual phrase for “to thank” is *grates* or *gratias agere*; whereas *grates* or *gratiam habere* is properly “to feel thankful.” The plural *gratias* with *habere* occurs only in the connection *gratias agere atque habere*.

Non simplices. “Were not without some hidden purpose,” *i. e.*, that there was some sinister design in all this anxiety on the part of Agrippina.—*Quæri*. “Sought to be won.”—*Manipulos*. The soldiers in camp or barracks, where those of the same maniple are more apart from the rest. This refers to *ut quis inops*, &c.; as *signa*, *i. e.*, the soldiers, when drawn out, refers to *stetisse apud principium pontis*.—*Parum ambitiose*. “With but small tokens (hitherto) of ambitious designs.”—*Gregali habitu*. “In the uniform of a common soldier.” Compare chap. xli.—*Onerabat*. “Aggravated.”—*Odia jaciens*. A metaphor from sowing seed.—*In longum*. To a time which does not arrive till long afterward.

CHAP. LXX.—*Legionum, quas navibus* &c. Compare chap. lx.—*P. Vit.*

ellio. Uncle of the future emperor, A. Vitellius. He was at this time a *legatus*.—*Vadoso*. Because the fleet kept close in shore.—*Reciproco*. “When the tide ebbed.”—*Sideret*. Off this part of the coast the sea retires to a great distance at ebb-tide.—*Sidere æquinocitii*. “By the influence of the equinoctial constellation.” From the preceding details of the events of this year, it is clear that the autumnal equinox is meant. The constellation is *Libra*.—*Opplebantur*. “Were completely inundated.” From this and several passages, it is clear that the coast was not then, as now, protected by banks of sand from the incursions of the sea.

Hauriuntur gurgitibus. “Are swallowed up by the eddies.”—*Interfluunt, occursant*. “Float among, come in contact with them.”—*Subtracto solo*. That is, they got out of their depth.—*Adversante aqua*. “The water opposing,” *i. e.*, the noise of the water drowning all such cries.—*Sapiens ab-rudi*. “The one who possessed insight from him who was devoid of it,” *i. e.*, who possessed sagacity to see how the case lay, from him who had none. The MS. has a *prudenti*. Hence some have conjectured *ab imprudenti*; others, *insciens a prudenti*. The simplest and best correction, however, is *ab rudi*.—*Sine utensilibus*. “Without the ordinary necessaries of life.” By *utensilia* are here meant all the ordinary necessaries of life, not merely what we call utensils, *i. e.*, implements. Corn is a principal part of these essentials, and it is not to exclude it from them that it is specifically mentioned in ii., 60: “*frumenti et omnium utensilium*,” but to give it prominence by distinguishing it from the rest.

Usus. “The resource.”—*Unsingim*. There is some difficulty in this passage. The MS. has *Visurgim*, where manifestly there is some error; for Vitellius was marching from the mouth of the Ems to the Rhine; he could not come to the Weser. If the mistake was not made by Tacitus, but by the transcriber, the most probable correction is *Unsingim*, which would closely resemble it in the writing of the MSS., and might easily be corrupted, as the *Visurgis* was a river much better known to the Romans. The modern name of the *Unsingis* is the *Hunse* or *Hunsing*: it runs by Gröningen.—*Submersas*. Supply *fuisse*.—*Nec fides salutis*. “Nor was there any belief in their safety.”

CHAP. LXXI.—*Jam Stertinius, &c.* Stertinius, who was accustomed to lead cavalry and light troops (compare chap. lx.), had probably brought back from the Ems that part of the cavalry of which it is said (chap. lxiii.), “*pars equitum litore oceani petere Rhenum jussa*,” and, on his leaving the Ems, received the orders which he here executes. The matter is to be so conceived, that Segimerus, during the fightings of this year between Germanicus and Arminius, entered into negotiations with the former. As, however, the time and place did not seem favorable to his going over, a later time, and a place more to the south, were chosen for the purpose, for which reason Stertinius did not take him to Vetera, but to the city of the Ubii.

Filium. Named Sesithacus. Compare *Strab.*, vii., p. 292.—*Circumire saucios*. At this time there were no infirmaries in the camps. Compare iv., 63.

CHAP. LXXII.—*Triumphalia insignia*. Consult notes on chap. xl., of the *Agricola*.—*Ingestum*. “Pressed.”—*In acta sua jurari*. Consult notes on chap. vii.—*Non tamen ideo, &c.* “He did not, however, on that account, gain credit for a popular spirit.”—*Legem majestatis*. “The law of treason.” Supply *læsæ* after *majestatis*. The first law on this subject was that of Sulla (*Cic. ad Fam.*, iii., 11). This was followed by two others; one brought forward by Julius Cæsar, the dictator; the other by Augustus. By the former, those who were condemned for violence and treason were interdicted from fire and water. This was for the most part abrogated by Antony, after Cæsar’s death. The latter, which is treated of in the Digests, continued long in force, and was amplified and extended, as we find here, by Tiberius. After the time of Tiberius, the *crimen majestatis* might well be called “*omnium accusationum complementum*” (iii., 38). Impiety toward the emperor was included under it (vi., 47).

Sed alia in judicium veniebant. “But different questions were tried under it.”—*Populi Romani*. The emphasis lies on this: “of the Roman people,” not merely of an individual, as afterward in the case of an emperor. Observe, moreover, the zeugma in *minuisset*.—*Primus Augustus, &c.* “Augustus was the first who took cognizance of libels, under the pretence of this law.”—*Libidine*. “By the license.”—*Libido* in Tacitus is *libertas* carried too far. It is equivalent to *licentia* or ὕβρις.—*An judicium majestatis redderentur*. “Whether trials for treason should be had.”—*Carmina*. Some of these effusions are given by Suetonius (*Tib.*, 59).

CHAP. LXXIII.—*Modicis*. “Of moderate fortunes.” They belonged to the *Equites Angusticlavii*, as distinguished from the *Equites Illustres*. The latter were those who had the privilege of wearing the *latus clavus*. To them belonged the sons of senators before they obtained any offices, and also those who possessed the fortune of a senator, and to whom in consequence the road to the offices of the state was open. On the other hand, the *Equites Angusticlavii* were those who were not sprung from senators, and who, from not possessing more than the ordinary fortune of an *eques*, were precluded from bearing the offices of the state.—*Prætentata crimina*. “The pretended crimes charged.”

Dein repressum sit, &c. Under Tiberius there was no repression of the *lex majestatis*. Caligula promised to stay it, but did not keep his word (*Dio Cass.*, lix., 4). A stop was actually put to it by Claudius, which lasted until A.D. 62, the eighth year of the reign of Nero (*Dio Cass.*, lx., 3). It was again stopped by Vespasian and Titus, but revived once more in full force by Domitian.

Qui per omnes domos, &c. Each several *domus* (this meant only the richer houses) had its *collegium*, consisting of the persons belonging to the *domus*, and of people who had not themselves a *domus*.—*Numen Augusti*. This is a conjectural reading; the MS. has *nomen Augusti*.—*Ludis*. Afterward called *Ludi Palatini*, from the place where they were held. They appear to have been scenic in their character. (Compare *Suet.*, *Cal.*, 56,

58.)—*Venditionibus accedant*. “Be comprehended in the sales.” Literally “be added to the sales.”—*Perinde æstimandum quam*. “Was to be regarded in the same light as.”

CHAP. LXXIV.—*Prætorem Bithyniæ*. Under Augustus it was arranged that some of the provinces should be immediately under the emperor, and others under the senate. The governors of the former, *legati pro prætore*, or, in the smaller provinces, *procuratores*, were nominated by the emperor; whereas, to the latter governors were sent by the senate, appointed by lot; to Asia and Africa, consular men; to the rest, men who had served as prætors. The governors of all senatorial provinces, however, bore the title of *proconsul*. To these senatorial provinces belonged Bithynia, and therefore we find elsewhere (xvi., 18) “*proconsul Bithyniæ*.” Here, however, Tacitus has *prætorem* in reference to the actual relation, as Bithynia was properly a prætorian province, and was governed by a person who had been prætor. So xv., 25: “*Qui prætorum finitimas provincias regebant*.”

Majestatis postulavit. “Accused of treason.” Connected with this, as appears, was a charge of extortion. Compare the end of the present chapter. *Postulare* is frequently used in reference to both public and private trials. In the former, it properly means to ask the prætor’s permission for bringing an action against any one; in the latter, to ask his permission to impeach any one. From this it came to be equivalent to *accusare*.—*Subscribente Romano Hispone*. “Romanus Hispo supporting the charge.” *Subscribere* is applied to both the principal and secondary accuser, from their signing their names at the bottom of the indictment. Romanus Hispo is found among those of whom the rhetorician Seneca has given sentences from *controversiæ*.

Qui formam vitæ iniit, &c. This relates to Crispinus, not to Hispo, as appears from what follows: “*Marcellum insimulabat . . . addidit Hispo*.” The clause *subscribente Romano Hispone* is parenthetical.—*Occultis libellis*. “By secret informations.”—*Postremum*. So xi., 2. Commonly *ad postremum*, as in xiii., 46; *Hist.*, i., 39.

Sinistros sermones. “Defamatory discourses.”—*Inevitabile crimen*. Consult notes on chap. xxvii.—*Alia in statua, &c.* Compare *Suet.*, *Tib.*, 58. This was common enough in the time of Pliny: “*Surdo figurarum discriminate capita permutantur*” (*H. N.*, xxxv., 2).—*Ad quod exarsit, &c.* This was an indignity offered to tyrants, and Marcellus, by this act seemed to charge Augustus with being such. In addition to which, as Augustus was a god, it was an act of impiety.—*Palam et juratum*. Usually only those, who first *rogabantur sententiam*, gave their sentence by word of mouth (*palam*); and on the opinions thus brought before them the division (*discessio*), or actual voting, then took place. An oath in the votings of the senate was likewise out of the usual course, being taken only on special occasions. The words *quo ceteris eadem necessitas fieret* are an addition of Tacitus.

Censebis. “Will you give your opinion.”—*Quantoque*. Ernesti conjectured *quandoque*, but the alteration is unnecessary. Properly we should

have had a comparative in the second member as well as the first, but Tacitus is very lax in the use of such phrases.—*Pœnitentia patiens*. “Submissive from regret.”—*Recuperatores*. “Commissioners” for estimating and recovering the damages, and making restitution to those who had been injured. This cause was tried in the senate, and not before the prætor, in compliance with the recommendation of Mæcenas to Augustus, that all charges against senators, or their wives and children, should be brought before the senate. (*Dio Cass.*, lii., 31.) On the other hand, the referring of the *repetundarum querela* to *recuperatores* was granted by the senate, when the person was not accused of having received a bribe for the perpetration of particular crimes; the action thus became one *privati juris*, and went merely to the recovery of the money taken.

CHAP. LXXV.—*Cognitionibus*. “With the judicial investigations.”—*In cornu tribunalis*. “In a wing of the tribunal.” The shape of the tribunal at first was rectangular, and this form continued as long as the basilicæ were simply used as courts of justice. But when spacious halls were erected not only for the proceedings of the magistrates, but also for the convenience of traders as well as loungers, then the semicircular or receding tribunal was adopted, in order that the noise and confusion in the basilica might not interrupt the proceedings of the magistrates. In the centre of this semicircular tribunal was placed the curule chair of the prætor, and seats for the judices, who sometimes amounted to the number of one hundred and eighty, and for the advocates; while round the sides of the semicircle, called the wings (*cornua*), were seats for persons of distinction. It was on one of these *cornua* that Tiberius sat.—*Ne prætorem curuli depelleret*. “That he might not dispossess the prætor of his curule chair,” *i. e.*, might not sit himself as presiding judge.

Adversus ambitum. “Against illegal influence (on the minds of the judges),” *i. e.*, so that illegal influences should avail nothing to sway the minds of the judges. This is explained by the addition *et potentium preces*.—*Libertas corrumpatur*. Since the judges decided justly, indeed, yet not by their free will, but by the will of the emperor.

Mole publicæ viæ. “By the pressure of the public way.” The downward pressure of the raised way for the street, and also of the aqueduct, forced inward the foundations of his house. The stones used for making the public roads and building the aqueducts were of an immense size and weight. The very carrying of them through the city was, as we learn from Pliny (*Pan.*, 51), accustomed to shake the houses.—*Ærarii prætoribus*. In B.C. 28, Augustus gave the charge of the *ærarium* to two prefects, whom he allowed the senate to select from among the prætors at the end of their year of office; but as he suspected that this gave rise to canvassing, he enacted, in B.C. 23, that two of the prætors in office should have the charge of the *ærarium* by lot. They were called *prætores ærarii*. This arrangement continued till the reign of Claudius, who restored to the quæstors the care of the *ærarium*. Other changes, however, were from time to time made.

Subvenit . . . tribuit. From the *fiscus*, or imperial privy purse, as in all cases of money given by the emperor, where it is not otherwise expressed.—*Erogandæ per honesta*, &c. “Being fond of paying out money on fair occasions,” *i. e.*, of being liberal on fair occasions. *Erogare* is a word specially connected with the treasury.—*Veniam ordinis.* Permission to retire from the rank of senator.—*Decies sestertium.* “A million of sesterces.” This was the senatorial census or fortune fixed by Augustus. Compare *Dio Cass.*, liv., 17, 26. Suetonius (*Aug.*, 41), incorrectly, has *duodecies*.—*Confessione et beneficio.* “To exposure and relief.”

CHAP. LXXVI.—*Auctus Tiberis*, &c. These inundations were always considered ill-omened. To prevent them, Augustus widened the bed of the river. Trajan dug a canal from the Mulvian bridge through what is now called the *Valle dell' Inferno*, in order to draw off its waters. Aurelian secured the banks of the river with strong walls from the city to Ostia. The best plan was that of Julius Cæsar, which his death prevented him from carrying into effect, namely, to drain the Pontine marshes, and cause the Tiber to empty itself into the sea, by a broad and deep canal dug from the city to Tarracina. (*Suet.*, *Jul.*, 44.)—*Asinius Gallus.* Compare chap. xiii.—*Libri Sibyllini.* These were consulted in the case of prodigies and calamities. They were kept in a stone chest, under ground, in the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus.—*Remedium . . . mandatum.* The *curatores alvei Tiberini* (*Suet.*, *Aug.*, 37) seem only to have had the charge of cleansing the bed of the river.

Achaiam ac Macedoniam. These were senatorial provinces. Consult notes on chap. lxxiv. The governors of these, as they also took with them another magistrate, the quæstor, were more expensive to the province. There was not only the maintenance of their more numerous train to be provided for, but also the various presents to the proconsul and quæstor, and their officers; illegal, indeed, but sanctioned by long usage: and for all this there was no remedy, so long as no gross and flagrant extortion was practiced. These burdens were increased by the usual yearly change of governors. Tiberius, on several occasions, displayed his concern for the interests of the provinces (iv., 15; *Suet.*, *Tib.*, 32).—*Tradi Cæsari.* That is, they were made imperial provinces.

Vulgo. The MS. has *vulgus*. It is uncertain whether *vulgo* or *vulgus* is the true reading. *Formidolosum* is very commonly used in this passive sense. Some editors retain *vulgus*, and translate it as if *ut* were introduced before *formidolosum*; but this is very forced. Others take *formidolosum* in the sense of “timid,” agreeing with *vulgus*. But *dicebatur* will hardly allow us to suppose that *vulgus* is the subject of *arguisse*.—*Et pater arguisse dicebatur.* “And which his father was said to have blamed.”—*Varie trahebant.* “They construed in various ways.” Equivalent to *alii in meliorem, alii in pejorem partem trahebant*, *i. e.*, *vertebant, interpretabantur*.—*Tristitia ingenii.* “On account of the austerity of his turn of mind.”—*Materiem.* For *ocasionem* or *opportunitatem*.

CHAP. LXXVII.—*Proximo priore anno*. “In the year immediately preceding.” *Proximo* is not without force here: all preceding years would be *priores*.—*Probra*. “Insults.”—*Jus virgarum*. “The right of scourging.”—*Quia divus Augustus, &c.* Compare Suetonius (*Aug.*, 45): “*Coercitionem in histriones magistratibus in omni tempore et loco lege vetere permissam ademit, præterquam ludis et scena.*” That is, except during the games and on the stage. Exile and imprisonment were the modes of punishment which he allowed.

De modo lucaris. “Concerning the limitation of the pay of the actors.” The term *lucar* properly means fees paid to those who took part in the religious services celebrated in groves. Here it signifies the pay of the actors. Theatrical exhibitions were considered partly of a religious character. The pay varied at different times; sometimes it was five, sometimes seven denarii per day. Several emperors, besides Tiberius, found it necessary to restrict the practice of giving immoderate sums to actors.—*Fautorum*. “Of their partisans.”—*Spectantium immodestiam, &c.* “Of punishing the excesses of the spectators with exile.”

CHAP. LXXVIII.—*Colonia Tarraconensi*. The ancient inhabitants of Tarraco, now *Tarragona*, in Spain, who were not Roman citizens, had erected an altar to Augustus while yet living. Here the colony of Roman citizens in that quarter is permitted to build a temple to him, and what is said of this example having been followed in all the provinces refers only to the cities of Roman citizens (colonies and *municipia*). For the provincials themselves had already every where built temples to him.—*Centesimam rerum venalium*. “A tax of one in the hundred upon all vendible commodities,” *i. e.*, one per cent. It is a mistaken assumption that this tax was levied only from the auctions, for neither does the general expression *rerum venalium* admit of this, nor would such a duty have been specially burdensome to the people. Compare *ii.*, 42.

Militare ærarium, &c. “That upon this tax depended the fund for the army.” The *militare ærarium* was founded by Augustus, A.D. 6, in consequence of the difficulty which was experienced in obtaining sufficient funds from the ordinary revenues of the state to give the soldiers their rewards upon dismissal from service.—*Impærem . . . dimitterentur*. The sooner they were disbanded, the oftener would the state have to discharge its debts due to them.—*Proximæ seditionis male consulta*. “The ill-advised regulations made in the case of the late sedition.”—*Sedecim stipendiorum finem*. That is, the termination of the service at the end of sixteen years.—*Abolita in posterum*. Those who served in Italy, however, were still disbanded at the end of sixteen years. (*Dio Cass.*, *lvii.*, 6.)

CHAP. LXXIX.—*Actum deinde in senatu, &c.* The commission appointed above (chap. *lxxvi.*) now makes its report.—*Clanis*. Now the *Chiaca* or *Chiana*. A river of Etruria, rising from two small lakes, west of the Lake Trasimenus (*Lago di Perugia*), and falling into the Tiber east of Vul-

sinii.—*Arnum*. The Arnis is now the *Arno*.—*Interamnates*. Interamna, now *Terni*, lay on the Nar (now the *Nera*), in Umbria.—*In rivos diductus*. It was proposed to draw it off by channels, so that the water would soak away into the land.—*Reatini*. The inhabitants of Reate, in the Sabine country, now *Rieti*. The lacus Velinus lay between Reate and Interamna.—*Patriis amnibus*. “To the rivers of their respective countries.” The meaning here given to *patriis* (belonging to one’s *patria*) saves the necessity of changing *sociorum* to *majorum*, as some do.—*Pisonis*. Without prænomen, because the person here meant was mentioned just before (chap. lxxiv.).

CHAP. LXXX.—*Poppæo Sabino*. Consul in 9 A.D.—*Additis Achaia ac Macedonia*. In execution of the decree passed shortly before (chap. lxxvi.). For Mœsia (south of the Danube, from the Savus to Thrace) was an imperial province. What follows also refers to the imperial provinces.—*Jurisdictionibus*. The smaller provinces, which, like Judæa, were administered by procurators.—*Alii, &c.* From *traduntur* the active is supplied.—*Novæ curæ*. “Of recurring care.”—*Invidia*. “From a malignant feeling.”—*Anxium*. “Irresolute.”—*Quos egredi urbe, &c.* Not that he had made up his mind at the time when he appointed them, not to let them leave the city, for that would be no *hæsitatio*. But, at the moment of giving them their commission, he did not let them go yet; and this went on (*provectus est*) so long, that he never came to the point of allowing them to go.—*Non erat passurus*. “He was never willing to send.”

CHAP. LXXXI.—*Tum primum*. Compare chap. xv.—*Deinceps*. During the remaining years of his reign.—*Significatione*. “Description.” More literally, “mode of indicating them.”—*Ambitu*. “By intrigues.”—*Suam ad id curam*. That is, that he would take care of their interests.—*Professos*. “Had declared their intention (of becoming candidates).”—*Si gratiæ aut meritis confiderent*. “If they had sufficient confidence in their interest or merits.”—*Inania*. “Hollow.”—*Quantoque majore, &c.* In seeming to leave matters free, his design, if he had any, was only to betray one or another into availing themselves of their seeming freedom of action, that so he might discover the daring ones, and be able to destroy them.—*Infensus servitium*. “A more remorseless servitude.”

B O O K I I.

CHAP. I.—*Tauro*. This part of the name is added by some one from a list of consuls, such as the Fasti of Antium (*Gerhard, Archæol. Zeitschrift*, 1846, p. 291): *Sisenna Statilius Taurus, L. Scribonius*. It is Tacitus's practice, except on special occasions, in mentioning men of importance, to give only two of their names; for insignificant persons, or persons universally known, he contents himself with a single one. Some editors, therefore, omit *Tauro*, while others enclose it in brackets.—*Coss.* The year indicated is 16 A.D.—*Arsacidarum*. The *Arsacidæ* was the name of the Parthian dynasty, from Arsaces, the founder of the Parthian empire.—*Externum*. "A foreigner."

Nam Phraates, &c. Tacitus takes occasion of the expulsion of Vonones from Parthia and Armenia, which occurred in this year, to explain in detail, with a view to the better understanding of what he has to relate concerning both countries, the relations in which the Parthians, and, in respect of their connection with them, the Armenians also, had stood to the Romans, since the commencement of the rule of Augustus.—*Quamquam . . . Romanos*. Under Marc Antony, B.C. 36. Compare *Dio Cass.*, xlix., 23.—*Venerantium officia*. "Marks of reverence." Compare the language of the *Monumentum Ancyranum* (tab. 5, 40): "*Parthos trium exercituum Romanorum spolia et signa reddere mihi, supplicesque amicitiam populi Romani petere coegi*" (B.C. 20).—*Partemque prolis*. His sons Seraspadanus, Rhodaspes, Phraates, Vonones, and the two wives and four sons of these.—*Haud perinde, &c.* These words assign the ground of his sending as hostages some of his own offspring; *firmandæ amicitia* only gives the reason why he sent hostages at all.

CHAP. II.—*Sequentium regum*. Phraataces and Orodes. Compare *Josephus*, xviii., 2, 4.—*Cæsar*. In this and the next chapter, Augustus.—*Ad nova imperia*. "At the commencement of a new reign."—*Infectum*. "Tainted."—*Trucidantium Crassum*. Crassus was defeated and slain in B.C. 53.—*Exturbantium Antonium*. Consult notes on chap. i.—*Raro venatu*. This and the following ablatives belong to *accendebat*.—*Fastu*. "His haughty contempt."

Vilissima utensilium, &c. "The most ordinary articles of domestic use secured under a seal." Literally, "a signet-ring." He imitated the Roman custom of sealing up every thing, to prevent pilfering by slaves. As regards *utensilium*, consult notes on i., 70.—*Ignotæ Parthis virtutes, nova vitia*. "Virtues unknown to the Parthians were to them new vices." Supply *erant illis*.—*Perinde odium, &c.* That is, every part of his manners, the

laudable as well as the bad, was subject to equal hatred, because foreign from their own.

CHAP. III.—*Apud Dahæs adultus*. “Brought up among the Dahæ.” The Dahæ were a great Scythian people, who led a nomad life over a great extent of country to the southeast and east of the Caspian. Their name still remains in the modern *Dahistan*.—*Vacua*. “Without a king.”—*Infida*. “Wavering.”—*Artavasden*. Antony enticed him (34 B.C.) into his power, and kept him prisoner, because he thought he had been betrayed by him in the Parthian expedition (B.C. 36). He was put to death 30 B.C. by Cleopatra, to whom Antony had made him over. (*Dio Cass.*, xlix., 39; li., 5.)—*Ejus filius*. He was his eldest son.—*Tigranes*. A younger son of Artavasdes, taken prisoner with his father, and afterward in the power of Augustus. He was appointed in B.C. 20.—*Tiberio Nerone*. So the emperor Tiberius is named before his accession to power.—*Quamquam sociatis, &c.* That is, although they took partners of the throne and marriage bed from among themselves.—*More externo*. We find this custom among other Oriental nations, and also in the Græco-Ægyptian line of the Ptolemies.

CHAP. IV.—*Sine clade nostra*. “Without loss on our part,” *i. e.*, without great expense of Roman blood.—*C. Cæsar*. Compare i., 3. He was sent to the East during his consulship, in 1 A.D.—*Stirpem ejus haud toleravere*. Compare the language of the *Monumentum Ancyrænum* (tab. 5, 30): “*Post ejus (Ariobarzanis) mortem filio ejus Artavasdi (Armeniam tradidi); quo interfecto Tigranem, qui erat ex regio genere Armeniorum oriundus, in id regnum misi.*”—*Erato*. Erato was the sister of a Tigranes, not otherwise known, who had probably overthrown Artavasdes. She had then already reigned some time after her brother's death. (*Dio Cass.*, lv., 10.)—*Ubi minitari Artabanus*. Tacitus puts the historical infinitive in the protasis when a finite verb follows dependent on the same particle. So with *ubi*, xii., 51; *Hist.*, iii., 10; with *postquam*, iii., 26; with *ut*, *Hist.*, iii., 31.—*Creticus Silanus*. Compare chap. xliii.—*Excitum custodia circumdat*. That is, invites him out of his dominions into Syria, and when he comes there sets a guard upon him.—*In loco*. Compare chap. lxxviii.

CHAP. V.—*Suetis*. “Accustomed to his command,” *i. e.*, attached to him from habit.—*Acriora*. “The more ardent.”—*Praëliorum vias tractare*. “Weighed with himself the different methods of bringing on battles.” Literally, “the ways of battles.” The reference is to the different possibilities of the management of war, so as to bring it to a pitched battle or battles, including, of course, the management of the battles themselves.—*Tertium jam annum belligeranti*. In 10 and 11 A.D., Germanicus had commanded on the Rhine under Tiberius as his chief; in 13 A.D. he succeeded to the command in chief; the war began in 14 A.D. According to Roman usage the current year is taken into the reckoning.

Acie et justis locis. “In regular battle, and in fit places,” *i. e.*, on ground

adapted to fighting. The reference, of course, is to such ground as Roman discipline would consider right and proper, not to forests and marshes, where the Germans would have the superiority, with their peculiar mode of warfare.—*Haud perinde*. “Not so much.”—*Promptam ipsis possessionem*. The possession of the sea is prompt for the Roman, because he can forthwith seize it with his fleet; the German knows it not, because he has never attempted to seize it, and from the want of a fleet, and his not knowing how to make one, is not in a condition to do so.

Bellum maturius incipi. The route by sea can be taken earlier in the year than that by land, since for the latter to be practicable in the forests and the sodden soil of Germany, a longer continuance of heat and dry weather must have preceded. The next words refer to the advantage of the route by sea, that the legions, once embarked, are not delayed by the necessity of carrying their provisions.—*Integrum*. “Without loss.”

CHAP. VI.—*Huc intendit*. “To this object he directed his efforts.”—*P. Vitellio*. Compare i., 70.—*C. Antio*. Probably the same individual who is mentioned in an inscription found in France (*Ap. Orell.*, 1415).—*Silius*, &c. Nipperdey reads *Apronius* here instead of *Antei* (compare i., 56), but the alteration is unnecessary. As regards *Silius* and *Cæcina*, compare i., 31.—*Aliæ breves*, &c. This and the other nominatives that follow, to the end of the sentence, are in apposition with *naves*, which precedes. The ordinary vessels of war were commonly of a long size, and were called hence *naves longæ*.—*Lato utero*. “Broad amidships.”—*Planæ carinis*. “Flat-bottomed.”—*Pontibus*. “With decks.” Ships of this kind were usually called “*naves constratæ*, and in Greek, *κατάφρακτοι*.—*Augebantur alacritate*, &c. “Were made to assume a still more imposing and formidable appearance by reason of the eager spirit of the soldiers,” *i. e.*, the eagerness and alacrity displayed by them.

Insula Batavorum. Formed by the northern arm of the Rhine, or Rhine of Leyden, the *Vahalis* (*Waal*), before its junction with the *Mosa* (*Meuse*), the *Vahalis* and *Mosa* after their junction, and the ocean. This island now forms part of the province of *South Holland*.—*In quam convenirent prædicta*. “Was appointed as the place of rendezvous.”—*Bellum*. “The seat of war.”—*Continuus*. “Flowing on uninterruptedly.”—*Qua prævehitur*. “Where it flows by.” Middle force. *Prævehitur* for *prætervehitur*. Compare *Hist.*, ii., 2.—*Ad Gallicam ripam*. “Along the Gallic bank.”—*Verso cognomento . . . dicunt*. These words are parenthetical. The construction, broken off at *affluens*, is resumed at *mox id quoque*. As regards *cognomento*, consult notes on i., 31.—*Vahalem*. The ancient writers differ respecting the number of mouths by which the Rhine fell into the ocean. Cæsar says that there are several, but most other writers speak only of two or three. According to Tacitus, the number was two; the western was called *Vahalis* till its union with the *Mosa*, when it took the name of the latter river; while the eastern, which formed the boundary between Gaul and Germany, preserved the name of *Rhenus*.—*Mosa flumine*. “For that of the River Mosa.”

CHAP. VII.—*Castellum Luppiae flumini appositum.* This fort can not be the *Aliso* mentioned below, otherwise Tacitus would have given its name here on the first mention. As the following words show, this *castellum* was very near the sources of the Lippe. *Aliso*, on the junction of the Lippe and the *Aliso*, which river can not be certainly identified, must therefore have been more to the west.—*Nuper.* Compare i., 62.—*Druso sitam.* That is, to his *dis Manibus.*—*Decucurrit.* “Marched in solemn procession.” They marched three times. This ceremony was called *decursio*, and was performed in honor of a deceased emperor or illustrious commander, either round the funeral pile or an altar erected to his memory.—*Haud visum.* “It did not appear worth while.”

CHAP. VIII.—*Fossam, cui Drusianæ nomen.* This was a canal, which Drusus caused his soldiers to dig in B.C. 11, uniting the Rhine with the Yssel. It probably commenced near Arnheim, on the Rhine, and fell into the Yssel, near Doesberg.—*Eadem ausum.* Compare Suetonius, *Claud.*, i.: “*Drusus Oceanum septentrionalem primus Romanorum ducum navigavit.*” He also proceeded as far as the Ems. (*Strabo*, vii., p. 444, A.; *Dio Cass.*, liv., 32.)—The prayer of Germanicus is, that Drusus would grant that, through his example and the memory of his plans and exploits, Germanicus and his army may have courage and perseverance to accomplish the same.—*Lacus.* These lakes, as before remarked (compare notes on i., 60), are now united in the *Zuyder Zee.*

Amisiæ. “At Amisia.” By Amisia is here meant a place on the left bank (*lævo amne*) of the River Amisia, or *Ems.* This place, which is not mentioned by any other ancient author, is perhaps the same as the town of Ἀμῦσεια, noticed by Ptolemy (ii., 11), and the Ἀμύσσα mentioned by Stephanus Byzantinus as a town of Germany. Compare *Ledebur, Land u. Volk der Bructerer*, p. 180, *seqq.* Nipperdey, who thinks that the River Ems is meant, regards *Amisiæ* and *subvexit* as marginal glosses, and makes *classis* the subject to *transposuit.* The explanation which we have given to *Amisiæ* saves the necessity of all this.—*Quod non subvexit.* “That he did not carry his vessels higher up,” *i. e.*, sail higher up.—*Transposuit militem.* “He put the troops over (by bridges).” The error of Germanicus, according to Tacitus, consisted in his not conveying the troops across in his fleet; but it may be observed, in defence of the Roman commander, that the building of the bridge was a precautionary measure, in order to secure a speedy retreat in case of failure in his military operations. The soldiers could cross the bridge, on a retreat, in much shorter time than they could re-embark, and after they had crossed, they could break down the bridges and hold the enemy at a distance.

Æstuaria. These were connected with the river, and so near its mouth, that the ebb and flow of the tide also acted upon it.—*In parte ea.* That is, in the *postremum auxiliorum agmen.*—*Dum insultant aquis.* “While they play with the waves,” *i. e.*, sport with and show their contempt of them.—*Amsivariorum.* The MS. has *Angrivariorum*, which most editions follow;

but the Angrivarii dwelt between the Visurgis (*Weser*) and the Elbe, and the next chapter shows that *Germanicus* had not yet crossed the Visurgis. The *Amsivarii* ("dwellers on the Ems") were to the west of this river.—*Stertinius*. Compare i., 60.

CHAP. IX.—*Cognomento Flavus*. "By appellation Flavus." This was the name given him by the Romans, probably on account of the color of his hair, which was common to so many of the Germans. Many editions have *Flavius*, but this is a *nomen gentilicium*, and, of course, out of place here.—*Paucis ante annis, duce Tiberio*. Compare i., 34.—*Tum permissum*. For conference with enemies the general's permission must always be obtained. We have retained the common reading, though an extremely awkward one, on account of the presence of *tum* at the beginning of the sentence. We may render "permission was thereupon given." Many fruitless attempts have been made at emendation. Nipperdey reads *Tum permissu*, and supposes something to have fallen out of the text, which he completes as follows: "*Tum permissu imperatoris deducitur a Stertino, progressusque*," viz., from the place to which he had been conducted.—*Deformitas oris*. His loss of an eye.—*Servitii*. "Of his (Flavus's) slavery;" not of slavery in general.

CHAP. X.—*Diversi*. "In different strains." Referring to the purport of their speeches.—*Conjugem et filium ejus*. Compare i., 57.—*Fas patriæ*. "The sacred claims of country."—*Penetrales Germaniæ deos*. "The national gods of Germany." As every house has its *Penates* or *dii penetrales*, so the proper national gods are the *dii penetrales* of the whole nation. These are to all Germany what the *Penates* are to each household; and again, as the household deities were kept in the innermost part of the dwelling, so there is an allusion here to the sacred and retired groves where the *penetrales Germaniæ dei* were believed to abide.—*Precum sociam*. "Who joined in his prayers."—*Imperator*. As son of a chieftain. Flavus was marked out by his birth to be a commander of his people. The term *imperator* is used of barbarian commanders also in ii., 45; xii., 33: "*Britannorum imperatores*."—*Pleraque Latino sermone interjaciebat*. "He interlarded the greater part of his speech with Latin expressions."

CHAP. XI.—*Haud imperatorium*. "Not becoming a commander."—*E numero primipilariū*. "Of the number of the *primipilares*," i. e., those who had been chief centurions. Those who had been leaders of the first century of a legion (*primipilaris* from *primipilus*, in the same signification as *consularis* from *consul*) received census as *equites*, and, if they continued to serve, were appointed to præfectures.—*Erupit*. "Dashed through."—*Salitibus*. The ablative, and the construction is the same as in the phrase *circumdare aliquid aliqua re*.—*Sævitia*. "The fury."—*Globo*. "In a solid body."—*Densissimos irrumpens*. In the sense of "to break into a thing," so as to make one's way into it, to effect a lodgment, Tacitus constantly

gives to *irrupere* the accusative without a preposition, a construction to which he is generally partial in verbs compounded with prepositions.

CHAP. XII.—*Silvam Herculi sacram*. Compare *Germ.*, ii., ix., and xxxiv.—*Ignes*. The German camp-fires.—*Inconditi*. “Tumultuous.”—*Incorruptum foret*. “Might be clearly ascertained (by him).” Literally, “might be uncorrupted,” *i. e.*, genuine, true.—*Læta*. “Agreeable in their nature.”—*Secreti et incustoditi*. “By themselves and free from all restraint.”—*Spem aut metum proferrent*. “They gave unreserved utterance to their hopes or their fears.”

CHAP. XIII.—*Egressus augurali*. “Having gone out from the place for taking auspices.” In every Roman camp, to the right of the general’s tent, was a place called *Augurale*, where the auspices were taken, &c. Germanicus passes out by this unusual way in order to escape observation.—*Vigilibus ignara*. That is, where no sentinels were posted.—*Fruiturque fama sui*. “And listens with delight to what is said of himself.”—*Decorem*. “His fine person.”—*Eundem animum*. “The evenness of his temper.”—*Perfidios et ruptores pacis*. By their conduct to Varus.—*Pugna*. “An opportunity of fighting.”—*Tertia ferme vigilia*. The Romans divided the night into four watches.—*Sine conjectu teli*. Because they did not come within reach of missiles.

CHAP. XIV.—*Lætam quietem*. Compare i., 65.—*Operatum*. “Engaged in sacrifice.” *Operari* is “to set one’s self,” or “to be set at work” and *operatus*, like *occupatus*, means “at work,” “actively engaged,” and is here, as frequently elsewhere, applied to a holy action, *i. e.*, “during sacrifice,” not “after he had sacrificed.” We must not supply *esse* with *operatum*; the participle stands with *vidit*, just as does the infinitive, connected with it by *et*.—*Augustæ*. Livia.—*Auctus*. “Elated.”—*Addicentibus*. “Proving favorable.” Literally, “assenting.”—*Prævisa*. Supply *essent*. In the speech that follows, no mention is made of the things which had been wisely seen to beforehand (*sapientia provisa*); while of the *apta pugnae* he mentions only a part. What he has not detailed he considered, because frequently occurring in warfare, to be not worth noticing.

Ratio. “Due circumspection.”—*Perinde haberi quam*. “Are managed in the same manner as,” *i. e.*, are as effectual as. With regard to the force of *haberi* here, compare the German “*handhaben*,” which is closely analogous to it.—*Hærentia*. “Fitting.” The reference is not only to the close-fitting armor of the Roman soldiery, but also to the form of the legionary shield, with the sides curved round so as to fit the body. The German shield, on the contrary, was flat. Compare chap. xxi.—*Nervo*. “With hide.” Compare *Sil. Ital.* (iv., 293): “*Subtextaque tegmina nervis*.”—*Tabulas*. “Boards.”—*Primam utcumque aciem hastatam*. “That their first line was armed with pikes, no matter how.” Observe the force of *utcumque*. The speaker does not choose to go into the account of the “how,” and by this very

circumstance shows that there is but an indifferent account to be given of it.—*Tela*. “Stakes.”

Ad brevem impetum validum. Compare *Germ.*, iv.—*Sine cura ducum*. “Without any respect for their leaders.”—*Pavidos adversis*. “Cowards in adversity.”—*Hac acie*. “By this battle.”—*Patris patrique*. Both penetrated as far as the Elbe. Compare *Dio Cass.*, lv., 1; *Vell.*, ii., 106.

CHAP. XV.—*Hos esse Romanos, &c.* Arminius calls the soldiers of Germanicus the most runaway part of the army of Varus, as if Germanicus led with him only the poor remains left by the Varian overthrow. In so saying, however, he thinks not merely of the few who had escaped of the three legions with which Varus was present in person, but also of the two legions whom Asprenas, their commander, the nephew of Varus, saved (*Vell. Paterc.*, ii., 120).—*Quorum pars, &c.* They give their backs to the enemy, because, as soon as it comes to fighting, they will turn to flight. With these words those are described who had retreated in the preceding year with Cæcina; and, in *pars fluctibus, &c.*, those who had then retreated with Vitellius. Compare i., 63, *seqq.*—*Boni*. “Of success.” More literally, “of any thing favorable.”

Classem quippe, &c. The idea is this: their motive for having recourse to a fleet, and to the pathless regions of Ocean, was, that no one might oppose them as they approached, or pursue them when repulsed; but when they engaged hand to hand, vain would be the help of winds and oars after a defeat.—*Aliud sibi reliquum, &c.* The interrogative particle is wanting. Compare *Madvig*, § 450.

CHAP. XVI.—*Idistaviso*. The nominative, not the dative; for Tacitus, in this connection, has the dative only with adjectives (i., 31; ii., 8; *Hist.*, ii., 43; iii., 6; *Germ.*, xxxiv.); otherwise usually the nominative (i., 45; ii., 4, 80; iii., 21, 42; iv., 25, 28, 72; v., 1; vi., 28; xi., 4; xii., 13; xiii., 12; xv., 45; *Hist.*, iv., 26); rarely the genitive (iv., 59; xiv., 50; xv., 37; *Hist.*, iv., 18). The plain *Idistaviso* was probably in the neighborhood of the Porta Westphalica, between *Rinteln* and *Hausberge*. Grimm (*Gramm. Introd.*, p. xlii.) explains the name by “*Schimmerwiese*,” *i. e.*, “Glimmermead;” the same writer, however, in his *Deutsche Mythologie*, p. 372, conjectures the true reading to be *Idisiaviso*, “*Nymphenwiese*,” *i. e.*, “Nymphs’-mead.”—*Ripæ fluminis*. Here all the flat country is meant on the sides of the river, in opposition to the mountains; just as we, in the case of rivers bordered by mountains, speak of narrow and broad banks. These banks *cedunt*, “recede,” as stretching inland, and therefore are broad; in other places they are opposed by projecting mountains, which do not allow them to spread out.—*Pone tergum*. Of the last mentioned, namely, the Germans.

Campum, &c. The order of battle, according to the description here given, is to be conceived as follows: The wing next the river was in the forest, the other on the open plain, either because the forest nearer to the

river ran more out to a point, or the line of battle passed somewhat obliquely from the forest over the plain. On the wing which stood on the plain were, more forward, the hills which the Cherusci had occupied.—*Prætoriiis cohortibus*. As *Prætorix cohortes* is the standing expression in this age for the Prætorian guards regularly quartered in Rome, and as we can not suppose that the two cohorts here mentioned were formed by Germanicus out of his own army, after the example of the generals of the republic; and, moreover, as they do not occur before; Nipperdey thinks that they were sent this year from Rome, and that Tacitus did not think it worth his while to mention this circumstance in its place. Ritter, on the other hand, makes them to have been the united body-guard of Cæcina and Silius, whose two armies were now joined under Germanicus, and he therefore translates, “with both the prætorian cohorts.” Nipperdey’s view is that of Orelli, and appears the more correct.

Ut ordo agminis in aciem, &c. “That the order of march might form the order of battle when they halted.” The before-mentioned bodies of troops (with the exception of the cavalry who were otherwise disposed of) were to form themselves behind one another in order of battle, just in the order in which they had marched.

CHAP. XVII.—*Validissimos equitum, &c.* These were to charge in flank the Cherusci and the wing which was beside them on the plain; Stertinius to fetch a compass round the wood (hence he afterward first dislodges the other wing out of the wood by attacking them from behind, and drives them over the plain); and Germanicus, with the infantry, will charge in front.—*Imperatorem advertere*. “Caught the eye of the commander.”—*Propria legionum numina*. “The own guardian-spirits of the legions.” *Numina* must not be rendered here “gods,” for the eagles were never regarded in that light, but as sacred creatures in virtue of their relation to Jupiter.

Medii inter hos, &c. The wing which had stood beside the Cherusci, but farther back, fled into the wood, the other fled out of the wood; the Cherusci were forced down into the plain, so that the former portion of the fugitives came to be on one side of them, and the other on the other.—*Illa rupturus*. Scil. *Acie Romanam*.—*Emissumque*. “And allowed to escape.”—*Tranare Visurgim conantes*. These were principally those who had fled out of the wood into the open plain.—*Moles ruentium*. “The mass of the rushing crowd.”—*Incidentes*. “Falling upon them.”—*Prorutæ arbores afflixere*. “The trees when felled dashed to the ground.”

CHAPS. XVIII. AND XIX.—*In Romanos*. That is, with which to bind the Roman captives.—*Tiberium imperatorem salutavit*. In the ancient signification of the word. Consult notes on i., 3. Tiberius was thus saluted, because, under the empire, all wars were conducted under the auspices of the emperors.—*In modum tropæorum*. The custom of erecting trophies was borrowed by the Romans from the Greeks. It was more common, however, to erect some memorial of victory at Rome than on the field of battle—

Haud perinde quam. "Not in the same degree as," *i. e.*, far less than.—*Abire sedibus.* The employment of *abire* with the bare ablative is late Latin. In the metaphorical sense, however, the construction "*magistratu abire*" (*Tac.*, iv., 19; v., 11; xiii., 44) is found in Cicero, *De Repub.*, i., 4-7: "*Consulatu abiens.*" Livy has it frequently.

Postremo deligunt locum, &c. The river was one of the tributaries of the Weser, or, more probably, of the Elbe. This river and the woods enclosed, except on one side, the plain which lay before the woods (toward the Romans). In the rear the woods were surrounded by a deep morass, except on the side farthest off from the river, next to the plain, where was the dam (*agger*). This was a partition or boundary dam; for in the engagement all the Germans were on the same side of the dam, in the forest. The Angriarii dwelt on the north of the Cherusci. Compare notes on chap. viii.—*Extulerant.* "Had elevated."

CHAP. XX.—*Prompta, occulta.* "Their overt movements, their concealed measures." *Prompta* refers to the infantry marshalled openly in the plain; *occulta* to the cavalry concealed in the neighboring groves.—*Seio Tuberoni.* Brother of Sejanus. He was consul suffectus afterward, in 18 A.D. He seems, according to Nipperdey, to have taken the place of Apronius, who, at the beginning of this campaign, would appear to have returned to Rome.—*Campumque.* This lay before the *planities* mentioned in the previous chapter. The *æquus in silvam aditus* (afterward *plana*) is the one above that *planities*.—*Eniteretur.* "Might force their way up."—*Permisit.* Hence supply to *sibi* the general notion of "assigned" or "allotted," obtained by zeugma from *permisit*, which has otherwise the force of "committed."

Funditores libratoresque. "The slingers and hurlers of lances." The *libratores* were those who attacked the enemy by hurling with their own hand (*librando*) lances or spears against them. During the time of the republic, they are not mentioned in the Roman armies.—*Missæ e tormentis hastæ.* This was done by a third class of soldiers, quite different from the two just mentioned.—*Collato gradu.* "Foot to foot."—*Utrisque necessitas in loco.* That is, there was no room for either to retreat.

CHAP. XXI.—*Artis locis.* "In narrow places."—*Colligeret.* "Draw them in." Said of the drawing back of the spear, while one hand, advanced before the other, grasps the shaft and draws it back; properly, "gather in." The metaphor comes from this, that, in drawing back the spear, the movement is the same as drawing in and gathering up a rope.—*Stabile prælium.* "A stationary mode of fighting."—*Scutum pectori adpressum, &c.* The shield of the legionary soldier was four-cornered, and not flat, but, as before remarked, with the sides curled round so as to fit the body. With his short sword the Roman thrust, while the German had to heave his long broadsword for a cutting stroke.—*Insidens capulo.* "Settling firmly on the hilt," *i. e.*, firmly grasping the hilt of his sword.—*Imprompto.* "Less active in his movements"—*Ambigüe.* "With doubtful success."

CHAP. XXII.—*Pro concione*. “Before a public assembly.” Compare notes on i., 44.—*Conscientiam facti satis esse*. “That the consciousness of what he had done was sufficient,” *i. e.*, of his own merit.—*Amsivarios*. Here, again, the MS. has *Angrivarios*. But Germanicus was among the Angrivarii (chap. xix.), and therefore would have gone against them in person, for that he should have retired himself, and left Stertinius alone among the most powerful nations in the heart of Germany, is not to be thought of. It is also incredible, that of the principal nations fought with, Catti, Cherusci, and Angrivarii, the only one to surrender should have been just the most remote (Angrivarii); and, in fact, the contrary appears from chap. xxvi.: “*Nec dubium habebatur labare hostes petendæque pacis consilia sumere, et, si proxima æstas adjiceretur, posse bellum patrari.*” Compare chap. xli. For the latter reason, *Amsivarii* must also be written in chap. xxiv., where, again, the MS. has *Angrivarii*. Stertinius had already (chap. viii.) made an incursion upon the revolted *Amsivarii*; now he hastens in advance to effect their entire subjection, while the rest of the army returns by slower marches. Thus, by the mention of the *Amsivarii* we are suitably brought to the Ems, where we find the army in the beginning of the next chapter.

CHAP. XXIII.—*Æstate jam adulta*. “It being now midsummer.” The ancients distinguished the three months composing each of the four seasons by particular epithets. Thus the first month of spring was called *novum ver*; the second, *adultum ver*; the third, *præceps ver*. So, in the case of the summer months, we have *æstas nova*, *adultæ*, and *præceps*. The same nomenclature was adopted in the case of autumn and winter. Compare *Serv. ad Virg., Georg., i., 43.*—*Mille navium*. Compare chap. vi.—*Velis impelli*. Immediately the sea is put in motion by the ship, not by the sails; but mediately by the sails, inasmuch as these put the ship itself in motion.—*Incerti fluctus*. “The billows rolling now in this direction, now in that.”—*Regimen*. “The proper management of the vessels.”—*Officia prudentium corrumpebat*. “Rendered unavailing the services of the skillful.”

In austrum cessit. “Fell into the possession of the south wind,” *i. e.* was swept by a south wind; because, as it were, its booty. The wind however, came, as the following narrative shows, not quite from the south, but somewhat from the southwest.—*Qui tumidis Germaniæ terris, &c.* “Which wind, as the natural consequence of the oozy lands of Germany, of its deep rivers, being made strong by an immense train of clouds, and rendered still harsher by the rigor of the neighboring north,” &c. Observe that *terris* and *amnis* are ablatives absolute, while *immenso nubium tractu* expresses the cause. The moist land and the rivers by their evaporation form enormous clouds, which give the winds their strength. The term *tumidis*, which some mistranslate “mountainous,” means here, properly, “swelling with moisture.” Compare *Virg., Georg., ii., 324, “Vere tument terræ.”*

Mutabat æstus, &c. Before this, the set of the tide was against the wind, and so had, in some measure, counteracted its violence. *Mutabat* intransitively, as in xii., 29: “*Diurnitate in superbiam mutans.*”—*Manantes ner*

latera, &c. The interior of the ships was dripping wet from two causes; first, because the joints had given way, and let in the water through the sides; and then, because the waves broke over the deck.

CHAP. XXIV.—*Præstat*. With this verb and *excessit*, which follows, the object surpassed is omitted, because evident enough from the context, *aliis terris* and *alias clades*.—*Litoribus*. Ablative absolute. So *mari* immediately after.—*Ut credatur*, &c. “As to be believed to be the last, and without any lands beyond,” *i. e.*, to be the limit of the world, and unbounded by lands.—*Insulas longius sitas*. On the west coast of Schleswig, different from those mentioned in the previous chapter, which lie along the coast from the Weser to Holland.—*Nulla illic hominum cultu*. “There being there no trace of human culture.”—*Toleraverant*. The pluperfect in reference to the more recent portion of the past lying before the writer, namely, the time when they were brought off from the desert islands.

Scopulos. There are no rocks on the coast between the Ems and the Weser; it can only mean elevations in the line of the coast, or, in other words, earth-cliffs, which at a distance might appear as *scopuli*.—*Oppeteret*. Supply *mortem*.—*Claudæ naves*, &c. “The shattered ships returned, with but few oars remaining, or with garments spread for sails.”—*Amsivarii*. Consult notes on chap. xxii.—*Regulis*. “The petty kings of that island.”—*Ambiguas hominum et belluarum formas*. “Ambiguous forms between man and beast.”—*Credita*. “Believed to have been seen,” *i. e.*, fancied.

CHAP. XXV.—*Ad coercendum*. “To check them.”—*C. Silio*, &c. The object of this expedition was to compel the Catti to inactivity by the presence of an army on their frontier. As it did not come to any active measures with them, nothing farther is related of the expedition.—*Varianæ legionis aquilam*, &c. One eagle, that of the nineteenth legion, had already been found (i., 60). A third was recovered in the reign of Claudius (*Dio Cass.*, lx., 8). The account given by Florus (iv., 12, 37) is incorrect, who makes two eagles to have still remained in possession of the Germans.—*Exscindit*. “Exterminates.”

CHAP. XXVI.—*Pensavisset*. “They had balanced.”—*Munificentiam*. “A munificent liberality.”—*Labare*. “Were tottering,” *i. e.*, in courage and resolution.—*Ad decretum triumphum*. Compare i., 55.—*Eorum*. “Those losses.”—*Sic Sygambros in deditionem acceptos*. Part in B.C. 8; another part was exterminated, few remained on the right bank. Compare Suetonius (*Aug.*, 21): “(Augustus) *Ubios et Sygambros dedentes se traduxit in Galliam, atque in proximis Rheno agris collocavit*,” and again (*Tib.*, 9): “*Germanico (bello Tiberius, quadraginta millia dediticiorum trajecit in Galliam, juxtaque ripam Rheni sedibus assignatis collocavit*.” Compare also *Strabo*, vii., p. 444. A. and *Tac.*, xii., 39.—*Suevos regemque Maroboduum*, Consult notes on chap. xlvi.

Acrius modestiam ejus aggreditur. “He assails his modesty with increased

importunity."—*Cujus munia præsens obiret*. "The duties of which he would have to discharge in person," *i. e.*, the duties of which would require his presence at Rome. This was not the case afterward. Compare chapters xlii. and liii.—*Materiem Drusi fratris gloriæ*. "Materials for the fame of his brother Drusus." Tiberius speaks as the adoptive father of Germanicus.—*Hoste*. Ablative absolute.—*Nomen imperatorium*. Consult notes on i., 3.—*Et deportare lauream*. "And (in this way) bear the bay (unto the capitol)." The *deportare lauream* or *laurum* was the principal act of the triumph, as the procession was to the capitol, and here the general deposited on the knees of Jupiter his bay-wreath, the branch of bay which he bore in his hand, and the bay with which the fasces were adorned. In the imperial times, the process was sometimes reduced to the summary act of merely bearing the bay to the capitol, without the other pomp of the triumphal procession. Here, however, a complete triumph is meant.

CHAP. XXVII.—*Defertur*. "Is accused."—*Ordinem*. "Progress."—*Curatius*. Compare note on *curatissimis*, i., 13.—*Rem publicam exedere*. "Preyed upon the state." The trade of the informers, who, under the show of friendship, collected matter of accusation against their unconscious victims, and even enticed and entrapped them into unlawful actions, is here referred to by Tacitus.—*Ex intima Libonis amicitia*. "Availing himself of an intimate friendship with Libo."—*Facilem inanibus*. "Lending an easy ear to impositions." For *faciles aures præbentem inanibus*. (*Bötticher, Lex. Tac.*, p. 192.)—*Chaldæorum*. Astrologers, called also *mathematici*.

Proavum Pompeium, &c. "That Pompey was his great-grandfather," &c. Pompey was his great-grandfather on the mother's side. Scribonia was the sister of his grandfather, and consequently his great aunt (*amita magna*). His father was adopted by the father of Livia, and therefore was called M. Livius Drusus Libo. In consequence of this adoption, the father of our Drusus Libo and Livia were brother and sister, and to our Drusus Libo the sons of Livia, namely, the Emperor Tiberius and his brother Drusus, were *consobrini* in the narrower sense; in a wider sense, so were also their sons and grandsons; consequently, all the living *Cæsares* (*Borghesi, ad loc.*).—*Necessitatum*. "Embarrassments." More literally, "straits." He sought to raise money himself, and in his name.—*Indiciis*. "Evidences of his guilt."

CHAP. XXVIII. *Et qui servi eadem noscerent*. "And some slaves who would acknowledge the same things (with these witnesses)," *i. e.*, would acknowledge these same things as known to them, when they should be put before them in the examinations. *Noscere* is here employed in a narrower sense than ordinary, of one who *avouches* that he knows, since otherwise his knowledge is merely surmised.—*Proprior usus*. "A closer intimacy."—*Congressus*. "An interview."—*Posse enim, &c.* "For that his communications can come through the medium of the same Flaccus."—*Tentatus, ut infernas, &c.* "Who had been solicited (by him) to evoke by incantations

the shades of the lower world," *i. e.*, to raise ghosts.—*Senatus cognitionem*. "A taking cognizance of the charge on the part of the senate," *i. e.*, that the senate take cognizance of the charge.

CHAP. XXIX.—*Vocem poscere*. "Solicited their intercession."—*Fratri*. The consul ordinarius of this year (A.D. 16), namely, L. Scribonius Libo. He is not marked by Tacitus as consul, because he had already laid down his office. For the *ordinarii* held office only till the 15th of July, and then the *suffecti* took their place. The judicial process took place later than this. Compare chap. xxxii.—*Tendens*. Metaphorically connected also with *supplices voces*. Compare Virgil, *Æn.*, iii., 176: "*Tendoque supinas ad cælum cum voce manus*." Similarly, *Hist.*, i., 63.—*Libellos*. "The articles against him," *i. e.*, the written informations.—*Auctores*. Those who handed in the written charges, and were therein alleged as "witnesses."—*Moderans*. "Restraining himself." Supply *sibi*.

CHAP. XXX.—*Fonteius Agrippa*. Compare chap. lxxxvi.—*C. Vibius*. C. Vibius Serenus, the father. Compare iv., 13, 28, *seqq.*—*Jus perorandi*. "The right of delivering the principal speech for the prosecution." It was made at the close of the examination on the evidence.—*Singillatim se crimina objecturum*. "That he would bring forward the different charges one by one," *i. e.*, that he would not make a continuous speech, but bring forward the accusations separately, so that Libo would be allowed to defend himself upon each point as it was brought forward.—*Libellos*. "Papers (of Libo)."—*Quis*. Ablative.—*Si mollius acciperes*. Like our "to apply a milder term to them."

Uni tamen libello. Supply *inesse* from the preceding *inerant*. On *additas* depends the other dative *nominibus*.—*Atroces*. In regard of their import, whether it was that to these marks there was ascribed a magical effect against the persons so denoted, or that Libo was said to have marked the persons for such as he had evil designs against.—*Agnoscentes servos*. Consult notes on chap. xxviii.—*Quæstio*. "A putting of slaves to the question."—*Actori publico*. "To the public steward." The *actor publicus* was a state slave attached to the *ærarium*, of whose duties nothing is known for certain, except that transfers of property to the *ærarium* were made to him, because he, as a slave, could acquire property only for his owner, the state. In the same case as here, he appears in iii., 67; and the *actor publicus* of a municipium, in *Plin.*, *Ep.*, vii., 18, is mentioned in connection with the acquisition of a piece of land by the town.

Posterum diem. That is, an adjournment till the next day.—*Quirino*. We have given this form of the name with Ritter and others. Nipperdey, however, reads *Quirinio*, which would make the full name to have been *P. Sulpicius Quirinius*, and the individual in question to have had two gentile names, an anomaly which he seeks to defend from the *Fasti Prænestini* (under the dates of the 6th of March and 28th of April) and from an inscription in Orelli, n. 623.

CHAP. XXXI.—*Ipsis epulis excruciatas*. The luxurious meal, taken in his feverishly excited condition, caused him the pangs of bodily indisposition.—*Percussorem*. “Some one to slay him.”—*Inserere gladium*. “Put a sword into them.”—*Feralibus jam sibi tenebris*. “Amid darkness which for him already was the darkness of death,” because he did not live to see the light again.—*Abstitit*. “Retired.”—*Asseveratione*. “Formality.”—*Petitulum*. Supply *fuisse*. Tacitus omits it, when the preceding context, or the immediate sequel in the same sentence, leaves no doubt that the past time is meant.

CHAP. XXXII.—*Præturæ extra ordinem datæ*. Before it came to be their turn, in the regular course of the legal requirements, to hold this office. In any case they all had the same number of years remitted to them, and it is therefore probable that they did not all take office as prætors in one and the same year, since the time which, by law, they would have to wait would not be the same for all. In this year, which soon came to an end, none of them held this office. From the complaint of Vibius, “*suum tantum studium sine fructu fuisse*” (iv., 29), it appears that of the accusers he alone was a Roman knight.—*Cotta Messalinus*. Son of the celebrated Messala Corvinus. Compare notes on i., 8.—*Exsequias comitaretur*. The *imagines* were brought out at funerals. The *imago* of Libo was of course destroyed.—*Pomponii Flacci*. He was then *consul designatus*.

L. P. et Gallus Asinii. The MS. merely has *L. P. et Gallus Asinius*, and it has been generally supposed that under the letter *P.* there lurks some name which has come down to us only in this mutilated state. Various conjectures have, therefore, been formed, some making *P.* stand here for *Piso*, others for *Pætus*, &c. We have given the ingenious emendation of Lipsius, to which Hermann inclines, and which refers to three of the name of *Asinius*, the letters *L. P.* being two *prænomina*.—*Auctoritates*. “The suggestions.”—*Mathematicis*. “Astrologers,” called also *Chaldæi*. Compare chap. xxvii.—*Saxo*. “The Tarpeian rock,” on the west side of the capitol. It is frequently mentioned in this way without the addition of the adjective.—*Extra portam Esquilinam*. On the east side of the city. The *Campus Esquilinus* was the usual place for executions.—*More prisco*. More commonly *more majorum*; execution by the axe, when the criminal had first been beaten with the rods.—*Advertere*. For *animadvertere*.

CHAP. XXXIII.—*Ministrandis cibis*. “For serving up repasts.”—*Vestis Serica*. A vestment made of transparent silk. The raw material was obtained from the Seres, a people of the far East, whose country, *Serica*, is supposed to have comprised *Bucharia*, *Kotschotei*, and a part of northwestern *China*. It was brought to the island of Cos, and there manufactured into an article of dress. Compare Seneca, *De Ben.*, vii., 9, 5.—*Excessit*. “Went beyond this,” *i. e.*, beyond the purport of the decree just mentioned. This decree, which was passed at the close of the proceedings, is mentioned at the outset in a cursory way, as is the speech of Fronto. Now the details

are given concerning the speech, and the proceedings to which it gave rise.—*Modum*. “A limit.”—*Familia*. “The number of slaves.”—*Frequens*. “Common.” Latinity of the silver age.

E vetustissimis moribus. “Followed naturally from the most primitive usage.”—*Cuncta referri, &c.* “That all things are to be estimated by reference to the state,” *i. e.*, regulate themselves according to the state, depend upon the state.—*Gliscere*. “Rose in the splendor of their mode of living.”—*Nimum aliquid aut modicum, &c.* “Was any thing excessive or moderate, except according to the means of the possessor,” *i. e.*, was there any standard of excess or frugality, but from the means of the owner.—*Distinctos*. From that of the other citizens. So to *diversi* we must supply “their census,” namely, from the census of the other citizens. The senatorial census was fixed, under Augustus, at 1,000,000 sesterces. The equestrian census was 400,000 sesterces.—*Sed ut locis, ordinibus, &c.* “But in order that they may excel in place, rank, and honors.” *Locis* refers to seats in the theatre. In the circus they did not receive this distinction till a later period.—*Ordinibus* refers to the forming of two higher orders apart from the other citizens.—*Taliaque ad requiem, &c.* The true reading here is extremely doubtful. We have adopted that of Oberlin.—*Nisi forte, &c.* The accusative and infinitive, instead of a subjunctive sentence, the subordinate sentence of the *oratio obliqua* being treated just in the same way as the primary sentence.

Facilem assensum, &c. The meaning is this. The sentiments of Gallus met with a ready assent. Those who spoke were not ashamed to confess their vices, by clothing them in language which belonged to virtue, while those who spoke not sympathized with them from the similarity of their own habits.—*Censuræ*. “For correcting such matters,” *i. e.*, for making such sweeping and general reforms.—*Defuturum corrigendi auctorem*. “Will there be wanting one to correct the evil.”

CHAP. XXXIV.—*Inter quæ*. “In the course of these proceedings.”—*L. Piso*. Piso said what follows in delivering his opinion on this occasion.—*Ambitum*. “The intrigues.” The reference is to judicial proceedings.—*Sævitiæ*. “The brutal conduct.”—*Permulsisset*. “He had tried to soothe.”—*Liberi doloris*. “Of manly repugnance to injustice.”—*Liber* here corresponds exactly to the Greek ἐλευθέριος, “independent,” “manly,” &c. Compare Ruperti: “*Libere dicens, quæ suadebat dolor, quæque sentiebat et improbat, nihil timens odium et iras potentum.*”

Aut ille abstinit. “Or did he desist.”—*Civile*. “Not at variance with civil equality.”—*Occursante*. “Thronging to meet him.”—*Deferri*. “To be paid.”—*Inglorius*. “Lost any renown.”—*Virgines Vestales*. Even the Vestal virgins were compelled by ancient usage to give testimony openly in the courts of justice.

CHAP. XXXV.—*Res prolatas*. “The adjournment of city business.” Below, the phrase *res dilata* is employed. The former is the official phra-

seology for the adjournment of city business, when the sittings of the senate and of the courts are prorogued. Compare Plautus, *Capt.*, i., 1, 10: "*Ubi res prolatae sunt, cum rus homines eunt.*" Here, as appears from the words of Asinius Gallus, the adjournment occurred at a time which had been appointed for the dispatch of the public and private business of the inhabitants of the Italic towns and provincials before the senate and the courts.—*Pretium foret.* Compare i., 57.—*Abfuturum se dixerat.* He played the game spoken of in i., 47.—*Ob id magis agendum.* "That they should attend to business the more on that very account."—*Sua munia sustinere.* "To discharge their functions." The *Equites* are mentioned in this connection, because part of the judges were taken out of the equestrian order.

Quia speciem, &c. As Piso had anticipated him in his display of liberal principles, he now turns flatterer.—*Affluentes provincias.* The influx of affairs from the provinces.—*Audiente hæc Tiberio, &c.* Observe that *hæc* is here the nominative to *acta (sunt)*. Compare note on *expugnandi hostes spe, &c.*, i., 67.—*Acta.* "Were debated." Literally, "were managed."

CHAP. XXXVI.—*In quinquennium, &c.* Consequently, if the law were passed, the magistrates requisite for the next five years would be chosen all at once; in the next year after this election, those for the fifth year, and so on, constantly in the succeeding years; that is, in the year 1, those for years 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, all at once; in year 2; those for year 7; in 3, for 8; and so on perpetually.—*Jam tum.* That is, on their becoming *legati legionum*. The words *qui . . . fungebantur* are added because others became *legati legionum* after the prætorship.—*Princeps duodecim, &c.* The ground for this proposal was, that the *legati legionum* were nominated by the emperor, but the prætors were chosen by the senate. Now, in order that none of those whom the emperor chose to appoint as *legati legionum*, and whom he meant to raise to the prætorship at a later period, should be excluded from it after five years by the senate's not electing him, it was to be ruled that the emperor should nominate only so many candidates as there must be prætors appointed, so that the senate should be able to elect only those whom he nominated, and the emperor, without coming into collision with the senate's freedom of election, to nominate as *legati legionum*, up to the number of twelve, whomsoever he had a mind to appoint to that office.

Arcana imperii tentari. "That the secret resources of imperial power were invaded." Because the emperor thus became bound for five years, in the course of which many things might happen that would make other persons desirable for him, and because those elected five years in advance would thereby obtain a more independent position.—*Quasi augetur, &c.* So it might seem, inasmuch as, according to that law, there would be magistrates chosen under his influence even after his death, for the prætors of four successive years would take office as his posthumous nominees; and he was to appoint all, whereas hitherto he had appointed only four.—*Tot eligere, tot differre.* These words refer to the first election, in which, be-

sides other officers, he would have had to single out sixty candidates for the prætorship alone.

Propinqua spes. The hope of success on a speedily recurring occasion. *Quæ cuique, &c.* That is, whether they would continue to have the same sentiments, the same connections, and fortune.—*Annua designatio.* Strictly speaking, it did not last so long, as the elections did not precede the actual entering upon office by a full year.—*Honorem per quinquennium agitent.* “They play the man of office for the space of five years.” The actual bearing of office would be expressed by *gerant*.

CHAP. XXXVII.—*Favorabili in speciem, &c.* “By this speech, in appearance popular, he kept the imperial power free from encroachment.” *Favorabili* for *gratiosa* is the Latinity of the silver age.—*Superbius.* “Somewhat superciliously.”—*Liberalitate decies sestertii.* “By a gratuity of a million of sesterces.” This was the census of a senator. The true reading here is *sestertii*, not *sestertium*. As regards this peculiar form of expression, consult *Zumpt*, § 873.—*Loco sententiæ.* “In place of expressing his opinion on the subject under debate.”—*Imaginem.* The senate was held in the Bibliotheca Latina of the Palatium, where on round shields were the effigies of men distinguished in literature. Compare chap. lxxxiii., and *Suet.*, *Aug.*, 29.

Accipere. Because his grandfather was very rich. His father, also a Q. Hortensius, in his youth a loose liver, at first a Cæsarian, afterward joined Brutus and Cassius, lost his property in consequence, and was put to death after the battle of Philippi. (*Vell.*, ii., 71; *Plut.*, *Brut.*, 28.) A different grandson of the orator Hortensius was the Hortensius Corbio mentioned, on account of his excesses, in Valerius Maximus, iii., 5, 4.—*Tot consulum, tot dictatorum.* Of Hortensii are found only a consul, 69 B.C., the famous orator; a consul designatus for 108 B.C.; and a dictator 286 B.C., Q. Hortensius. But the distinguished families into which the Hortensii married are reckoned in.

CHAP. XXXVIII.—*Inclinatio senatus, &c.* Malevolent and haughty natures are wont to do just the opposite of what is wished, in order to mar others' pleasure, and to let it be felt that their resolutions are independent of all influence.—*Quantum pauperum est.* “All that are poor.”—*Res publica.* “The public resources.”—*Egredi aliquando relationem.* “To depart occasionally from the question.”—*Ut privata negotia, &c.* “That we may here advance our private affairs, augment our private resources.” Observe the zeugma in *augeamus*.—*Invidia.* “Odium.”—*Istuc.* The older style would have required the attraction *istæ*. Consult notes on i., 49.

Ambitione. “By largesses.”—*Compellatus.* “Having been solicited so to do.”—*Lege.* “Condition.”—*Si nullus ex se metus aut spes.* “If there be no self-respect nor self-reliance.” More literally, “no fear or hope from one's self,” *i. e.*, if men are to have no fear of disgrace from their own *socordia*, no hope of success from their own *industria*. Observe the employment

of *se*, though no person has been named, equivalent to our "one's self."—*Ducena sestertia*. "Two hundred thousand sesterces."

CHAP. XXXIX.—*Ni mature subventum foret*. "Had not speedy aid been rendered."—*Postumi Agrippæ, &c.* Compare i., 6.—*Non servili animo*. "With no servile spirit," *i. e.*, with a spirit that rose far above the condition of a slave.—*Patrata cæde*. Compare i., 6.—*Præcipitia*. "Perilous."—*Furatur cineres*. That it might not be possible to produce them in proof of the death of the true Agrippa.—*Cosam, Etruriæ promontorium*. Because the city of Cosa was on the promontory, it is somewhat inaccurately here called a promontory. The correct name of the promontory was *Cosanum Promontorium*.—*In dominum*. The local direction of one object toward another serves as a mean of comparison between the two, as does the holding one thing to another, in reference to which Cicero says (*De Inv.*, i., 44, 82), "*Similitudine ejus rei, qua de agitur, ad eam rem, qua de judicatum est.*" The expression in Tacitus is new.

Imperitissimi cujusque promptas aures. "The greedy ears of all the most credulous."—*Sed quia veritas, &c.* "But, as truth is strengthened by observation and time, pretences by haste and uncertainty, he either left rumor behind or else outstripped it." When the rumor of his presence got wind in the place where he was, he went to another place; there he arrived before the rumor. *Aut* is used to denote that his whole activity was divided between these two kinds of perpetual movement. For, as his presenting himself at a place brought the rumor with it, so he nowhere stayed longer than was necessary, just to show himself and make himself talked about.

CHAP. XL.—*Ostiam*. Ostia was at the mouth of the Tiber, and the harbor of Rome, from which it was distant sixteen miles by land.—*Celebrabant*. "Greeted him." Tacitus does not say expressly that he came to Rome; but it is more natural to understand *celebrabant* for both clauses in the same sense, and the following narrative shows that we must so take it; for they could not possibly have got knowledge of "the unguarded night" so long before as to have time to fetch soldiers from Rome to Ostia.—*Servum suum*. The possessions of Agrippa came, on his banishment, to his adoptive father, Augustus, in whose *patria potestas* he was. On the death of Augustus they passed by inheritance to Tiberius.—*Ambiguus*. "Wavering between."

Sallustio Crispo. The same to whom Horace dedicated one of his odes (*Od.*, ii., 2). He was the grandson of the sister of the historian, was adopted by the latter, and inherited his great wealth. Compare i., 6, 6.—*Conscientia*. "Complicity," *i. e.*, that they were privy to and sharers in the conspiracy.—*Pericula*. "To share his dangers."—*Noctem incustoditam*. "That the night was unguarded," *i. e.*, that at night he was without guards. Supply *esse*.—*Clauso ore*. "Gagged."—*Quomodo tu Cæsar*. "Just as you became Cæsar," *i. e.*, by deception and fraud.—*Haud quæsitum*. "No enquiry was made."

CHAP. XLI.—*Arcus*. “A triumphal arch.”—*Ædem Saturni*. On the Forum Romanum, before the Capitoline Hill.—*Recepta signa*. “The recovered standards.” Compare i., 60; ii., 25.—*Fortis Fortunæ*. “Of Fors Fortuna.” *Fors Fortuna* is evidently the same with *Fortuna Virilis*, which last name appears to have originated in a mistake, for the true name of the goddess is *Fors*, not *Fortis*, *Fortuna*. Compare *Cic.*, *Leg.*, ii., 11, 28; “*Fors Fortuna, in quo incerti casus significantur magis*” (*Keightley, ad Ovid., Fast.*, vi., 776).—*Hortis*. The gardens of the dictator Cæsar lay on the right bank of the Tiber, south from the Janiculum.—*Bovillas*. Bovillæ was a town on the Appian Way, not far from Rome. As regards *apud* here, consult notes on i., 5.

Cæcilio. The MS. reading, *Calio*, is wrong. Consult *Borghesi, ad loc.*—*Quinque liberis*. Nero, Drusus, Caius (Caligula), Agrippina, Drusilla. Compare *Suet.*, *Cal.*, 7.—*Avunculum ejus Marcellum*. Compare i., 3, 10, 42.—*Breves et infaustos*, &c. “That the favorites of the Roman people were short-lived and unfortunate.”

CHAP. XLII.—*Amoliri*. “To remove out of the way.” This verb carries with it the idea of removing something that is burdensome. Its peculiarly ambiguous import in the present instance is worthy of notice, and shows that Tacitus is preparing us for the sequel of the story.—*Archelaus*. Not to be confounded with the ethnarch of Judæa, the son of Herod the Great.—*Quinquagesimum annum*. This was in A.D. 14, to which Tacitus here goes back, as appears from what afterward is stated, “*Ut . . . imperium adeptus est.*” He received his authority B.C. 36, from Antonius. (*Dio Cass.*, xlix., 32.)—*Rhodi agentem*. Compare i., 4.—*Florente C. Cæsare*. Compare i., 3; ii., 4.—*Intuta*. “Unsafe,” *i. e.*, impolitic.

Versa. More usually *eversa*. Compare iii., 36, 54; xii., 45.—*Cæsarum sobole*. Referring to C. and L. Cæsar. Compare i., 3.—*Elicit Archelaum*. “He entices Archelaus (from his kingdom).”—*Si intelligere crederetur*, &c. “Dreading violence, in case he should be believed to be aware of it.”—*Exceptusque immiti*, &c. “And having been received with sternness by the prince.” Literally, “by a stern prince.”—*Angore*. “Distress of mind.”—*Nedum infima*. “Much less the deepest humiliation.”—*Regnum in provinciam*, &c. It was decreed to be a province. For the carrying out of this decree, consult chap. i.—*Fructibusque ejus*, &c. “That by its revenues the tax of one in the hundred might be lessened, fixed it at one in two hundred for the future.” That is, he reduced it from one per cent. to a half per cent. This was the tax which had been imposed on Rome and all Italy by Augustus, after the close of the civil wars. It was laid upon all vendible commodities. Compare i., 78.

Commagenorum. “Of the people of Commagene.” Commagene was the northeasternmost district of Syria, bounded on the east and southeast by the Euphrates.—*Cilicum*. Philopator is called King of Cilicia, although he possessed only a part of this land; the next was a Roman province.

CHAP. XLIII.—*Quæ supra memoravi*: Compare chap. iii.—*Vergere*. “Was now on the decline.”—*Nondum satis adolevisse*. “Was not yet sufficiently matured.”—*Qui sorte aut missu, &c.* Consult notes on i., 74.—*Creticum Silanum*. Compare chap. iv. He had come by adoption from the family of the *Junii Silani* into that of the *Cæcili Metelli*, and his full name was *Q. Cæcilius Metellus Creticus Silanus*. He was consul A.D. 7. The marriage contemplated between Nero and his daughter never took effect. Compare iii., 29.—*Resurgentes in Africa, &c.* After the battle of Pharsalia, B.C. 47 and 46. Compare *Bell. Afr.*, iii., 18.—*Acerrimo ministerio*. “By the most active services.”—*Donec ultro ambiretur, &c.* He became consul in B.C. 23, with Augustus himself.

Plancinæ. Compare i., 39.—*Liberos ejus*. Drusus and Germanicus.—*Et Plancinam haud dubie, &c.* “Augusta, beyond doubt, had prompted Plancina to persecute Agrippina in the spirit of female rivalry.” The genitive of the gerund (*insectandi*) has here the force of an infinitive. (*Bötticher, Lex. Tac.*, p. 221.)—*Aula*. The imperial court at Rome.—*Proprium*. “His own offspring.”—*Avunculum*. “As his great uncle.” *Avunculus* is used here for *avunculus magnus*, as in chap. liii; iv., 3, 75; xii., 64; and so *amita* for *amita magna* above, chap. xxvii. As regards the relationship itself, consult notes on i., 42.—*Pomponius Atticus*. Consult notes on i., 12.—*Liviam*. Compare ii., 84; iv., 3, *seqq.*

CHAP. XLIV.—*Illyricum*. Compare i., 5, 46.—*Suesceret*. Intransitive. The simple verb for the compound, a new usage. Compare chap. lii.—*Studia pararet*. “Might gain the affections.”—*Urbano luxu lascivientem*. “Wantoning amid the dissipation of the city.” Compare iii., 37.—*Melius haberi*. “Would be reformed.”—*Prætendebantur*. “Were alleged as the pretence for sending him.” The Suevi occupied the entire south of Germany (to the north of the Danube), and the east from the Elbe. The nations farther off, to the northeast, seem, however, not to have belonged to the kingdom of Maroboduus.—*Discessu Romanorum*. This and *vacui externo metu* are coupled as two different remarks by *ac*, because *externus metus* is meant to denote not fear of the Romans only, but of all foreign enemies. In what follows, *et tum* adds to the occasion which was always present, a second which was present just then.

Sed Maroboduum, &c. “Maroboduus, however, the name of king rendered odious among his countrymen; while favor made Arminius a champion for freedom.” More literally, “held in hatred,” and “(held) as a champion for freedom.” The meaning intended to be conveyed is as follows: Maroboduus was hated because of his kingly power; Arminius, on the other hand, was in favor, and caused it to be believed that he fought for freedom. Tacitus, however, did not believe this, but assumed that on this occasion (for here he is speaking only of *this war*) Arminius had interested motives. Compare chap. lxxxviii.

CHAP. XLV.—*Semnones ac Langobardi*. East of the Elbe, to the north

ward of Bohemia.—*Præpollebat, ni, &c.* Consult notes on i., 35.—*Juveni.* Compare chap. lxxxviii.—*Vagis incursibus.* The ablative of the property to *acies*; and to this, not to the verb, belong, therefore, the other additions. On *disjectas per catervas*, compare iii., 55.—*Fugacem Maroboduum.* Compare *Vell. Paterc.*, ii., 108: “(Gens Marcomannorum) *Maroboduo duce, excita sedibus suis, atque in interiora refugiens, incinctos Hercynia silva campos incolebat.*” And again: “*Maroboduus . . . statuit, avocata procul a Romanis gente sua, eo progredi, ubi, cum propter potentiora arma refugisset, sua faceret potentissima,*” &c.—*Hercyniæ latebris defensum.* The *Silva Hercynia* is the Hartz, and the farther mountain chains, which divide Germany from west to east.—*Quorum eventu.* The issue of the several engagements respectively. The next words give the general result of the whole war.

CHAP. XLVI.—*Illius consiliis.* See, to the contrary, i., 68.—*Vacuas.* “Off their guard,” *i. e.*, rendered careless, from their apprehending no hostile attack. Supply *metu*. Nipperdey renders *vacuas* “without a master,” because they were so remote from all communication with the Roman empire there, in the interior of Germany, that they were in a manner abandoned. This, however, is extremely forced.—*Cum conjux, &c.* Compare i., 57, *seqq.*—*At se, &c.* In A.D. 6, Tiberius was on the point of attacking Maroboduus at one and the same time from south and west; but before it came to an action he was obliged to return, in consequence of the insurrection of the Pannonians and Dalmatians. To this it is to be referred when Arminius, in chap. xlv., calls Maroboduus “*præliorum expertem,*” for with the neighboring Germans he had often been at war.

Mox conditionibus æquis, &c. Maroboduus, with wise moderation, availed himself of the embarrassments of the Romans to bind them to him by offering a league.—*Cheruscis Langobardisque.* As with the former their old confederates are to be understood, so with the latter the Semnones.—*Sperabatur.* “Was expected.”—*Perculsi.* “Of his having received a severe blow,” *i. e.*, having been worsted.—*Transfugiis.* “By successive desertions.”—*Marcomannos.* The Marcomanni dwelt in Bohemia.—*Pacis firmator.* He was to confirm the peace, not between the belligerents (for between them there was no peace to confirm, and against this is chap. lxii.) but the peace hitherto enjoyed by the Roman provinces in those parts, lest perhaps the wars of the Germans among themselves should give rise to hostilities against the Romans. In this sense it is said also, chap. lxiv., “*Lætior Tiberio, quia pacem sapientia firmaverat.*”

CHAP. XLVII.—*Duodecim.* A monument erected in honor of Tiberius at Puteoli, in the latter half of A.D. 30 (*Orelli*, 687), contains the names of fourteen cities; the two not mentioned here by Tacitus being *Cibyra* and *Ephesus*. The former was first struck by the earthquake in A.D. 23, and was assisted by Tiberius, as Tacitus elsewhere relates (iv., 13). Hence it appears that that monument comprises all the cities of Asia Minor which had suffered from the earthquakes during the reign of Tiberius, and had re-

ceived assistance from the emperor, down to A.D. 30; and as the account relating to Ephesus is no longer extant in Tacitus, this must have come after v., 5, and have been lost in the great hiatus there, along with the other missing occurrences of the years 29–31 A.D. Hence the earthquake of Ephesus would fall in A.D. 29.

Asperrima in Sardonios lues. “The destructive visitation, most severe against the inhabitants of Sardis.” This city, the capital of the old Lydian monarchy, stood at the foot of Mount Tmolus, on the River Pactolus.—*Centies sestertium.* “Ten million of sesterces.”—*Magnetes a Sipyllo, &c.* “The inhabitants of Magnesia (seen) from Sipylus were treated as next in damage and in help,” *i. e.*, they were considered to have sustained next greatest damage, and received accordingly the next greatest help. There were two cities named Magnesia in Asia Minor, one situate at the foot of the northwestern declivity of Mount Sipylus, in the northwestern part of Lydia, and on the southern bank of the Hermus, famous in history as the scene of the victory gained by the two Scipios over Antiochus the Great, which secured to the Romans the empire of the east, B.C. 190; and the other in the southwestern part of Lydia, on the River Lethæus, a northern tributary of the Mæander. The former is the one here meant. It was called by the Greeks *Μαγνησία ὑπὸ Σιπύλου* (*Spanheim*, p. 894), or *Μ. πρὸς Σιπύλω* (*Ptol.*, 5, 2), or *Μ. ἡ ὑπὸ Σιπύλω*. The appellation in the text is formed from the first of these, and is well explained by Ritter: “*Magnetes a Sipyllo sunt incolæ ejus urbis, quæ inde a Sipyllo conspiciuntur.*” Those who came to it from the west would give it this name on beholding it from the higher grounds of the mountain; those, on the other hand, who came to it from the east would call it Magnesia on Sipylus, or at the foot of Sipylus. Compare *Plin.*, *H. N.*, v., 29, and *Liv.*, xxxvii., 44.

Temnios. The people of Temnus, in Æolis, on the western bank of the Hermus.—*Philadelphenos.* The inhabitants of Philadelphia, in Lydia, at the foot of Mount Tmolus, twenty-eight Roman miles southeast of Sardis.—*Ægeatas.* The people of Ægææ, to the north of Smyrna, on the River Hyllus.—*Apollonidenses.* The inhabitants of Apollonis, a city of Lydia, between Pergamus and Sardis.—*Hierocæsaream.* In Lydia, between the Caius and Hermus. Diana Persica was worshipped here.—*Myrinam.* Myrina was on the western coast of Mysia.—*Cymen.* Cyme was the largest of the Æolian cities of Asia Minor, on the coast of the Sinus Cumæus.—*Tmolium.* The town of Tmolus (of which Herodotus, i., 84, also makes mention) was situate near the mountain of the same name.—*Qui præsentia spectaret, &c.* “To view their present condition and impart new life.”—*Aletius.* The MS. has *Aletus*, which is not a Roman name (*Borghesi, ad loc.*).

CHAP. XLVIII.—*Bona . . . petita in fiscum.* Because it was maintained that none had a right to claim the inheritance. All property for which there was no owner fell to the *fiscus*, or imperial privy purse.—*Æmilio Lepido.* With the prænomen *Marcus*. The supposition that Æmilia Musa belonged to his house probably rested only on the name.—*M. Servilio.* M.

Servilius, consul A.D. 3, is mentioned also in iii., 22.—*Neque suspectis*. “And well authenticated.”—*Aliis*. Whom they ought properly to have inserted, or who would have been their heirs had they died intestate.—*Appium Appianum*. The cognomen, if correct, would be the most ancient example of the occurrence of the prænomen *Appius* as a *nomen gentile*, which it presupposes.—*Q. Vitellium*. An uncle of the afterward Emperor Vitellius.

CHAP. XLIX.—*Circum maximum*. Between the Aventine and the Palatine. A. Postumius had vowed the temple before the battle at the Lake Regillus, B.C. 496. It was completed in 493 (*Dion. Hal.*, vi., 17, 94).—*Forum olitorium*. Outside the city, between the Capitoline and the river. In the same locality was also the temple of *Spes* (*Liv.*, xxi., 62, 4). To the temple of *Janus Tacitus* adds the place, for distinction’ sake from Numa’s temple of *Janus*, in the *Forum Romanum*.—*Qui primus*, &c. The naval victory of Duillius was gained B.C. 260.—*A Germanico*. Some editors read *Germanico* merely, the dative, instead of the ablative with the preposition *a*.—*Atilius*. A. Atilius Calatinus, consul in B.C. 258 and 254.

CHAP. L.—*Adolescebat*. “Was growing in strength.”—*Apuleiam Varillam*. The MS. has *Variliam*, but, as Borghesi remarks, it is not likely in her case that she had two gentile names. She was probably the daughter of Claudia Pulchra (iv., 52), daughter of Claudius Marcellus and Octavia, sister of Augustus. This Claudia Pulchra and her elder sister, married to M. Agrippa and Antonius Iulus, are both called Marcella by Suetonius (*Aug.*, 63). Claudia Pulchra (Marcella the younger) seems to have been first married to Sextus Apuleius, and from this marriage sprang the Sextus Apuleius, consul of the year 14 A.D., whom Dio Cassius (lvi., 29) calls a relation of Augustus, and the Apuleia here mentioned. Then Claudia Pulchra was married to Quintilius Varus (iv., 66), and from him, as her stepfather, Apuleia would seem to have taken the cognomen Varilla.

Illusisset. The subjunctive, as indicating what was alleged against her.—*Cæsari connexa*. “Though nearly allied to the emperor.”—*De adulterio*, &c. The accuser had designated her adultery as leze majesty, because she was related to the emperor. Tiberius, however, would have this transgression to be dealt with according to the general laws concerning adultery.—*Lege Julia*. By the *Lex Julia de Adulteriis coercendis* (passed probably B.C. 17), a woman convicted of this offence was mulcted in half of her *dos*, and the third part of her property (*bona*), and banished (*relegata*) to some miserable island, such as Seriphus, for instance.—*Secus*. “Unbecomingly.” Equivalent to *aliter quam decuit*.—*Eam*. Livia.—*Exemplo majorum*. These words refer merely to the circumstance of the execution of the sentence passed by the senate being transferred to the relations of the culprit. Compare *Liv.*, xxxix., 18, 6.

CHAP. LI.—*Etiam tum Romæ erant*. Compare chapters xlv. and liii.—

Haterium Agrippam. Compare i., 77. His father was probably the orator Q. Haterius (iv., 61). His relationship to Germanicus seems to explain itself by the *cognomen*; for probably he was related on the mother's side to M. Agrippa, father of Germanicus's wife.—*Numerus liberorum, &c.* The law meant here is the *Lex Papia Poppæa de maritandis ordinibus*. It provided that in the canvassing for offices, and the allotment of the senatorial provinces, the fathers of the greater number of children should have the preference. It also remitted to fathers of families a portion of the time which was otherwise required to elapse between the different offices; and where there was a certain number of children (probably three), allowed a longer tenure than the usual term of one year for the senatorial provinces. (*Dio Cass.*, liii., 13.)—*Quomodo.* “In the same manner as.”

CHAP. LII.—*Auxiliaria stipendia meritis.* “Having served among the auxiliaries.”—*Per vexilla et turmas.* “Into companies of foot and troops of horse.” Literally, “by means of standards and troops.”—*Mauros accolas.* “The neighboring Mauri.” Not the collective inhabitants of the kingdom of Mauritania, but that portion merely which dwelt near them.—*Suesceret.* The simple verb, as before (chap. xlv.), for the compound, but here in a transitive sense.—*Cinithios.* Below the Lesser Syrtis.—*In eadem.* “Into the same measures.”—*Furius Camillus.* Consul 8 A.D.; father of Camillus Scribonianus (vi., 1). Compare iii., 21.—*Quod sub signis sociorum.* “What forces of the allies were under arms.” Opposed to those whom he might have been able to convoke.—*Ne bellum metu eluderent.* That is, lest the enemy, from fear of the overpowering numbers of the Romans, should not let it come to a pitched battle.

Furio nomini. “For the Furian name.” The entire *gens Furia* is meant.—*Filiumque ejus Camillum.* Probably Tacitus took the L. Furius Camillus, consul 349 B.C., and the consul of the same name in 338 and 325 B.C., for one and the same person; whereas, according to other accounts, the latter was a grandson of the famous M. Furius Camillus. (*Liv.*, vii., 24, 28; viii., 13, 29.) Tacitus designedly adds *Camillum*; for he means here not the entire *gens Furia* (as above in *Furio nomini*), but of that gens only, the family of the Camilli. Of the gens *Furia* there also distinguished themselves as commanders P. Furius Philus and L. Furius Purpureo, who triumphed, the former in 223, the latter in 200 B.C.—*Impune fuit.* “Was not attended with any danger.”

CHAP. LIII.—*Sequens annus.* A.D. 18.—*Nicopolim.* Nicopolis was situated at the southwestern extremity of Epirus, on the point of land which forms the northern side of the entrance to the Gulf of Ambracia, opposite Actium. It was built by Augustus in memory of the battle of Actium. The same monarch built a temple of Apollo on a neighboring hill, and founded games in honor of the god, which were celebrated every fifth year.—*Druso.* Compare chap. xlv.—*Ionii maris.* The Ionian Sea lay to the south of the Adriatic and began, on the west, at Hydruntum, in Calabria; and on

the east at the Acroceraunian promontory, in Epirus.—*Ut memoravi*. Compare chap. xliii.—*Ut uno lictore uteretur*. As being among friends, where no imposing display of authority was needed.—*Vetera suorum facta, &c.* “Employing for display the ancient doings and sayings of their countrymen.” As a pattern for their reception of Germanicus, they took what their own forefathers had done and spoken on similar occasions. *Præferre*, properly, “to bear before one’s self,” *i. e.*, for display.

CHAP. LIV.—*Juliam*. Suetonius (*Cal.*, 7) calls her Livilla. She was married to M. Vinicius in 33 A.D., and was banished in 37 by her brother, Caligula. She was recalled by Claudius, but was afterward put to death by that emperor at Messalina’s instigation. The charge brought against her was adultery, and Seneca, the philosopher, was banished to Corsica as the partner of her guilt.—*Perinthum*. Perinthus, now *Erekli*, was an important city of Thrace, on the Propontis.—*Propontidis angustias*. The Thracian Bosphorus.

Sacra Samothracum. The island of Samothrace lay in the northern part of the Ægean Sea, opposite the mouth of the Hebrus, in Thrace, from which it was thirty-eight miles distant. It was the chief seat of the worship of the Cabiri, and was celebrated for its religious mysteries, called in the text *sacra*.—*Ilio*. Troy was twice rebuilt. First by the Æolian colonists, but much lower down the plain than the old site. This is the *Troja* or *Ilium Vetus* of most of the ancient writers, and was the city visited by Alexander. After the time of Alexander it declined, and a new city was built, still farther down the plain, below the confluence of the Simoïs and Scamander, and near the Hellespont. This is the *Ilium Novum*, known to, and honored with various immunities by the Romans. This last is the one meant in the text.—*Relegit Asiam*. “He sails again along the coast of Asia.”

Colophona. Colophon was one of the twelve cities of Ionia, and stood about two miles from the coast, on the River Halesus, between Lebedus and Ephesus.—*Clarîi Apollinis oraculo*. The temple and oracle were at Claros, a small town on the Ionian coast, near Colophon.—*Miletos*. Miletus, one of the greatest cities of Asia Minor, was the southernmost of the twelve cities of the Ionian confederacy, and was famed for its commerce and numerous colonies.—*Literarum*. “Letters (of the alphabet),” “writing.”—*Per ambages*. “In enigmatical terms.”—*Maturum exitium*. “An early death.”

CHAP. LV.—*Quo properantius, &c.* “That he might enter the sooner upon the execution of his purposes.”—*Turbido incessu*. “By his boisterous entrance.”—*Perstringens*. “Censuring.”—*Colluviem illam nationum*. “That impure conflux of various nations.” The thinning of the numbers of the ancient citizens, mentioned just before, had rendered necessary the admission of numerous foreigners. Besides, the Athenians had been in the habit of selling the freedom of the city for money. (Compare *Demosth.*, πρὸς συντάξιν, 23, seqq.; *Dio Cass.*, liv., 7.)—*Coluisset*. “He had treated.”

As alleged by Piso, and therefore the subjunctive.—*Mithradatis*. In the first Mithradatic war, 87–6 B.C.—*Antonii*. In the battle of Actium, 31 B.C.

Propria ira. “From personal resentment.”—*Areo judicio falsi damnatum*. “Condemned by the Areopagus for forgery.”—*Cycladas*. The Cyclades, a group of islands in the Ægean Sea, and so called because they lay in a circle (ἐν κύκλῳ) around Delos.—*Et compendia maris*. “And by a short course.” Literally, “by short cuts over the sea.”—*Quibus insectationibus, &c.* “With what bitter hostilities he was assailed.”—*Raperet in abrupta*. This refers only to Piso, the person afterward designated by the term *inimici* being understood even here, after the analogy of the ordinary construction, when after several verbs connected by a copula, and all governing the same case, such a case follows, which is to be understood with all.

Severos. “Distinguished for strict discipline.”—*Vagum ac lascivientem*. “To range at large and commit every kind of excess.”—*Vulgi*. “Of the common men.”—*Decursibus*. “The manœuvres.” As these were connected with more or less of rapid movement on foot, the term *decursus* has a peculiar significance.

CHAP. LVI.—*Sed præverti ad Armenios, &c.* “But it was a more immediate object of solicitude (with him) to direct his steps first to the Armenians.” Observe the middle force of *præverti*.—*Ambigua gens, &c.* “This nation has been an inconstant one from of old.”—*Late prætenta*. “Stretched far in front of,” *i. e.*, bordering with a large frontier upon.—*Maximis imperiis*. This belongs also to *discordes*. The Roman and Parthian empires are meant.—*Discordes*. “At variance with.”—*Invidia*. “Jealousy.”—*Amoto Vonone*. Compare chap. 4.—*Polemonis, regis Pontici* Polemo is called King of Pontus in just the same way as (chap. xlii.) Philopator, king of Cilicia. He was no longer living; his domain was under the government of his and Archelaus’s widow, Pythodoris.

Artaxata. The singular is used by Tacitus only in this connection with the ablative of *urbs* here and in vi., 33. Otherwise he has always treated the word as a neuter plural. Artaxata, the later capital of Armenia, was built by Artaxias, under the advice of Hannibal, on a peninsula surrounded by the River Araxes.—*Approbantibus nobilibus*. Of the nobles, who, in this despotically governed land, were alone of any account, it is expressly mentioned that they gave their approval: of the people it is only said that they flocked round in multitudes, in token of their joy.

In formam provinciæ redacti. Compare chap. xlii.—*Q. Veranium*. Veranium and Servæus were *legati* of Germanicus. They were set over the countries named only for the purpose of carrying out the new arrangements; this done, they returned to Germanicus. Cappadocia received a procurator of equestrian rank, as were all procurators. Commagene was thrown into Syria. What was done with the possessions of Philopator (chap. xlii.) Tacitus does not say, probably because they were left to his house, and not taken into the province (*Borghesi, ad loc.*).—*Ad jus prætoris translatis*.

They came under a proprætor, the *legatus pro prætore* of Syria; for the proprætor had *jus prætoris*. Compare i., 10; ii., 77; iv., 15

CHAP. LVII.—*Filium*. M. Piso. Compare chapters 76, 78; iii., 16, 18.—*Cyri*. Cyrrus or Cyrrhus was a city of Syria, founded under the Seleucidæ, and called after the city of the same name in Macedonia. It was the capital of the district *Cyrestice*.—*Ut retuli*. Compare i., 33.—*Clementior*. “Of more than ordinary clemency.”—*Intendere vera, &c.* “Aggravated real offences, kept heaping up fictitious ones.”—*Filios*. There was only one son present (iii., 16). The other, therefore, they accused of intriguing at Rome against Germanicus.—*Precibus contumacibus*. Compare the explanation of Lipsius: “*Petebat quidem, ne ea quæ reipublicæ causa et ex instituto egisset, in suam contumeliam verteret; simul demonstrabat, si tamen id faceret atque indignaretur, se id susque deque ferre, et Tiberio soli rationem actorum reddendam.*”

Atrax ac dissentire manifestus. “He was gloomy of look, and showed clearly that he dissented.” On the construction of *manifestus* with the infinitive in place of the genitive, consult *Bötticher, Lex. Tac.*, p. 265.—*Nabataeorum*. An Arabian people, in the northwestern part of the peninsula originally; but in Roman times occupying nearly the whole of Arabia Petræa, along the northeastern coast of the Red Sea, on both sides of the Ælanitic Gulf, and in the Idumæan Mountains, where they had their celebrated rock-hewn capital, *Petra*.—*Parthi*. The object of Piso’s speech was to censure the luxury and extravagance of the banquet, as more suited to Parthian than to Roman habits. *Parthi* here expresses more than *Parthici* or *Parthorum*, denoting that he was by descent a Parthian.

CHAP. LVIII.—*Amicitiam ac fœdus*. Which Phraates had established with Augustus. Compare chap. i.—*Accederet*. Namely, the king. Compare what follows soon after: “*De adventu regis et cultu sui.*”—*Neu traheret*. “And not to let him (Vonones) draw,” &c. In Latin, it is common to entreat a person that something may be done or not done, when it is in his power to effect it, or to hinder it, where we would use a verb with the infinitive denoting the activity of the person entreated as “let,” or the like.—*Decore*. “Grace.” Ablative of *decor*.—*Pompeiopolim*. Pompeiopolis, originally *Soli* or *Solæ*, was a city on the coast of Cilicia, between the Lamus and Cydnus. Pompey restored the place after his war with the pirates, and peopled it with the survivors of the defeated bands; and from this time forth it was called Pompeiopolis.—*Contumeliæ Pisonis*. That is, it was meant also as a rebuff to Piso.

CHAP. LIX.—*M. Silano, &c.* A.D. 19.—*Ægyptum*. Consult notes on chap. lxix.—*Cognoscendæ antiquitatis*. The genitive expresses the purpose of the action. Strictly speaking, it is joined to the verb as to a substantive, to denote the nature of the action, what it consists of. The construction is borrowed from the Greek, and as it is there found only with the infinitive,

so in Latin it occurs only with the gerund and gerundive. We find it in the Latin of the older writers, as in Terence, *Ad.*, ii., 4, 6; not in the Ciceronian age (except perhaps in *B. G.*, iv., 17, 10); but very frequently in Tacitus.—*P. Scipionis æmulatione.* The elder Africanus. Livy (xxix., 19, 11) says that he walked about *cum pallio crepidisque*. This explains what is meant by *pedibus intectis*, not strictly bare, but wearing merely the *crepida*, or slipper. Slippers were worn with the *pallium*, or Greek cloak, not with the *toga*.—*Quamvis flagrante adhuc, &c.* Implying that he ought to have dressed, like a Roman commander, in the attire of his country.

Sponte. With a genitive, occurs first in Lucan, *e. g.*, i., 99: "*Paxque fuit non sponte ducum;*" 234, "*Sponte deum.*" In Tacitus, besides the present instance we find it in iv., 7, 51; vi., 31; xii., 24; xiii., 39, 42; *Hist.*, iv., 19.—*Equitibus Romanis illustribus.* So were called those Roman knights who possessed the senatorial fortune of a million of sesterces; and therefore were competent to become senators. Like the senators and their children, they wore the *latus clavus*, or broad purple border.—*Seposuit Ægyptum.* "Placed Egypt aside by itself."—*Claustra terræ ac maris.* Compare *Hirt.*, *Bell. Alex.*, 26: "*Tota Ægyptus maritimo accessu Pharo, pedestri Pelusio, velut claustris, munita existimatur.*"

CHAP. LX.—*Oppido a Canopo.* The collocation of the preposition between two words connected by apposition is an innovation upon the ancient style. Compare iv., 43, "*Montem apud Erycum;*" xiii., 12, "*Uxore ab Octavia,*" &c.—*Canopo.* The city of Canopus was near the westernmost mouth of the Nile, hence called the Canopic mouth, and was twelve geographical miles to the east of Alexandria. It had a great temple of Serapis, and a considerable commerce. The story of its Spartan origin is of course a fable. The Egyptian name was *Kahi-n-nub*, i. e., "golden ground."—*Qua tempestate.* "What time." The same form of expression occurs iii., 38; iv., 14; vi., 34; xii., 62; *Hist.*, v., 2.—*Menelaus.* According to the Greek legend, Menelaus was eight years wandering about the shores of the Mediterranean, on his return from Troy, before he reached home.—*Diversum ad mare.* A different part of the Mediterranean is merely meant.—*Dejectus* Supply *est*. Nipperdey inserts this in the text.

Proximum amnis os. Observe that *os* depends on *visit*, toward the end of the sentence. The mouth here meant is the Canopic, which was sometimes also called the *Heracleotic*, from the adjacent city of Heracleon.—*Quem indigenæ ortum apud se, &c.* Compare *Wilkinson*, vol. ii. (second series), p. 17, *seqq.*—*Cognomentum.* Consult notes on i., 31.—*Veterum Thebarum.* Egyptian Thebes stood about the centre of the Thebaid, on both banks of the Nile, above Coptos, in the Nomos Coptites.—*Structis molibus.* "On vast erections." Commentators generally suppose that obelisks are here meant. It is more probable, however, that Tacitus refers to the walls of some of the stupendous structures at Thebes.

Rhamsen. By Rhamses is here meant the Sesostris of the Greeks, or Rameses II. of Egypt. Compare *Wilkinson*, i., p. 69, *seqq.*—*Legebantur et*

indicta, &c. Kenrick thinks that Tacitus here refers to what is now termed the statistical table of Karnak, belonging to the reign of Thothmes III., the Pharaoh of the Exodus, and that the words of the Roman historian do not necessarily imply that the record of the victories of Rhamses, and the table of tribute mentioned immediately after, related to the same sovereign (*Kenrick's Anc. Egypt*, vol. ii., p. 228, *Lond. ed.*).—*Utensilium*. Consult notes on i., 70.

CHAP. LXI.—*Memnonis saxea effigies*. The Memnon of the Greeks and Romans was the Amenophis III. of the Egyptians.—*Vocalem sonum*. The sound it uttered was said to resemble the breaking of a harp-string, or, according to the preferable authority of a witness, brass when struck, that is, a metallic ring. Wilkinson appears to have given the best explanation of the matter. Consult *Anthon's Class. Dict.*, s. v. *Memnonium*.—*Disjectas*. Because, being raised from their natural level surface by the force of the winds, they are in different places heaped up in large masses.—*Lacus*. Mæris.—*Angustia et profunda altitudo*. In the southern part of Egypt, where the river is enclosed by a narrow rocky valley (*angustia*).—*Nullis inquirentium spatiiis*, &c. “Fathomable by no measures on the part of those seeking to ascertain it.” The *spatia inquirentium* are the additional lengths of the fathoming line, which the enquirers were obliged to use, yet without finding any bottom.

Elephantinen. Elephantine or Elephantis was an island in the Nile, with a city of the same name, opposite to Syene, and seven stadia below the Little Cataract.—*Syenen*. Syene was situate on the eastern bank of the Nile, just below the Little Cataract, like Elephantine.—*Claustra olim*, &c. As the remotest point from Rome. By *rubrum mare*, which may denote either the Arabian or the Persian Gulf, the latter is here meant, as under Trajan (about 115 A.D.) the eastern frontier of the Roman empire was advanced to the northern part of that gulf.

CHAP. LXII.—*Drusus*. Compare chapters xlv.—xlvi.—*Utque fracto jam*, &c. “And (by inducing them), now that the power of Maroboduus was broken, to persevere even unto his utter ruin.”—*Gotones*. On the northern part of the Vistula, not to be confounded with the *Gothini*. Compare *Germ.*, xliii.—*Regiam*. Strabo (vii., p. 290) calls the place *Βουταίμων*, Ptolemy *Μαρόβουδον*, supposed to answer to the modern *Budweis*. Compare “*Boiohemum*,” *Germ.*, xxviii.—*Jus commercii*. In consequence of the alliance mentioned in chap. xlv.—*Hostilem agrum*. Tacitus calls the land so, in respect of the manner in which, notwithstanding the treaty, the Romans actually regarded it.

CHAP. LXIII.—*Noricam Provinciam*. Noricum lay between Rætia and Pannonia, the *Inn* and the *Mur*. It corresponded to the greater part of *Styria* and *Carinthia*, and a part of *Austria*, *Bavaria*, and *Salzburg*.—*Præfluit*. For *præterfluit*.—*Ex memoria prioris fortunæ*. “From the recollec-

tion of his former fortune," *i. e.*, as the recollection of his former fortune prompted him; that is, in a spirit suitable to his former fortune.—*Fide qua venisset.* The more usual form of expression would be, *eadem fide qua venisset.* Compare chap. lxxviii. "*Curam exercitus eadem fide qua tenuerit repetivisse.*"

Violentiam. "The fierceness."—*Extulit.* "He magnified."—*Ravennæ.* Compare i., 58.—*Insolescerent.* "Began to grow turbulent."—*Hermundurorum.* North from the Danube, in *Bavaria* and *Thuringia.*—*Forum Julium.* Now *Frejus.*—*Barbari utrumque comitati.* "The barbarians who had followed each," *i. e.*, the barbarian followers of each.—*Marum et Cusum.* The *Marus* is now the *March*; the *Cusus*, probably the *Waag.*—*Quadorum.* The *Quadi* were a powerful German people of Suevic race, in the southeastern part of the country, between Mount *Gabreta*, the *Hercynian* forest, the *Sarmatian Mountains*, and the *Danube.*

CHAP. LXIV.—*Simul nuntiato*, &c. As the appointment of *Artaxias* had already taken place at the end of the preceding year (compare chapters lvi. and lvii.), it appears that the affair of *Maroboduus* must have occurred quite early in this year, and only to this can *simul* here refer. The other matters related in chap. lxiii. fell later in the course of the year, and are added only for the purpose of completing this part of the history.—*Martis Ultoris.* This temple was built by *Augustus* in his own forum, between the *Quirinal* and the *Capitol*, in fulfillment of a vow for vengeance on the murderers of *Julius Cæsar.* In it were placed the standards delivered up by the *Parthians.*—*Cæsarum.* "Of these two *Cæsars.*"—*Bellum.* "A war."—*Illi mite et amœnum.* To *Cotys* *Ovid* addressed the 9th Epistle of his second book "*Ex Ponto*," whence it appears that he was a poet.—*Societatis.* "Of having a partner in power."—*Subdola concordia egere.* "They lived in hollow friendship."—*Causas bello.* Consult notes on i., 27.

CHAP. LXV.—*Facilitate.* "From a yielding temper."—*Cuncta concederent acciperentque.* "Yielded and accepted every proposition."—*Sanciendo fœderi.* "To give solemnity to the league."—*Sacra regni.* "The religion of the kingdom," *i. e.*, all that their land held in the highest reverence. Then follows in particular "the gods (penates) of the royal line."—*Basternas Scythasque.* North of the *Danube*, to which his kingdom extended along the *Black Sea*, east of *Mœsia.* In later times *Mœsia* extended to the *Black Sea* (*Plin., H. N., iii., 26, 149*). The usual form of the name is *Bastarnæ.*—*Transferret invidiam criminis.* Namely, to *Cotys*, as it was natural that so long as he hung back from trial, he was regarded as guilty.

CHAPS. LXVI. AND LXVII.—*Pandus.* *Nipperdey*, following an inscription, writes the name *Pandusa.* This individual had succeeded in *Mœsia* to *Poppæus Sabinus*, who, according to i., 80, at the end of A.D. 15, had been continued for a longer term in the proprætorship of that province, with *Achaia* and *Macedonia* annexed. *Achaia* and *Macedonia* *Sabinus* contin-

ued to hold until his death, 35 A.D.—*Placitas semel artes*. “The artful course he had once adopted.” Literally, “which had once pleased him.”—*Pomponium Flaccum*. He had already held a command in Mœsia, before his consulship.

Præsidia Romana. “The Roman lines.”—*Traxere*. “Drew him,” *i. e.*, induced him to come.—*Uxore Cotyis*. She was the daughter of Pythodorus, with regard to which latter female, consult notes on chapter lvi.—*In Rhæmetalcen*. As respects this form of expression, consult notes on i., 55.—*Trebellienus Rufus*. Compare iii., 38; vi., 39. Perhaps he is the same with the person mentioned in an inscription *Ap. Mur.*, 850, 10. (*Borghesi; ad loc.*).—*Ptolemæi*. Ptolemy Epiphanes, who died 181 B.C. M. Æmilius Lepidus was Pontifex Maximus, and twice consul, 187 and 175 B.C.

CHAPS. LXVIII. AND LXIX.—*Memoravi*. Compare chap. lviii.—*Albanos*. The Albani dwelt in the Caucasus, on the Caspian Sea. In the same mountains, farther west, were the Heniochi; and thence, to the north, the Scythians.—*Et consanguineum, &c.* Supply *ad* from the first clause.—*Pyramum*. The Pyramus, a large, deep, and rapid river of Asia Minor, rises in the Anti-Taurus range, and flows through Cilicia. It is now the *Jihon*.—*Appositus*. As commander.—*Conscientia sceleris*. Namely, his having aided him to escape.

Ægypto. Tacitus, in the case of this and other names of countries and people, follows the usage of the poets, who employ the ablative in answer to the question “whence,” without a preposition.—*Contumeliæ*. “Affronts,” *i. e.*, setting things to rights again, with attendant circumstances deeply insulting to Piso.—*Abire Syria*. The employment of *abire* with the bare ablative is new.—*Antiochensium*. Antiochia was the capital city of Syria, on the River Orontes, not far from its mouth. It was in a suburb of this, Epidaphne, that Germanicus now lay. Compare chap. lxxxiii.—*Seleuciam*. Seleucia Pieria, near Antioch, on the sea-coast.—*Carmina et devotiones*. “Charms and spells.”—*Semusti cineres*. Ashes of half-burned portions of human bodies; human remains only partially reduced to ashes; hence *tabo obliti*.—*Maleficia*. “Instruments of sorcery.”—*Sacrari*. “To be devoted.”—*Adversa*. “The unfavorable symptoms.”

CHAP. LXX.—*Infantibus liberis*. He had with him Julia and Caligula. On the birth-year of the former, consult chap. liv.; on that of the latter, notes on i., 40.—*Festinare et urgere*. Referring to Piso.—*Non usque eo defectum*. “Was not sunk so low,” *i. e.*, was not so far gone.—*Epistolas*. “A letter.” Consult notes on i., 30.—*Quo propius regrederetur*. As one says *prope, procul esse*, so these adverbs are put to other verbs in the sense of “being in the neighborhood,” “being at a distance,” &c. Hence we may here translate, “in order that, being (thus) nearer, he might return.”

CHAP. LXXI.—*Fesso corpore*. “With drooping frame.”—*Si fato conce-lerem*. That is, if I were dying in the course of nature.—*Parentibus*. His

mother, Antonia, (iii., 3), and his adoptive father, Tiberius. Even if he knew that the latter desired his death, he would not give utterance to such a surmise, as appears also from the mention of Tiberius in what follows.—*Intra juventam*. Consult notes on chap. lxxiii.—*Interceptus*. “Cut off.”—*Relinquo*. “I deposit.”—*Fratri*. His adoptive brother, Drusus. His own brother, Claudius, who was weak in understanding, and was held in contempt (iii., 18), could not be in his thoughts here.—*Acerbitatibus*. “Cruel persecutions.”—*Spes meæ*. That which I was called to become and to achieve.—*Muliebri fraude*. Not as though he ascribed his death only to women (in fact, he has just said *scelere Pisonis et Plancinæ*), but because poisoning is an unmanly crime.

Locus. “An opportunity.”—*Prosequi*. “To show respect unto.”—*Divi Augusti neptem*. Consult notes on i.; 3.—*Sex liberos*. Consult notes on chapters xli. and liv.—*Cum*. “On the side of.”—*Scelesta mandata*. Compare chap. xliii.—*Amissuros*. “That they will forego.”

CHAPS. LXXII. AND LXXIII.—*Ferociam*. “Her unyielding spirit.” Compare i., 33.—*Æmulatione potentiæ*. “By a competition for the mastery.”—*Metum*. “Danger to be feared.”—*Comitas*. “Urbanity.”—*Venerabilis*. “An object of reverential love.”—*Magnitudinem et gravitatem, &c.* “The authority and dignity of the highest elevation,” *i. e.*, of his exalted station.—*Arrogantiam*. “The imputation of arrogance.”

Sine imaginibus et pompa. “Without family images and display of any kind.”—*Triginta annos*. Germanicus died in his thirty-fourth, Alexander in his thirty-third year.—*Suorum insidiis*. “By the machinations of their own countrymen.”—*Certis liberis*. “With offspring undoubtedly his own,” *i. e.*, by a chaste wife, so that he was sure of his paternity.—*Germanias*. Consult notes on i., 57.—*Assecuturum*. Supply *fuisse*. Consult notes on chap. xxxi.—*Sepulturæ*. Compare chapters lxxv., lxxxiii.; iii., 1, 4.

CHAPS. LXXIV. AND LXXV.—*Legatos*. “The commanders of the legions.” Each legion, as we have before remarked, had a *legatus* at its head.—*Alii senatorum*. Because all *legati* had held the quæstorship, and therefore were senators. Consult notes on chap. xxxvi.—*Vibium Marsum*. Compare chapters lxxix.; iv., 56; vi., 47. He was consul suffectus 17 A.D.—*Cn. Sentium*. Consul suffectus 4 A.D.—*Diu quæsitum*. “It was long disputed.”—*Tamquam adversus receptos jam reos*. The author, in his strict impartiality, censures it in the friends of Germanicus, that, in bringing together the proofs which were to bear out their charge, they took upon them to act in a way in which they were not authorized to act until the charge was regularly laid and received.

Intolerans. “Impatient.”—*Pulcherrimo modo matrimonio, &c.* “Accustomed to be seen, during her late most happy union, among those who offered her their homage and congratulations,” *i. e.*, surrounded by these.—*Coum insulam*. Coüs, otherwise called *Coos*, and more commonly *Cos*, was one of the islands called Sporades, off the coast of Caria, and at the mouth

of the Ceramic Gulf. It is now *Stanco*.—*Intemperanter*. “With extravagant joy.”—*Gaudium*. “His delight,” which he had shown on receipt of the tidings. The words *neque . . . moderans* are by no means superfluous; for though a person, on receipt of any particular tidings, may act extravagantly, it does not follow that he may not afterward moderate his behavior.

CHAPS. LXXVI. AND LXXVII.—*Adfluebant centuriones*. Out of Syria, from the legions there; creatures of his own. Compare chap. iv.—*Legionum studia*. “That the affections of the legions.”—*Consultanti*. This depends on *properandum*.—*Inania famæ*. “The idle announcements of common rumor.”—*In partibus*. “On his side.”—*Recens*. Since the departure of Piso. Compare chapters lxix. and lxx.—*Prævaleret*. “Would preponderate.”

Contra, &c. “Against this Domitius Celer argued,” *i. e.*, against the speech of Piso.—*Jus prætoris*. Consult notes on chapter lvi.—*Propria mandata*. “Special orders,” *i. e.*, from the emperor. Piso was not referred simply to the orders of Germanicus, but was empowered by the emperor, as *legatus pro prætore* of Syria, to act also on his own responsibility. As Tacitus (chap. xliii., and iii., 16) leaves it uncertain whether Tiberius had actually given Piso orders how to proceed against Germanicus, in these words also this is left unexpressed, but the words are purposely so chosen that they can also include this. Just so, Tacitus, in making M. Piso and Domitius scout the allegation of the poisoning of Germanicus as a merely empty suspicion, does not himself mean to affirm that it was nothing more than that. He merely regarded it as not proved. The speeches in this place leave the possibility of the poisoning an open question, as the speakers were not necessarily supposed to know any thing about it; which, at any rate, holds in the case of M. Piso; or they might think good, if they did know it, to conceal their knowledge.

In melius casura. “Would turn up in his favor.”—*Appellere*. “To land (in Italy).”—*Rapient*. “May hurry to destruction.”—*Augustæ conscientia*. Compare chap. xliii.—*Nulli*. Used substantively in the plural is rare, as the singular *nemo* would express the same thing.

CHAP. LXXVIII.—*Promptus ferocibus*. “Ready for violent measures.”—*Epistolis*. Consult notes on i., 30.—*Rebus novis*. “For designs against the state.”—*Repetivisse*. “Had now sought to resume.”—*Lato mari*. Having sailed past the islands as far as to the southernmost point of Rhodes (no great distance), he was to steer right across for Syria, so that the ship on both sides would be far from land, while Piso himself kept along the coast of the main-land. Compare chap. lxxix.—*Desertores*. Of the Syrian legions.—*Vexillum tironum*. Consult notes on i., 17.—*Regulis Cilicum*. Consult notes on chap. xlii.

CHAP. LXXIX.—*Prælegentes*. Piso and his party, with the exception of Domitius.—*Nuntiavit Pisoni*, &c. That is, he summoned Piso to Rome there to make his defence against the charge of having poisoned Germani-

cus.—*Eludens*. “With an air of derision.”—*Ubi prætor . . . prædixisset*. When the accuser had declared before the presiding judge of the court that he wished to accuse any one (*nomen deferre*), the charge could not at once be taken in hand, but a day was appointed (*prætor diem prædixit*) on which the parties had to appear. Cases of assassination, poisoning, and perhaps other criminal offences against individuals, in these times, were not tried by the senate itself as such, but by judges appointed from among the senators, probably by lot, who formed a court presided over by that prætor, whose duty it was to conduct the *quæstio* on that particular description of offence, and who held the trial in the Forum, quite in the manner of the ordinary courts. The contemptuous conduct of Piso is shown, first, in his rejecting as unauthorized the citation of Marsus, and then in his taking it for granted that a charge of poisoning Germanicus would be proceeded with in just the same way as if he had been accused of the same crime against any other individual: whereas Germanicus (chap. lxxi.) and his friends presumed that this crime, as being committed against a member of the imperial family, would be prosecuted in the senate; as, in fact, it was.

Laodiceam. Laodicea ad mare (*Λαοδίκεια ἐπὶ τῇ θαλάττῃ*), on the coast, about fifty miles south of Antioch, and opposite the island of Cyprus.—*Pacuvio*. Compare *Seneca, Ep.*, i., 12, 8.—*Ne tentet*. “Not to attempt to gain.”—*Imperatoris*. Tiberius, not Germanicus. For the *magnitudo* (here “the might”) applies only to the living; that of Germanicus, therefore, could only have worked through the memory, and this has been already mentioned. Sentius regards himself as an executor of the orders left by Germanicus, and so as representative of the emperor.

CHAP. LXXX.—*Tutissima e præsentibus*. “The best measures of security under existing circumstances.”—*Celenderis*. On a lofty precipice, on the sea-coast. It was of Phœnician origin, but was afterward colonized by the Samians. It was in Cilicia Trachea.—*Tirone nuper intercepto*. Mentioned in chap. lxxviii.—*In numerum*. So that, in point of number, they formed a legion. In a different sense we have, in *Hist.*, i., 87, “*in numeros legionis composuerat*,” i. e., so that they formed divisions of a legion, namely, centuries, maniples, cohorts.—*Consisterent in acie, &c.* He only wants their presence in the battle-field for appearance’s sake, since they may rest assured that the soldiers on the opposite side will not fight against him.—*Parentem*. Compare chap. lv.—*Jure*. “On principles of justice.”—*Pro munimentis*. In the ordinary sense of *pro*, “in front of;” different from *pro muris* in the next chapter.—*Hinc militum, &c.* “On one side was hardihood of troops, on the other ruggedness of situation,” i. e., one side had the advantage in the hardy character of the troops, the other in the rugged and almost inaccessible nature of their position.—*Sed non animus, &c.* “But the latter had no spirit,” &c.

CHAP. LXXXI.—*Pro muris*. “In front, upon the walls.” Different from *pro munimentis* in the previous chapter.—*Semet afflicto*. “By display-

ing the deepest affliction."—*Cœptabat*. "He strove to bring about."—*Legionis sextæ*. Compare chap. lxxix.—*Peti aggerem*. Here, as always, "earth to be fetched for a mound," that is, to be cast into the trenches and against the walls, to make it easier to scale them. This, even during a fight, was nothing unwonted to the Roman legions. Compare *Cæs.*, *B. G.*, v., 9, 6, where, after the enemy had been driven back into an intrenched wood, "*Ipsi ex silvis rari propugnabant, nostrosque intra munitionem ingredi prohibebant. At milites legionis septimæ, testudine facta, et aggere ad munitiones adjecto, locum ceperunt (got footing), eosque ex silvis expulerunt.*"—*Ingerere*. "To pour."—*Cui*. "As to whom."

CHAP. LXXXII.—*Ut ex longinquo*. "As is natural in reports coming from a distance." Consult notes on i., 65.—*Secretos sermones*. Compare chap. xliii.—*De Druso*. The father of Germanicus. Compare *Suetonius*, *Claud.* 1. "*Nec dissimulasse unquam pristinum se rei publicæ statum, quandoque posset, restitutum. Unde existimo nonnullos tradere ausos suspectum eum Augusto, revocatumque ex provincia, et quia cunctaretur, interceptum veneno. Quod equidem magis, ne prætermitterem, retuli, quam quia verum aut verisimile putem.*" Such certainly was the opinion of Tacitus also, and not merely concerning the death of Drusus, but also as to his and Germanicus's thoughts of restoring the republic. He reports these things only as popular views and by way of characterizing the state of public opinion.—*Civilia filiorum ingenia*. "The popular spirit of their sons." Drusus was step-son of Augustus.—*Interceptos*. Namely, the persons spoken of, Germanicus and his father.

Sumto justitio. A *justitium* was regularly announced by the consuls in accordance with a decree of the senate. Compare, as regards its nature, notes on i., 16.—*Quamvis leviter audita*. "The tidings, though unauthenticated."—*Tempore ac spatio*. Hendiadys, for *temporis spatio*.

CHAP. LXXXIII.—*Saliari carmine*. This most ancient song was quite unintelligible to that age. (Compare *Hor.*, *Ep.*, ii., 1, 86; *Quint.*, i., 6, 40.) Merely his name was inserted beside some other name; or, if he had a whole verse given him, as we are informed that each several god invoked had his separate verse, which was named after him (*Festus*, p. 3, ed. Müll.), it was his name with a burden, which was repeated with other names. To compose a verse in the ancient language was more than they were able to do at that time.—*Sedes curules*. A chair with a crown over it, in every place where the Augustales had their appointed sittings, at solemnities and spectacles. He belonged to their collegium.—*Quercæ coronæ*. Civic crowns.—*Ludos circenses, &c.* His image was to be borne along with those of the gods in the solemn procession which took place before the games.—*Flamen*. He was flamen of Augustus. His successor was his adoptive brother, Drusus (*Orelli*, *Inscr.*, 211).

Amano. Mount Amanus was a branch of Mount Taurus, which runs from the head of the Gulf of Issus to the principal chain, dividing Syria from

Cilicia and Cappadocia.—*Sepulcrum Antiochiæ*, &c. “A cenotaph at Antiochia, where his corpse was burned.”—*Epidaphnæ*. Consult notes on chap. lxix.—*Colerentur*. Referring to *statuæ*.—*Inter auctores eloquentiæ*. “Among the masters of eloquence.” Germanicus was not only an orator of considerable repute, but also a poet. Of the Greek comedies mentioned by Suetonius, which he composed, we have no fragments left; but the remains of his Latin translation of the *Phænomena* of Aratus evince much skill in versification, and are superior in merit to the similar work of Cicero. We have also fragments of his *Diosemeia* or *Prognostica*, a physical poem, compiled from Greek sources.

Cuneum. Namely, in the theatre, where the knights, like the senators, had their appointed places, and, as this passage shows, one *cuneus* was called *juniorum*, the other *seniorum*.—*Idibus Juliis*. In the solemn procession (*transvectio*) of the equestrian centuries, which took place every year on this day.

CHAP. LXXXIV.—*Duos virilis sexus*. The one, Germanicus (*Corp. Inscr. Gr.*, 2630), died 23 A.D.; on the other, Tiberius, consult vi., 46.—*Modicis Penatibus*. “In middling families.”—*Ad gloriam*. “To his own glorification.”—*Auctus liberis*. He had already a daughter (iii., 29); but of her, by reason of her sex, no notice is taken here, where political importance is the point in consideration.

CHAP. LXXXV.—*L'ibido*. “The licentiousness.”—*Quæstum corpore faceret*. “Should become venal.”—*Eques Romanus*. The prohibition relating to this order includes the like for the higher order of the senators.—*Licentiam stupri vulgaverat*. “Had openly declared herself a prostitute.”—*Ultionem legis*. By indictment, according to the *Lex Julia de adulteriis*. By this law, the husband of a wife taken in adultery was obliged to part from her immediately, if he would not himself be punished as a procurer; for the next sixty days he alone had the right of bringing her to trial; afterward he lost his prerogative. In the present case, the husband pleaded that the sixty days allowed him for consideration were not over.

Satis visum de Vistilia, &c. As to her husband, his plea was deemed sufficient to arrest the proceedings against him. According to the existing laws, he was not punishable, even if after the sixty days he failed to bring her to trial; but as, in the proceedings against his wife, they went beyond the law as it then stood, so he had been called to account in an extraordinary manner.—*Seriphon*. Seriphos was a small, rocky island, one of the Cyclades, lying between Cythnus and Siphnus. In Roman times it was noted for its poverty and wretchedness, and was consequently made a place of exile under the emperors.

Sacris Ægyptiis. The Egyptian rites here meant were those of Isis and Anubis.—*Quatuor millia*, &c. The greater part of these, however, were, according to Philo Judæus (p. 568, *ed. Mang.*), followers of Judaism.—*Gravitate cæli*. “The unhealthiness of the climate.” The western and south-

ern parts of Sardinia were in ancient times, as they are at the present day, exceedingly unhealthy.—*Vile damnum*. “It would be a small loss.”

CHAPS. LXXXVI. AND LXXXVII.—*Capiendam*. “Was to be chosen.” *Capere* is the technical word in such cases.—*Septem et quinquaginta per annos*. The ordinary period of service lasted for thirty years. During the first ten, the priestess was employed in learning her mysterious duties, being termed *discipula*; during the next ten, in performing them; and during the last ten, in giving instructions to the novices. At the end of this period they might return to the world, and even enter into the marriage state. Few, however, availed themselves of these privileges; those who did were said to have lived in sorrow and remorse; hence such a proceeding was considered ominous; and the priestesses for the most part died as they had lived in the service of the goddess.

Fonteio Agrippæ. Compare chap. xxx.—*Discidio*. “By a divorce.”—*Quamvis posthabitam*. Supply *alteram*.—*Decies sestertii*. Consult notes on chap. xxxvii.

Statuit. “He fixed.”—*Modios*. The *modius*, the principal dry measure of the Romans, was equal nearly to two gallons English.—*Divinas occupationes*. “His divine employments.”—*Angusta et lubrica*. “Difficult and dangerous.”

CHAP. LXXXVIII.—*Scriptores senatoresque*. This means the same persons: “people who at that time wrote and were senators.” He adds the latter, because as such they might be supposed to have exact knowledge of the matter as it was transacted in the senate.—*Qui venenum, &c.* Usually, this is ascribed to the consul Fabricius, B.C. 278; by Claudius Quadrigarius (*ap. Gell.*, iii., 8), to him and his colleague, Q. Æmilius. In Tacitus, however, the plural is certainly to be taken quite generally: this thing was characteristic of the ancient commanders generally.—*Bello*. “In the general issue of the war.”—*Duodecim potentia*. His power may be dated from the overthrow of Varus, 9 A.D.; and his death, which Tacitus mentions here, as the occasion led him to the subject, falls therefore in 21 A.D.—*Celebris*. In the masculine, here and in xiii., 47; xiv., 19.

BOOK III.

CHAP. I.—*Nihil intermissa*, &c. Tacitus does not begin with the names of the consuls, but adds them in chap. ii. in passing, because part of Agrippina's voyage, which he left in ii., 79, falls in the preceding year.—*Corcyram*. Corcyra, now *Corfu*, lay off the coast of Epirus. It is now one of the Ionian islands.—*Calabriæ*. By Calabria was meant the peninsula in the south-eastern extremity of Italy, extending from Tarentum to the Promontorium Iapygium.—*Plerique*. Here, as often in Nepos and Livy, and elsewhere frequently in Tacitus, "very many." Compare iv., 9, 20; xii., 35; xiii., 25; *Hist.*, i., 86, &c.—*Illos*. Namely, those who did it from attachment to the persons of Germanicus and Agrippina.—*Brundisium*. This port was the usual place for disembarkation from Greece and the East, and also the usual port for embarking for those quarters. It was connected with Rome by the Appian Way.—*Fidissimum appulsu*. On account of its excellent harbor. *Appulsu* for *appulsui*, old form of the dative.

Proxima maris. The parts of the sea lying nearest to the harbor, by people in boats and other small vessels.—*Quaque longissime*, &c. "And, as far as the eye could reach into the distance."—*Turba*. Supply *erat*.—*Quid*. For *utrum*. Consult notes on i., 47.—*Duobus cum liberis*. Consult notes on ii., 70.—*Idem omnium gemitus*. "One simultaneous groan burst from all."—*Proximos, alienos*. "Relations, strangers," *i. e.*, relations from strangers.—*In dolore*. This belongs to *recentes*.—*Anteibant*. Namely, in their expressions of sorrow.

CHAP. II.—*Magistratus*. "The municipal authorities."—*Calabriæ, Apulique et Campani*. The funeral procession, as it moved along the Appian Way, would pass through these different districts of Italy.—*Munera fungentur*. On the construction of this verb with the accusative, consult *Zumpt*, § 466.—*Incomta signa*. "The military ensigns unadorned."—*Fasces*. As insignia of the proconsular dignity of Germanicus.—*Colonias*. All cities of Italy at that time were either colonies or *municipia*. Here the former name is not meant to exclude the latter, but for the sake of conciseness it is put for both, as, in fact, both stood upon a par in their relation to the state; namely, as both consisted of Roman citizens.—*Trabeati*. "Arrayed in the trabea." The *trabea* of the equestrian order was a toga ornamented with one or more horizontal stripes of purple. The *trabea*, on the other hand, which formed the sacred drapery of a deity, was entirely of purple.

Diversa. "Lay away from the route."—*Tarracinam*. Tarracina, more anciently called Anxur, was a town of Latium, situate fifty-eight miles

southeast of Rome, on the Appian Way, and upon the coast.—*Germanici*. Belongs also to *fratre*. Which of Germanicus's children had been in the city will be seen in the notes on ii., 41 and 70.—*M. Valerius*. M. Valerius Messala, grandson of the orator Messala Corvinus, and son of the Valerius Messala who was consul 3 B.C. The year meant in the text is 20 A.D.—*M. Aurelius*. M. Aurelius Cotta. In the MS. he is called *C. Aurelius Cotta*, but the prænomen is fixed by the list of consuls appended to Dio Cassius's 57th book, and by Cassiodorus.—*Disjecti*. Applies merely to the people.

CHAP. III.—*Auctores rerum*. "The historians of the time."—*Diurna actorum scriptura*. "In the daily record of events." Called in xiii., 81, by its proper name, "*diurna urbis acta*." It appears to have been a species of gazette, published by authority of the government, during the later times of the republic, and under the empire. Compare *Le Clerc, Des Journaux chez les Romains, Paris, 1848*.—*Ullo insigni officio*. "Any open part (in the funeral ceremonies)."—*Cum*. "Although."—*Perscripti sint*. "Are there recorded."—*Perferre visu*. With *non toleravit*, instead of the simple *videre*, to mark the difficulty more strongly.—*Facilius crediderim*. This sudden, abrupt transition shows that the writer did not mean the other two suppositions to be taken in earnest. The connecting link is omitted. We may suppose *parum hæc verisimilia*.—*Tiberio et Augustæ*. The dative, instead of the ablative with the preposition *a*. Consult notes on ii., 49.—*Ut par mæror*. Supply *videretur*.—*Attineri*. In the sense of *retineri*, scil. *domi*.

CHAP. IV.—*Tumulo Augusti*. The mausoleum built by that emperor in the Campus Martius. Compare i., 8.—*Vastus*. "Desolate."—*Itinera*. "The streets."—*Faces*. It was the universal practice to carry torches at funerals.—*Cum armis*. In full equipment, because of the solemnity.—*Per tribus*. "Ranged according to their tribes."—*Concidisse rempublicam*. It was the popular belief, as before remarked, that Germanicus was in favor of the restoration of the republic.—*Imperitantium*. "Those who ruled over them."—*Studia hominum, &c.* "The warm interest of all classes enkindled in favor of Agrippina."—*Antiquitatis*. "Of the good old times," *i. e.*, of primitive virtue.

CHAP. V.—*Qui publici funeris pompam requirerent*. "Who missed the pomp of a public funeral." The expression *publicum funus* means a funeral conducted on behalf of the state, and therefore also at the public charge. It was also called *ensorium funus*, because it was the business of the censors to put out on contract (*locare*) what was required for it in the way of public structures, and the like. This latter name was retained from earlier times even under the empire, when the office of censor no longer existed, and the contract was managed by other officers. The ceremony of depositing the ashes of Germanicus in the tomb was performed, as is evident from the nature of the case, and from the foregoing narrative, on behalf of the state; there were, however, no complete obsequies, as these, unto the gath-

ering of the ashes, had already been performed at Antioch. Compare ii, 73.

Ticinum. Now *Pavia*.—*Lecto.* Scil. *funebri*. The funeral couch always stood in the vestibule.—*Juliorumque.* The images of the Claudian gens were brought out because Claudius Drusus belonged to it. The images of the Julian line were in like manner exhibited, because Drusus had passed into that line on his adoption by Augustus. There is no need, therefore, of our reading *Liviorum* with Lipsius, on conjecture, in place of *Juliorum*, although this is done by Muretus, Freinshemius, and Ernesti.—*Defletum in foro, &c.* If the deceased was of illustrious rank, the funeral procession went through the Forum, where lamentations were raised anew, and it stopped in front of the rostra, where a funeral eulogy was pronounced.

Decōra. From *decōrus*.—*Prima.* Scil. *decōra*, which ought to have been rendered in his obsequies at Antioch.—*Fratrem.* Lipsius conjectures *fratres*, which some editors adopt. But the common reading *fratrem* is the true one. They censure only Drusus, who, they consider, might have carried his point, if he had been disposed to go farther to meet the party. Claudius they pass by, as one whose will carried with it no weight whatever. Compare notes on ii., 71.—*Patrum.* Tiberius.—*Propositam toro effigiem.* Especially in such a case as the present, where the corpse had already been reduced to ashes.—*Et lacrimas, &c.* What precedes is in apposition to *veterum instituta*; the words *et lacrimas, &c.*, refer, on the other hand, to Tiberius and Drusus, who ought to have made arrangements for those other matters, and to have held the funeral orations. The meaning of *vel* is, “or to put it otherwise and more generally.” The addition is not meant to denote that they account tears as signs of real sorrow, but that, though in this case they would only have been feigned, they would, at any rate, have saved appearances.

CHAP. VI.—*Gnarum id Tiberio fuit.* Compare notes on i., 5.—*Tam flagranti desiderio.* “With such vehement regret.”—*Idque et sibi et cunctis egregium, &c.* “And that this was honorable both to himself and to all, if a proper limit were only observed,” *i. e.*, and this expression of deep affliction was received by him as a mark of honor to himself, the near relation of Germanicus, and was also honorable to the feelings of those who so deeply mourned the death of that individual; only it should not be carried too far. Observe that *adjiceretur* is here employed for *adhiberetur*, but with precisely the same meaning.—*Decōra.* From *decōrus*.—*Principibus viris et imperatori populo.* “Unto princes and an imperial people.” A gentle reproof that the people had not shown themselves sufficiently penetrated by the feeling of the exalted position of Tiberius, but which is made to seem unintentional by placing the people themselves at the same elevation.

Et ex mœrore solatia. “And that relief was obtained from mourning itself.”—*Referendum jam.* “They must now bring back.”—*Amissa unica filia.* Julia, 54 B.C. Compare *Cic.*, *ad Q. Fr.*, iii., 8, 3: “*De virtute et gravitate Cæsaris, quam in summo dolore adhibuisset, magnam ex epistola tua*

accepī voluptatem.—*Augustus.* Of the firmness shown by Augustus, consult *Suet., Aug.*, 65.—*Proin repeterent solennia.* “They should, therefore, return to their customary vocations.”—*Ludorum Megalesium.* This festival was celebrated in honor of Cybele (μεγάλη θεός, whence the name *Megalesia*, *Ludi Megalesii*, or *Megalenses*).—*Suberat.* The day of the celebration was the 4th of April.—*Voluptates.* “Their amusements.”

CHAP. VII.—*Exuto.* “Being removed,” *i. e.*, being ended.—*Reditum ad munia.* “Men returned to their ordinary employments.”—*Petendæ ultionis.* The genitive expresses the purpose of the action. Consult notes on ii., 59.—*Vagus.* “Roaming at large.”—*Arroganti et subdola mora, &c.* “He was undermining by contemptuous and artful delay the proofs of his crimes.”—*Ut dixi.* Compare ii., 74.—*Venenumque nodo crinium, &c.* The *nodus* of the Roman females corresponded to the κρωβύλος or κόρυμβος of the Greeks. Poison was sometimes concealed in hollow hair-pins, to be used in desperate cases.—*Nec ulla in corpore, &c.* Consequently, it was quite possible that Germanicus also had been poisoned, although none of the usual post-mortem symptoms of poisoning were discovered on his body.

CHAP. VIII.—*Haud . . . quam.* A union of two constructions, *haud tam . . . quam*, and *haud . . . sed*, the complete negation being a little mitigated by the following *quam*. With *æquiorē* supply *quam principem*.—*Trucem.* “Implacable.”—*Quo integrum iudicium ostentaret.* “In order that he might make a display of a fair trial,” *i. e.*, might make it appear that the trial would be a fair one.—*Auget.* “Honors.”—*Quæ jacerentur.* “Which were currently reported.” Literally, “which were thrown out.”—*Præcipuum in dolore locum suum.* Equivalent to *sibi præcipuam doloris causam esse*.—*Inania.* “Without any foundation.” Enlarging on the meaning of *falsa*.—*Hæc palam.* Supply *respondit*. And with *secreto* supply *sermone* or *colloquio*.—*Præscripta.* “To have been dictated.”—*Senilibus tum artibus uteretur.* “He practiced, on this occasion, the cunning of age.”

CHAP. IX.—*Dalmatico mari.* That part of the Hadriatic between Dalmatia, in Illyricum, and the coast of northern Italy.—*Anconam.* Ancona was in Picenum, on the coast, near the northern extremity.—*Flaminiam viam.* Leading through Umbria. In its southern part lay Narnia, situate on a lofty hill, on the southern bank of the Nar, now the *Nera*, a tributary of the Tiber, into which it fell not far from Oriculum.—*Præsidio Africa.* Against Tacfarinas. It was the ninth legion, called *Hispanica*.—*Ut.* “How.”—*Ostentavisset.* The subjunctive, as indicating what others asserted.—*Vitandæ suspicionis.* Consult notes on ii., 59.—*Consilia in incerto sunt.* “Their plans waver.”—*Tumulo Cæsarum.* Consult notes on i., 8.—*Dieque et ripa frequenti.* “And at a time of day and on a part of the river’s bank always marked by a crowd.” Observe that *frequenti* belongs to both *die* and *ripa*, not merely to the latter. Compare *Suet., Cal.*, 15: “*Medio ac frequenti die.*”—*Irritamenta invidiæ.* “The incentives to popular

displeasure."—*Imminens*. "Proudly overlooking."—*Convivium*. "The guests."—*Celebritate loci*. "On account of the frequented nature of the locality."

CHAP. X.—*Fulcinus Trio*. Compare ii., 28.—*Vitellius ac Veranius*. On Vitellius, compare notes to i., 70; on Veranius, notes to ii., 56.—*Tendebant*, For *contendebant*.—*Partes*. Scil. *accusatoris*. That in this prosecution Trio had of right no part.—*Mandata*. "The injunctions."—*Dimissa ejus causæ delatione*. "Having dropped the accusation in that cause."—*Cognitionem exciperet*. "That he would take cognizance of the affair," *i. e.*, would undertake the trial in person. It was competent to the emperor, if he chose, to judge any case of law that might occur at his own tribunal. He then usually took to himself a council (*consilium*) of persons of rank, in whom he had confidence. After acquainting himself, however, with the bearings of a case thus brought before him, the emperor might, as in the present instance, remit it to the senate. But for him frequently to avail himself of this privilege of judging was considered to be *contra bonos mores*.

Studia. Scil. in *Germanicum*.—*Contra*. Supply *sperans*.—*Conscientiæ matris*. Compare ii., 43, 77, 82.—*In deterius credita*. "Misrepresented."—*Moles cognitionis*. "The heavy responsibility of the trial."—*Quaque ipse fama distraheretur*. "And by what imputations he himself would be assailed."—*Preces*. "The deprecatory defence."

CHAP. XI.—*Illyrico*. Observe the absence of the preposition, according to poetical usage, and compare ii., 69.—*Ob receptum Maroboduum*. "On account of the receiving of Maroboduus (into Roman protection)." Compare ii., 62, *seqq.*—*Prolato honore, &c.* "Having postponed the honor, entered the city (without that distinction)."—*L. Arruntium, &c.* In relation to Arruntius and Asinius Gallus, consult notes on i., 13. L. Vinicius is the uncle of M. Vinicius mentioned in vi., 15. The editions have here the name of the latter, but he was too young in comparison of the other persons here named. Suetonius (*Aug.*, 64) calls L. Vinicius "*clarus decorusque juvenis*," and he is often mentioned by the rhetorician Seneca.—*Æserninum Marcellum*. Æserninus Marcellus was the grandson of Asinius Pollio. Compare xi., 6, *seq.*—*Sextum Pompeium*. Tacitus mentions Sextus Pompeius, also, in i., 7. He was related to Augustus (*Dio Cass.*, lvi., 29), and was a friend of Ovid and Valerius Maximus, the latter of whom praises his eloquence.

Iisque. Because the participle *petenti* and the following ablatives absolute contain two circumstances, they are connected, without regard to the form of the sentence by *que*; the copula is used as if the form had been the following: *reo, cum . . . peteret iique diversa excusarent*, because the sense is the same.—*M. Lepidus*. Compare i., 13.—*L. Piso*. Compare ii., 32.—*Livineius Regulus*. Consul suffectus, A.D. 18.—*Fides*. "Fidelity."—*Iis haud alias intentior, &c.* Observe that *haud alias* belongs alike to *intentior* and to *plus permisit*.

CHAP. XII.—*Meditato temperamento*. “Of studied temperament.”—*Legatum*. Legatus pro prætor of Hispania Citerior, as appears from chap. xiii., for Hispania Ulterior was a senatorial province. Compare notes on i., 79.—*Asperasset*. “Whether he had exasperated.”—*Integris animis*. “With unbiased minds.”—*Nam si legatus, &c.* “For if he who was the lieutenant of my son exceeded the limits of his commission, failed in proper respect to his commanding officer,” &c. Observe the zeugma in *exiit*.—*Seponamque a domo mea*. Namely, by revoking my friendship.—*In cujuscunque mortalium nece*. That is, whoever the murdered man might be.—*Exercitus*. Compare notes on i., 52.—*Per ambitionem*. “By sinister arts.”—*In majus*. “By way of aggravation.”—*Contrectandum*. “To be scanned.” Compare *Cic., Tusc.*, iii., 15, 33: “*Incitat ad conspiciendas totaque mente contrectandas varias voluptates.*”—*Differrique etiam per externos*. “And for the report to be spread even among foreign nations.”

Iniquitas Germanici. “Oppressive conduct on the part of Germanicus.”—*Pro approbatis*. “As fully proved.”—*Fides*. “True-heartedness,” which holds it a duty to support a friend in trouble. *Propinquus sanguis* refers to L. Piso, the brother of the accused.—*Super leges*. Consult notes on ii., 79.—*Modestia*. “Impartiality.” He means with the same impartiality as in the case of a private individual.—*Nemo spectet*. “Let no one regard.”—*Adversa*. “Unfavorable reports.”

CHAP. XIII.—*Inania*. “Having no bearing on the present case.”—*Quod neque convictum, &c.* “Which neither, if proved, brought any guilt on the accused, in case he freed himself from recent charges,” &c. Observe the double dative in *noxæ reo*.—*Servæus*. Compare ii., 56. As the least important of the prosecutors, he is particularly mentioned in the matter of Piso only here and in chap. xix., but not in ii., 74; iii., 10, 17.—*Vitellius*. The speech of Vitellius is cited by Pliny, *H. N.*, xi., 37, 187: “*Negatur cremari posse (cor) in iis qui cardiaco morbo obierint; negatur et veneno interentis. Certe exstat oratio Vitellii qua reum Pisonem ejus sceleris coarguit, hoc usus argumento, palamque testatus non potuisse ob venenum cor Germanici Cæsaris cremari.*”—*Sacra*. “The orgies,” solemnized as thanksgiving to the infernal gods. The accusers exaggerate the matter related in ii., 75.—*Utque reus agi posset, &c.* “And in order that he might be dealt with as a criminal, he was conquered in a regular battle,” *i. e.*, he had to be conquered, they were forced to defeat him, &c.

CHAP. XIV.—*In ceteris trepidavit*. “In every thing else faltered,” *i. e.*, was faltering in every article but one.—*Obnoxiam*. “Given up.”—*Impe ratorem*. As in chap. xii.: “*Obsequium erga imperatorem.*”—*Cum super eum Piso discumberet*. The usual place of the host was the first or highest on the third or lowest couch. On the present occasion, however, Germanicus would seem to have occupied the middle place on the lowest couch, and Piso the one immediately above him. The most honorable place at a banquet was the lowest on the middle couch, commonly called the *locus consula-*

ris.—Infectos. Scil. *veneno.—Familiarum.* His own slaves must have known about the procuring of the poison, those of Germanicus who waited at the banquet (*ministros*) about the way in which Piso may have managed to introduce the poison into the viands handed about by them.

Scripsissent. Before this word a hiatus occurs, which we have indicated by an asterisk. In this hiatus several particulars must have been embraced that are now wanting; especially, that Piso, at his own request, was allowed to have the whole matter brought on for discussion *de novo*. For in chap. xiii. it is related, that in the first instance it was settled that the prosecutors should speak for two days, and, after six days, the defendants for three days. Now, although the process of the prosecution and defence has been already related, we find in chap. xv. that a renewed accusation took place, to be followed by a fresh defence (*redintegratam accusationem* and *tamquam defensionem in posterum meditaretur*). The defendant seems to have grounded his petition for a discussion *de novo* (*comperendinatio*) upon charges against Germanicus, which hitherto, out of forbearance, he had not gone into, and which were to justify his line of conduct (compare ii., 78); and thereupon the prosecutors, it seems, demanded (*expostulantes*, as in xii., 46; xv., 17, 53; *Hist.*, i., 45; iii., 83) that his and Plancina's letters to Tiberius and Livia should be laid before the senate, which, it might clearly be foreseen, would contain such hostility toward, and such calumny of Germanicus, as could not fail to embitter the judges against him still more. The circumstance that in chap. xvi. there is again a hiatus, shows that in an older MS. part of a leaf was cut out, so that on both pages something was lost.

Gemonias. "The Gemonian steps." Supply *scalas*. The *Gemoniæ* (*scalæ*) were a flight of steps on the Capitoline, leading to the Forum Romanum. To these steps the bodies of persons executed were dragged and there exposed.—*Divellebant.* They did with the statues just what they would fain have done with Piso himself. Therefore the expression is *divellere*, not *frangere*, or the like. Observe here the peculiar employment of the imperfect, indicating that they were in the act of doing this, and would have completed their intention had they not been prevented by Tiberius.—*Sequeretur.* Scil. *tribunus*.

CHAP. XV.—*Gratia.* "Interest in her behalf."—*Quantum Cæsari in eam liceret.* "How far the emperor would allow himself to proceed against her." Supply *sibi*. The meaning is, how far he would venture, against the opposition of his mother, to bring Plancina to punishment.—*Mediæ.* "Were undecided." Literally, "were midway," *i. e.*, between acquittal and condemnation.—*Si ita ferret.* "If fate would have it so."—*Secretis Augustæ precibus.* "By her secret solicitations of Livia."—*Dividere defensionem.* "To make a separate defence."—*Durat mentem.* "He steels his mind."—*Redintegratamque accusationem.* Compare notes on previous chapter.—*Nullo.* For *nulla re*. Later Latinity.—*Ne, &c.* "Against being," &c., as in *prohibere ne*, "to prohibit the doing of a thing." The clause is objective to *obstinatum clausumque*.

CHAP. XVI.—*Libellum*. “A bundle of writings.” *Libellus* is here used technically, and does not mean, as it commonly does, a little book consisting of a number of pages.—*Vulgaverit*. The subjunctive, as giving the statement of others.—*Destinatum*. Supply *Pisoni* or *ab eo*.—*Asseveraverim*. “Will I venture to affirm.”—*Apud senatum*. These words belong to the verb which is lost in the hiatus (perhaps *queritur*). Then, besides other matters, the passage lost would contain the name of the person interrogated by Tiberius, probably one of the two sons of Piso.—*Sapienter*. “With prudence.”—*Inconsultius*. “Somewhat confusedly.”—*Codicillos*. “The letter.” Alluded to in the previous chapter: “*Pauca conscribã, obsignatque, et liberto tradit.*”—*Quatenus*. “Since.”—*Alia pietate*. “With less reverence.”—*Per . . . per*. “By,” belonging to *rogo*. Piso was consul with Tiberius 7 B.C. The forty-five years of his devotion to the imperial house are reckoned from his first entrance on public life.—*Collegium consulatus*. “My fellowship in the consulate.”

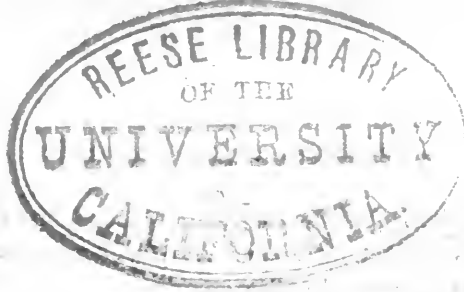
CHAP. XVII.—*Jussa*. Supply *fuisse*, and compare notes on ii., 31.—*Cum pudore et flagitio disseruit*. “He pleaded with a feeling of shame and with disgraceful importunity.” We have given *flagitium* here the meaning assigned to it by Bötticher (*Lex. Tac., s. v.*), namely, “*acris turpisque efflagitatio.*” Compare also *Döderlein, Syn., ii., p. 142, seq.*—*Obtendens*. “Alleging.”—*Quod pro omnibus civibus, &c.* “What the laws guarantee in the case of every citizen.”—*Proinde*. We have given the conjecture of Rhenanus, with Walther, Ritter, and Nipperdey. The reading of the MS. and the ordinary editions is *perinde*.—*Tam feliciter expertas*. “So successfully tried.”—*Imagine cognitionis*. “In the semblance of a trial.” So Tacitus calls the proceedings against Plancina, because the decision in her case was already given by the speech of Tiberius, of which the decree of the senate could be but the echo.

Quam. Used here with *augebatur*, as elsewhere with *malle*, because in both words a comparative is implied. There is no need here of supplying *potius* or *magis*. The meaning is, “compassion became greater than hatred,”—*Aurelius Cotta*. Compare chap. ii.—*Eo etiam munere*. That is, of giving their sentence, on the question being put. When one of the magistrates, whose duty it was (consuls, tribunes of the people, or, if the former were hindered, prætors), *referebat*, announced the subject for discussion, he passed by the magistrates who were in the senate (from the quæstor upward) in putting the question; but these had the right at any time to put in their word unasked, whereas the other senators might speak only when called upon (*rogati sententias*) by the *referens*.

Partem . . . pars. “The one half,” . . . “the other,” as in iv., 20. Hence, in chap. xviii., it is merely said, *concessitque ei paterna bona*, because, as there were but two children, that half of the father’s property which should have been forfeited formed the patrimony of M. Piso. The five million sesterces were to be told down to him as a gift by the state, after it had confiscated his inheritance.—*Prænomen mutaret*. He took the prænomen

Lucius. This is the name of the consul of A.D. 27.—*Exuta dignitate*. He was a senator.

CHAP. XVIII.—*Bellum*. He means that which terminated with the battle of Actium, 32 B.C., not that of 44 B.C. On account of the last named, he was declared an enemy (*hostis judicatus est*), and his name was erased from the public monuments (*Cic., Phil., xiii., 12, 26*), but was restored upon his victory in the triumvirate.—*Iuli Antonii*. Consult notes on i., 10.—*Ignominia*. Therefore, from the expulsion from the senate, as well as from the *relegatio*.—*Valerius Messalinus*. Consult notes on i., 8.—*Signum*. Of the god in whose temple it was to be erected.—*Martis Ultoris*. Consult notes on ii., 64.—*Cæcina Severus*. Consult notes on i., 31.—*L. Asprenas*. Consult notes on i., 53.—*Recentium seu veterum*. “Of recent or ancient events,” *i. e.*, the events of our own or of early times.”—*Ludibria rerum mortalium*. “Mockery in the affairs of mortals.”—*Veneratione*. “Public veneration.”—*Quem*. Claudius.



GEOGRAPHICAL INDEX.

A.

ABNÖBA MONS. Not in reality a single mountain, but that part of the range of hills covered by the Black Forest which lay opposite to the town of Augusta Rauracorum, now *Augst*. In later times it was sometimes called *Silva Marciana*. Here are the sources of the Danube.

ACHAIA. 1. The northern coast of the Peloponnesus, bounded on the north by the Corinthian Gulf and the Ionian Sea; on the south by Elis and Arcadia; on the west by the Ionian Sea; and on the east by Sicyonia.—2. The Roman province, comprising all the Peloponnesus, and all northern Greece south of Thessaly. It was formed on the dissolution of the Achæan League in B.C. 146, and hence derived its name.

ACROCERAUNIA. A promontory in Epirus, jutting out into the Ionian Sea, and forming the western extremity of the Ceraunii Montes. It is now Cape *Linguetta*. The coast in this vicinity was very dangerous to ships. The Acroceraunian promontory formed the dividing point on the coast of Greece between the Ionian Sea and the Adriatic.

ACTIUM. A promontory, and likewise a place, in Acarnania, at the entrance of the Ambracian Gulf, off which Augustus gained the celebrated victory over Antony and Cleopatra, September 2d, B.C. 31. At Actium there was originally no town, but only a temple of Apollo, which was beautified by Augustus, who erected the city of Nicopolis on the opposite coast, in commemoration of his victory. A few buildings sprung up around the temple at Actium, but the place was only a kind of suburb to Nicopolis.

ADRĀNA. Now the *Eder*, a river of Germany, in the territory of the Catti, and near the modern *Cassel*. Consult notes on *Ann.*, i., 56.

ADŪLA MONS. Generally supposed to correspond to the modern Mount *St. Gothard*, in the Alps; although some writers are rather in favor of the lofty mountain group about the passes of the *Splügen* and *S. Bernardino*, and at the head of the valley of the *Hinter Rhein*.

ÆGÆÆ, or ÆGÆ. A city of Asia Minor, to the north of Smyrna, on the River Hyllus, and in the neighborhood of Cyme and Temnus. It was of Æolian origin, and was one of the cities which suffered from the great earthquake in the reign of Tiberius (A.D. 17).

ÆSTUI. A people of Germany, consisting of several tribes (*Æstuarum gentes*), dwelling in the northeastern part of the country, on the southeast or east of the Baltic, and bordering on the Venedi. They were the occupants of the present coast of *Prussia* and *Courland*, as is evident from what

Tacitus says about their gathering amber. Their name is probably collective, and signifies the East men; and it is still preserved in the modern *Esthen*, the German name of the Esthonians.

AFRICA, as a Roman province, was the name under which the Romans, after the third Punic war (B.C. 146), erected into a province the whole of the former territory of Carthage. It extended from the River Tusca, on the west, which divided it from Numidia, to the bottom of the Syrtis Minor, on the southeast. It corresponds to the modern regency of *Tunis*. Another ancient name was *Africa Propria*.

ALBĀNI. The inhabitants of Albania, a country of Asia, lying about the eastern part of the chain of Caucasus. They were a Scythian tribe, probably a branch of the Massagetæ, and identical with the Alani. The Romans first became acquainted with them at the time of the Mithradatic war, when they encountered Pompey with a large army.

ALBIS. Now the *Elbe*, one of the great rivers of Germany. Tacitus places its sources in the country of the Hermunduri, but this is too far east. Dio Cassius (lv., 1) more correctly represents it as rising in the Vandalii Montes, the modern *Riesengebirge*. The Albis was the most easterly and northerly river reached by the Romans in Germany. They first reached its banks in B.C. 9, under Claudius Drusus, but did not cross it. They crossed it for the first time in B.C. 3, under Domitius Ahenobarbus. The last Roman general who saw the Elbe was Tiberius, in A.D. 5.

ALISO, or ALISUM. A strong fortress in Germany, built by Drusus B.C. 11, at the confluence of the Luppia (now the *Lippe*) and the Aliso (now perhaps the *Alme*). Its site is supposed to be marked by the village of *Elsen*, about two miles from *Paderborn*.

AMĀNUS. Now *Almadagh*, a branch of Mount Taurus, running from the head of the Gulf of Issus in a northeast direction to the principal chain, and dividing Syria from Cilicia and Cappadocia. There were two passes in it; the one, called the Syrian Gates, near the sea; the other, called the *Amanian Gates*, farther to the north.

AMISIA. 1. A river in northern Germany, now the *Ems*. It was well known to the Romans, and Drusus fought on it a naval battle with the Bructeri, B.C. 12.—2. A river of Germany falling into the Rhine. Consult notes on *Ann.*, i., 60.—3. A fortress on the left bank of the River Amisia or *Ems*, and corresponding perhaps to the modern *Embsen*.

AMSIVARII. A German tribe, whose name is supposed to mean "dwellers on the Ems." Consult notes on *Ann.*, ii., 8.

ANCŌNA. A town of Picenum, in Italy, on the Adriatic Sea, lying in a cove of the coast between two promontories. It was built by a Syracusan colony, about B.C. 392, and became under the Romans one of the most important sea-ports on the Adriatic.

ANGLI, or ANGLII. A German people of the race of the Suevi. Tacitus does not mention the part of the country which they occupied; but, according to Ptolemy, they were the greatest tribe in the interior of Germany, extending farther east than the Langobardi, and to the north as far as

the River Albis. Subsequently, in connection with other tribes, they immigrated, under the name of Anglo-Saxons, into England.

ANGRIVARII. A German tribe dwelling on both sides of the Visurgis or *Weser*, and separated from the Cherusci by an *agger*, or mound of earth. The name is usually derived from *Angern*, that is, "meadows." Towards the end of the first century they extended their territories southward, and, in conjunction with the Chamavi, took possession of part of the territory of the Bructeri, to the south and east of the *Lippe*; the Angaria or Engern of the Middle Ages.

ANSIBARII. A tribe of Germany, the same probably with the Amsivarii.

ANTIOCHIA. The capital of the Greek kingdom of Syria, and long the chief city of Asia, situate on the left bank of the Orontes, about twenty geographical miles from the sea. It was built by Seleucus Nicator, about B.C. 300. Under the Romans it was the residence of the proconsuls of Syria.

APOLLONIS. A city of Lydia, between Pergamus and Sardis, named after Apollonis, the mother of King Eumenes. It was one of the twelve cities destroyed by the violent earthquake in the reign of Tiberius (A.D. 17).

APULIA. A province or region in the southeast of Italy, between the Apennines and the Adriatic, bounded by the Frentani on the north, by Calabria and Lucania on the south, and by Samnium on the west. The Greeks gave the name of Daunia to the northern part of it.

AQUÆ SEXTIÆ. Now *Aix*, a Roman colony in Gallia Narbonensis, founded by Sextius Calvinus, B.C. 122. Its mineral waters were long celebrated, but were thought to have lost much of their efficacy in the time of Augustus. Near this place Marius defeated the Teutones and Ambrones, B.C. 102.

AQUITANIA. 1. The country of the Aquitani, in Gaul, extending from the Garumna (*Garonne*) to the Pyrenees, and from the Ocean to Gallia Narbonensis.—2. The Roman province of Aquitania, founded in the reign of Augustus, was of much wider extent, and was bounded on the north by the Ligeris (*Loire*), on the west by the Ocean, on the south by the Pyrenees, and on the east by Mons Cevenna, which separated it from Gallia Narbonensis.

ARAVISCI. A people of Pannonia, inhabiting the right bank of the Danube, whose language and customs were the same as those of the Osi; but it was uncertain whether the Aravisci had emigrated into Pannonia from the Osi, or the Osi had passed over into Germany from the Aravisci. Manert makes the Aravisci to have dwelt in the easternmost angle between the Danube and Savus (*Saave*).

ARII. A German tribe supposed to have lived by the Sudetan Mountains, in the neighborhood of *Arnsdorf* and *Arnsberg*. Their name appears to contain the same root which we find in the names of many nations of the Indo-European family. According to Herodotus (vii., 61, *seq.*), the Medes were originally called *Arii*, and the Persians *Artæi*. These names are identical with the Sanscrit word *Arya*, "honorable," by which, in the an-

cient writings of the Hindoos, the followers of the Brahminical law are indicated. India proper is called in the most ancient Sanscrit works *Aryavarta*, "Holy Land." The same name was retained in the provinces of *Aria* and *Ariana*, whence the modern Persian name *Iran* is derived.

ARMENIA. A country of Asia, lying between Asia Minor and the Caspian. It forms a lofty table-land, backed by the chain of Caucasus, watered by the Rivers Cyrus and Araxes, and containing the sources also of the Tigris and the Euphrates, the latter of which divides the country into two unequal parts, which were called Major and Minor. Armenia Minor was made a Roman province by Trajan. Armenia Major, after being a perpetual object of contention between the Romans and the Parthians, was subjected ultimately to the revived Persian empire by its first king, Artaxerxes (Ardeshir), in A.D. 226.

ARNUS. Now the *Arno*, the chief river of Etruria, rising in the Apennines, flowing by Pisæ, and falling into the Tyrrhenian Sea. The whole length of its course is about 140 Italian or 175 Roman miles.

ARTAXĀTA. The later capital of Armenia Major, built by Artaxias, under the advice of Hannibal, on a peninsula surrounded by the River Araxes. After being burned by the Romans under Corbulo (A.D. 58), it was restored by Tiridates, and called Neroniana, in honor of the Emperor Nero, who had surrendered the kingdom of Armenia to him.

ASCIBURGIUM. An ancient place on the left bank of the Rhine, founded, according to fable, by Ulysses. It is supposed to correspond to the modern *Asburg*, or the neighboring hamlet of *Essenberg* or *Orsoy*.

ASIA. The Roman province so called was formed out of the kingdom of Pergamus, bequeathed to the Romans by Attalus III. (B.C. 130), and the Greek cities on the western coast and the adjacent islands, with Rhodes. It included the districts of Mysia, Lydia, Caria, and Phrygia, and was governed at first by proprætors, afterward by proconsuls. Under Constantine the Great, a new division was made, and Asia only extended along the coast from the promontory of Lectum to the mouth of the Meander.

ATHĒSIS. Now the *Adige*, or, as the Germans call it, the *Etsch*, rises in the Rætian Alps, receives the Atagis, now *Eisach*, flows through Upper Italy past Verona, and falls into the Adriatic by many mouths.

AUGUSTA RAURACORUM. Now *Augst*, the capital of the Rauraci, on the left bank of the Rhine, near the modern *Basle*. It was colonized by Munatius Plancus, under Augustus.

AUGUSTA VINDELICORUM. Now *Augsburg*, the capital of Vindelicia or Rætia Secunda, on the Licus, or *Lech*. It was colonized by Drusus under Augustus, after the conquest of Rætia, about B.C. 14.

AVIŌNES. A tribe in the north of Germany, dwelling probably in *Schleswig*, on the River *Auwe*, a tributary of the *Eyder*, or in the duchy of *Lauenberg*.

B.

BACTRIA, or BACTRIANA. A province of the Persian empire, bounded on the south by the range of Paropamisus, which separated it from Ariana; on the east by the northern branch of the same range, which divided it from the Sacæ; on the northeast by the Oxus, which separated it from Sogdiana; and on the west by Margiana. It was inhabited by a rude and warlike people, who were subdued by Cyrus or his immediate successors. It was subdued in the conquests of Alexander, and formed a part of the kingdom of the Seleucidæ, until B.C. 225, when Theodotus, its governor, revolted from Antiochus II., and founded the Greek kingdom of Bactria, which lasted until B.C. 134 or 125, when it was overthrown by the Parthians. This Greek kingdom extended beyond the limits of the province of Bactria, and included at least a part of Sogdiana. The capital was Bactra or Zariaspā, now *Balkh*.

BALÆ. A town of Campania, in Italy, on a small bay to the west of Neapolis, and opposite Puteoli. It was situate in a beautiful country, which abounded in warm mineral springs. The baths of Baiæ were the most celebrated in Italy, and the town itself was the favorite watering place of the Romans, who flocked thither in crowds for health and pleasure. The whole country was studded with the palaces of the Roman nobles and emperors, which covered the coast from Baiæ to Puteoli: many of these palaces were built out into the sea. The site of ancient Baiæ is now for the most part covered by the sea.

BASTARNÆ, or BASTERNÆ. A warlike German people, who migrated to the country near the mouths of the Danube. They are first mentioned in the wars of Philip and Perseus against the Romans, and at a later period they frequently devastated Thrace, and were engaged in wars with the Roman governors of the province of Macedonia. In B.C. 30, they were defeated by M. Crassus, and driven across the Danube; and we find them, at a later period, partly settled between the Tyras (*Dneister*) and Borysthenes (*Dnieper*), and partly at the mouth of the Danube, under the name of *Peucini*, from their inhabiting the island of Peuce, at the mouth of this river.

BATĀVI, or BATĀVI. (Quantity of the penult doubtful, but more frequently long than short.) A Celtic people, who abandoned their homes in consequence of civil dissensions, before the time of Julius Cæsar, and settled in the island formed by the Rhine, the Vahalis (*Waal*), and the Mosa (*Meuse*), which island was called, after them, *Insula Batavorum*. They were for a long time allies of the Romans in their wars against the Germans, and were of great service to the former by their excellent cavalry; but at length, exasperated by the oppression of the Roman officers, they rose in revolt, under Claudius Civilis, in A.D. 69, and were with great difficulty subdued. On their subjugation, they were treated by the Romans with great mildness, and were exempt from taxation. Their chief towns were Lugdunum (*Leyden*) and Batavodurum, between the Mosa and Vahalis.

BATAVORUM INSULA. An island in the Rhine, formed by the northern arm of that river, or Rhine of Leyden, the Vahalis (*Waal*) before its junction with the Mosa (*Meuse*), the Vahalis and Mosa after their junction, and the Ocean. This island now forms part of the province of *South Holland*.

BELGÆ. One of the three great people into which Cæsar divides the population of Gaul. They were bounded on the north by the Rhine, on the west by the Ocean, on the south by the Sequana (*Seine*) and Matrona (*Marne*), and on the east by the territory of the Treveri. They were of German origin, and had settled in the country, after expelling or reducing to slavery the former inhabitants. They were the bravest of the inhabitants of Gaul, were subdued by Cæsar after a courageous resistance, and were the first Gallic people who threw off the Roman dominion.

BITHÏNIA. A district of Asia Minor, bounded on the west by Mysia, on the north by the Pontus Euxinus, on the east by Paphlagonia, and on the south by Phrygia Epictetus. It was possessed at an early period by Thracian tribes from the neighborhood of the Strymon, called *ThÏni* and *BithÏni*, of whom the former settled on the coast, the latter in the interior. The earlier inhabitants were the *BebrÏces*, *Caucõnes*, and *Mygdõnes*, and the northeastern part of the district was possessed by the *MariandÏni*. The country was subsequently subdued by the Lydians, and afterward became a part of the Persian empire under Cyrus. During the decline of the Persian empire, the northern part of the country became independent under native princes, who resisted Alexander and his successors, and established a kingdom which lasted till the death of Nicomedes III. (B.C. 74), who bequeathed his dominions to the Romans.

BODOTRIA, or BODERIA ÆSTUARIUM. An estuary on the eastern coast of Scotland, now the *Firth of Forth*.

BOII. One of the most powerful of the Celtic tribes, said to have dwelt originally in Gaul, but in what part of the country is uncertain. At an early period, they migrated in two great swarms; one of which crossed the Alps, and settled in the country between the Po and the Apennines; the other crossed the Rhine, and settled in the part of Germany called after them Boiemum (*Bohemia*), and between the Danube and the Tyrol. The Boii in Italy long carried on a fierce struggle with the Romans, but were at length subdued by the consul, P. Scipio, in B.C. 191, and were subsequently incorporated in the province of Gallia Cisalpina. The Boii in Germany maintained their power longer, but were at length subdued by the Marcomanni, and expelled from the country. We find 32,000 Boii taking part in the Helvetian migration; and after the defeat of the Helvetii (B.C. 58), Cæsar allowed these Boii to dwell among the Ædui.

BOVILLÆ. An ancient town in Latium, at the foot of the Alban Mount, on the Appian Way, about ten miles from Rome. Near it Clodius was killed by Milo (B.C. 52), and here was the sacrarium of the Julia gens.

BRIGANTES. The most powerful of the British tribes, inhabited the whole of the northern part of the island from the Abus (*Humber*) to the

Roman wall, with the exception of the southeast corner of Yorkshire, which was inhabited by the Parisii. The Brigantes, consequently, inhabited the greater part of *Yorkshire*, and the whole of *Lancashire*, *Durham*, *Westmoreland*, and *Cumberland*. Their capital was Eboracum (*York*). They were conquered by Petilius Cerealis in the reign of Vespasian.

BRITANNIA. The island of *England* and *Scotland*, called also *Albion*. The etymology of the word *Britannia* is uncertain, but it is derived by most writers from the Celtic term *brith* or *brit*, "painted," with reference to the custom, on the part of the inhabitants, of staining their bodies with a blue color. The name *Albion* is probably derived from the *white* cliffs of the island. The Britons were Celts, belonging to that branch of the race called *Cymry*, and were apparently the aboriginal inhabitants of the country. Their manners and customs were, in general, the same as those of the Gauls; but, being separated more than the Gauls from intercourse with civilized nations, they preserved the Celtic religion in a purer state than in Gaul, and hence Druidism, according to Cæsar, was transplanted from Gaul to Britain. The Britons also retained many of the barbarous Celtic customs, which the more civilized Gauls had laid aside. At a later period, the Belgæ crossed over from Gaul, and settled on the southern and eastern coasts, driving the Britons into the interior of the island. It was not till a late period that the Greeks and Romans obtained any knowledge of Britain. In early times, the Phœnicians visited the Scilly Isles and the coast of Cornwall for the purpose of obtaining tin; but whatever knowledge they acquired of the country they jealously kept secret, and it only transpired that there were *Cassiterides*, or "tin-islands," in the northern parts of the ocean. The first certain knowledge which the Greeks obtained of Britain was from the merchants of Massilia, about the time of Alexander the Great, and especially from the voyages of Pytheas, who sailed round a great part of Britain. From this time it was generally believed that the island was in the form of a triangle, an error which continued to prevail even at a later period. Another important mistake, which likewise prevailed for a long time, was the position of Britain in relation to Gaul and Spain. This will be found referred to in the notes on the "*Agricola*." The Romans first became personally acquainted with the island by Cæsar's invasion. He twice landed in Britain (B.C. 55, 54), and though, on the second invasion, he conquered the greater part of the southeast of the island, yet he did not take permanent possession of any portion of the country, and after his departure the Britons continued as independent as ever. The Romans made no farther attempts to conquer the island for nearly one hundred years. In the reign of Claudius (A.D. 43), they again landed in Britain, and permanently subdued the country south of the Thames. The conquest of Southern Britain was finally completed by Agricola, who in seven campaigns (A.D. 78-84) subdued the whole of the island as far north as the Firth of Forth and the Clyde, between which he erected a series of forts, to protect the Roman dominions from the incursions of the barbarians in the north of Scotland. The Romans, however, gave up the northern conquests of Agricola in the reign of

Hadrian, and made a rampart of turf from the Ituna *Æstuarium* (*Solway Firth*) to the German Ocean. In the reign of Antoninus Pius, however, they again extended their boundary as far as the conquests of Agricola, and erected a rampart connecting the Forth and the Clyde. The Caledonians afterward broke through this wall, and, in consequence of their repeated devastations of the Roman dominions, the Emperor Severus went to Britain in A.D. 208, in order to conduct the war against them in person. He died in the island, at Eboracum, in A.D. 211, after erecting a solid stone wall from the Solway to the mouth of the Tyne, a little to the north of the rampart of Hadrian. After the death of Severus, the Romans relinquished forever all their conquests north of this wall. At a subsequent period, the Caledonians, who now appear under the names of Picts and Scots, broke through the wall of Severus, while the Saxons ravaged the coasts of Britain; and the declining power of the Roman empire was unable to afford the province any effectual assistance. Finally, in the reign of Honorius, Constantine, who had been proclaimed emperor in Britain (A.D. 407), withdrew all the Roman troops from the island in order to make himself master of Gaul. The Britons were thus left exposed to the ravages of the Picts and Scots, and at length, in A.D. 447, they called in the assistance of the Saxons, who became the masters of Britain.

The Roman dominions of Britain formed a single province till the time of Severus, and were governed by a legatus of the emperor. Severus divided the country into two provinces, *Britannia Superior* and *Inferior*, of which the latter contained the earlier conquests of the Romans in the southern part of the island, and the former the later conquests in the north, the territory of the Silures, Brigantes, &c. A new division was made, in the reign of Diocletian, into four provinces: 1. *Britannia Prima*, the country south of the Thames. 2. *Britannia Secunda*, Wales. 3. *Maxima Cæsariensis*, the country between the Thames and the Humber. 4. *Flavia Cæsariensis*, the country between the Humber and the Roman wall. Besides these there was also a fifth province, *Valentia*, which existed for a short time, including the conquests of Theodosius beyond the Roman wall.

BRUCTĒRI. A people of Germany, who dwelt on each side of the Amisia (*Ems*), and extended south as far as the Luppia (*Lippe*). They joined the Batavi, in their revolt against the Romans, in A.D. 69. A few years afterward, they were almost annihilated by the Chamavi and Angrivarii.

BRUNDISIUM. A town in Calabria, on a small bay of the Adriatic, forming an excellent harbor, to which the place owed its importance. The Appian Way terminated at Brundisium, and it was the usual place of embarkation for Greece and the East.

BURI. A German tribe living near the sources of the Viadrus (*Oder*) and Vistula, and extending as far as *Briga* and *Cracow*, or near to *Troppau*, in *Silesia*. In conjunction with the Daci, and afterward with the Marcomanni, they waged war with Trajan, M. Aurelius, and Commodus.

BYZANTIUM. Now *Constantinople*, a city on the Thracian Bosphorus, founded by the Megarians, B.C. 658. Its favorable position, commanding

as it did the entrance to the Euxine, soon rendered it a place of great commercial importance. In A.D. 330 a new city was built by its side by Constantine, who made it the capital of the empire, and changed its name to *Constantinopolis*.

C.

CÆSIA SILVA. One of the great forests of Germany, between Vetera and the country of the Marsi, that is, the heights extending between the Rivers Lippe and Yssel, as far as *Coesfeld*.

CALABRIA. The peninsula in the southeast of Italy, extending from Tarentum to the Promontorium Iapygium, and forming, in strictness, part of Apulia.

CALEDONIA. The northern part of Britannia. The name is variously derived; the best etymology appears to be that which deduces the appellation Caledonians from the Celtic *Gael Dun*, "the Gael (Gauls) of the mountains," *i. e.*, Highlanders. Xiphilinus, speaking after Dio Cassius, represents the Caledonians as having "neither walls, nor cities, nor tilth, but living by pasturage, by the chase, and on certain berries; for of their fish they never taste. They live in tents. Their state is democratical. They fight from chariots: their arms consist of a shield and short spear, with a brazen knob at the extremity. They use daggers also." *Vid. BRITANNIA.*

CAMPANIA. A district of Italy, lying to the southeast of Latium, from which it was separated by the River Liris (*Garigliano*). It is a volcanic country, to which circumstance it was mainly indebted for its extraordinary fertility, for which it was celebrated in antiquity above all other lands. It produced corn, wine, oil, and every kind of fruit in the greatest abundance, and in many parts crops could be gathered three times in the year. The fertility of the soil, the beauty of the scenery, and the softness of the climate, the heat of which was tempered by the delicious breezes of the sea, procured for Campania the epithet *Felix*, a name which it justly deserved.

CAMULODŪNUM. A town in Britain, now *Colchester*. Consult notes on *Agric.*, c. xiv.

CANŌPUS, or CANŌBUS. An important city on the coast of Lower Egypt, near the westernmost mouth of the Nile, which was hence called the Canopic mouth. It was twelve geographical miles east of Alexandria, and was the capital of the Nomos Menelaïtes. It had a great temple of Serapis, and a considerable commerce, and its inhabitants were proverbial for their luxury.

CAPPADOCIA. A district of Asia Minor, originally including all the country east of the Halys, and north of the range of Taurus. It was afterward divided into two parts, the northern one becoming a separate province under the name of PONTUS, and the southern one Cappadocia proper. Tiberius made Cappadocia a Roman province. The country was, in general, a sterile mountain region, but it contained some fine pastures, which supported abundance of good horses and mules.

CATTI, or CHATTI. One of the most important nations of Germany. Their name is connected with the old German word *cat*; or *cad*, "war," and

their territory lay in the modern *Hesse* and the adjacent countries. The Catti were a branch of the Hermiones, and are first mentioned by Cæsar under the erroneous name of Suevi. Although defeated by Drusus, Germanicus, and other Roman generals, they were never completely subjugated by the Romans; and their power was greatly augmented on the decline of the Cherusci. Their capital was Mattium, now *Maden*.

CAUCI, or CHAUCI. A powerful people in the northeastern part of Germany, between the Amisia (*Ems*) and the Albis (*Elbe*), divided by the Visurgis (*Weser*), which flowed through their territory, into Majores and Minores, the former west and the latter east of the river. They are described by Tacitus as the noblest and justest of the German tribes. They formed an alliance with the Romans in A.D. 5, and assisted the latter in their wars against the Cherusci; but this alliance did not last long. They were at war with the Romans in the reigns of Claudius and Nero, but were never subdued. They are mentioned for the last time in the third century, when they devastated Gaul, but their name subsequently became merged in the general name of Saxons. Their ancient appellation is still preserved, however, in that of their harbor, *Cuxhaven*.

CELENDĒRIS. A city of Cilicia Trachœa, on a lofty precipice on the sea coast. It was of Phœnician origin, but was subsequently colonized by the Samians. The modern *Chelendreh* answers to the ancient site.

CERCĪNA. The larger of two islands off the eastern coast of Africa Propria, at the northwestern extremity of the Syrtis Minor. The other island was named Cercinitis. The modern name of Cercina is *Chersara*, or *Kar-kenah*.

CHAMĀVI. A people of Germany, who were compelled by the Roman conquests to change their abodes several times. They first appear in the neighborhood of the Rhine, but afterward migrated eastward, defeated the Bructeri, and settled between the Weser and the Harz. At a later period they dwelt on the Lower Rhine, and are mentioned as auxiliaries of the Franks.

CHASUARI. A German tribe, allies or dependents of the Cherusci. Their position is uncertain. They dwelt to the north of the Catti; and in later times they appear between the Rhine and Meuse as a part of the Franks.

CHERUSCI. The most celebrated of all the tribes of ancient Germany. The limits of their territory can not be fixed with accuracy, since the ancients did not distinguish between the Cherusci proper and the nations belonging to the league of which the Cherusci were at the head. The Cherusci proper dwelt on both sides of the Visurgis (*Weser*), and their territories extended to the Harz and the Elbe. They were originally in alliance with the Romans, but they subsequently formed a powerful league of the German tribes for the purpose of expelling the Romans from the country, and under the chief Arminius they destroyed the army of Varus, and drove the Romans beyond the Rhine in A.D. 9. In consequence, however, of internal dissensions among the German tribes the Cherusci soon lost their influence. Their neighbors, the Catti, succeeded to their power.

CILICIA. A district in the southeast of Asia Minor, bordering to the east on Syria, to the north on Cappadocia and Lycaonia, to the northwest and west on Pisidia and Pamphylia. On all sides, except the west, it is inclosed by natural boundaries, namely, the Mediterranean on the south, Mount Amanus on the east, and Mount Taurus on the north. The western part of Cilicia is intersected by the offshoots of Taurus, while in its eastern part the mountain chains inclose much larger tracts of level country. Hence arose the division of Cilicia Trachēa or Aspera, and Cilicia Campestris, the latter being also called Cilicia proper. The plains were settled by the Greeks after the conquest of Alexander, and the old inhabitants, who were principally of Syrian origin, were for the most part driven back to the mountains of Cilicia Trachēa, where they remained virtually independent, practicing robbery by land and piracy by sea, until they were put down by Pompey, who, having also rescued the level country from Tigranes, who had overrun it, erected this latter into a Roman province, B.C. 67-66. The mountain country was not made a province till the reign of Vespasian. The Cilicians bore a low character among the Greeks and Romans.

CIMBRICA CHERSONESUS. The modern *Jutland*. *Vid.* Cimbri.

CIMBRI. The accounts of the ancients respecting the seats of the Cimbri, or Cimmerii, abound in uncertainties and contradictions. Strabo places them on the ocean, by the Elbe; Mela, in the islands of the Baltic; Pliny, to the east of the Elbe, and on the peninsula which took its name from them; Tacitus places them in the same quarter; Ptolemy, at the extremity of the Cimbric Chersonese. But, upon examination, it does not appear that they ever inhabited these parts. The Greeks first became acquainted with them on the northern coast of the Pontus Euxinus. They were driven from this quarter, and disappeared from the knowledge of the Greeks, who fabled that they dwelt on the shores of the Northern Ocean, in a land shrouded in perpetual night. Pytheas, who circumnavigated the greater part of the northwest of Europe, saw a large peninsula, where the long nights and intense cold in winter seemed to accord with the poetical descriptions of the land of the Cimmerii, and so assigned this country as their abode. In this he was followed by most of the ancient geographers. Strabo sets them down as one of the tribes with which they were best acquainted; although in the next sentence he acknowledges that all beyond the Elbe was totally unknown to the Greeks (vii., p. 451, ed. *Cas.*, 294). No mention is made of the Cimbri in the expeditions of Drusus and Germanicus; and though the fleet of the latter discovered the Cimbric Chersonese of Pytheas, they found no Cimbrians dwelling in it, nor did it bear a name derived from that people. Ptolemy places them at the extremity of it, merely to fill up a gap, as he has no other tribe to fix in this locality. Their real country lay, probably, on the northeast side of Germany: it was on this side that they invaded Germany, and were opposed by the Boii, at that time the inhabitants of Bohemia. Βοίους τὸν Ἐρκύνιον δρυμὸν οἰκεῖν. Τοὺς δὲ Κίμβρονες ὀρηθ-σαντας ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον τοῦτον ἀποκρουσθέντας ὑπὸ τῶν Βοίων ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰστρον, κ. τ. λ. (*Strabo*, vii., p. 293, edit. *Casaub.*) Together with the Teu

tones they entered Gaul, where they were joined by the Ambrones. With their combined forces they then invaded Spain, but were repulsed by the Celtiberi. The Teutones and Ambrones then made an irruption into Italy, where they were defeated by Marius (B.C. 102). A part of the Cimbri, who had gone into Helvetia, were there joined by the Tigurini; these made another attack upon Italy, and defeated Catulus; but were at last routed by Marius (B.C. 101). The remnant of them is said to have settled in Helvetia. Some of the Boii appear to have accompanied them in their invasion of Italy. Their name is still preserved in the national appellation of the Welch, *Cymry*. It is very difficult to decide whether the Cimbri were a Germanic or a Celtic tribe. The two races were not carefully distinguished by the Romans: Tacitus called them Germans; but the Cymry certainly are not descendants of the Germans: their language is a Celtic dialect. In the war with Marius they were led by a Celtic commander, and the description of their arms points to the same origin. Yet we find them united with the Teutones. There is a similar difficulty in the case of the Belgæ.

CINITHII. A people of Africa, on the coast, below the Syrtis Minor.

CLANIS. Now the *Chiaça*, a river of Etruria rising from two small lakes west of the Lacus Trasimenus, and falling into the Tiber east of Vulturni. Its waters formed large marshes near Clusium.

CLAROS. A small town on the Ionian coast, near Colophon, with a celebrated temple and oracle of Apollo, who was hence surnamed Clarius.

CLOTA ÆSTUARIUM. The *Firth of Clyde*, on the western coast of Scotland. The name is sometimes written Glota.

COLONIA AGRIPPINA, or AGRIPPINENSIS. The modern *Cologne*, on the Rhine, originally the chief town of the Ubii, and called *Oppidum*, or *Civitas Ubiorum*. It was a place of small importance till A.D. 51, when a Roman colony was planted in the town by the Emperor Claudius, at the instigation of his wife Agrippina, who was born here, and from whom it derived its new name. Such is the commonly received account. On the probability, however, of a colony having been established here at an earlier date by Agrippa, and of the colony sent out by Claudius being the second in the order of time, not the first, as well as for some remarks on the double name *Agrippina* and *Agrippinensis*, consult notes on *Germ.*, c. xxviii. The inhabitants received the Jus Italicum. It soon became a large and flourishing city, and was the capital of Lower Germany.

COLÖPHON. One of the twelve Ionian cities of Asia Minor, about two miles from the coast, on the River Halesus, between Lebedus and Ephesus. It was one of the most powerful members of the Ionian confederacy, possessing a considerable fleet and excellent cavalry; but it suffered greatly in war, being taken at different times by the Lydians, the Persians, Lysimachus, and the Cilician pirates. It was made a free city by the Romans, after their war with Antiochus the Great. Colophon was celebrated for the oracle of Apollo Clarius in its neighborhood. *Vid.* CLAROS.

COMMAGÈNE. The northeasternmost district of Syria. It formed a part of the Greek kingdom of Syria, after the fall of which it maintained its in-

dependence under a race of kings who appear to have been a branch of the family of the Seleucidæ, and was not united to the Roman empire till the reign of Vespasian. The district was remarkable for its fertility.

CORCÿRA. Now *Corfu*, an island in the Ionian Sea, off the coast of Epirus. The ancients universally regarded it as the Homeric *Scheria*, where the Phæacians dwelt. It is said also to have borne the name of *Drepane*, or "the Sickle," in early times, on account of its peculiar shape. It became rich and powerful by its extensive commerce, and founded many colonies on the opposite coast, Epidamnus, Apollonia, Leucas, Anactorium, &c. It exercised, moreover, such influence in the Ionian and Adriatic seas as to become a formidable rival to Corinth, its parent city, and a collision between the two became one of the proximate causes of the Peloponnesian war. The power of Corcyra subsequently declined, in consequence of civil dissensions. *Corfu* is at present one of the seven Ionian islands under the protection of Great Britain.

CORNAVIL. A people of Britain, dwelling to the east of the Ordovices. They appear to have occupied what are now *Cheshire*, *Shropshire*, *Stafford*, *Worcester*, and *Warwick*. Their chief city was *Deva*, now *Chester*.

CŌSA. A city of Etruria, near the sea, with a good harbor called *Herculis Portus*. Cosa stood on a promontory called *Cosanum Promontorium*. It was a very ancient place, and after the fall of Falerii became one of the twelve Etrurian cities. The Romans colonized it in B.C. 273, and in 197 it received an addition of one thousand colonists.

COUS, Coos, or Cos. One of the islands called Sporades, lying off the coast of Caria, at the mouth of the Ceramic Gulf, opposite to Halicarnassus. It was colonized by Æolians, but became a member of the Dorian confederacy. Its chief city bore the same name, *Cos*, and stood on the northeast side of the island. Near it stood the temple of Æsculapius, to whom the island was sacred, and from whom its chief family, the Asclepiadæ, claimed their descent. *Cos* was extremely fertile. It was the birth-place of Hippocrates the physician, and the painter Apelles. The modern name is *Stanco*.

CUSUS. A river of Germany, one of the tributaries to the Danube on its left bank. Now probably the *Waag*.

CYCLĀDES. A group of islands, in the Ægean Sea, so called because they lay in a circle (*ἐν κύκλῳ*) around Delos, the most important of them. According to Strabo, they were twelve in number, but other writers make them more numerous. The most remarkable of them were Delos, Ceos, Cythnos, Rhenea, Siphnos, Cimolos, Naxos, Paros, Syros, Tenos, and Andros.

CYME. The largest of the Æolian cities of Asia Minor, stood on the coast of Æolis, on a bay named, after it, Cumæus Sinus (*ὁ Κυμαῖος Κόλπος*), and had a good harbor. It was founded by a colony of Locrians. It was the mother city of Cumæ in Campania, in Italy.

CYRRHUS, or CYRUS. A city of Syria, founded under the Seleucidæ, and called after the city of the same name in Macedonia. It is chiefly remarkable

as the residence and see of Theodoret, who describes its poverty, which he did much to relieve. It was the capital of the district of Cyrrestice.

D.

DĀCIA. As a Roman province, was bounded on the south by the Danube, which separated it from Mœsia; on the north by the Carpathian Mountains; on the west by the River Tysia (*Theiss*); and on the east by the River Hicrasus (*Pruth*); thus comprehending the modern *Transylvania*, *Wallachia*, *Moldavia*, and part of *Hungary*. The Daci were of the same race, and spoke the same language as the Getæ, and are therefore usually said to be of Thracian origin. They were a brave and warlike people. In the reign of Augustus, they crossed the Danube and plundered the allies of Rome, but were defeated and driven back into their own country by the generals of that emperor. In the reign of Domitian, they became so formidable under their king, Decebalus, that the Romans were obliged to purchase a peace of them by the payment of tribute. Trajan delivered the empire from this disgrace. He crossed the Danube, and after a war of five years (A.D. 101-106) conquered the country, made it a Roman province, and colonized it with inhabitants from all parts of the empire. At a later period, Dacia was invaded by the Goths; and as Aurelian considered it more prudent to make the Danube the boundary of the empire, he resigned Dacia to the barbarians, removed the Roman inhabitants to Mœsia, and gave the name of *Dacia (Aureliani)* to that part of the province along the Danube where they were settled.

DAHÆ. A great Scythian people, who led a nomad life over a large extent of country on the east of the Caspian, in Hyrcania (which still bears the name of *Dahistan*), on the banks of the Margus, the Oxus, and even the Iaxartes. Some of them served as cavalry and horse-archers in the armies of Darius Codomannus, Alexander, and Antiochus the Great, and they also made good foot-soldiers.

DANUBIUS. Now the *Danube*; in German, the *Donau*; in Hungarian, the *Duna*. Strabo and Pliny make it rise in the chain of Mount *Abnoba*. According to modern accounts, it originates on the eastern declivity of the *Black Forest*, about twenty-four miles from the banks of the Rhine. Its course is calculated to be about one thousand seven hundred and seventy miles before it enters the Black Sea, and it receives sixty navigable rivers, the largest of which is the *Cenus (Inn)*, and one hundred and twenty smaller streams. The Romans first obtained some accurate information about this river at the commencement of the empire. Tiberius, in his campaign against the Vindelici, visited the sources of the Danube. This river formed the northern boundary of the empire, with the exception of the time that Dacia was a Roman province. In the Roman period, the upper part of the river, from its source as far as Vindobona (*Vienna*), was called Danubius, while the lower part, to its entrance into the Black Sea, was named Ister.

DECUMĀTES AGRI. Tithe-lands, the name given by the Romans to a part of Germany, east of the Rhine, and north of the Danube, which they

took possession of when the Germans retired eastward, and which they gave to the Gauls, and subsequently to their own veterans, on the payment of a tenth of the produce (*decūma*). Towards the end of the first, or the beginning of the second century of our era, these lands were incorporated in the Roman empire.

DELPHI. A small town in Phocis, but one of the most celebrated in Greece, on account of its oracle of Apollo. It was situated on a steep declivity on the southern slope of Mount Parnassus, and its site resembled the cavea of a great theatre. The government was an oligarchy, and was in the hands of a few distinguished families of Doric origin: From them were taken the chief magistrates, the priests, and a senate, consisting of a very few members. Delphi was the principal seat of the worship of Apollo. Besides the great temple of Apollo, it contained numerous sanctuaries, statues, and other works of art. The Pythian games were also celebrated here, and it was one of the two places of meeting of the Amphictyonic Council.

DEVA. The principal town of the Cornavii, in Britain, now *Chester*. It was situate on the Seteia, now the *Dee*. Here were the head-quarters of the Legio XX. Victrix.

DULGIBĪNI. A German tribe, placed by Ptolemy on the eastern bank of the *Weser*, in the southern part of *Calenberg*, and the western half of *Grubenhagen*. This, however, was not the position in which Tacitus knew them. He places them in the rear of the Chamavi and Angrivarii, in what was once the territory of the Bructeri; and their settlements, according to this, would lie between the *Ems* and the *Lippe*, where the town of Dulgibinum (*Dulmen*) was situated. They belonged to the Cherusci, and were apparently driven eastward by the same eruption of the Cauci as that which expelled the Angrivarii.

E.

ELEPHANTĪNE, or ELEPHANTIS. An island in the Nile, with a city of the same name, opposite to Syene, and seven stadia below the Little Cataract. It was the frontier station of Egypt towards Ethiopia, and was strongly garrisoned under the Persians and Romans. The island was extremely fertile, the vine and the fig-tree never shedding their leaves: it had also great quarries.

ELYSII. A German tribe, supposed to have dwelt at *Oels*, in *Silesia*.

EPIDAPHNE, or EPIDAPHNES. A suburb of Antiochia, so called from a neighboring grove of bay-trees (*δάφνη*).

EUBŒA. The largest island of the Ægean Sea, lying along the coasts of Attica, Bœotia, and the southern part of Thessaly, from which countries it was separated by the Eubœan Sea, called in its narrowest part Euripus. Eubœa was celebrated for the excellence of its pastures and corn-fields. Under the Romans it formed part of the province of Achaia. The modern name is *Negropont*.

EUĐŌSES. A German tribe, placed by some in *Holstein*, where Eutinum,

the River Eydora (*Eyder*), and *Euding*, are supposed to have taken their names from them. Others make them to have dwelt on the banks of the River *Dosse*.

EUPHRATES. A great river of Western Asia, forming the boundary of Upper and Lower Asia, consisting, in its upper course, of two branches, both of which rise in the mountains of Armenia. The northern branch is the true Euphrates; the southern branch was called by the ancients *Arsanias*. It joins the Tigris about sixty miles above the mouth of the Persian Gulf. The whole length of the Euphrates is between five hundred and six hundred miles.

F.

FENNI. A savage people, living by the chase, whom Tacitus reckons among the Germans. They appear to have dwelt in the farther part of Eastern *Prussia*, and to have been the same as the modern *Finns*.

FLÖRENTINI. The inhabitants of Florentia (now *Florence*, or *Firenze*), a town of Etruria, on the River Arnus (*Arno*). The place is supposed to have been founded by the Romans during their wars with the Ligurians. In the time of Sulla it was a flourishing municipium, but its greatness as a city dates from the Middle Ages.

FÖRUM JULII, or JULIUM. Now *Frejus*, a Roman colony founded by Julius Cæsar, B.C. 44, in Gallia Narbonensis, on the River Argenteus and on the coast, six hundred stadia northeast of Massilia. It possessed a good harbor, and was the usual station of a part of the Roman fleet. It was the birth-place of the celebrated Agricola. This city must not be confounded with another of the same name, likewise a Roman colony, in the country of the Carni, northeast of Aquileia, and now *Friaul*, or *Friuli*.

FOSI. A German tribe, whose name is connected with that of the River *Fuse*, which flows into the *Aller* near *Zelle*. They were annihilated by the Langobardi.

FOSSA DRUSIANA. A canal, which Drusus caused his soldiers to dig in B.C. 11, uniting the Rhine with the Yssel. It probably commenced near Arnheim, on the Rhine, and fell into the Yssel near Doesberg.

FRANCI. A confederacy of German tribes, formed on the Lower Rhine, in the place of the ancient league of the Cherusci, and consisting of the *Syngambri*, the chief tribe, the *Chamavi*, *Amsivarii*, *Bructeri*, *Catti*, &c. The name signifies "Free Men." They are first mentioned about A.D. 240. After carrying on frequent wars with the Romans, they at length settled permanently in Gaul, of which they became the rulers under their great King Clovis, A.D. 496.

FRĒTUM SICŪLUM. The narrow strait which separates Sicily from Italy, now *Faro de Messina*.

FRISII. A people in the northwest of Germany, who inhabited the coast from the eastern mouth of the Rhine to the *Amisia* (*Ems*), and were bounded on the south by the *Bructeri*. Their territory answered to the modern *Friesland*, *Gröningen*, &c. Tacitus divides them into *Majores* and *Minores*,

he former probably in the east, and the latter in the western part of the country. The Frisii were on friendly terms with the Romans from the time of the first campaign of Drusus until A.D. 28, when the oppression of the Roman officers drove them to revolt. In the 5th century we find them joining the Saxones and Angli in their invasion of Britain.

G.

GÆTŪLI. The inhabitants of Gætulia, a name applied by the ancients to a portion of the interior of Northern Africa, lying south of Mauritania, Numidia, and the region bordering on the Syrtes, reaching to the Atlantic Ocean on the west, and of very indefinite extent towards the east and south. The Gætuli were a great nomad race, including several tribes, the chief of whom were the Autololes and Pharusii, on the western coast; the Duræ, or Gætuli-Duræ, in the steppes of the Great Atlas; and the Melanogætuli, a black race, resulting from the intermixture of the Gætuli with their southern neighbors, the Nigritæ. The pure Gætulians were not a negro, but a Libyan race, and were most probably of Asiatic origin. They are supposed to have been the ancestors of the modern *Berbers*.

GALLIA. A country of Europe, which, in the time of Augustus, was bounded on the south by the Pyrenees and the Mediterranean; on the east by the River Varus and the Alps, which separated it from Italy, and by the River Rhine, which separated it from Germany; on the north by the German Ocean and the English Channel; and on the west by the Atlantic; thus including not only the whole of *France* and *Belgium*, but a part of *Holland*, a great part of *Switzerland*, and all the provinces of Germany west of the Rhine. In B.C. 121, the southern part of Gaul was made a Roman province, after the defeat of the Allobroges. The rest of the country was subsequently subdued by Julius Cæsar, after a struggle of several years (58-50). At this period Gaul was divided into three parts, *Aquitania*, *Celtica*, and *Belgica*, according to the three different races by which it was inhabited. The Aquitani dwelt in the southwest, between the Pyrenees and the Garumna (*Garonne*); the Celtæ, or Galli proper, in the centre and west, between the Garumna and the Sequana (*Seine*) and Matrona (*Marne*); and the Belgæ in the northeast, between the two last-mentioned rivers and the Rhine. The Roman colony first founded in the south of Gaul, and of which we have already spoken, is in Cæsar's Commentaries simply called *Provincia*, whence comes the modern name of *Provence*. The rest of Gaul was sometimes called, in contradistinction to the province, *Gallia Comata*, from the long hair worn by the inhabitants, according to the Gallic custom, and because in the province Roman manners and customs prevailed. At a later period, the provinces of Gaul were still farther divided, until at length, under the Emperor Gratian, the number of separate districts amounted to seventeen.

GAMBRIVII. One of the early appellations of the German race, according to some authorities referred to by Tacitus (*Germ.*, c. ii.). Various etymologies have been assigned for the name, but all unsatisfactory. Wach-

ter deduces it from *gam*, "a man," and *brig*, "a bridge;" Longolius from *gam*, and *bruch*, "a marshy spot."

GERMĀNI. The Germans, the inhabitants of Germania. This word Germania was employed by the Romans to designate a country of much greater extent than modern Germany. They included under this name all the nations of Europe east of the Rhine and north of the Danube, bounded on the north by the German Ocean and the Baltic, including Denmark and the neighboring islands, and on the east by the Sarmatians and Dacians. It is difficult, however, to ascertain how far Germany stretched to the east. According to Strabo, Germanic tribes dwelt nearly as far as the mouths of the Borysthenes (*Dnieper*). Sometimes Germany proper was called *Germania Transrhenana*, to distinguish it from the tract lying between the Rhine and Scheldt, which was called *Germania Cisrhenana*, after it had been inhabited by some German tribes which had crossed the Rhine, or had been brought over by Agrippa and Tiberius. The latter was also divided into *Germania Superior*, or *Prima*, extending along the Rhine from Bingham, beyond Argentoratum; and *Germania Inferior*, or *Secunda*, reaching from Bingham to the sea.

1. *Origin of the Germanic Nations.*

The origin of the Germanic nations is involved in uncertainty. The inhabitants of the beautiful regions of Italy, who had never known a rougher country, could hardly believe that any nation had deserted its native soil to dwell in the forests of Germany, where severe cold prevailed for the greater part of the year, and where, even in summer, impenetrable woods prevented the genial rays of the sun from reaching the ground. They thought that the Germans must have lived there from the beginning, and therefore called them *indigenæ*, or natives of the soil. (*Germ.*, 2.) Modern inquiries, however, have traced the descent of the Germanic race from the inhabitants of Asia; since it is now indisputably established that the Teutonic dialects belong to one great family with the Latin, the Greek, the Sanscrit, and the other languages of the Indo-European chain. Von Hammer calls the Germans a Bactriano-Median nation. He makes the name *Germani*, or *Sermani*, in its primitive import, to have meant those who followed the worship of Buddha; and hence the Germans, according to him, are that ancient and primitive race who came down from the mountains of Upper Asia, the cradle of the human species, and, spreading themselves over the low country more to the south, gave origin to the Persian and other early nations. Hence the name *Dschermania*, applied in early times to all that tract of country which lay to the north of the Oxus. The land of *Erman*, therefore, which was situate beyond this river, and which corresponds to the modern *Chorasin*, is made by Von Hammer the native home of the Germanic race, and the Germans themselves are, as he informs us, called *Dschermani*, their primitive name, by the Oriental writers down to the fourteenth century. (*Wien. Jahrb.*, vol. ii., p. 319. Compare vol. ix., p. 39.) Another remarkable circumstance is, that, besides the name referred to, that of the

modern *Prussians* may be found under its primitive form in the Persian tongue. We have there the term *Pruschan*, or *Peruschan*, in the sense of "a people." In Meninski (i., p. 533) we have *Berussan* and *Beruschan*, in the sense of "*communitas ejusdem religionis*;" while in Ferhengi Schuuri, *Peruschan*, or *Poruschan*, more than once occurs (vol. i., B., 182, &c.) Even the name *Sachsen*, or *Sassean* (Saxons), is to be found in the Persian tongue under the form *Sassan*, as indicating not only the last dynasty of the Persian empire (the Sassanidae), but also those acquainted with the doctrines of the Dessatin, the old Persian dialect of which is far more nearly related to the Gothic than the modern Persian to the German. In the Oriental histories, moreover, mention is made of the dynasty of the sons of Boia, in whom we may easily recognize the progenitors of the Boii; while traces of the name of the Catti may be found in that of *Kat*, in Chorasin. (*Ferg. Schuuri*, B., 231.) Even as early as the time of Herodotus, the name of the *Γερμάνιοι* appears among the ancient Persian tribes (*Herod.*, i., 125), while the analogies between the Persian and German are so striking as to have excited the attention of every intelligent scholar. And, besides all this, an ancient Georgian MS. of laws, not long since brought to light, proves conclusively that the Georgian nation had among them *ordeals* precisely similar to those of the early Germans, and also the same judicial forms of proceeding, and the same system of satisfactions to be paid in cases of homicide, according to the rank of the party slain. (*Annal. de Legislat. et de Jurispr.*, N. 40, Paris, 1829. Compare, on the whole subject, *Kruse's Archiv der Germanischen Völkerstämme*, ii., p. 124, *seqq.*) If these premises be correct, the commonly received etymology of the name *Germani*, which makes it equivalent to "war-men," or "warriors," falls, of course, to the ground. (Consult notes on chapter ii.) It may not be amiss, however, after having stated what appears to be the most probable view of the subject, to give a few other etymologies for the name *Germani*, each of which has its advocates. Thus, Althamer makes *Germanus* equivalent to "*homo prorsus virilis*," and the same, in fact, as *Alaman*, i. e., *Ganz-Mann*. Wackernagel, on the other hand, explains *Germanus* by *Germanus*, i. e., *Volksgenosse*. Luden thinks that the term *Germania* is nothing more than the German *Wehrmannei*, and that there were several such *Germaniæ*, or "confederacies" (*Eidsgenossenschaften*), such as those of the Cherusci, the Catti, the Cauci, &c.; and hence the union of all of these would form what he terms "*Gesammtgermanien*." (*Gesch. der Deutschen*, i., p. 163.) And, finally, the name *Germani* is supposed by some to be derived from *ger*, which, according to them, appears in the French *guerre*, "war," and *man*. (Compare the etymological remarks under the article *Teutones*.)

2. Geographical Acquaintance with Ancient Germany.

Our information concerning the geography of ancient Germany is very scanty and uncertain. The Greek and Roman writers, from whom our knowledge of it is derived, knew very little about it themselves. A knowledge of the German Ocean, and the northern parts of Europe, had been ac-

quired, first by the Phœnicians and Carthaginians, who procured tin from the Cassiterides or from Britain, and amber from the shores of the Baltic (see c. 45); and in the year B.C. 400, by Himilco the Carthaginian, whose voyage has been described by the poet Avienus (*Plin.*, ii., 67); in B.C. 330, by Hecatæus and Philemon (*Plin.*, iv., 13, or 27); and about the same time, by Ephorus and Clitarchus (*Strab.*, vii., 2, 1, p. 293); by Timæus, Xenophon of Lampsacus, Sotacus, Nicias, Xenocrates, Mithradates, and especially Pytheas of Massilia, who, in the year B.C. 320, sailed to Thule, and thence into the Baltic. (*Strab.*, i., 4; ii., 3, 4; iii., 2; iv., 4, 5. *Plin.*, iv., 16, or 27, 30; xxxvii., 2, or 11.) The knowledge which the Romans possessed of Germany and the western parts of Europe was derived principally from the expeditions of Cæsar, Drusus Germanicus, Germanicus, and Ahenobarbus. Drusus Germanicus, the brother of Tiberius, made four expeditions into Germany, and dug the canal between the Rhine and the Chisala (*Yssel*). He was the first who navigated the German Ocean, but did not advance farther than the mouth of the Amisia (*Ems*), in the territory of the Cauci. Germanicus, the son of Drusus (A.D. 14–16), made four expeditions into Germany, and advanced still farther; he was shipwrecked on the territory of the Frisii (*Ann.*, i., 49–52, 55–59, 60–71; ii., 5–26, 41–46). L. Domitius Ahenobarbus crossed the Elbe, and penetrated farther into Germany than any of his predecessors. (*Ann.*, i., 63; iv., 44. *Suet.*, *Ner.*, iv.) Tiberius advanced to the Arctic Sea (*Ann.*, ii., 26, 47; xii., 39. *Dio.*, lv., 6, 8, 28; lvi., 25. *Suet.*, *Tib.*, 9, 17, 18, 20. *Vell.*, ii., 97, 104–110, 120.) This expedition of Tiberius, however, Strabo (vii., 1, p. 291) and Tacitus himself (c. 34) attribute to Drusus Germanicus. On the south side of Germany the Romans made no conquests beyond the Danube; but they obtained some geographical knowledge through the journeys of the traders who procured amber from the shores of the Baltic, and from their wars with the Daci, Marcomanni, and other tribes on this frontier. Strabo wrote in the age of Tiberius, when the Romans possessed a more accurate knowledge of Germany than at any other time, through the expeditions of which we have just spoken. After this period the Romans were almost entirely shut out of Germany. Strabo, however, is exceedingly careless. He did not read even Cæsar's Gallic war with sufficient attention to understand it, and confuses almost every thing which he extracts from the accounts brought home by Pytheas. Our difficulties are, moreover, increased by the inaccuracy of the text. Pomponius Mela is worth nothing. Pliny, likewise, was very careless, as we see, even in what he says of Italy; we can not, therefore, look for much accuracy in his account of Germany. His work is principally valuable for the proper names. The imperfect character of the geographical knowledge which Tacitus possessed of Germany is manifest from his work upon the subject. Ptolemy has ventured to give a map of Germany, and to lay down the latitudes and longitudes of a number of towns and mouths of rivers. The greater part of these he never visited himself; and who, in that age, could have furnished him with the requisite information? Indeed, his map bears but a faint re-

semblance to the actual shape and features of Germany ; and, in the majority of instances, it can with difficulty be determined whether the towns he mentioned existed at all. There is this additional disadvantage in his book, that he defines positions by numbers, which, of all things, are the most liable to alteration through the mistakes of the transcribers. One of the most valuable geographical monuments of antiquity, Antoninus's Itinerary, compiled under the direction of J. Cæsar and Antony or Augustus, is available only for a few roads on the frontier. The Peutingerian Table is frequently of use in making maps ; since, though the countries are excessively distorted, the distances between the towns laid down on it are given ; but it is of scarcely any service in the case of Germany. Inscriptions and coins, again, which afford some of the best means of defining the situations of places, are of rare occurrence in Germany. But, in addition to all these difficulties and disadvantages, the wandering and unsettled character of the Germans themselves renders it totally impossible to lay down a map which should represent the relative positions of the tribes at any one period, or for any length of time, though we can generally determine the position which individual tribes occupied at some time or other. This is seen from the wide discrepancies between Tacitus and his contemporaries, and Ptolemy, and from such glimpses as history affords us of the migrations of several of the tribes.

GETÆ. A Thracian people, called *Daci* by the Romans. Herodotus and Thucydides place them to the south of the Ister (*Danube*), near its mouths ; but in the time of Alexander the Great, they dwelt beyond this river, and north of the Triballi. They were driven by the Sarmatians farther west, towards Germany. For their later history, *vid.* DACIA.

GOTHINI. A German tribe, supposed by some to have lived in *Cracow*, or on the banks of the Marus (*March*), as it is said that the Quadi imposed a tribute upon them. Others place the Gothini on the south of the Danube.

GOTŌNES, GOTHŌNES, and GOTHI. A powerful German people, who played an important part in the overthrow of the Roman empire. They originally dwelt on the Prussian coast of the Baltic, at the mouth of the Vistula, where they are placed by Tacitus ; but they afterward migrated to the south, and at the beginning of the third century they appeared on the coasts of the Black Sea, where Caracalla encountered them on his march to the east. In the reign of the Emperor Philippus (A.D. 244-249), they obtained possession of a great part of the Roman province of Dacia ; and, in consequence of their settling in the countries formerly inhabited by the Getæ and Scythians, they are frequently called both Getæ and Scythians by later writers. From the time of Philippus the attacks of the Goths against the Roman empire became more frequent and more destructive. In A.D. 272, the Emperor Aurelian surrendered to them the whole of Dacia. It is about this time that we find them separated into two great divisions, the Ostrogoths, or Eastern Goths, and the Visigoths, or Western Goths. The Ostrogoths settled in Mœsia and Pannonia, while the Visigoths remained north of the Danube. The Visigoths, under their king, Alaric, in-

vaded Italy, and took and plundered Rome in A.D. 410. A few years afterward, they settled permanently in the southwest of Gaul, and established a kingdom, of which Tolosa was the capital. From thence they invaded Spain, where they also founded a kingdom, which lasted for more than two centuries, till it was overthrown by the Arabs. The Ostrogoths meantime had extended their dominions almost up to the gates of Constantinople; and the Emperor Zeno was glad to get rid of them by giving them permission to invade and conquer Italy. Under their king, Theodoric the Great, they obtained possession of the whole of Italy in A.D. 493. Theodoric took the title of King of Italy, and an Ostrogothic dynasty reigned in the country till it was destroyed by Narses, general of Justinian, A.D. 553.

GRAMPIUS MONS. Now the *Grampian Hills*, a range of mountains in Caledonia, separating the Highlands and Lowlands of Scotland. Agricola penetrated as far as these mountains, and defeated Calgacus at their foot. The name of the ridge in the ancient Scottish tongue was *Grantzbain*.

H.

HELLUSII. A German tribe, dwelling in the extreme north, of whom nothing certain is known. They probably inhabited *Lapland*. Consult notes on *Germ.*, c. xlvii.

HELVECŌNES. A German tribe, who dwelt between *Ukermark* and *Priegnitz*.

HELVETII. A brave and powerful Celtic people, who dwelt between Mount Jura, the Lacus Lemannus (*Lake of Geneva*), the Rhone, and the Rhine, as far as the Lacus Brigantinus (*Lake of Constance*). They were thus bounded by the Sequani on the west; by the Nantuates and Lepontii, in Cisalpine Gaul, on the south; by the Ræti on the east; and by the German nations on the north, beyond the Rhine. Their country, called *Ager Helvetiorum* (but never *Helvetia*), thus corresponded to the western part of *Switzerland*. Their chief town was Aventicum (*Avenches*). They were divided into four *Pagi*, or cantons, of which the *Pagus Tigurinus* was the most celebrated. The Helvetii are first mentioned in the war with the Cimbri. In B.C. 107, the Tigurini defeated and killed the Roman consul, L. Cassius Longinus, on the Lake of Geneva, while another division of the Helvetii accompanied the Cimbri and Teutones in their invasion of Gaul. Subsequently, the Helvetii invaded Italy along with the Cimbri; and they returned home in safety, after the defeat of the Cimbri by Marius and Catulus, in B.C. 101. About forty years afterward, they resolved, upon the advice of Orgetorix, one of their chiefs, to migrate from their country, with their wives and children, and seek a new home in the more fertile plains of Gaul. In B.C. 58, they endeavored to carry their plan into execution, but they were defeated by Cæsar, and driven back into their own territories. The Romans now planted colonies and built fortresses in their country (Noviodunum, Vindonissa, Aventicum), and the Helvetii gradually adopted the customs and language of their conquerors. They were severely punished by the generals of Vitellius, in A.D. 70, when they refused to

acknowledge the latter as emperor; and after that time they are rarely mentioned as a separate people. When Gaul was subdivided into a greater number of provinces under the later emperors, the country of the Helvetii formed, with that of the Sequani and the Rauraci, the province of *Maxima Sequanorum*.

HENIÖCHI. A people in the range of Mount Caucasus, to the west of the Albani, and north of the River Phasis. They were notorious as robbers.

HERCYNIA SILVA, or HERCYNIVM JUGUM. An extensive range of mountains in Germany, covered with forests. Cæsar describes it as nine days' journey in breadth, and more than sixty days' journey in length, extending eastward from the territories of the Helvetii, Nemetes, and Rauraci, parallel to the Danube, as far as the frontiers of Dacia. Under this general name Cæsar appears to have included all the mountains and forests in the south and centre of Germany; namely, the *Black Forest, Odenwald, Thüringerwald, the Harz, the Erzgebirge, the Riesengebirge, &c.* As the Romans became better acquainted with Germany, the name was confined to narrower limits. Pliny and Tacitus use it to indicate the range of mountains between the Thüringerwald and the Carpathian chain. The name is still preserved in the modern *Harz* and *Erz*.

HERMINÖNES. According to some modern authorities, a name indicating the main or parent stem of the German race, occupying the central parts of the country. It is supposed to contain the root of the national name *Germani*, namely *Herm-*, or *Gherm-* (i. e., *Hermin-ones, Gherman-ones*), by those who consider that name to be of Oriental origin. Consult remarks under the article **GERMANIA**.

HERMUNDŪRI. One of the most powerful nations of Germany, belonging to the Suevic race, and dwelling between the Mænus (*Main*) and Danube. They were bounded by the Montes Sudeti in the north, the Decumates Agri in the west and south, the Narisci on the east, the Cherusci on the north-east, and the Catti on the north-west. They were for a long time the allies of the Romans; but along with the other German tribes they assisted the Marcomanni in the great war against the Romans in the reign of Marcus Aurelius. After this time they are rarely mentioned as a separate people, but are included under the general name of Suevi.

HERTHÆ INSULA. An island in the Northern Ocean, according to Tacitus, sacred to Hertha, the goddess of the Earth among the ancient Germans, Now most probably the Isle of *Rugen*, in the Baltic. Consult notes on *Germ.*, c. xl.

HIBERNIA. The island of *Ireland*, also called by the ancients *IÆRNE*, *IVERNA*, and *JUVERNA*. The name Hibernia appears to have been derived from the inhabitants of its southern coast, called *JUVERNI* by Ptolemy; to whom also the names *Iyerna* and *Juverna* are to be traced. The original name of the island, however, was probably *Bergion* or *Vergion*. It is mentioned by Cæsar, and is frequently spoken of by subsequent writers; but the Romans never made any attempt to conquer the island, though they obtained some knowledge of it from the commercial intercourse which was

carried on between it and Britain. We have no account of the island except from Ptolemy, who must have derived his information from the statements of the British merchants who visited its coasts.

HIEROCÆSARĒA. A city of Lydia, between the Caicus and Hermus. Diana Persica was worshipped here, and her rites are said to have been established at this place as early as the reign of Cyrus. This was one of the twelve cities of Asia Minor overthrown by the great earthquake in the reign of Tiberius.

HISPANIA. A peninsula in the southwest of Europe, now *Spain* and *Portugal*. The Romans, as early as the end of the second Punic war, divided this country into two provinces, separated from one another by the Ibērus (*Ebro*), and called *Hispania Citerior* and *Hispania Ulterior*, the former being to the east, and the latter to the west of the river. In consequence of there being two provinces, we frequently find the country called *Hispaniæ* in the plural. Augustus made a new division of the country, and formed three provinces, *Tarraconensis*, *Bætica*, and *Lusitania*. The first of these derived its name from Tarraco (*Tarragona*), the capital of the province and comprehended the whole of the northwest and centre of the peninsula. It was by far the largest of the three. *Bætica* derived its name from the River Bætis (*Guadalquivir*), and was separated from Lusitania, on the north and west, by the River Anas (*Guadiana*), and from Tarraconensis, on the east, by a line drawn from the River Anas to the promontory Charidemus, on the Mediterranean. The province *Lusitania* corresponded very nearly in extent to the modern *Portugal*.

HORESTI. A tribe of Britain, placed by Richard of Cirencester in the peninsula of *Fife*. All that appears with regard to their situation, from the narrative of Tacitus, is, that they lay somewhere between the Grampian Hills and the previously conquered nations to the south of the *Forth*.

I.

ICĒNI. A numerous and powerful people in Britain, who dwelt to the north of the Trinobantes, in the modern counties of *Suffolk* and *Norfolk*. Their revolt from the Romans, under their heroic Queen Boadicæa, is celebrated in history. Their chief town was Venta Icenorum (now *Caister*), about three miles from Norwich.

IDISTAVISO. A plain of Germany, probably in the neighborhood of the Porta Westphalica, between *Rinteln* and *Hausberge*. Here Germanicus defeated Arminius. On the meaning of the name, consult notes on *Ann.*, ii., 16

ILIUM. Consult notes on *Ann.*, ii., 54.

ILLYRICUM. Included, in its widest acceptation, all the land west of Macedonia, and east of Italy and Raetia, extending south as far as Epirus, and north as far as the valleys of the Savus and Dravus, and the junction of these rivers with the Danube. This wide extent of country was inhabited by numerous Illyrian tribes, all of whom were more or less barbarous. They were probably of the same origin as the Thracians, but some Celts were mingled with them. The country was divided into two parts: 1. *Il*

lyris Barbara or *Romana*, the Roman province of Illyricum, extending along the Adriatic from Italy (Istria) to the River Drilo, and comprehending a part of modern *Croatia*, the whole of *Dalmatia*, almost the whole of *Bosnia*, and a part of *Albania*. 2. *Illyris Græca*, or *Illyria Proper*, also called *Epirus Nova*, extended from the Drilo, along the Adriatic, to the Ceraunian Mountains, which separated it from Epirus proper. It was bounded on the east by Macedonia, and embraced the greater part of modern *Albania*.

INGÆVONES. A name given, according to Tacitus, to one of the three great geographical divisions of the German race. It is thought by some to be the same with the native term *Inbewohner*, and to mean "the inhabitants of the *inner* coasts." If this supposition be correct, the Latin form of the name ought to have the long penult, *Ingævōnes*. Compare ISTÆVONES.

INTEMELII. A people in Liguria, on the coast, whose chief town was *Albium Intemelium*, now *Vintimiglia*.

INTERAMNA. An ancient municipium in Umbria, situate on the River *Nar* (*Nera*), and surrounded by a canal flowing into this stream, whence its inhabitants were called *Interamnates Nartes*. It was the birth-place of the historian Tacitus, as well as of the emperor of the same name. The modern name is *Terni*.

ISTÆVONES. A name given, according to Tacitus, to one of the three great geographical divisions of the German race. It is thought by some to be the same with the native term *Westbewohner*, or "the inhabitants of the *western* parts of the country." On this supposition the penult ought to be long in *Istævōnes*. Compare INGÆVONES.

L.

LANGOBARDI, or LONGOBARDI. A German tribe of the Suevic race. They dwelt originally on the left bank of the *Albis* (*Elbe*), near the River *Saale*; but they afterward crossed the *Elbe*, and dwelt on the eastern bank of the river, where they were for a time subject to *Maroboduus* in the reign of *Tiberius*. After this they disappear from history for four centuries. Like most of the other German tribes, they migrated southward; and in the second half of the fifth century, we find them again on the north bank of the *Danube*, in Upper Hungary. Here they defeated and almost annihilated the *Heruli*. In the middle of the sixth century they crossed the *Danube*, at the invitation of *Justinian*, and settled in *Pannonia*. Here they were engaged for thirty years in a desperate conflict with the *Gepidæ*, which only ended with the extermination of the latter people. In A.D. 568, *Alboin*, the King of the *Langobardi*, under whose command they had defeated the *Gepidæ*, led his nation across the *Julian Alps*, and conquered the plains of Northern Italy, which have ever since retained, by a slight corruption, the name of *Lombardy*. Here he founded the celebrated kingdom of the *Lombards*, which existed for upward of two centuries, till its overthrow by *Charlemagne*.

LAODICĒA. Called, for distinction' sake from other places of the same name, *Laodicea ad Mare* (ἐπὶ τῇ θαλάττῃ), a city on the coast of *Syria*,

about fifty miles south of Antioch. It was built by Seleucus I., on the site of an earlier city called Ramitha, or *Λευκὴ Ἀκτὴ*. It had the best harbor in Syria, and the surrounding country was celebrated for its wine and fruits, which formed a large part of the traffic of the place. It was also an important city under the Roman empire.

LIBURNIA. A district of Illyricum along the coast of the Adriatic, separated from Istria on the northwest by the River Arsia, and from Dalmatia on the south by the River Titius, thus corresponding to the western part of *Croatia* and the northern part of the modern *Dalmatia*. The inhabitants, the Liburni, supported themselves chiefly by commerce and navigation. They were celebrated at a very early period as bold and skillful sailors, and they appear to have been the first people who had the sway of the waters of the Adriatic. Their ships were remarkable for their swift sailing, and hence vessels built after the same model were called *Liburnicæ*, or *Liburnæ naves*. It was to light vessels of this description that Augustus was mainly indebted for his victory over Antony's fleet at the battle of Actium. The Liburnians were the first Illyrian people who submitted to the Romans. Being hard pressed by the Iapydes on the north, and by the Dalmatians on the south, they sought the protection of Rome at a comparatively early period. Hence we find that many of their towns were *immunes*, or exempt from taxes.

LIGŪRIA. A district of Italy, which, in the time of Augustus, was bounded on the west by the River Varus (*Var*) and the Maritime Alps, which separated it from Transalpine Gaul; on the southeast by the River Macra, which separated it from Etruria; on the north by the Po; and on the south by the Sinus Ligusticus, or Gulf of *Genoa*. The country is very mountainous and unproductive. The chief occupation of the inhabitants was the rearing and feeding of cattle. The numerous forests on the mountains produced excellent timber, which, with the other products of the country, was exported from Genua (*Genoa*), the principal town of the country. The inhabitants were called by the Greeks *Ligyes* and *Ligystini*, and by the Romans *Ligures*.

LIMŪRA. A city in the southeastern part of Lycia, on the River Limyrus, twenty stadia from its mouth. Here the young prince Caius Cæsar, son of Agrippa and Julia, died of a wound which he had received in Armenia, A.D. 4.

LOGĀNA, or LOHĀNA. One of the tributaries of the Rhine, on its right bank, in Germania Magna. It is now the *Lahn*.

LONDINIUM, or LONDĪNUM. The capital of the Cantii in Britain, situate on the southern bank of the Tamēsis (*Thames*), in the modern *Southwark*, though it afterward spread over the other side of the river. It is not mentioned by Cæsar, probably because his line of march led him in a different direction; and its name first occurs in the reign of Nero, when it is spoken of as a flourishing and populous town, much frequented by merchants, although neither a Roman colony nor a municipium. On the revolt of the Britons under Boadicea, A.D. 62, the Roman governor, Suetonius Paulinus, abandoned Londinium to the enemy, who massacred the inhabitants

and plundered the town. From the effects of this devastation it gradually recovered, and it appears again as an important place in the reign of Antoninus Pius. It was surrounded with a wall and ditch by Constantine the Great, or Theodosius, the Roman governor of Britain; and about this time it was distinguished by the surname of *Augusta*, whence some writers have conjectured that it was then made a colony. Londinium had now extended so much on the northern bank of the Thames, that it was called at this period a town of the Trinobantes, from which we may infer that the new quarter was both larger and more populous than the old part on the southern side of the river. London was the central point from which all the Roman roads in Britain diverged.

LUGDŪNUM BATAVORUM. The chief town of the Batavi, now *Leyden*. Vid. BATAVI.

LUPPIA. Now the *Lippe*, a navigable river in the northwest of Germany, which falls into the Rhine at *Wesel*, in *Westphalia*, and on which the Romans built a fortress of the same name.

LYGII. An important people in Germany, between the Viadus (*Oder*) and the Vistula, in modern *Silesia* and *Posen*. They were bounded by the Burgundiones on the north, the Gothi on the east, the Bastarnæ and Osi on the west, and the Marsingi, Silingæ, and Semnonēs on the south. They were divided into several tribes, the chief of which were the Manimi, Duni, Elysii, Buri, Arii, Naharvali, and Helveconæ. They first appear in history as members of the great Marcomannic league formed by Maroboduus in the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius. In the third century some of the Lygii immigrated with the Burgundiones westward, and settled in the country bordering on the Rhine.

M.

MACEDŌNIA. As a Roman province, comprised not only Macedonia proper, but also Thessaly to the south, and Illyricum to the west. The Roman province of Macedonia, accordingly, extended from the Ægean to the Adriatic Seas, and was bounded on the south by the province of Achaia. It was originally governed by a proconsul. Tiberius made it one of the provinces of the Cæsars, but it was restored to the senate by Claudius.

MACEDŌNES HYRCĀNI. The inhabitants of a city named Hyrcania, situate in the Hyrcanian plain of Lydia, to the southeast of Thyatira. It was one of the twelve cities which suffered from the violent earthquake in the reign of Tiberius. Compare *Brotier, ad Tac., Ann., ii., 47*.

MAGNĒTES. The inhabitants of Magnesia ad Sipylum, a city in the northwestern part of Lydia, in Asia Minor, at the foot of the northwestern declivity of Mount Sipylum, and on the southern bank of the Hermus. It is famous in history as the scene of the victory gained by the two Scipios over Antiochus the Great, which secured to the Romans the empire of the East, B.C. 190. It suffered, with other cities of Asia Minor, from the great earthquake in the reign of Tiberius; but it was still a place of importance in the fifth century.

MANĪMI. A German tribe, supposed to have lived at the mouth of the *Neisse*. It is impossible, however, to determine their precise position.

MARCOMANNI. A German tribe, of whom we first hear in the army of Ariovistus, when he was at war with Cæsar and the Helvetians (*Cæs.*, *B. G.*, i., 51), on the Rhine; then between the *Main* and the *Neckar*. After Cæsar's death they dwelt between the Danube and the *Drave*, in *Austria* and *Hungary*, till the Romans conquered Pannonia and the Noric Alps, when they withdrew to the opposite side of the river, into the country formerly occupied by the Boii, whom they expelled. This they did under the guidance of Maroboduus, who, in his youth, had come to Rome and been educated at the court of Augustus. He raised his people to a high pitch of prosperity, and formed a league including a great number of the Suevic tribes, of which the Langobardi and Semnones were the most northerly. His power had become formidable to Rome, and Tiberius prepared to invade his dominions. But a sudden insurrection of the Pannonian and Dalmatian tribes compelled Tiberius to conclude a treaty with him (*Vell.*, ii., 108–110; *Ann.*, ii., 16). The Langobardi and Semnones having withdrawn from Maroboduus, and attached themselves to Arminius, the chief of the Cherusci, a war ensued between them. Inguiomerus, the uncle of Arminius, came over to Maroboduus, who was defeated, and compelled to retire among the Marcomanni, and apply to Rome for assistance (*Ann.*, ii., 44–46). It appears that a peace was then concluded between them. Maroboduus was soon after expelled by Catualda, and forced to take refuge in Italy: he lived there, at Ravenna, for eighteen years. Catualda was driven out by the Hermunduri, and also fled to Tiberius for protection. The followers of these two princes were settled beyond the Danube, between the *Morava* and *Gran*, and Vannius, from the tribe of the Quadi, was appointed as their king (*Ann.*, ii., 62, 63; xii., 29, 30; *Hist.*, iii., 5). Peace was maintained between the Romans and the tribes along the Danube till the reign of Domitian, when hostilities broke out, and continued almost uninterruptedly till the destruction of the Roman empire (*Dio*, lxxvii., 7; *Plin.*, *Pan.*, viii., 12). For an account of the great Marcomannic war in the reign of M. Aurelius, see *Dio*, lxxviii., 9; lxxi., 3, 8–15, 20–33; lxxii., 2. After the death of Attila, in whose army they served, they are not any more heard of.

MARE DALMATICUM. That part of the Adriatic which lay off the coast of Dalmatia, in Illyricum.

MARE ADRIATICUM, or HADRIATICUM. Now the *Gulf of Venice*, or the *Adriatic*. Its ancient name was derived from the town of Adria or Hadria, between the mouths of the Padus (*Po*) and Athesis (*Adige*). The lower part, to the south of Hydruntum (*Otranto*), in Calabria, and the Acroceraunian promontory, opposite, on the coast of Epirus, was called MARE IONIUM, or the *Ionian Sea*.

MARE IONIUM. The Ionian Sea, a part of the Mediterranean between Italy and Greece. It formed, in fact, the southern portion of the Adriatic, and began on the west at Hydruntum (*Otranto*), in Calabria, and on the east at the Acroceraunian promontory, on the coast of Epirus. Its name

was usually derived by the ancients from the mythic wanderings of Io ; but it came in reality from the Ionian colonies, which settled in Cephallenia and the other islands off the western coast of Greece.

MARE LYCIUM. That part of the Mediterranean which lay along the coast of Lycia, in Asia Minor.

MARE RUBRUM. In its most general acceptation, the same as the *Mare Erythræum* of the Greek writers (*ἡ Ἐρυθρὰ θάλασσα*), namely, the whole expanse of sea between Arabia and Africa on the west and India on the east, including its two great gulfs (the *Red Sea* and *Persian Gulf*). At a subsequent period, the appellation *Mare Rubrum* became identical with that of *Sinus Arabicus*, or the *Red Sea*.

MARE SUEVICUM. Now the *Baltic*. Its southwestern part was called *Sinus Codanus*, often erroneously taken for the Baltic itself.

MARSI. A people of Germany, who appear to have dwelt originally on both banks of the Amisia (*Ems*), and to have been only a tribe of the Cherusci, although Tacitus makes them to have been one of the most ancient tribes in Germany. They joined the Cherusci in the war against the Romans, which terminated in the defeat of Varus ; but they were subsequently driven into the interior of the country by Germanicus.

MARSIGNI. A German tribe, who seem to have lived in the vicinity of the modern *Warsaw*. They are perhaps the same race with the Marsi, or else their descendants.

MARUS, or MORUS. One of the tributaries of the Danube, on its left bank, now the *March*. This stream became well known to the Romans in their war with Maroboduus, king of the Marcomanni.

MASSILIA. Now *Marseilles*, a Greek city in Gallia Narbonensis, on the coast of the Mediterranean, in the country of the Salyes. It was founded by the Phocæans of Asia Minor, about B.C. 600, and soon became a very flourishing city. It extended its dominion over the barbarous tribes in its neighborhood, and planted several colonies on the coast of Gaul and Spain. Its naval power and commercial greatness soon excited the jealousy of the Carthaginians, who made war upon the city ; but the Massilians not only maintained their independence, but defeated their opponents in a sea fight. At an early period they cultivated the friendship of the Romans, to whom they always continued faithful allies. Accordingly, when the southeastern corner of Gaul was made a Roman province, the Romans allowed Massilia to retain its independence and its own constitution. Massilia was for many centuries one of the most important commercial cities in the ancient world. Its inhabitants had long paid attention to literature and philosophy ; and under the Roman emperors it became one of the chief seats of learning, to which the sons of many illustrious Romans resorted to complete their studies.

MATTIÄCI. A people of Germany, who dwelt on the eastern bank of the Rhine, between the *Main* and the *Lahn*, and were a branch of the Catti. They were subdued by the Romans, who, in the reign of Claudius, had fortresses and silver mines in their country. After the death of Nero, they

revolted against the Romans, and took part with the Catti and other German tribes in the siege of Moguntiacum. From this time they disappear from history, and their country was subsequently occupied by the Alemanni. Their chief towns were Aquæ Mattiacæ (*Wiesbaden*), and Mattiacum (*Marburg*).

MATTIUM. The chief town of the Catti, situate on the Adrana (*Eder*). It was destroyed by Germanicus. The site answers to the modern *Maden*.

MILĒTUS. One of the greatest cities of Asia Minor, belonging territorially to Caria, and politically to Ionia, being the southernmost of the twelve cities of the Ionian confederacy. It stood upon the southern headland of the Sinus Latmicus, opposite to the mouth of the Mæander. The adjacent territory was rich in flocks; and the city was celebrated for its woollen fabrics, the *Milesia vellera*. At a very early period it became a great maritime state, extending its commerce throughout the Mediterranean, and even beyond the Pillars of Hercules, but more especially in the direction of the Euxine, along the shore of which the Milesians planted several important colonies. Miletus also occupies a high place in the early history of Greek literature, as the birth-place of the philosophers Thales, Anaximander, and Anaximenes, and of the historians Cadmus and Hecataeus. Under the Roman sway, it still appears as a place of some consequence.

MÆNUS, OR MÆNUS. Now the *Main*, a river of Germany, rising in the Montes Sudeti, flowing through the territory of the Hermunduri and the *Decumates Agri*, and falling into the Rhine opposite Moguntiacum (*Mayence*).

MÆRIS LACUS. Now *Birket-el-Keroun*, a great lake on the western side of the Nile, in Middle Egypt, used for the reception and subsequent distribution of a part of the overflow of the Nile. It was believed by the ancients to have been dug by Mœris, king of Egypt, but it is really a natural, and not an artificial lake.

MÆSIA. A country of Europe, bounded on the south by Mount Hæmus, which separated it from Thrace, and by the ranges of Orbelus and Scordus, which separated it from Macedonia; on the west by the range of Scordus, and the Rivers Drinus and Savus, which separated it from Illyricum and Pannonia; on the north by the Danube, which separated it from Dacia; and on the east by the Pontus Euxinus, thus corresponding to the modern *Servia* and *Bulgaria*. This country was subdued in the reign of Augustus, but does not appear to have been formally constituted a Roman province until the commencement of the reign of Tiberius. It was originally only one province, but was afterward formed into two provinces (probably after the conquest of Dacia by Trajan), called *Mæsia Superior* and *Mæsia Inferior*, the former being the western, the latter the eastern half of the country. When Aurelian surrendered Dacia to the barbarians, and removed the inhabitants of that province to the south of the Danube, the middle part of Mæsia was called *Dacia Aureliani*; and this new province was divided into *Dacia Ripensis*, the district along the Danube, and *Dacia Interior*, the district south of the latter, as far as the frontiers of Macedonia. In the reign of Valens, some of the Goths crossed the Danube, and settled in Mæsia. These Goths

are sometimes called Mæso-Goths, and it was for their use that Ulphilas translated the Scriptures into Gothic, about the middle of the fourth century.

MONA. Now *Anglesey*, an island off the coast of the Ordovices, in Britain, and one of the chief seats of the Druids. It was invaded by Suetonius Paulinus, A.D. 61, and was conquered by Agricola, A.D. 78. Cæsar (*B. G.*, v., 13) erroneously describes this island as half way between Britannia and Hibernia. Hence it has been supposed by some critics that the *Mona* of Cæsar is the *Isle of Man*; but it is more probable that he received a false report respecting the real position of *Mona* especially since all other ancient writers give the name of *Mona* to the *Isle of Anglesey*, and the name of the latter island is likely to have been mentioned to Cæsar on account of its celebrity in connection with the Druids.

MOSA. Now the *Meuse*, or *Maas*, a river in Gallia Belgica, rising in Mount Vogesus, in the territory of the Lingones, and falling into the *Vahalis* (*Waal*), or western branch of the Rhine.

MOSTENI. The inhabitants of *Mostene*, a city of Lydia, in the Hyrcanian plain, to the southeast of *Thyatira*. It was one of the cities of *Asia Minor*, destroyed by the great earthquake in the reign of *Tiberius*, A.D. 17.

N.

NABATÆI. An Arabian people, who dwelt originally in the northwestern part of the Arabian peninsula. In the changes, however, effected among the communities of these regions by the Babylonian conquest of *Judea*, the Nabatæans extended westward into the *Sinaitic peninsula* and the territory of the *Edomites*, while the latter took possession of the southern part of *Judea*, which received from them the name of *Idumea*. Hence the Nabatæans of Greek and Roman history occupied nearly the whole of *Arabia Petræa*, along the northeastern coast of the *Red Sea*, on both sides of the *Ælanitic Gulf*, and in the *Idumean Mountains* (*Mountains of Seir*), where they had their celebrated rock-hewn capital, *Petra*. At first they were a roving, pastoral people; but as their position gave them the command of the trade between *Arabia* and the *West*, they prosecuted that trade with great energy, establishing regular caravans. Sustained by this traffic, a powerful monarchy arose, which resisted all the attacks of the Greek kings of *Syria*. Under *Augustus* the Nabatæans are found as nominal subjects of the Roman empire. Under *Trajan* they were conquered by *A. Cornelius Palma*, and *Arabia Petræa* became a Roman province, A.D. 105-107.

NAHARVÄLI. A German tribe dwelling between the *Warta* and the *Vis tula*, near *Petricau*.

NAR. Now the *Nera*, a river in Central Italy, rising in *Mount Fiscelus*, on the frontiers of *Umbria* and *Picenum*. It flows in a southwesterly direction, forming the boundary between *Umbria* and the land of the *Sabini*, and, after receiving the *Velinus* (*Velino*) and *Tolenus* (*Turano*), and passing by *Interamna* and *Narnia*, it falls into the *Tiber* not far from *Oriculum*. It was celebrated for its sulphureous waters and white color.

NARISCI. A small but brave people in the south of *Germany*, of the *Sue-*

vic race, who dwelt to the west of the Marcomanni and east of the Hermunduri, and extended from the Montes Sudeti on the north to the Danube on the south, thus inhabiting part of the *Upper Palatinate* and the country of the *Fichtelgebirge*.

NARNIA. Now *Narni*, a town in Umbria, situate on a lofty hill, on the south bank of the River Nar. It was originally called *Nequinum*. It was made a Roman colony B.C. 299, when its name was changed to Narnia, after the river. This town was strongly fortified by nature, being accessible only on the eastern and western sides. On the west side it could only be approached by a very lofty bridge, which Augustus built over the river.

NAUPORTUS. Now *Ober (Upper) Laibach* an ancient and important town of the Taurisci, situate on the River *Nauportus (Laibach)*, a tributary of the Savus, in Pannonia Superior. The town fell into decay after the founding of *Æmona (Laibach)*, which was only fifteen miles from it.

NEMËTES. A people in Gallia Belgica, on the Rhine, whose chief town was *Noviomagus*, subsequently *Nemetæ*, now *Speyer*, or *Spïres*.

NERVII. A powerful and warlike people in Gallia Belgica, whose territory extended from the River *Sabis (Sambre)* to the ocean, and part of which was covered by the *Silva Arduenna*. They were divided into several smaller tribes, the *Centrones*, *Grudii*, *Levacii*, *Pleumexii*, and *Geiduni*. In B.C. 58, they were defeated by Cæsar with such slaughter, that out of sixty thousand men capable of bearing arms only five hundred were left.

NICOPŒLIS. A city at the southwestern extremity of Epirus, on the point of land which forms the northern side of the entrance to the Gulf of Ambracia, opposite to Actium. It was built by Augustus in memory of the battle of Actium, and was peopled from Ambracia, Anactorium, and other neighboring cities, and also with settlers from *Ætolia*. Augustus also built a temple of Apollo on a neighboring hill, and founded games in honor of the god, which were held every fifth year. The city was received into the Amphictyonic league in place of the *Dolopes*. It is spoken of as both a *libera civitas*, and as a colony. It had a considerable commerce and extensive fisheries. It was made the capital of Epirus by Constantine, and its buildings were restored both by Julian and by Justinian.

NŒLA. One of the most ancient towns of Campania, twenty-one Roman miles to the southeast of Capua. It was founded by the Ausones, but afterward fell into the hands of the Etrurians, whence some writers call it an Etruscan city. In B.C. 313 it was taken by the Romans. It remained faithful to the Romans even after the battle of Cannæ, when the other Campanian towns revolted to Hannibal; and it was allowed, in consequence, to retain its own constitution as an ally of the Romans. In the Social war it fell into the hands of the confederates, and when taken by Sulla it was burned to the ground by the Samnite garrison. It was afterward rebuilt, and was made a Roman colony by Vespasian. The Emperor Augustus died at *Nola*.

NORICUM. A Roman province south of the Danube, which probably de-

rived its name from the town of Noreia. It was bounded on the north by the Danube, on the west by Rætia and Vindelicia, on the east by Pannonia, and on the south by Pannonia and Italy. It corresponded to the greater part of *Styria* and *Carinthia*, and a part of *Austria*, *Bavaria*, and *Salzburg*. Noricum was a mountainous country, for it was not only surrounded by mountains on the south and east, but one of the main branches of the Alps, the *Alpes Noricæ* (in the neighborhood of *Salzburg*), ran right through the province. In these mountains a large quantity of excellent iron was found, and the Noric swords were celebrated in antiquity. The inhabitants of the country were Celts, divided into several tribes, of which the Taurisci, also called Norici, after their capital, Noreia, were the most important. They were conquered by the Romans towards the end of the reign of Augustus, after the subjugation of Rætia by Tiberius and Drusus, and their country was formed into a Roman province.

NUITHŌNES. A people of Germany, dwelling on the right bank of the Albis (*Elbe*), to the southwest of the Saxones, and north of the Langobardi, in the southeastern part of the modern *Mecklenburg*.

NUMIDÆ. The inhabitants of Numidia, a district of Africa, answering to the modern *Algiers*. The Roman province of Numidia; however, corresponded merely to the eastern part of *Algiers*.

O.

ORCĀDES INSULÆ. Now the *Orkney* and *Shetland Isles*, a group of several small islands off the northern coast of Britain, with which the Romans first became acquainted when Agricola sailed round the north of Britain.

ORDOVĪCES. A people in the western part of Britain, opposite the island of Mona (*Anglesey*), and occupying the northern part of modern *Wales*, or the counties of *Flint*, *Denbigh*, *Caernarvon*, *Merioneth*, and *Montgomery*.

OSI. A people of Germany, dwelling probably in the mountains between the sources of the *Oder* and the *Gran*. According to Tacitus, they were tributary to the Sarmatians, and also to the Quadi. The same writer makes them to have spoken the Pannonian language, and hence not to have been really a German race. Consult, however, notes on *Germ.*, c. xxviii.

OSTIA. A town at the mouth of the Tiber, and the harbor of Rome, from which it was distant sixteen miles by land. It was situate on the left bank of the left arm of the river. Ostia was founded by Ancus Marcius, the fourth king of Rome, was a Roman colony, and eventually became an important and flourishing town. In the civil wars it was destroyed by Marius, but it was soon rebuilt with greater splendor than before. The Emperor Claudius constructed a new and better harbor on the right arm of the Tiber, which was enlarged and improved by Trajan. This new harbor was simply called *Portus Romanus*, or *Portus Augusti*, and around it there sprang a flourishing town, also called *Portus*. The old town of Ostia, the harbor of which had already been partly filled up with sand, now sank into insignificance, and only continued to exist through its salt-works (*salinæ*), which

had been established by Ancus Marcius. The ruins of Ostia are now between two and three miles from the coast, as the sea has gradually receded in consequence of the accumulation of sand deposited by the Tiber.

OXIÖNES. A German tribe in the extreme North, named by Tacitus in connection with the Hellusii, and of whom nothing certain is known. They probably inhabited a part of *Lapland*.

P.

PAMPHÛLIA. A belt of mountain coast-land along the southern shore of Asia Minor, between Lycia on the west, and Cilicia on the east, and on the north bordering upon Pisidia. It was intersected by rivers flowing down from the range of Taurus on the north, having a short course indeed, but several of them with a considerable body of water. The inhabitants were a mixture of races, whence their name Πάμφυλοι, "of all races." Besides the aboriginal inhabitants of the Semitic (Syro-Arabian) family, and Ciliicians, there were very early Greek settlers and later Greek colonies in the land. Pamphylia was successively a part of the Persian, Macedonian, Græco-Syrian, and Pergamenian kingdoms, and passed by the will of Attalus III. to the Romans, B.C. 130, under whom it was made a province; but this province of Pamphylia included also Pisidia and Isauria, and afterward a part of Lycia. Under Constantine, however, Pisidia was again separated from Pamphylia.

PANDATËRIA, OF PANDATÄRIA. A small island in the Tyrrhenian Sea, off the coast of Campania, to which Julia, the daughter of Augustus, was banished. It is now *Vendutene*.

PANNÖNIA. One of the most important of the Roman provinces between the Danube and the Alps, separated on the west from Noricum by Mons Cetius, and from Upper Italy by the Alpes Juliæ; on the south from Illyria by the Savus; on the east from Dacia by the Danube; and on the north from Germany by the same river. It thus corresponded to the eastern part of *Austria, Styria, Carinthia, Carniola*, the whole of *Hungary* between the Danube and the Save, *Slavonia*, and a part of *Croatia* and *Bosnia*. The Pannonians, sometimes called Pæonians by the Greek writers, were probably of Illyrian origin, and were divided into numerous tribes. They were a brave and warlike people, but are described by the Roman writers as cruel, faithless, and treacherous. They maintained their independence of Rome until Augustus, after his conquest of the Illyrians (B.C. 35), turned his arms against them, and they were shortly afterward subdued by his general, Vibius. In A.D. 7 the Pannonians joined the Dalmatians and the other Illyrian tribes in their revolt from Rome, and were with difficulty conquered by Tiberius, after a desperate struggle, which lasted three years (A.D. 7-9). It was after the termination of this war that Pannonia appears to have been reduced to the form of a Roman province, and was garrisoned by several Roman legions. The dangerous mutiny of these troops after the death of Augustus is described in the first book of the *Annals*. From this time to the end of the empire, Pannonia always contained a large number of Roman

troops, on account of its bordering on the Quadi and other powerful barbarous nations. In consequence of the large number of troops always stationed in this country, several towns were founded, and numerous fortresses were erected along the Danube. Pannonia originally formed only one province, but was soon divided into two provinces, called *Pannonia Superior* and *Pannonia Inferior*.

PARTHI. The Parthians, a warlike people of the East, especially celebrated as horse-archers. Their tactics, of which the Romans had fatal experience in their first wars with them, became so celebrated as to pass into a proverb. Their mail-clad horsemen spread like a cloud round the hostile army, and poured in a shower of darts; and then evaded any closer conflict by a rapid flight, during which they still shot their arrows backward upon the enemy. Parthia, or Parthiène, as a country of Asia, lay to the southeast of the Caspian, and east of Media. The Parthian empire, however, extended over Asia from the Euphrates to the Indus, and from the Indian Ocean to the range of Paropamisus, or even to the River Oxus; but on this northern frontier they had to maintain a continual conflict with the nomad tribes of Central Asia.

PERINTHUS. An important city of Thrace, on the Propontis, founded by the Samians, about B.C. 559. It was situate twenty-two miles to the west of Selymbria, on a small peninsula, and was built on the slope of a hill, with rows of houses rising above each other like seats in an amphitheatre. It is celebrated for the obstinate resistance which it offered to Philip of Macedon, at which time it was a more powerful place than Byzantium. Under the Romans it still continued to be a flourishing city, being the point at which most of the roads met leading to Byzantium.

PEUCĪNI. *Vid.* BASTARNÆ.

PHILADELPHĪA. A city of Lydia, at the foot of Mount Tmolus, on the little River Cogamus, southeast of Sardis. It was built by Attalus Philadelphus, king of Pergamus. It suffered greatly from earthquakes, so that in Strabo's time (under Augustus) it had greatly declined. In the reign of Tiberius (A.D. 17), it was almost destroyed by one of these visitations. It was an early seat of Christianity, and its Church is one of the seven to which the Apocalypse is addressed.

PICĒNUM. A country of Central Italy, forming a narrow strip of land along the western coast of the Adriatic; bounded on the north by Umbria, on the west by Umbria and the territory of the Sabines, and on the south by the territory of the Marsi and Vestini. The Picentes were Sabine immigrants, but the population of the country appears to have been of a mixed character. A portion of the people were transplanted to the coast of the Sinus Pæstanus, where they founded the town Picentia.

PLANASIA. Now *Pianosa*, an island between Corsica and the coast of Etruria, to which Augustus banished his grandson Agrippa Postumus, in A.D. 7.

POMPEIOPŌLIS. Consult notes on *Ann.*, ii., 58.

PONTES LONGI. Consult notes on *Ann.*, i., 63.

PROPONTIS. Now the *Sea of Marmara*, the small sea which united the Euxine and Ægean, and which divided Europe in this quarter from Asia. Its ancient name was derived from its position with reference to the Euxine, it being more fully described as *ἡ πρὸ τοῦ Πόντου τοῦ Εὐξείνου θάλασσα*, and also "*vestibulum Ponti.*" It is of an irregular oval shape, running out on the east into two deep gulfs, the Sinus Astacenus (*Gulf of Izmid*) and the Sinus Cianus (*Gulf of Mondanich*), and containing several islands. Several important Greek cities stood on its shores, the chief of which were Byzantium and Perinthus on the north, and Cyzicus on the south.

PYRÆMUS. Now the *Jihon*, one of the largest rivers of Asia Minor, rising in the chain of Antitaurus, and which, after running southeast, first underground, and then as a navigable river, breaks through the Taurus chain by a deep and narrow ravine, and then flows southwest through Cilicia, in a deep and rapid stream. It falls into the sea near Mallus. Its earlier name is said to have been Leucosyrus, from the Leucosyri, who dwelt on its banks.

Q.

QUADI. A powerful German people of the Suevic race, who dwelt in the southeast of Germany, between Mons Gabreta, the Silva Hercynia, the Sarmatici Montes, and the Danube. They were bounded on the west by the Marcomanni, with whom they were always closely united; on the north by the Gothini and Osi; on the east by the Iazyges Metanastæ; and on the south by the Pannonians, from whom they were divided by the Danube. They probably settled in this district at the same time that the Marcomanni made themselves masters of Bohemia; but we have no account of their earlier settlements. When Maroboduus, and, shortly after, his successor, Catualda, had been expelled from their dominions, and had taken refuge with the Romans, in the reign of Tiberius, the Romans assigned to the barbarians, who had accompanied these monarchs, and who consisted chiefly of Marcomanni and Quadi, the country between the Marus and Cusus, and gave to them as King Vannius, who belonged to the Quadi. Vannius was expelled by his nephews Vangio and Sido; but this new kingdom of the Quadi continued for a long time afterward under Roman protection. In the reign of M. Aurelius, however, the Quadi joined the Marcomanni and other German tribes in the long and bloody war against the empire, which lasted during the greater part of that emperor's reign. The independence of the Marcomanni and Quadi was secured by a peace which Commodus made with them in A.D. 180. Their name is especially memorable in the history of this war, by the victory which M. Aurelius gained over them in A.D. 174, when his army was in great danger of being destroyed by these barbarians, and was said to have been saved by a sudden storm, which was attributed to the prayers of his Christian soldiers. The Quadi disappear from history towards the end of the fourth century. They probably migrated with the Suevi farther west.

R.

RÆTIA. A Roman province, south of the Danube, which appears properly to have comprehended the whole country between this river and the north of Italy, and consequently to have included Vindelicia. Dio Cassius (liv., 22), in his account of the conquest of the Ræti and Vindelici by Drusus and Tiberius, only mentions the Ræti. Strabo often speaks of them (iv., p. 193; 206; vii., p. 449, &c.) as if they were only one people; and Tacitus, in several passages, appears to include Vindelicia in the province of Rætia. In the time of Augustus, however, these two countries formed two separate provinces, of which Rætia was bounded on the west by the Helvetii, on the east by Noricum, on the south by Gallia Cisalpina, and on the north by Vindelicia, from which it was separated by the Lacus Brigantinus, or *Lake of Constance*, and the River Œnus, or *Inn*. It included the greater part of the *Tyrol*, and the eastern cantons of *Switzerland*. The only town of importance in Rætia was Tridentum (*Trent*), on the Athesis (*Adige*), the capital of the Tridentini.

RÆTICÆ ALPES. A part of the chain of the Alps, running through the greater part of the province of Rætia. These mountains extended from the *St. Gothard* to the *Orteler*, by the pass by the *Stelvio*; and in them rose the Œnus (*Inn*), and most of the chief rivers in the north of Italy, such as the Athesis, Addua, &c.

RAVDII CAMPI. A plain in the north of Italy, near Vercellæ, where Marius and Catulus defeated the Cimbri, B.C. 101.

RAVENNA. An important town in Gallia Cisalpina, on the River Bedesis, and about a mile from the sea, though it is now about five miles in the interior, in consequence of the sea having receded all along this coast. Ravenna was situate in the midst of marshes, and was only accessible in one direction by land, probably by the road leading from Ariminum. The town laid claim to a high antiquity. It was said to have been founded by Thesalians (Pelasgians), and afterward to have passed into the hands of the Umbrians, but it long remained an insignificant place, and its greatness does not begin till the time of the empire, when Augustus made it one of the two chief stations of the Roman fleet, the other being Misenum, on the lower sea. This emperor not only enlarged the town, but caused a large harbor to be constructed on the coast, capable of containing two hundred and forty triremes, and he connected this harbor with the Po by means of a canal called Padusa, or Augusti Fossa. This harbor was called *Classes*, and between it and Ravenna a new town sprang up, to which the name of *Cæsarea* was given. All three were subsequently formed into one town, and were surrounded by strong fortifications. Ravenna thus suddenly became one of the most important places in the north of Italy. The town itself, however, was mean in appearance. In consequence of the marshy nature of the soil, most of the houses were built of wood, and, since an arm of the canal was carried through some of the principal streets, the communication was carried on to a great extent by gondolas, as in modern Venice.

The town, also, was very deficient in a supply of good drinking water ; but it was not considered unhealthy, since the canals drained the marshes to a great extent, and the ebb and flow of the tide prevented the waters from stagnating. In the neighborhood good wine was grown, notwithstanding the marshy nature of the soil. When the Roman empire was threatened by the barbarians, the emperors of the West took up their residence at Ravenna, which, on account of its situation and its fortifications, was regarded as impregnable. After the downfall of the Western empire, Theodoric also made it the capital of his kingdom ; and after the overthrow of the Gothic dominion by Narses, it became the residence of the exarchs, or the governors of the Byzantine empire in Italy, until the Lombards took the town, A.D. 752. The modern *Ravenna* stands on the site of the ancient town.

REGIUM LEPIDI, or simply REGIUM, also FORUM LEPIDI. Now *Reggio*, a town of the Boii, in Gallia Cisalpina, between Mutina and Parma, which was probably made a colony by the Consul M. Æmilius Lepidus, when he constructed the Æmilia Via through Cisalpine Gaul.

REUDIGNI. A people in the north of Germany, on the right bank of the Albis (*Elbe*), to the north of the Langobardi.

RHEGIUM. A celebrated Greek town on the coast of Bruttium, in the south of Italy, situate on the *Fretum Siculum*, or the straits which separate Italy and Sicily. The ancients derived its name from the Greek verb ῥήγνυμι “(to break),” because it was supposed that Sicily was at this place torn asunder from Italy. Rhegium was founded about the beginning of the first Messenian war, B.C. 743, by Æolian Chalcidians from Eubœa, and by Doric Messenians who had quitted their native country on the commencement of hostilities between Sparta and Messenia. At the end of the second Messenian war, B.C. 668, a large body of Messenians, under the conduct of the sons of Aristomenes, settled at Rhegium, which now became a flourishing and important city, and extended its authority over several of the neighboring towns. At a subsequent period it was taken, after a long war, by Dionysius of Syracuse, and treated with the greatest severity. It never recovered after this its former greatness, though it still continued to be a place of considerable importance. It suffered greatly from an earthquake, shortly before the breaking out of the Social war, B.C. 90 ; but its population was afterward augmented by Augustus, who settled here a number of veterans from his fleet. The Greek language continued to be spoken at Rhegium until a very late time, and the town was subject to the Byzantine court long after the downfall of the Western empire.

RHĒNUS. Now the *Rhine* (in German the *Rhein*), one of the great rivers of Europe, forming in ancient times the boundary between Gaul and Germany, rose in Mons Adula (*St. Gothard*), not far from the sources of the Rhone. It flows first in a westerly direction, passing through the Lacus Brigantinus (*Lake of Constance*), till it reaches Basilia (*Basle*), where it takes a northerly direction, and eventually flows into the ocean by several mouths. The ancients spoke of two main arms, into which the Rhine was

divided on entering the territory of the Batavi, of which the one on the east continued to bear the name of Rhenus; while that on the west, into which the Mosa (*Meuse*) flowed, was called Vahalis (*Waal*). After Drusus, in B.C. 12, had connected the Flevo Lacus (*Zuyder Zee*) with the Rhine, by means of a canal, in making which he probably made use of the bed of the *Yssel*, we find mention of three mouths of the Rhine. Of these the names, as given by Pliny, are, on the west, the Helium (the Vahalis of other writers); in the centre, the Rhenus; and on the east, the Flevum; but at a later time we again find mention of only two mouths. The Rhine is described by the ancients as a broad, rapid, and deep river. It received many tributaries, of which the most important were the Mosella (*Moselle*) and Mosa (*Meuse*), on the left; and the Nicer (*Neckar*), Mænus (*Main*), and Luppia (*Lippe*), on the right. Its length is stated differently by the ancient writers. Its whole course amounts to about nine hundred and fifty miles. The inundations of the river near its mouth are mentioned by the ancients. Cæsar was the first Roman general who crossed the Rhine. He threw a bridge over the river, probably in the neighborhood of Cologne.

RHŌDUS. Now *Rhodes*, the easternmost island of the Ægean, or, more specifically, of the Carpathian Sea. It lay off the southern coast of Caria, due south of the promontory of Cynossema (*Cape Aloupo*), at the distance of about twelve geographical miles. Its length, from northeast to southwest, is about forty-five miles; its greatest breadth about twenty to twenty-five. It appears to have been first colonized by the Phœnicians; and subsequently by the Dorians. Homer mentions the three Dorian settlements in the island, namely, *Lindus*, *Ialysus*, and *Camirus*. Rhodes soon became a great maritime state, or rather confederacy, the island being parcelled out between the three cities just mentioned. The Rhodians made distant voyages, and founded numerous colonies. In B.C. 408, the new capital, called *Rhodus*, was built, and peopled from the three ancient cities of Lindus, Ialysus, and Camirus. The Rhodians came into connection with the Romans, whose alliance they joined, in the war against Philip III. of Macedon. They also rendered important aid to the Romans in the Mithradatic war. They were finally deprived of their independence, however, by the Emperor Claudius; and their prosperity received its final blow from an earthquake, which laid the city of Rhodus in ruins, in the reign of Antoninus Pius, A.D. 155.

S.

SABINI. One of the most ancient and powerful of the communities of Central Italy. The different tribes of the Sabine race were widely spread over the whole of Central Italy, and were connected with the Opici, Umbrians, and those other tribes whose languages were akin to the Greek. The earliest traces of the Sabines were found in the neighborhood of Amitemnum, at the foot of the main chain of the Apennines, whence they spread as far south as the confines of Lucania and Apulia. The Sabines may be divided into three great classes, called by the names of Sabini, Sabelli, and Samnites respectively. The *Sabini* proper inhabited the country between

the Nar, the Anio, and the Tiber, between Latium, Etruria, Umbria, and Picenum. This district was mountainous, and better adapted for pasture than corn. The *Sabelli* were the smaller tribes, who issued from the Sabines, such as the Vestini, Marsi, Marrucini, Peligni, Frentani, and Hirpini. The *Samnites*, who were by far the most powerful of all the Sabine communities, were the inhabitants of Samnium. There were certain national characteristics which distinguished the whole Sabine race. They were a people of simple and virtuous habits, faithful to their word, and imbued with deep religious feeling. The form of government among them was republican; but in war they chose a sovereign ruler (*Embratur*), whom the Romans sometimes call dictator, and sometimes king. With the exception of the Sabines in Lucania and Campania, they never attained any high degree of civilization or mental culture; but they were always distinguished by their love of freedom, which they maintained with the greatest bravery. Of this the Samnites were the most striking example. After the decline of the Etrurian power, the Sabines were for a long time the greatest people in Italy; and, if they had remained united, they might have conquered the whole peninsula. The Sabines formed one of the elements of which the Roman people were composed. In the time of Romulus, a portion of the Sabines, after the abduction of their wives and daughters, became incorporated with the Romans, and the two communities were united under the general name of *Quirites*. The remainder of the Sabini proper, who were less warlike than the Samnites and Sabellians, were finally subdued by M'. Curius Dentatus, B.C. 290.

SAMOTHRĀCE. Consult notes on *Ann.*, ii., 54.

SARDIĀNI. The inhabitants of Sardis, the capital of the old Lydian monarchy. This city stood on the southern edge of the rich valley of the Hermus, at the northern foot of Mount Tmolus, on the little River Pactolus, thirty stadia south of the junction of that river with the Hermus. On a lofty, precipitous rock, forming an outpost of the range of Tmolus, was the almost impregnable citadel, surrounded by a triple wall, and containing the palace and treasury of the Lydian kings. On the downfall of the Lydian monarchy, and the establishment of the Persian rule over Asia Minor, Sardis became the residence of the satrap of Lydia. The rise of Pergamus subsequently diminished its importance in a great degree, but under the Romans it was still a considerable city, and the seat of a *conventus juridicus*. In the reign of Tiberius (A.D. 17), Sardis was almost destroyed by an earthquake, but it was restored by the emperor's aid. It was one of the earliest seats of the Christian religion, and one of the seven Churches in the province of Asia to which St. John addressed the Apocalypse; but the apostle's language (*Rev.*, iii., 1, *seqq.*) implies that the Church at Sardis had already sunk into almost hopeless decay.

SARDINIA. A large island in the Mediterranean, lying in almost a central position between Spain, Gaul, Italy, and Africa. The Greeks, besides the ordinary name *Σαρδῶ* or *Σαρδῶν*, called it also *Ἰχνοῦσα* (*Ichnusa*), from its resemblance to the print of a foot (*ἰχνος*). A chain of mountains

(*Montes Insani*) runs along the whole of the eastern side of the island, from north to south, occupying about one third of its surface; but in the western and southern parts there are numerous plains, intersected by ranges of smaller hills. This latter portion of the island, however, was in antiquity, as it is in the present day, exceedingly unhealthy. Sardinia was very fertile, but was not extensively cultivated, in consequence of the uncivilized character of its inhabitants. Still the plains in the western and southern parts produced large quantities of corn, a great portion of which was exported to Rome every year. The wool, also, of the island formed an important article of export. Sardinia likewise contained a large quantity of the precious metals. The Romans obtained possession of this island in B.C. 238, after it had long been in the hands of the Carthaginians. The inhabitants, however, of the mountains on the eastern side of the island were never completely subdued, and gave trouble to the Romans even in the time of Tiberius.

SELEUCĪA PIERIA. A city and fortress of Syria, founded by Seleucus, one month before the foundation of Antioch; namely, in April, B.C. 300. It stood on the site of an ancient fortress, on the rocks overhanging the sea, at the foot of Mount Pieria, about four miles north of the Orontes, and twelve miles west of Antioch. Its natural strength was improved by every known art of fortification, to which were added all the works of architecture and engineering required to make it a splendid city and a great sea-port, while it obtained abundant supplies from the fertile plain between the city and Antioch. The remains of Seleucus were interred at Seleucia, in a mausoleum surrounded by a grove. This city, however, had fallen entirely to decay by the sixth century of our era.

SEMŃONES. A German people, described by Tacitus as the most powerful tribe of the Suevic race, and who dwelt between the Viadus (*Oder*) and Albis (*Elbe*), from the *Riesengebirge*, in the south, as far as the country around *Frankfurt* on the *Oder*, and *Potsdam* in the north. The Romans first came in contact with them in the expeditions of Tiberius and the wars against Arminius, to whom, together with the Langobardi, they went over from Maroboduus; and then again in the time of Domitian, when a king of theirs, Masyus, whom they had driven out, came to Rome.

SEQUĀNI. A powerful Celtic people, in Gallia Belgica, separated from the Helvetii by Mons Jura, from the Ædui by the Arar (*Saône*), and from the province *Narbonensis* by the Rhone. They inhabited the country called *Franche Compté* and *Burgundy*. They derived their name from the River Sequana (*Seine*), which had its source on the northwestern frontier of their territory. Their chief town was Vesontio (*Besançon*).

SERĪPHUS. Consult notes on *Ann.*, ii., 85.

SILŪRES. A powerful people in Britain, inhabiting *South Wales*. They long offered a formidable resistance to the Romans, and were the only people in the island who, at a later period, maintained their independence against the Saxons.

SINUS CODĀNUS. Not the *Baltic*, as is commonly supposed, but the

southwestern part of the *Mare Suevicum*, which last answers to the *Baltic*.

SUARDÖNES. A German tribe, who seem to have lived near *Lübeck*, by the River *Schwartau*.

SUËVI. One of the greatest and most powerful communities of Germany, or, more properly speaking, the collective name of a great number of German tribes, who were grouped together on account of their migratory mode of life, and spoken of in opposition to the more settled tribes. The Suevi are described, by all the ancient writers, as occupying the greater half of all Germany; but the accounts vary with respect to the part of the country which they inhabited. Cæsar represents them as dwelling to the east of the Ubii and Sygambri, and west of the Cherusci, and their country as divided into one hundred cantons. Strabo makes them extend in an easterly direction beyond the Albis (*Elbe*), and in a southerly one as far as the sources of the Danube. Tacitus gives the name of Suevia to the whole of the eastern part of Germany, from the Danube to the Baltic. At a later period, the collective name of the Suevi gradually disappeared, and the different tribes of the Suevic race were each called by their distinctive names. In the second half of the third century, however, we again find a people called Suevi, dwelling between the mouth of the Main and the Black Forest, whose name is still preserved in the modern *Suabia*; but this people were only a body of bold adventurers from various German tribes, who assumed the celebrated name of Suevi in consequence of their not possessing any distinguishing appellation of their own.

SUIÖNES. A German tribe, inhabiting the south of *Sweden*, which was supposed by the ancients to be an island.

SURRENTUM. A town of Campania, opposite *Capreae*, and situate on the Promontorium *Minervæ*, which separated the *Sinus Pæstanus* from the *Sinus Puteolanus*. It was subsequently a Roman colony, and on the hills in its neighborhood was grown one of the best wines in Italy, which was strongly recommended to convalescents on account of its thinness and wholesomeness.

SYËNE. A city of Upper Egypt, on the eastern bank of the Nile, just below the first cataract. It has been in all ages the southern frontier city of Egypt towards Ethiopia, and under the Romans it was kept by a garrison of three cohorts. From its neighborhood was obtained the fine granite called *Syennites lapis*. It was also an important point in the astronomy and geography of the ancients, as it lay just under the tropic of Cancer, and was therefore chosen as the place through which they drew their chief parallel of latitude. Of course, the sun was vertical to Syene at the time of the summer solstice, and a well was shown in which the reflection of the sun was then seen at noon; or, as the rhetorician Aristides expresses it, the disk of the sun covered the well, as a vessel is covered by its lid.

SYGAMBRI, SIGAMBRI, SUGAMBRI, or SICAMBRI. One of the most powerful communities of Germany at an early time, belonging to the *Istævones*, and dwelling originally north of the Ubii, on the Rhine, whence they spread

themselves towards the north, as far as the Luppia (*Lippe*). The Sygambri are mentioned by Cæsar, who invaded their territory. They were conquered by Tiberius in the reign of Augustus, and a large number of them were transplanted to Gaul, where they received settlements between the *Meuse* and Rhine as Roman subjects. The portion of the Sygambri who remained in Germany withdrew farther south, probably to the mountainous country in the neighborhood of Mount Taunus. Shortly afterward they disappear from history, and are not mentioned again till the time of Ptolemy, who places them much farther north, close to the Bructeri and the Langobardi, somewhere between the *Vecht* and the *Yssel*. At a still later period, we find them forming an important part of the confederacy known under the name of *Franci*.

T.

TARENTUM. An important Greek city in Italy, situate on the western coast of the peninsula of Calabria, and on a bay of the sea, about one hundred stadia in circuit, forming an excellent harbor, and being a portion of the great Gulf of Tarentum. The city stood in the midst of a beautiful and fertile country. It was originally built by the Iapygians; but its greatness dates from B.C. 708, when the original inhabitants were expelled, and the town was taken possession of by a strong body of Lacedæmonian Partheniæ under the guidance of Phalanthus. Tarentum soon became the most powerful and flourishing city in the whole of Magna Græcia, and exercised a kind of supremacy over the other Greek cities in Italy. It carried on an extensive commerce, possessed a considerable fleet of ships of war, and was able to bring into the field, with the assistance of its allies, an army of thirty thousand foot and three thousand horse. The city itself, in its most flourishing period, contained twenty-two thousand men capable of bearing arms. The Tarentines eventually came into collision with the Romans, and were saved for a time by Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, who came to their help in B.C. 281; but two years after the final defeat of this monarch, and his withdrawal from Italy, their city was taken by the Romans, B.C. 272. In the second Punic war, Tarentum revolted from Rome to Hannibal (B.C. 212); but it was retaken by the Romans in B.C. 207, and was treated by them with great severity. From this time it declined in prosperity and wealth. It was subsequently made a Roman colony, and it still continued to be a place of considerable importance in the time of Augustus. The neighborhood of Tarentum produced the best wool in all Italy, and was also celebrated for its excellent wine, figs, pears, and other fruits. Its purple dye was also much valued in antiquity.

TARRACĪNA, more anciently called **ANXUR.** An ancient town of Latium, situated fifty-eight miles southeast of Rome, on the *Via Appia* and upon the coast, with a strongly fortified citadel upon a high hill, on which stood the temple of Jupiter Anxurus. It was probably a Pelasgian town originally; but it afterward belonged to the Volsci, by whom it was called *Anxur*. It was conquered by the Romans, who gave it the name of *Tarracina*, and it

was made a Roman colony B.C. 329. Three miles west of the town stood the grove of Feronia, with a temple of this goddess. The place is now called *Terracina*. The ancient walls of the citadel are still visible on the slope of *Montecchio*.

TARRACONENSIS COLONIA. *Vid.* HISPANIA, and consult notes on *Ann.*, i., 78.

TAUNUS. A range of mountains in Germany, at no great distance from the confluence of the Mænus (*Main*) and the Rhine. Mount Taunus is now called not only by its ancient name, but also *die Höhe* and *der Heyrich*.

TEMNUS. A city of Æolis, in the northwestern part of Lydia (some say in Mysia), on the western bank of the Hermus, thirty miles south of Cyme. It was nearly destroyed by an earthquake in the reign of Tiberius, and in that of Titus (Pliny's time) it no longer existed.

TENCTĒRI. A people of Germany, dwelling on the Rhine, between the *Ruhr* and the *Sieg*, to the south of the Usipetes, in conjunction with whom their name usually occurs. They crossed the Rhine, together with the Usipetes, with the intention of settling in Gaul, but they were defeated by Cæsar with great slaughter, and those who escaped took refuge in the territories of their southern neighbors the Sygambri. The Tencteri afterward belonged to the league of the Cherusci, and at a still later period they are mentioned as a portion of the confederacy of the Franks.

TEUTOBURGIENSIS SALTUS. A range of hills in Germany covered with wood, extending north of the Luppia (*Lippe*), from *Osnabrück* to *Paderborn*, and known at the present day by the name of the *Teutoburger Wald*, or *Lippische Wald*. It is celebrated on account of the defeat and destruction of Varus and three Roman legions by the Germans under Arminius, in A.D. 9.

TEUTŌNES, or TEUTŌNI. The name of the Teutones was made known to the ancients by Pytheas of Massilia (*Marseilles*), who, in the age of Alexander the Great, about 320 B.C., discovered a nation of that name in the Chersonesus Cimbrica, and on the adjacent islands, or in the present countries of *Holstein*, *Schleswig*, *Denmark*, and perhaps also in the southern extremity of *Sweden*. It seems that they had long been settled there, for they lived in houses, and were acquainted with agriculture and commerce. Other traces of the name appear later. Among the Celtic tribes which invaded Greece and besieged Delphi, under the second Brennus (B.C. 278), there was a people called Teutobodiaci, who afterward passed the Hellespont, and settled with the Celts in Galatia in Asia Minor. About a hundred and sixty years later, the Romans were attacked by the Cimbri and Teutones, who came from the same country, where they had been seen by Pytheas. When the Romans first heard the name of the Teutones, they thought that they were a single tribe. They did not know that it was also the general and ethnographic name of all those nations to which they afterward gave the designation of Germans.

Origin of the name Teutones.

The root of the word *Teuton* is *thu* or *do*, which originally represented

the idea of "activity," of "living, procreating, nourishing," and also of "taming, educating, and ruling." From this root are formed the following words, some of which are still used in the popular dialects: *Teut*, "God, creator, ruler, father, nourisher" (*Thor*, *Tuisco*); *thut* or *thiud*, "earth;" *tott*, *döte*, *dote*, "godfather;" *toda*, "nurse;" *thiod*, "father of the people," "lord, ruler, king," in Gothic *thiudans*, in old Bavarian *theodo*; *diet*, "people," in old Swedish *thiaut* and *thyd*; *thiudinassus*, in Gothic, "kingdom." (*Fulda*, *Wurzel-Wörterbuch*). The names of king and of people being both derived from one root, which expresses the notion of ruling, is a fact which proves that they belong to the language of a nation in which there was neither absolute monarchical power, nor absolute submission to their chiefs. This corresponds exactly to the political state of the ancient Teutonic nations, among whom the sovereignty was in the people, and the executive power of the chiefs or kings, although it was obeyed, was always regarded as derived from the people. The idea of ruling, expressed by the root *Teut*, explains why this word occurs so frequently in the names of the ancient Teutonic kings, dukes, or chiefs, such as Teutoboch, Theudorix, Diorix, Theodorix, Theodoric, Theodimir, Theodimir, Teutagon, &c. It is likewise contained in the general name of all the Teutonic nations, and in those of various tribes, as the Teutones, the Teutonoarii, Thäifali, and the Dithmarses, or Dietmarses. It is visible in "*Teutoburger Wald*," the name of that range of wooded mountains which stretches from *Detmold* westward beyond *Osnabrück*, in which is situated the *Grottenburg*, formerly "Teut" or "Teutoberg," with the farm of *Teutehof*, where Varus was overthrown by Arminius; in "*Detmold*," "*Doesburg*," "*Duisburg*," "*Deuz*," and in a great many other localities in Germany. *Teuton* is identical with *Deutsche* or *Teutsche* (in low German, *Dütsch*; in Dutch, *Duitsch*; in Danish, *Tysk*; in English, *Dutch*), which from the remotest time has been, and is still, the general name of that part of the Teutonic nations which we now call Germans, who considered the god or hero Tuisco as their common ancestor. There are no direct proofs of the word Teuton having had this extensive meaning in the earliest German history, but this is, perhaps, the result of the political state of the Teutonic nations, which were originally divided into numerous tribes, each of which became separately known to the Romans. In the twelfth, eleventh, and even as early as the tenth century, when the difference between Franks and Saxons was well marked in the German empire, these nations, each of which had its own language and laws, never objected to being called by the general name of *Deutsche*, or Teutones. At present there is no German tribe which has the particular name of Teutones; but, although the Germans are composed of two very distinct nations, the High Germans and the Low Germans, they call themselves *Deutsche*, and their language *Deutsch*, though they do not understand each other. (*Penny Cyclopædia*, vol. xxiv., p. 262.)

THĒBÆ. The capital of Thebais, or Upper Egypt, and for a long time of the whole country, and reputed the oldest city in the world. It stood in about the centre of the Thebaid, on both banks of the Nile, above Coptos,

and in the Nomos Coptites. It is said to have been founded by Ethiopians; but this is of course only a form of the tradition (now much doubted), which represents the civilization of Upper Egypt as having come down the Nile. Others ascribed its foundation to Osiris, who named it after his mother, and others to Busiris; but this is mere fable. It appears to have been at the height of its splendor as the capital of Egypt, and as a chief seat of the worship of Ammon, about B.C. 1600. The fame of its grandeur had reached the Greeks as early as the time of Homer, who describes it in terms of the greatest poetical exaggeration. Its extent was calculated by subsequent Greek writers at one hundred and forty stadia (fourteen geographical miles) in circuit; and in Strabo's time, when the long transference of the seat of power to Lower Egypt had caused it to decline greatly, it still had a circuit of eighty stadia. That these computations are not exaggerated is proved by the existing ruins, which extend from side to side of the valley of the Nile, here about six miles wide; while the rocks which bound the valley are perforated with tombs. These ruins, which are perhaps the most magnificent in the world, enclose within their site the four modern villages of *Carnac*, *Luxor*, *Medinet Abou*, and *Gournou*; the two former on the east, and the two latter on the west side of the river. They consist of temples, colossi, sphinxes, and obelisks; and on the west side of tombs, many of which are cut in the rock, and adorned with paintings, which are still as fresh as if just finished. These ruins are remarkable alike for their great antiquity and for the purity of their style. It is most probable that the great buildings were all erected before the Persian invasion, when Thebes was taken by Cambyses, and the wooden habitations were burned; after which time it never regained the rank of a capital city; and thus its architectural monuments escaped that Greek influence which is so marked in the edifices of Lower Egypt. Among its chief buildings the ancient writers mention the Memnonium, with the two colossi in front of it; the temple of Ammon, in which one of the three chief colleges of priests was established; and the tombs of the kings.

THULE. An island in the northern part of the German Ocean, regarded by the ancients as the most northerly point in the whole earth. It is first mentioned by Pytheas, the celebrated Greek navigator of Massilia, who undertook a voyage to Britain and Thule, of which he gave a description in his work on the Ocean. All subsequent writers who speak of Thule appear to have taken their accounts from that of Pytheas. According to Pytheas, Thule was a six days' sail from Britain, and the day and night there were each six months long. He further stated, that in Thule and those distant parts there was neither earth, sea, nor air, but a sort of mixture of all these, in which the earth, and the sea, and every thing else were suspended, and which could not be penetrated either by land or by sea. Many modern writers suppose the Thule of Pytheas to be the same as *Iceland*, while others regard it as a part of Norway, and others, again, take it to be the same with *Mainland*, one of the *Shetland Isles*. The Thule of Ptolemy, however, lay much farther to the south than that of Pytheas, and

is probably *Mainland*, while the Thule mentioned by Tacitus, in his life of Agricola, is in all likelihood *Iceland*.

TIBĒRIS. The chief river in Central Italy, on which stood the city of Rome. It is said to have been originally called *Albula*, and to have received the name of *Tiberis* in consequence of Tiberinus, king of Alba, having been drowned in it. It has been supposed, however, that *Albula* was the Latin, and *Tiberis* the Etruscan name of the river. The Tiber rises from two springs of limpid water in the Apennines, near Tifernum, and flows in a southwesterly direction, separating Etruria from Umbria, the land of the Sabines, and Latium. After flowing about one hundred and ten miles, it receives the Nar (*Nera*), and from its confluence with this river its regular navigation begins. Three miles above Rome, at the distance of nearly seventy miles from the Nar, it receives the Anio (*Teverone*), and from this point becomes a river of considerable importance. Within the walls of Rome, the Tiber is about three hundred feet wide, and from twelve to eighteen feet deep. After heavy rains the river in ancient times, as at the present day, frequently overflowed its banks, and did considerable mischief to the lower parts of the city. (Compare notes on *Ann.*, i., 76.) At Rome the maritime navigation of the river begins, and at eighteen miles from the city, and about four miles from the coast, it divides into two arms, forming an island, which was sacred to Venus, and called *Insula Sacra* (*Isola Sagra*). The left branch of the river runs into the sea by Ostia, which was the ancient harbor of Rome; but in consequence of the accumulation of sand at the mouth of the left branch, the right branch was widened by Trajan, and was made the regular harbor of Rome under the name of *Portus Romanus*, *Portus Augusti*, or simply *Portus*. The whole length of the Tiber, with its windings, is about two hundred miles. The waters of the river are muddy and yellowish, whence it is frequently called by the Roman poets *flavus Tiberis*. The poets also give it the epithets of *Tyr-rhenus*, because it flowed past Etruria during the whole of its course, and of *Lydius*, because the Etruscans, according to some, were of Lydian origin.

TICĪNUM. Now *Pavia*, a city in Gallia Cisalpina, on the left bank of the Ticinus (*Tessino*). The Lombards, who made it the capital of their dominions, gave it the name of *Papia*, from which its modern appellation, with a very slight change of form, has been derived.

TIGURINI. *Vid.* HELVETII.

TMŌLUS. A celebrated mountain of Asia Minor, running east and west through the centre of Lydia, and dividing the plain of the Hermus, on the north, from that of the Caÿster, on the south. At its eastern end it joins Mount Messogis, thus entirely enclosing the valley of the Caÿster. On the west, after throwing out the northwestern branch called Sipylus, it runs far out into the Ægean, forming, under the name of Mimas, the great Ionian peninsula, beyond which it is still farther prolonged in the island of Chios. On its northern side are the sources of the Pactolus and Cogamus; on its southern side those of the Caÿster. It produced wine, saffron, zinc, and gold.

TOLŌSA. A town of Gallia Narbonensis, now *Tolouse*. It was the capital of the Tectosages, and was situate on the Garumna, near the frontiers of Aquitania. It was a large and wealthy place, and contained a celebrated temple, in which great riches were deposited. In this temple there is said to have been preserved a great part of the booty taken by Brennus from the temple at Delphi. The town and temple were plundered by the consul Q. Servilius Cæpio, in B.C. 106; but the subsequent destruction of his army, and his own unhappy fate, were regarded as a divine punishment for his sacrilegious act. Hence arose the proverb, *Aurum Tolosanum habet*.

TREVĒRI. A powerful people in Gallia Belgica, who were faithful allies of the Romans, and whose cavalry was the best in all Gaul. The River Mosella flowed through their territory, which extended westward from the Rhine as far as the Remi. Their chief town was made a Roman colony by Augustus, and was called Augusta Treverorum, now *Trier* or *Treves*. It stood on the right bank of the Mosella, and became, under the later empire, one of the most flourishing Roman cities north of the Alps. It was the capital of Belgica Prima; and, after the division of the Roman world by Dioclesian (A.D. 292) into four districts, it became the residence of the Cæsar, who had the government of Britain, Gaul, and Spain. The modern city still contains many interesting Roman remains; they belong, however, to the later period of the empire, and are consequently not in the best style of art.

TRIBŌCI, or TRIBOCCI. A German tribe, on the left bank of the Rhine and between that river and the Mediomatrici and Lericæ. Their chief city was Argentoratum, now *Strasbourg*.

TRUTULENSIS PORTUS. Consult notes on *Agric.*, c. xxxviii.

TUBANTES. A German tribe, allies of the Cherusci. They originally dwelt between the Rhine and the *Yssel*; in the time of Germanicus, on the southern bank of the *Lippe*, between *Paderborn*, *Hamm*, and the *Armsberger Wald*; and at a still later time, in the neighborhood of the *Thüringer Wald*, between the *Fulda* and the *Werra*. Subsequently they are mentioned as a part of the great league of the Franci.

TUNGRI. A German tribe, who crossed the Rhine, and settled in Gaul, in the country formerly occupied by the Aduatici and the Eburones. Their chief town was called Tungri, or Aduatica Tungrorum, now *Tongern* or *Tongres*, on the road from Castellum Morinorum to Colonia Agrippina.

TURONII, or TURŌNES. A people in the interior of Gallia Lugdunensis, between the Auleri, Andes, and Pictones. Their chief town was Cæsarodunum, subsequently Turōni, and now *Tours*, on the Liger (*Loire*).

U.

UBII. A German people, who originally dwelt on the right bank of the Rhine, but were transported across the river by Agrippa, in B.C. 37, at their own request, because they wished to escape the hostilities of the Suevi. They took the name of Agrippenses, from their chief town, Colonia Agrippina (*Cologne*).

UBIORUM ARA. Consult notes on *Ann.*, i., c. 39.

USIPĒTES, or USIPII. A German people, who, being driven out of their abodes by the Suevi, crossed the Rhine and penetrated into Gaul; but they were defeated by Cæsar, and compelled to recross the river. They were now received by the Sygambri, and allowed to dwell on the northern bank of the *Lippe*; but we afterward find them south of the *Lippe*, and at a still later time they become lost under the general name of Alemanni.

V.

VAHĀLIS. *Vid.* RHENUS.

VANGIŌNES. A German tribe, dwelling on the Rhine, to the east of the Treveri, and north of the Nemetes. Their capital was Borbetomagus, afterward called Augusta Vangionum, and now *Worms*.

VARINI. A German tribe, placed by Ptolemy along the sea, from the mouth of the *Trave* to the *Warne*, which last doubtless took its name from them. They were afterward driven inland by Slavonian tribes, and united themselves with the Saxons. We find some traces of the Varini in Thuringia, others on the banks of the Elbe, and others in the neighborhood of the Rhine, where they were subdued by the Franks. They also appear on the south of the Danube, for they served as auxiliaries under Narses, in Italy.

VELĪNUS LACUS. A lake between Reate and Interamna, or, rather, the largest of several small lakes, formed by the overflowing of the River Velinus. In order to carry off these waters, a channel was cut through the rocks by Curius Dentatus, by means of which the waters of the Velinus were carried through a narrow gorge, to a spot where they fell from a height of several hundred feet into the Nar. This fall, which is one of the most celebrated in Europe, is known at the present day by the name of the fall of *Terni*, or the cascade *Delle Marmore*.

VENĒDI, or VENEDÆ. A people in European Sarmatia, dwelling on the Baltic, to the east of the Vistula. The Sinus Venedicus (*Gulf of Riga*) and the Venedici Montes, a range of mountains between *Poland* and *East Prussia*, were called after this people.

VERULAMIUM, or VEROLAMIUM. The chief town of the Catuellani, in Britain, probably the residence of the King Cassivellaunus, which was conquered by Cæsar. It was subsequently made a Roman municipium. It was destroyed by the Britons under Boadicea, in their insurrection against the Romans, but was rebuilt, and continued to be an important place. It answers now to *St. Alban's*, or, more correctly speaking, to *Old Verulam*, near *St. Alban's*.

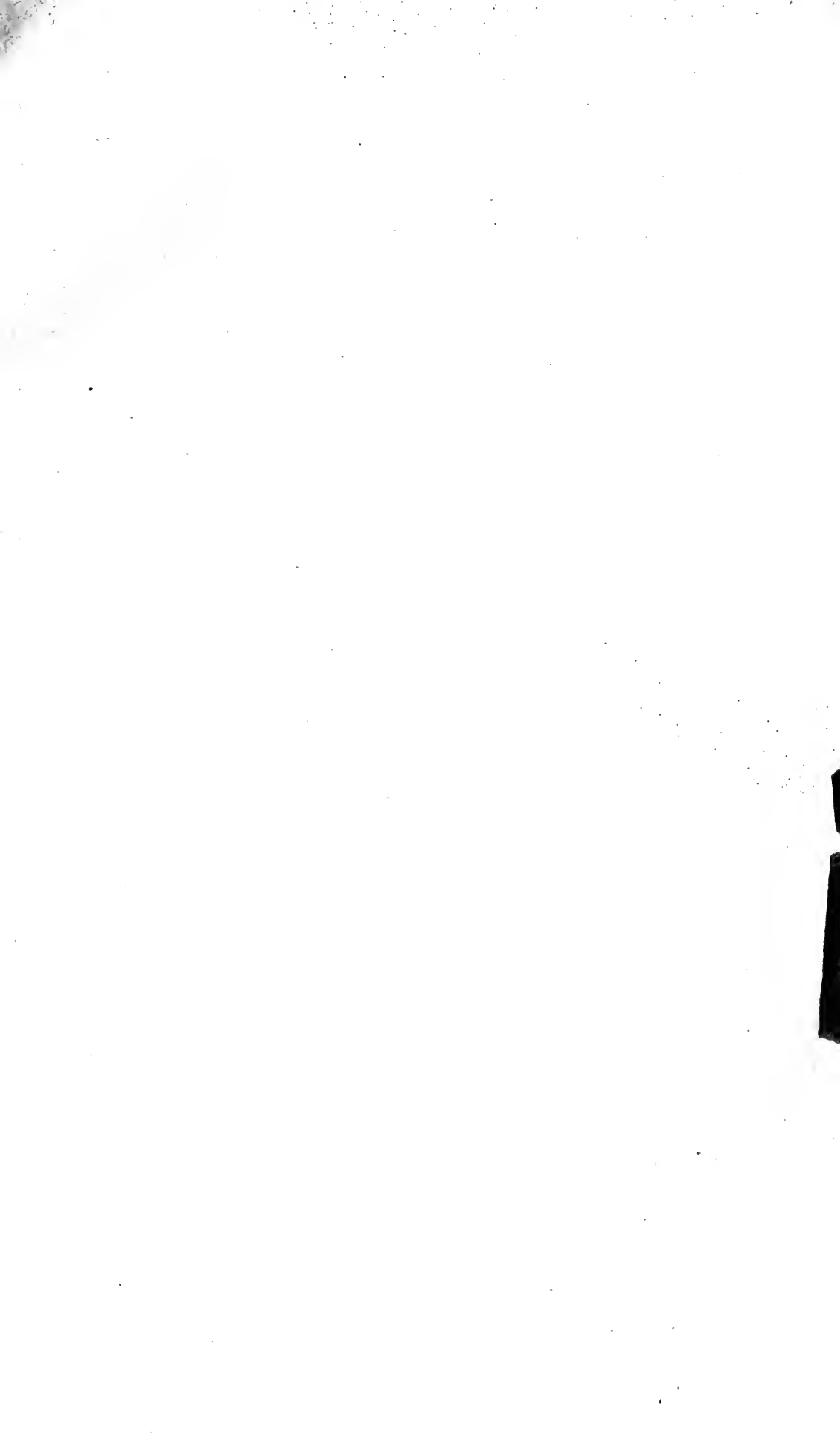
VETERA. Consult notes on *Ann.*, i., c. 45.

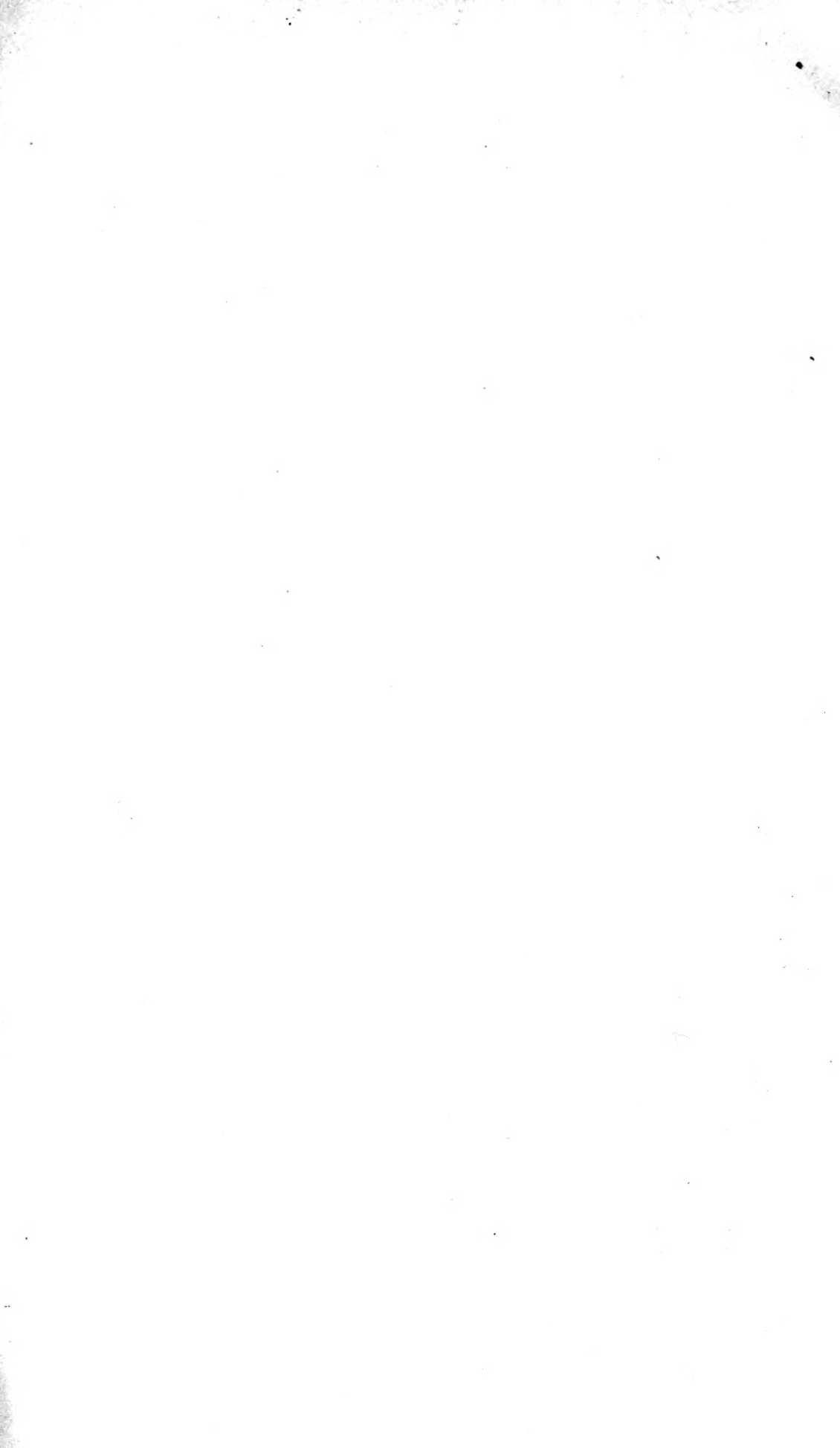
VIA APPIA. The most celebrated of the Roman roads, called by Statius (*Silv.*, ii., 2, 12) "*Regina Viarum*." It was commenced by Appius Claudius Cæcus, when censor, B.C. 312, and was the great line of communication between Rome and Southern Italy. It issued from the *Porta Capena*, and originally terminated at Capua, but it was eventually extended to the celebrated sea-port of Brundisium.

VINDELICIA. A Roman province south of the Danube, bounded on the north by the Danube, which separated it from Germany; on the west by the territory of the Helvetii, in Gaul; on the south by Rætia; and on the east by the River Œnus (*Inn*), which separated it from Noricum; thus corresponding to the northeastern part of *Switzerland*, the southeast of *Baden*, the south of *Württemberg* and *Bavaria*, and the northern part of the *Tyrol*. It was originally part of the province of Rætia, and was conquered by Tiberius in the reign of Augustus. At a later time, Rætia was divided into two provinces, *Rætia Prima* and *Rætia Secunda*, the latter of which name was gradually supplanted by that of Vindelicia. It was drained by the tributaries of the Danube, of which the most important were the Licus or Licus (*Lech*), with its tributary the Vindo, Vinda, or Virdo (*Werlach*), the Isarus (*Isar*), and Œnus (*Inn*). The eastern part of the Lacus Brigantinus (*Lake of Constance*) also belonged to Vindelicia. The greater part of Vindelicia was a plain, but the southern portion was occupied by the northern slopes of the Alpes Ræticiæ. This country derived its name from its chief inhabitants, the Vindelici, a warlike people dwelling in the south. Their name is said to have been formed from the two rivers Vindo and Licus, but it is more probably connected with the Celtic word *Vind*, which is found in the names *Vindobona*, *Vindomagus*, *Vindonissa*, &c. The Vindelici were a Celtic people, and were closely connected with the Ræti, with whom they are frequently spoken of by the ancient writers, and along with whom they were subdued by Tiberius, as is mentioned above. The other tribes in Vindelicia were the Brigantii, on the Lake of Constance; the Licatii or Licates, on the Lech; and the Brenni, in the north of the Tyrol, on Mount Brenner. The chief town in the province was Augusta Vindelicorum (*Augsburg*), at the confluence of the Vindo and the Licus, which was made a Roman colony A.D. 14, and was the residence of the governor of the province.

VISTŪLA. Now the *Vistula*, as it is called in English, but in German the *Weichsel*. An important river of Germany, forming the boundary between Germany and Sarmatia. It rises in the Hercynia Silva, and falls into the Mare Suevicum, or *Baltic*.

VISURGIS. Now the *Weser*. An important river of Germany, falling into the German Ocean. Ptolemy makes it rise in Mount Melibœus, because the Romans were not acquainted with the southern course of the stream below *Minden*.





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