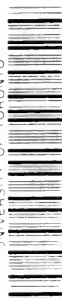


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THE ANNALS OF TACITUS

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THE ANNALS OF TACITUS

(BOOKS I.—VI.)

AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION

WITH INTRODUCTION, NOTES AND MAPS

BY GEORGE GILBERT RAMSAY

M.A., LITT.D., LL.D., PROFESSOR OF HUMANITY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF GLASGOW

EDITOR OF 'SELECTIONS FROM TIBULLUS AND PROPERTIUS,' 'LATIN PROSE COMPOSITION,'
'LATIN VERSIONS,' ETC.

*Quis illo verius narrat aut brevius? Quis narrando
magis docet? In moribus, quid est quod non tangat?
in affectibus, quod non revelet?*

J. LIPSIUS.

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LONDON

JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET

1904

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TO MY WIFE

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P R E F A C E.



I HAVE attempted in this volume an ambitious, many will think a hopeless, task: to give a version of the first six books of the Annals which shall be close and faithful to the original, and yet shall not read as a translation; which shall satisfy the strict demands of modern scholarship, and yet give to the English reader some idea of the power, the dignity, the greatness, of the great historian of Rome.

The addition of notes was indispensable to enable the English reader to understand and enjoy the text. Tacitus wrote for a circle familiar with every detail of Roman history, life and manners, and there is hardly a chapter which does not contain historical or other matter which needs explanation. The notes, it is hoped, will make it unnecessary for the reader to consult ordinary books of reference, as well as help the student to become acquainted with the results of recent historical research on the various points of constitutional law and usage for which Tacitus is so important an authority. For this purpose I have made frequent reference to the great German works of Mommsen, Marquardt, Friedlaender, and others, as well as to the writings of Professor Pelham, Mr. Rushforth, Mr. Greenidge, and other labourers of our own in the same field.

I have also put into the notes what I have to say upon the larger historical questions which present themselves in these books, and particularly those connected with the character and government of Tiberius and the qualities of Tacitus as an historian. In the case of a character so complex, so full of contradictions, as that of Tiberius, and of a writer so careful as to his main facts, but so often warped in his comments upon them, as Tacitus, I have thought that it would be more helpful to discuss these questions in connection with the particular passages on which our judgment must be founded, with the aid of such light as external evidence can supply, than to begin by summing up the whole case in a general introduction.

In preparing the translation, I have had constantly in my hands the admirable edition of Mr. Furneaux. I have taken it as my guide throughout, though not always agreeing with his interpretations. Nor can I admit the possibility of many of the alternative renderings of passages which are suggested both by him and by other commentators. Tacitus has often been called obscure; but in my opinion, a scholar who has studied his style will very seldom feel serious doubts as to the way in which a passage should be taken. I have also frequently consulted the editions of Orelli, Ruperti, Nipperdey, and other well-known editors; I have made use of P. Fabia's excellent "Onomasticon Taciteum" (Paris and Lyons, 1900); and the help afforded by the "Lexicon Taciteum" of Gerber and Greer, now at length completed, has been invaluable.

The text followed has been in almost all cases that of Halm, which was that adopted, with few

exceptions, by Mr. Furneaux. Variations from that text have been mentioned in the notes. I have carefully examined the famous Medicean MS. No. I. (our sole authority for Annals I.—VI.) in regard to all difficult or doubtful readings, and have satisfied myself of the extreme accuracy of Halm's recension.

I owe much to the help and encouragement of many kind friends. Mr. Furneaux expressed to me the opinion that the time had come for a fresh translation, and warmly encouraged me to undertake the work. Dr. J. G. Frazer, Mr. A. O. Prickard, Mr. E. D. A. Morshead, and Professor Harrower, each looked over some portion of the translation in manuscript, and gave me valuable suggestions. The Ven. Archdeacon Aglen has most kindly read over the whole of the proof sheets, and enabled me to remove many blemishes. But my greatest debt of all is to the acute word-by-word criticism of one whose fine sense of what is pure and perspicuous in English recalls the well-known passage in which Cicero speaks of the beautiful simple Latin which he had heard spoken in his youth by the cultivated ladies of the time.

G. G. RAMSAY.

THE UNIVERSITY, GLASGOW,
December 1, 1903.

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INTRODUCTION.



TACITUS AND HIS TRANSLATORS.

M. DUREAU DE LA MALLE, the most famous of the French translators of Tacitus, tells us that many capable critics and distinguished writers among his countrymen had regarded the production of a really good translation of Tacitus as 'une œuvre impossible.' Our own scholarly translators, Messrs. Church and Brodribb, in their preface to the Histories (1864) write: 'It has been said that Tacitus never has been translated, and probably never will be.' With that opinion, so far as it concerns English translations, they pronounce their agreement: 'They are all very unsatisfactory; . . . the best of them, that of Murphy, is in no sense a translation.' Our own great authority on Tacitus, the late Mr. Furneaux, expressed to me the same view: 'You will find but little help,' he wrote, 'from earlier translators. Wherever there is a difficulty, they evade it.'

The two latter judgments doubtless were pronounced rather from the scholar's point of view; that quoted by M. de la Malle from the point of view of style. But I can quote an opinion of a different kind, which was remarkable as coming from an acute critic and man of the world, interested in literature, though not a classical scholar in the special sense of

the term. The late Lord Blackburn was a great reader, of the classics as well as of other literature ; but being a busy man, he read his classics through the medium of translations. Studying them in that way, he said, he had been able to recognise and appreciate the greatness of all the great authors of Greece and Rome, with the single exception of Tacitus. He had read all the versions of the works of Tacitus on which he could lay his hands ; but not one of them had helped him to understand the secret of his prodigious reputation, or even to comprehend why he should be regarded as a great writer at all.

As a lover of Tacitus, I was greatly struck by this remark. That a classical scholar like M. Furneaux, steeped in the peculiarities of Tacitean idiom, should pronounce existing translations of Tacitus inadequate, was only to be expected ; but that a cultivated English reader could find none capable of making him feel that Tacitus is a great writer—this criticism, if just, conveys a condemnation far more sweeping and fundamental than the criticisms that ‘all existing translations are unsatisfactory’ in point of correctness, or that a really adequate translation of Tacitus, from a literary point of view, is ‘une œuvre impossible.’ It implies that the ideas of Tacitus as well as his language, his matter as well as his manner, are inaccessible to the English reader.

To classical students, the merits of Tacitus, as a narrator, as a moralist, and as a stylist, are obvious and commanding. He has been regarded by many as a perfect literary artist. Racine has pronounced him ‘le plus grand peintre de l’antiquité.’ M. Nisard says of him : ‘Le plus près de l’idéal de l’histoire, telle que nous la concevons, avec la forte culture

moderne, est Tacite.'¹ Competent judges have classed him as one of the four, possibly one of the three, great historians of the world. Can it be the case that his great qualities are as a sealed book to all who cannot read him in the original?

If Tacitus has never been adequately translated, it has certainly not been from the want of scholars to attempt the work, or of a public to appreciate their efforts. Few ancient authors have been translated so frequently, and into so many languages, as Tacitus; few, if any, have exercised so great a fascination over men of letters, philosophers and statesmen; none have been appealed to more confidently in times of acute political disturbance. From the moment when his works were rescued from oblivion, they excited the admiration of all votaries of the new learning. Men of letters were charmed by the originality and splendour of their style, philosophers and moralists by the profound knowledge of human nature which they display; statesmen and politicians admired their high imperial tone, the grandeur of their moral ideas, and their note of aristocratic disdain. Even the vulgar could relish an historian who lashed the vices of the great, and endure a philosopher whose philosophy was so curiously tempered by superstition.² Wherever men groaned under the heel of despots, great or small, they were captivated by the pure air of liberty breathed by Tacitus, and by his merciless portraiture of tyrants.

'Dès qu'il a peint les tyrans,' says an enthusiastic admirer, 'ils sont punis. . . Tacite apprit alors aux souverains du monde qu'il y avait au dessus d'eux un

¹ 'Les Quatre grands Historiens' (C. Lévy, 1884).

² See nn. on Ann. ii. 69, 5; iv. 20, 5; 58, 4; vi. 22, 5; 28, 8.

pouvoir qui les jugeait, qui les représenterait à la postérité avec tous leurs vices à nu : et que ce pouvoir était l'histoire.'¹

At the time when the works of Tacitus were discovered, the grandeur of Imperial Rome had still a potent influence over men's minds. The dream of universal dominion, the order of Roman administration, still excited the imagination of statesmen ; in Tacitus they found at once an historian and a critic of that Empire at her zenith, from whom they could gather countless lessons in matters of government, statecraft, and public conduct.

To all classes alike, Tacitus seemed to speak as one having authority. He was more than a philosopher or a mere man of letters. By birth a noble, he had moved in the best society of Rome, had lived on intimate terms with Emperors, and knew all the secrets of the political history of his time. As an advocate and an orator, he had conducted some of the great state trials of the day ; as a member of the Senate, he was familiar with the procedure, the prejudices, the impotence, of that body ; he had witnessed and taken a part—probably a moderate and discreet part, like that which he so commends in the case of Manius Lepidus (iv. 20, 4)—in some of its most infamous acts of servility. Having climbed up the political ladder, and filled every ordinary office, whether secular or sacred, up to the highest, he was familiar with all the details of Roman government and administration ; having been in turn 'guerrier, avocat, magistrat, juge, financier, pontife,'² there was no department of human life on which he could not speak from the practical standpoint of a man of affairs,

¹ Panckoucke, pref. p. 7.

² M. de la Malle, pref.

as well as from the lofty moral pedestal of a Stoic and a philosopher.

It was little wonder, then, that amid the general burst of enthusiasm which greeted the recovery of the lost treasures of antiquity in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the works of Tacitus should have been welcomed with peculiar fervour. He supplied texts for every school of political thought, illustrations for every phase of human character. Every class, every people, were able to draw from him maxims which seemed to fit their own case. In every country, at every period, under every variety of political and social condition, men found in Tacitus a mouthpiece for the ideas and the feelings of their time.

One writer calls him 'le prince des historiens;' M. de la Malle describes him as, 'l'écrivain le plus parfait de l'antiquité;' and an earlier translator, M. Perrot d'Ablancourt, speaks thus of him in his dedication to Cardinal Richelieu:—

'Il est depuis quinze cent ans l'Oracle de la Politique; on l'a traduit en toute langue; il est en estime chez tous les peuples. On a fait des sentences de toutes ses lignes, des mystères de toutes ses paroles. C'est lui qui a engendré toute la Politique de l'Espagne et d'Italie; c'est dans ses doctes escrits qu'on s'est instruit en l'art de régner; c'est chez luy que les Princes de la maison d'Autriche consultent encore tous les jours dans la nécessité de leurs affaires. . . . C'est votre Eminence qui a sceu mettre en usage ces grandes maximes, et qui laissant à nos ennemis les moins généreux, a réuni sous l'Empire de Louis le Juste la magnanimité de François Premier et la politique de Louis Onzième.'

Henri IV. of France commanded his own physician, Rodolphe le Maistre, to undertake a translation of Tacitus,—

‘s'étonnant que le Tacite, tant estimé sur tous autres écrivains, n'eust encore rencontré une plume française pour le rendre plus intelligible ; veu le grand bien qui en pouvait réüssir aux Rois, aux Princes, aux chefs d'armées, aux conseillers d'Etat en temps de guerre et de paix ;’

and Le Maistre, in his preface, pronounces Tacitus to be ‘le seul autheur digne des roys and des grands princes pour la cognoissance de bien gouverner leurs Estats ;’ his History is ‘remplie de maximes d'Etat qui paroissent autant d'oracles pour l'instruction des Rois.’

M. Achille de Harlay, Sieur de Chanvallon, Marquis de Breval, etc., tells us in the preface to his translation (1644) that he has spent the best years of his life ‘in the School of Tacitus,’ whom he regards as ‘le maistre et l'Oracle universel des secrets de l'art de gouverner depuis plus de quinze cent ans.’ And in dedicating his translation to Anne of Austria, Queen of France, he demands a safe conduct for his author, because ‘il est accoutumé d'entrer dans les Cabinets des Princes, et de pénétrer bien avant dans le secret de leur conseils. Il donne des préceptes à tous les autres souverains.’ M. de la Mothe-Josseval d'Aronsel, in the dedication of his ‘Discours Politiques sur Tacite’ to the Duke of Savoy (1683), carries this idea further still,—

‘Tacite, savant comme il est dans les affaires d'Etat, et dans les intrigues de Cour, sait parfaitement de quoi il faut entretenir et instruire les Princes. C'est de la vie de son Tibère que Louis Onzième, Roi de France, a prit à dissimuler, et, par conséquent, à régner. C'est lui que Louise de Savoie consulta pour sauver la France après la prise du Roi François, son fils, à la Bataille de Pavie. C'est lui que Philippe II., Roi d'Espagne,

Votre Trisaïeul maternel, appelloit à toutes ses plus secrètes délibérations. C'est à force de le lire et de l'étudier que le Sérénissime Duc Charles-Emmanuel I., Vôtre Bisaïeul, devint le plus grand politique de son temps.'

Language similar to this is applied to Tacitus in the various editions and translations which appeared in such number throughout Europe during the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries. Everywhere his name is associated with those of rulers and statesmen. In Germany, Goldhagen and Patzke dedicate their translation of the *Annals* (1771), to King Frederick the Great, in terms similar to those which have been quoted above; and another German translator, J. S. Müller (1765), in dedicating his work to George III., declares that Tacitus is a teacher to all statesmen, that Augustus and Germanicus are a model for Kings, and that His Majesty has followed the example of Augustus in spreading peace, happiness, and good government over the nations of the earth.

So too in England, where, until recent times, Tacitus has met with less attention than on the Continent. In 1598, Richard Grenewey dedicates his translation to 'the Rt. Hon. Robert, Earle of Essex and Earle Marshall of England;' Thomas Gordon (1728), the merciless critic of previous translators, seeks a patron in Sir Robert Walpole, First Commissioner of the Treasury; while Murphy (1793), in presenting his work to the Rt. Hon. E. Burke, asks—

'To whom can Tacitus, the greatest statesman of his time, be so properly addressed as to him whose writings have saved the country? Scenes of horror, like those which you have described, were enacted at Rome, and Tacitus has painted them in colours equal to your own.'

Murphy's dedication brings us down to the time of the French Revolution, and we may be sure that the French, with their rare capacity for reading into their own times the lessons of the past, did not fail to call on Tacitus to take his part in the contests of those days. In the reign of 'Le Grand Monarque,' the great tyrant-hater was comparatively neglected. His political teaching was little suited to the atmosphere of the French Court. He was admired mainly for his style; he supplied ideas and inspiration to Corneille, to Bossuet, and to Racine. But when the time of the philosophers came on, and the ideas of the Revolution were in the air, Tacitus again became the rage; his uncompromising note of freedom, his Stoical theory of a state of nature, delighted the disciples of Jean Jacques Rousseau, who himself published a version of the first book of the Annals, in 1781.

It was at this moment that M. Dureau de la Malle gave his translation to the world (1790). His preface is a reflection of the political sentiment of the hour. It breathes the same heroic spirit of self-renunciation which inspired the famous meetings in the Tennis-Court of Versailles in 1789; it recalls the constitution-mongering of the Abbé Sièyes. The author frankly recognizes the necessity of the change at Rome from Republic to Monarchy; but he severely hectors Augustus for his method of bringing it about. Instead of employing craft and evasion when he came to the ordering of the Empire, Augustus should have taken the Senate into his confidence. He should have deplored, in a spirit of bitter contrition, the violence and the crimes which had raised him to power, and have explained, by a survey of recent history, the necessity for establishing a strong central government.

He should then have produced a constitution, complete in all its parts, for the future government of the Empire. This constitution having been read aloud by a quaestor, Augustus himself should have explained all details, answered all objections, and finally, in a moment of supreme self-sacrifice, he should have surrendered his power into the hands of the Senate. M. de la Malle puts into his mouth a speech of glowing eloquence suitable to such an occasion, ending as follows:—

‘ Ah ! sortons au plus tôt de cette triste prééminence qui nous prive de l’amitié et de la vérité ! Que je goûte la douceur de vivre avec mes égaux ! Et vous, Sénateurs, songez maintenant à cimenter, par les liens d’une constitution durable, la liberté des citoyens, et la tranquillité de l’Etat. Jamais de plus grands objets n’auront été soumis à vos délibérations. Songez que de ce jour va dépendre le destin de toute la terre dans toute la suite des siècles ! ’

Such a speech as this, M. de la Malle assures us, would have been received with universal acclamation. The past of Augustus would have been forgotten and forgiven, all power would have been put back into his hands, and the Empire, established henceforth on a legal constitutional basis, would have been spared all the agonies to which it was subjected by the fiction of republican freedom on which it was founded.

A few years later, the name of Tacitus is heard once more, in the midst of the horrors of the Revolution. Mr. Gaston Boissier¹ has supplied us with two notable instances of how the words of Tacitus breathed again and burned in those dark days. When Madame Roland was a prisoner in the Sainte Pélagie, awaiting the summons to the scaffold, and within ear-shot of

¹ Tacite (Hachette et Cie, 1903), pp. 191-194.

the raging mob outside, she used to comfort herself by reading Tacitus:—

‘J’ai pris pour Tacite,’ she writes, ‘une sorte de passion; je le relis pour la quatrième fois de ma vie, avec un goût tout nouveau. Je ne puis me coucher sans en avoir savouré quelques pages.’

Still more remarkable was the use made of Tacitus by Camille Desmoulins in the pages of the ‘Vieux Cordelier.’ Not daring to fulminate openly against the excesses of the revolutionary tribunals, he found in quotations from the Annals an indirect mode of denouncing the reign of terror and suspicion under which Paris was groaning. He could tell, in the words of Tacitus, how in Rome, under Tiberius—

‘men kept their counsel from their nearest and their dearest, and avoided meeting or speaking to their neighbours; how they looked with suspicion on dumb and lifeless things, on the very walls and roofs of houses; how at one moment they would desert the streets in terror, at another come back to shew themselves, afraid because they had appeared to be afraid.’¹

Or under cover of recalling the cruelty of Tiberius, he could depict the still more bloodthirsty atrocities of a Parisian mob:—

‘There lay the bodies, huddled together, in untold number; victims of both sexes, high and low, of every age, singly or in heaps; no relative or friend might stand by, or shed a tear over them, or even cast a look at them for more than a moment. . . . Terror had cut them off from all commerce with their kind, and cruelty, waxed wanton, had closed the door of pity to them.’²

Parallels like these went home. They were received with rapture by the trembling many, they stung to fury the powers of the day; and, on the

¹ Ann. iv. 69, 6; and 70, 4.

² Ann. vi. 19, 3-5.

motion of Robespierre himself, the third number of the 'Vieux Cordelier' was burned, like the history of Cremutius Cordus,¹ in the Jacobin clubs.

But Desmoulins was not yet to be silenced. He went on quoting Tacitus ; and in his seventh and last number he demonstrated that the inhumanity of a Tiberius or a Nero was as nothing compared to that of his own countrymen. M. Gaston Boissier thus describes the issue :—

'On comprend que ces protestations éloquentes aient soulevé la fureur des Jacobins. Il ne leur suffit plus cette fois de brûler le numéro qui les contenait. Ils traduisèrent l'auteur devant le Tribunal révolutionnaire, qui l'envoya tout de suite à l'échafaud, pour lui apprendre à aller chercher dans les historiens anciens des leçons de justice et de miséricorde.

'Ce jour-là, Tacite, seize siècles après sa mort, se trouva réaliser l'idée qu'il nous donne de l'histoire, quand il l'associe à la morale, et veut en faire, suivant ses expressions, la conscience de l'humanité.'

This was a noble testimony to Tacitus ; but an act of homage of a not less notable kind was rendered to him by Napoleon. Early in 1804 there had appeared at Parma a handsome volume containing a translation of Annals, Book I., by Ludovico Vittorio Saviola, with a dedication: 'All' invitto Napoleone Buonaparte, Primo Consule della Republica Francese, e Presidente della Republica Italiana.' In the preface, Napoleon is described as 'massimo negli studj di guerra come di pace;' and his patronage is claimed for the great champion of human liberty at that auspicious moment when the nations have been redeemed from bondage. Whether moved by this hint, or not, Napoleon did not fail to study his Tacitus ; and took an early opportunity of expressing his opinion of

¹ Ann. iv. 35, 5.

him. On the 18th of May, 1804, the First Consul of the Republic had been crowned Emperor; on the 5th of December, 1805, he fought the battle of Austerlitz; and on the 11th of January, 1806, the Institute of France conveyed to him their congratulations in terms of high compliment. They told him that History, as well as Literature, would record his triumphs; adding that 'l'Institut, en anticipant sur les éloges que l'histoire vous réserve, est, comme elle, l'organe de la vérité.'

This allusion to the verdict of history was not acceptable. In his reply, Napoleon fell foul of Tacitus, and suggested to the aged secretary of the Institute, M. Suard, that he should write something to correct the errors and false judgments of the historian. M. Suard is said to have replied with dignity that the 'fame of Tacitus stood too high for any one to think of pulling it down.'

But Napoleon was in earnest; his dislike of Tacitus was no freak of the moment. So, as M. Suard proved refractory, an article decrying Tacitus, 'from a learned and devoted pen,' appeared in the *Journal des Débats* of February 11th. It was followed by a second article—possibly aided by notes from the Emperor himself—on the 21st. In these articles the claims of Tacitus to admiration are called in question; his mysterious oracular style is derided, and the reasons for the imperial displeasure are thus disclosed:—¹

'La haine des tyrans qui semble avoir guidé la plume, et enflammé le génie, de Tacite, était une recommandation bien forte pour lui auprès d'un parti qui haïssait essentiellement l'autorité, et qui ne pouvait souffrir le frein de gouvernement.'

That the great Napoleon, at the very acme of his fortunes, should have winced under the lash of

¹ M. Panckoucke, pref., pp. 63-70.

Tacitus, and have cherished the vain hope of silencing him, supplies an illustration as notable as any that history can give of the 'oracular sentence' of Ann. iv. 35, 6-7:—

'One can but smile at the dulness of those who think that the authority of to-day can extinguish men's memories to-morrow; nay rather, they who would penalize genius do but extend its power: whether they be foreign tyrants, or imitators of foreign tyranny, they do but reap dishonour for themselves and glory for their victims!'

The first-discovered portion of the works of Tacitus, containing all that we possess of Annals xi.-xvi. and of the Histories, was received in 1427 by Poggio Bracciolini, from the hands of his travelling agent, Nicola Nicoli of Florence; but the famous Medicean MS. No. 1, our sole authority for Annals i.-vi., was not brought to Rome and delivered to Cardinal Giovanni de Medici, afterwards Pope Leo X., till the year 1509.

The Editio Princeps of Annals i.-vi. was published in 1515, by order of the Pope himself. Leo was so much struck by the 'gravity of the historian, and the beauty of his style,' that he specially committed the task of editing those books to the scholar Philip Beroaldus; and, lest the text should be 'spoilt or disfigured' by the incompetence or carelessness of unworthy hands, he granted to him the exclusive right of publication for a period of ten years, threatening all who should dare to print any other edition with pains of excommunication, in addition to a fine and confiscation of such printed copies. One hardy editor, a Professor at Milan, ventured to disobey the order. He was straightway summoned to Rome to answer for his conduct; and though he failed to appear, he sent a

humble apology, pleaded ignorance of the papal prohibition, and was graciously forgiven.

From that day to this, a continuous stream of editions, translations, commentaries, 'réflexions politiques,' and other treatises on Tacitus, has been poured upon the world, and there seems little likelihood that the flood will ever cease. The Catalogue of the British Museum devotes no less than 41 columns to the heading 'Tacitus;' and that list would seem to be far from complete. M. Panckoucke, writing in the year 1837, gives a detailed list of no less than 1055 separate publications dealing with Tacitus (including re-impressions), no less than 393 of these being translations into Italian, French, German, or English, either of the whole or of a portion of his works. The number of these has been largely added to since 1837; there are translations into Spanish, Dutch, Roumanian, Swedish, Danish, Russian, Bohemian, Croatian, Portuguese—in fact, into every civilized language.

But while translators have been thus numerous, one and all, in undertaking the task, have pronounced success impossible. They are all keenly alive to the imperfections of their predecessors, and are often severe in their castigation of them. Each flatters himself that he will improve upon what has gone before; but it is too often only to fall into still greater errors or weaknesses of his own. In the preface to his translation of the Annals (1790), M. de Meilhan echoes the feeling of many a translator of Tacitus, and reminds us of the mutinous soldiers in Pannonia, who trembled when they looked on Drusus, and then again grew confident when their eyes fell upon their own ranks:—

'En relisant ma traduction à côté du texte, la plume m'est souvent tombée des mains, et j'ai abandonné l'ouvrage; je lisois les traductions, et je reprenais courage.'

If we analyse M. Panckoucke's list of translations of the whole or part of Tacitus, we find that France stands at the top with 153; next comes Germany with 142; Italy can boast of 63, England of only 35. If only translations of the entire works be counted, the numbers are: French, 49; Italian, 25; German, 16; and English, 9; England standing at the bottom of the list in point of number, and, as a whole, it must be admitted, in point of quality also. Italy was first in the field; and if an appraisal were made by a competent judge of the comparative merits of existing translations of Tacitus in the four languages named above, it is probable that he would award the palm to the Italian. It is obvious that the Latin languages possess, in their forms and structure, a great advantage over English and German for the purpose of reproducing the special peculiarities, both of thought and style, of the most Latin of all Latin writers. Italian and French alike have a crispness and precision, a capacity for keen contrast and brilliant condensation, which enable them without effort to adopt the language and the ideas of the most compressed and epigrammatic of writers. This seems especially true of the early Italian, which had acquired the suppleness and brilliancy of the new tongue, without losing the strength and stately brevity of the old Latin. Its compact grammar, its clever economy of pronouns, its compressed verbal forms, and, above all, its hammer-like use of principles, adapt themselves naturally to the massive

sentences of Tacitus; and one is tempted to think that no pen but that of a Machiavelli, or of a Dante who should write in prose,¹ could do full justice to the oracular strength, the pregnant conciseness, the sustained dignity, and the sombre brilliance, of the great Roman historian.

Two early translations of Tacitus stand out pre-eminent—that of Georgio Dati, who translated the *Annals and Histories* into 'la lingua Toscana' in 1563, new editions appearing in 1589 and 1598; and the still more famous version of Bernardo Davanzati Bostichi, who published the first book of the *Annals* in 1596, and afterwards all the *Annals* and the *Histories*. This translation has enjoyed extraordinary popularity. There are editions of 1600, 1637, 1641, 1658, 1696, 1760; no less than eight appeared between 1790 and 1828; and new editions are still from time to time produced.

Davanzati was a Florentine, doing business as a banker in Lyons. He was led to translate Tacitus accidentally, not from any desire to improve upon the work of Dati, which he held in high esteem.² Encountering one day a lettered Frenchman, he fell into a dispute with him as to the comparative merits of the Italian and French languages. The Frenchman disparaged Italian, denying to it the qualities of brevity and vigour; whereupon Davanzati undertook, for a kind of wager, to translate into Italian the tersest of all Latin writers with a brevity that should equal or exceed his own. This promise he fulfilled by publishing in 1596, 'Il primo Libro degli Annali,'

¹ That is, in the style of the *Divine Comedy*; for Dante's prose writings are not remarkable for condensation.

² See Davanzati's estimate of Dati's work given in the 'Biblioteca dell'

Eloquenza Italiana di Monsignor Justo Fontanini, con le annotazioni del Signor Apostolo Zeno,' (Venezia, 1753), vol. ii. pp. 294-5.

which he announces on the title-page as 'expresso in volgare Fiorentino per dimostrare quanto questo parlare sia breve e arguto.' In his preface, he contests the claim of French to be considered, like ancient Greek, the supreme language of literature; repudiates the charge that Italian is 'lunga e languida;' and pronounces the vulgar Florentine dialect to be the best of all tongues for representing the strength of Tacitus, though well aware that 'there are some who will not admit that anything vulgar can be good, or that anything Florentine can be best.'

To prove the brevity of the Florentine dialect as compared with French, or even with the Latin of Tacitus himself, he translated the first book of the Annals as a test, asserting that the Florentine dialect could express in 100 words a meaning for which the Latin required 108, and which could not be expressed with less than 160 words in French.

Davanzati's work is certainly a marvel of condensation; but he scarcely makes good his boast of employing fewer words than Tacitus. Selecting a few fairly typical chapters, we find that in the first chapter of Ann. i. Tacitus employs only 123 words (counting enclitics as separate words), whereas Davanzati employs 162; in i. 4, Tacitus has 145 words, Davanzati 177; in i. 49, Tacitus has 133 words, Davanzati 155; in ii. 23, Tacitus has 139 words, Davanzati, 173. If, however, we deduct from the total of Davanzati the definite and indefinite articles, and the preposition *di* or *de*, which represents the Latin Genitive, his boast is all but justified. In the first passage referred to above (Ann. i. 1) the total number of words used by Davanzati on this method of counting comes out as only 127, as compared with the 123 of Tacitus.

No other translator has attained a brevity like to this. For the same passage, M. de la Malle employs 196 words to represent the 123 of Tacitus; Messrs. Church and Brodribb, whose version is not more lengthy than is consistent with good English, use 197; while Murphy, who touches the high-water mark of verbosity, requires no less than 300 words. In the second passage named above (i. 4), Murphy uses 324 words for the 145 of Tacitus, as compared with the 177 of Davanzati, the 282 of the French translator, and the 262 of Messrs. Church and Brodribb.

Such a mode of calculation, however, as Signor C. Cesare Balbo remarks in the preface to his brilliant translation (Turin, 1832), is somewhat puerile. True brevity of style depends upon other things than mere economy of words; and that of Davanzati was not obtained without the loss of other elements in the style of Tacitus which it is of the first importance to preserve. The brevity of Tacitus will continue to be the despair of modern translators. It is not merely that modern languages, because of their loose syntactical structure, demand a larger outlay of words than the inflected languages of the ancients; but that the Latin language, and especially the language of Tacitus, makes large demands upon the intelligence of the reader; permits the frequent omission of words—pronouns, particles, and even verbs and substantives—which we regard as essential to the sense; can often use a single word where we would employ a whole phrase or clause; and thus admits of a close packing of ideas which would be fatiguing, if not incomprehensible, to a modern reader.

For languages differ from one another, like material substances, in density. From Lucretius to Lord

Kelvin,¹ atomists have told us how the differences between solids, liquids, and gases, are to be accounted for by the greater or the lesser intervals between the molecules of which they are composed. Solid bodies have small intervals or no intervals at all, rare bodies have long intervals, between their atoms. It is the same with languages; and Latin may be described as a very solid language. It admits of ideas being closely packed together, almost in juxtaposition, with scarcely any medium for them to move in. Latin authors, no doubt, differ widely from one another in the use which they make of the condensing property of their tongue. Cicero, as was natural for a man whose main business was to address the many, spreads out his meaning over a multitude of words. Tacitus, addressing a highly educated coterie alive to every political and literary allusion, sympathizing with all his opinions and his prejudices, can pack his thoughts as closely as the seeds in a pomegranate.

English cannot put so much into so little. It requires that the writer shall set out his ideas with some space between them; and the ordinary modern reader expects to find the meaning drawn out in full, without having to spend upon its interpretation thought and labour of his own.

Italian purists admit the terseness, the force and accuracy of Davanzati's version, but they find fault with him for his use of popular and vulgar idioms. They accuse him of going down into the streets and markets to find language to put into the mouths of noble Romans, and of degrading the dignified utterances of Tacitus into a plebeian jargon, fit only for

¹ See Lord Kelvin on the 'Size of Atoms,' ('Popular Addresses,' vol. i.).

fish-wives and street-porters. It is true that Davanzati is crabbed, and often rough, and that, for the sake of a phenomenal brevity, he has sacrificed that smoothness in which the Italian ear delights; but it is also true that much of the strength of his style is due to its popular element, and that the racy vernacular expressions which he takes from the mouths of common folk give a truer idea of the vigour of Tacitean phrase than the more polished and sonorous equivalents of most translators.

The false notion that dignity of style is to be attained by using pompous and grandiose diction was the bane of Tacitean translators in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Alike in Italy, France, and England, there was a period when the grand manner of the age of Louis XIV. tended to banish simplicity from letters, to bring homely phraseology into contempt, and to enthrone pomposity, pedantry and affectation in their place. How carefully such qualities were cultivated can be seen from the 'Discourses upon Tacitus' with which T. Gordon prefaces his translation (1737):—

'No language whatever,' he says in his preface, 'will make Tacitus plain to vulgar understandings. . . . I have indeed little complaisance for those who think (if any who understand him can possibly think) that the common English style will at all suit that uncommon writer, whose manner is as peculiar and affecting as his thoughts.'

Gordon accordingly condemns the vigorous translation of Richard Grenwey (1598) as 'a mean performance; he starves the meaning even where he best conveys it.' What he most admires in Tacitus is his 'grandeur and dignity;' and he deems it necessary to apologise for his 'paucity of words' by

reflecting that, 'let his words be ever so few, his thought is always redundant.'

Now Tacitus is always dignified, but he is never pretentious, stilted or affected; the dignity of his language flows naturally out of the ideas which he puts before us. The criticism that, being an uncommon writer, he cannot be translated into common English, arises from a false conception of what constitutes a good style. It is founded on the confusion between the common and the commonplace which has wrought such havoc with English writing in the past. Dignity of style depends upon dignity of idea, and is more often attained by directness and simplicity of diction than by pompous phrase or high-flown figure. The man who is always thinking of his own dignity is the least likely to maintain it. It is the same with style. Our own Bible shows how literary dignity can be combined with simple language; Horace and Shakespeare have taught us how the common talk of common folk can be lifted into the realm of poetry, adding to the strength and richness of our literary resources.

Another early translation of some fame is that of the *Annals and Histories* by Andrea Politi (Rome, 1604 and 1611). The title-page bears that the translation is into 'Vulgar Senese:' Politi having chosen the Sienese dialect, not only, perhaps, because the people of Siena were proud of the purity of their Italian, but also for the same reason that made Davanzati adopt the vulgar Florentine, considering that its crispness and vernacular strength made it a better vehicle for the style of Tacitus than the more polished literary language of the day. Politi's translation is often racy, it has much of the fine vigour of

style which marks the earlier writers, but it has no pretension to accurate scholarship, and makes little effort to reproduce the exact thought of the original.

Among the Italian translations of the nineteenth century, two are especially worthy of notice; that of Ludovico Valeriani, published in five huge volumes at Florence in 1818; and that of C. Cesare Balbo (1832), who, while acknowledging the accuracy, brevity and strength of Davanzati's version, condemns him for employing a plebeian dialect. In his own version he hopes by combining 'il frassegiar del Davanzati, la chiarezza et la simplicità del Politi e la ricchezza di parole del Valeriani,' to produce a version which may be regarded as a true Italian Tacitus.

Among the numerous French translations there are some which deserve special mention. Of the half-dozen or so which belong to the sixteenth century, the most famous is that of Rodolphe Lemaistre, already mentioned, undertaken by the command of Henry IV. (1594-1610). His work enjoyed a great reputation; enthusiastic testimonies by his admirers are prefixed to the edition of 1636. Among these is a Latin poem by de Chalas, ending thus:—

*Sileret
Aeternum Tacitus, nisi excitasses,
Sorderet Tacitus nisi expolisses.*

These lines are thus rendered into French by M. Hardy, Receveur General du Mans—

' Tacite estoit muet en France,
Incognu et non entendu,
Sans que Le Maistre l'a rendu
Orné de pleine intelligence.'

The verse *sorderet Tacitus nisi expolisses* gives a true measure of what was expected of a French translator

down to the end of the eighteenth century. He was to adorn, not merely to reproduce, his original; he was to bring forth a literary work which should have a style of its own, in which the defects of the original should be removed, and its harshness smoothed down, to suit the literary taste of the time.

This doctrine is put forward in all seriousness by a later French translator of some note, M. d'Alembert, Perpetual Secretary of the French Academy, whose 'Morceaux Choisis de Tacite' appeared in 1784. In his 'Observations on the art of translating in general, and of translating Tacitus in particular,' he tells us that as all good writing must have 'harmonie et facilité' of style, a translator has to consider how far literal exactness of rendering must 'céder aux grâces de la diction sans trop s'affoiblir;' and how far he must sacrifice 'l'énergie à la noblesse, la correction à la facilité, la justesse rigoureuse à la mécanique du style.' He complains that the rigorous laws of the French language, its uniformity of construction, has made it 'l'écueil des traducteurs, comme elle est celui des poètes;' and he protests against the idea that translators should regard themselves only as the copyists, rather than as the rivals, of the authors whom they translate. It should be their aim to embellish the original where possible, and to remove its defects, if there are any; 'for his own part,' he adds, 'whenever he has been in doubt between two or more interpretations of a passage of Tacitus, he has always chosen that which he thought the most beautiful.'

Between the translation of Le Maistre and that of M. de la Malle, other notable French versions are that of Perrot d'Ablancourt (1640); that of M. Amelot

de la Houssaie with 'Réflexions Politiques' (1690), upon which is based the English work published under the patronage of Sir Henry Savile (1698); and that of M. l'Abbé de la Bléterie (1768). All these have gone through various editions.

D'Ablancourt has a fine style, he is vigorous and pointed; but he takes little pains to keep to his text when he thinks he can improve upon it. No one could recognise the vigour of the sentence *Clamor vulnera sanguis palam; causa in occulto; cetera fors regit* (i. 49, 2) in his intolerable expansion of it: —

'L'air retentit des cris des mourans, le camp se remplit d'horreur et de carnage. Le malheur est visible, et la cause est incertaine; la sagesse a présidé au conseil, la fortune préside à l'exécution.'

He thus excuses himself for the freedom of his translation:—

'Il est bien difficile d'estre exact en la traduction d'un auteur qui ne l'est point. On est contraint d'ajouter quelque chose à la pensée pour l'éclaircir, quelquefois il en faut retrancher une partie pour donner jour a tout le reste.'

The same phrase 'donner jour' is no less quaintly illustrated by the translator Achille de Harlay (1644), who says of Tacitus, 'Ayant à donner du jour à des lieux fort obscurs, je me suis trouvé obligé d'ouvrir toutes les fenestres.' Unfortunately this policy of 'the open window' has more often permitted the meaning of Tacitus to escape, than allowed any new light on it to stream in.

D'Ablancourt's version is roughly handled by M. l'Abbé de le Bléterie. 'To deal with his author thus,' says he, 'is to treat him like a rough diamond

which needs to be cut before it will sparkle.' 'D'Ablancourt traite son auteur avec une license effrénée. . . . Il le mutile, le disloque, le décharne, le dessèche, et sous prétexte de lui donner plus de santé, il lui laisse à peine un souffle de vie.' . . . The admirers of d'Ablancourt have called his work 'La belle infidèle . . . Je souscris à leur jugement; mais j'ajoute qu'elle est belle sans être piquante, et qu'elle est infidèle jusqu'à la trahison.'

M. Amelot de la Houssaie had previously criticised d'Ablancourt; and indeed he tells us that his own translation arose out of a sharp controversy which he had carried on with his nephew, M. Fremont d'Ablancourt, as to the merits of his uncle's translation. Much Billingsgate seems to have passed between the two. In response to De la Houssaie's strictures, the nephew, taking up the cudgels for his uncle, had challenged De la Houssaie to do better: 'Qu'Amelot de la Houssaie nous donne une traduction de Tacite plus forte, et plus élégante.' 'En voici une!' retorts la Houssaie, 'que je soutiens être plus exacte, plus nerveuse, et plus conforme au génie et au caractère de l'auteur.'

The Abbé finds equal fault with De la Houssaie's version, but for the opposite reason:—

'Rien de plus servile et de plus rampant; nul choix, nulle finesse dans les tours, point d'expressions saillantes, point d'agrément dans le style; un bégaïement perpétuel, un langage froid et trivial. . . . C'est Tacite en laid et revêtu de haillons.'

This criticism can scarcely be justified. De la Houssaie is often vigorous and apt in his translations; but a modern scholar would censure him, not for his servility, but for his freedom. He often adds whole

sentences to elucidate the meaning; but he seldom hits the exact point in really crucial passages. The Abbé's censure is of a piece with that which condemns Davanzati for his 'vulgarity,' and which holds that what is common in language must necessarily be unclean. The 'Notes politiques et historiques' with which De la Houssaie liberally garnishes his translation, have enjoyed a great name; but they are often of the most commonplace and school-boy order, little worthy of appearing on the same page with Tacitus.

M. de la Bléterie himself is often brilliant in his renderings. Like other translators of his time, he treats the text with freedom; but there is a true Tacitean ring in some of his phrases, and he has furnished many hints to his French successors. A few instances may be given. Tiberius suspected Asinius Gallus of being 'un citoyen qui voulait bien sortir de sa sphère' (*plus quam civilia agitare*, i. 12, 6); the language of Tiberius in the Senate 'étoit un labyrinthe d'incertitudes et d'ambiguités' (*in incertum et ambiguum magis implicabantur*, i. 11, 4). The well-known epigram applied to the centurion in i. 20, 2 (*vetus operis ac laboris, et eo immittior quia toleraverat*), he translates thus: 'Endurci de longue main à la fatigue, au travail, il étoit impitoyable parcequ'il avait souffert;' and for the difficult sentence, *Sed dum veritati consulitur, libertas corrumpébat* (i. 75, 2) he gives the perfect translation, 'La Justice y gagnait; mais aux dépens de la liberté.' With this rendering we may well compare that of Grenewey, who, as often elsewhere, goes straight to the point with a homely phrase: 'but whilst he laboured for justice, libertie went to wracke.'

In one special point M. de la Bléterie happily imitates the style of Tacitus. It is one of his methods

of gaining force to string together three strong words with no copula between them. Sometimes the three words have no special emphasis, securing only brevity and swiftness, as *arma classem socios* (i. 45, 3); *vestem arma tentoria* (i. 17, 6); *simulacra montium fluminum praeliorum* (ii. 41, 2). In other cases they have the effect of a climax, coming down with hammer-like force, like the three knocks which prelude the rising of the curtain in a French theatre: *Arminius manu voce vulnere sustentabat pugnam* (ii. 17, 5); *barbari lacessunt circumgrediuntur occursant* (i. 64, 1); *bellum impeditum arduum cruentum* (iv. 46, 5). In imitation of such phrases the Abbé thus describes the attitude of the mutinous troops upon the arrival of Drusus in the camp: 'Tout était morne, negligé, hideux.'

But while the Abbé was severe on older translators, he was soon himself to fall under the lash of M. de Meilhan (1790), who, while admitting that M. de la Bléterie had a profound knowledge of antiquity and of his author, accuses him of using—

'des expressions triviales et bourgeoises . . . Au style le plus nerveux il substitue un jargon ridicule, et l'on voit souvent dans sa traduction un pédant de collège qui veut prendre le langage d'un homme du monde.'

M. de Meilhan's estimate of Tacitus is worth quoting for its extravagance:—

'Tacite, j'ose le dire, a fixé les limites de l'esprit humain; sans faire de traité sur aucun sujet, il les a tous approfondis.'

He derides those who have spoken of the present age as 'le siècle de lumières:—

'Je dois croire que ceux qui parlent ainsi n'ont pas lu les ouvrages de Tacite. En effet, quelle découverte

peut être à faire après lui en morale et en politique, dans ces deux sciences qui n'en font qu'une par leur accord intime ?'

To judge of the merits of M. de Meilhan's own translation, we need do no more than refer to two passages, in the first of which he gives the dullest of all the dull equivalents which have been offered for one of the raciest comments to be found in Tacitus. In the year A.D. 19, four thousand freedmen, infected with Egyptian and Jewish superstitions, were deported to Sardinia, ostensibly to put down brigandage; Tacitus adds, *Si ob gravitatem caeli interissent, vile damnum* (ii. 85, 5). M. de Meilhan translates thus: 'Et l'on exposa sans regret au mauvais air de cette île des hommes vils dont la perte importoit peu à la république.' Again in ii. 87, 3, he gives a model of loose and ineffectual translation by rendering *unde angusta et lubrica oratio sub principe*, etc., by 'On peut juger de l'embarras et du danger où se trouvaient les citoyens qui avoient à parler d'un prince qui,' etc.

We have seen that a great impetus was given to the study of Tacitus in France by the ideas and the events of the Revolution. J. J. Rousseau himself published in 1781 a translation of the Annals, Book i.; and in 1790 appeared in three octavo volumes the translation of M. Dureau de la Malle, which has kept its place ever since as the standard French translation, and has gone through many editions. In its latest form, it has been included by M. Nisard in his 'Collection des Auteurs Latins' (1860 and 1882). The preface explains that considerable liberties have been taken with the original. Inaccuracies have been corrected, the results of modern scholarship have been made use of, and recognizing that the eighteenth century writers

attached an undue importance to elegance and euphony of language, the editors have taken pains to cut down the exuberance of the style. They present the work, therefore, 'non comme un travail nouveau, mais comme un travail depuis longtemps jugé bon, et rendu meilleur peut-être par une sévère révision.' How far the improvement has been secured, may well be questioned. The version as now revised is doubtless closer to the original, but it is less readable; it is not exact enough to satisfy a scholar by its aptness of phrase or by its reproduction of the spirit of the original, and it has lost that note of individuality which marked the writer and the time at which he wrote.

The version of M. de la Malle is a quarry from which almost all his French successors have drawn materials. One of the best of these is M. Louandre, whose polished translation of the whole works, dedicated to M. Thierry, was published in 1845. It was 'couronnée' by the French Academy, and has been several times reprinted. M. Louandre admits having taken much from his predecessors; but he claims to have improved upon them all. He has transcribed many passages literally from De la Malle; in many more there are traces of imitation.

But the most glaring example of appropriation is to be found in a collection of translations entitled 'Les auteurs Latins,' published by Hachette et Cie., between the years 1843 and 1866. The title-page bears that the Latin Authors are 'expliqués d'après une méthode nouvelle par deux traductions françaises, l'une littérale et juxta-lineaire, l'autre correcte et précédée du texte Latin, par une société de Professeurs et de Latinistes.' Each page contains (1) the

Latin text; (2) a literal word-for-word translation, each Latin word being given with its French equivalent; and (3) a "correcte" translation of the whole, *i.e.* one written in good literary style. In the case of Tacitus, it turns out that the 'correct' stylist chosen to undertake the work, instead of giving a version of his own, has thought it best to give an almost verbatim copy of the version of M. de la Malle. There are occasional variations on minor points; but whole chapters are copied direct from De la Malle, and that without one word of alteration or acknowledgment.

This practice of reproducing previous translations is denounced by M. de Burnouf, whose own vigorous translation of the works, in six vols., appeared between 1827 and 1833. He protests against the view that a good literary effect can be produced by piecing together fragments borrowed from many sources. A translator, he well remarks, not less than an original author, should have a continuous and sustained style of his own; his language should be that of his day, his scholarship should be up to date, and he should avoid the error of previous translators in making it their aim to transfer 'l'air et l'esprit français à l'antique Italie.' Yet even M. Burnouf, though he boasts that his translation is entirely original, sometimes sins against his own rule.

Of all the French scholars who have expended labour upon Tacitus, perhaps none have served him better than M. Panckoucke. He began his Tacitean labours in 1803, when he published some fragments of the Agricola, which he thought might be interesting in connection with the descent upon Great Britain then contemplated by Napoleon; and he continued them until 1838, by which time he had added,

at various dates, some eighteen volumes to the body of Tacitean literature. These include translations and editions of the entire works, with introductions, notes, treatises on various minor points, and a bibliography complete to date.¹

A careful study of the various translations enumerated above will show that, while occasionally brilliant in their rendering of single passages or phrases, they never reached, or attempted to reach, the severe standard of accuracy demanded by modern scholarship. With the single exception of Davanzati, the principles which they followed in their treatment of the original resulted in the production of paraphrases, rather than of translations; and their aim was inconsistent with that severe and close attention to the meaning of every word and every sentence without which no version can claim for itself the merit of fidelity. During the course of the past century, exact scholarship has made immense strides. In the interpretation of ancient texts, it demands a rigid accuracy which was not possible before; and it condemns the looseness and affected ornateness of style which was considered a merit in translators a hundred years ago.

But accuracy is one thing, baldness is another. The demand for verbal accuracy, coupled with the requirements of examiners and the needs of the examined, gave birth, in this country, to a style of translation destitute of all literary form, which gives to the modern reader no sense of the intrinsic beauties of ancient literature. It is only of recent

¹ I have not made mention of German translations, of which there are many of much merit. But German scholarship is more celebrated for its learning than

for its style; and I soon found that a German translation, however good, could afford no guidance for a translation into English.

years that such works as the Plato of Mr. Jowett, to name only one example out of many, have rescued the translator's art from the evil repute into which it had fallen. A new school of translators, both of verse and of prose authors, has shewn how accurate scholarship, clothing itself with the grace of literature, can reach a higher and finer level of fidelity; and how, along with a strict regard for the literal sense, our English tongue can be so used as to convey to the mind and to the ear alike some sense of those qualities which we admire in the classical writers.

To give the mere words of an ancient author, without regard to his spirit, or to the peculiar manner in which he set forth his ideas, is not enough. As Mr. Matthew Arnold puts it—

'To suppose that it is *fidelity* to an original to give its matter, unless you at the same time give its manner; or, rather, to suppose that you can really give its matter at all, unless you can give its manner, is just the mistake of our pre-Raphaelite School of painters, who do not understand that the peculiar effect of nature resides in the whole and not in the parts.'¹

No translation of any author, least of all of an ancient author, can ever be perfect. No two peoples, no two periods, think exactly in the same way; and in all great authors, matter and style are inextricably interwoven. All that the best translator can do is to offer an approximation to his original; but that approximation must include, so far as in the translator's power lies, both the elements on which the greatness of a work depends—its form as well as its matter. He may have to sacrifice something of both to meet the exigencies of his own language; and the

¹ 'On translating Homer,' p. 14.

finer niceties of style can never be transplanted from one language to another. The translator can only aim at representing, by methods congenial to his own tongue, the main features of his author's style, the general character which stamps the whole ; but unless he can do this to some degree, as well as set down faithfully his author's matter, one half of his purpose is unaccomplished.

Whether a translation of Tacitus, fairly fulfilling these conditions, can ever be produced, may well be doubted. His style is unique. Latin differs essentially from English in construction, in order, in idiom, in range of thought : in Tacitus all these points of difference are accentuated to a high degree. He has mannerisms, and methods of producing effects, which are entirely his own, and which are foreign to our language ; and which, if introduced into it, would be regarded as blemishes in the style. Indeed, some of his peculiarities, if regarded by themselves, must be deemed blemishes even in the Latin ; but these are all redeemed by the higher virtues which give the style its character and place it beyond the reach of criticism.

For these reasons a literal translation of Tacitus into English that shall read as English may be pronounced an impossibility. Apart from all question of English style, such a translation would fail in the two essential aims which a translator has in view. It would give no idea of the manner of the author ; and in numerous cases it would give little or no idea of his matter. Let any one try the experiment of reading aloud, to an educated but not classical friend, a page or two of the Annals translated word for word into English ; he will find that sentences constantly occur

which present no meaning at all, or only a very confused meaning, to the listener. The scholar who is acquainted with the Latin, reads into a translation, however bald and literal, the meaning which his knowledge of the original enables him to supply; but the unlearned reader, having no such help, requires the thought to be put into an English dress before it can be recognized. Mr. Matthew Arnold tells us that the translator of Homer should care for no judgment but that of—

‘scholars who both know Greek and can appreciate poetry. Let him not trust to what the ordinary English reader thinks of him; he will be taking the blind for his guide.’

A similar dictum can scarcely be applied to Tacitus. Of the scholarship of a translation, of course, none but scholars can judge; but as regards the English, I should be inclined to say that no translator of Tacitus could feel safe unless he had submitted his version to the opinion of some competent judge of English who had no knowledge of the Latin.

It does not follow, however, that because a translation does not pretend to be literal, it must give up its claim to be exact and faithful to the original. On the contrary, the literal translation must often be departed from in order that the sense may be more completely and accurately conveyed. It is the sense, not the words, that has to be rendered; and the sense cannot be conveyed unless it is thrown into the grooves of thought and speech in which the ideas of the reader naturally run. Mr. M. Arnold well illustrates this by comparing Pope's version of Iliad xix. 420 with that of Cowper. Pope's translation has hardly a word taken literally from the Greek; but it

is more near to Homer than the literal rendering of Cowper.

But again, if the translator has to give up the idea of a literal version, he must equally beware of paraphrase. The earlier translators of Tacitus, like our own Murphy, and to a lesser extent Gordon also, find it necessary to amplify or supplement the original, to omit something here or add something there, in order to make the condensed, and what they call the obscure, style of Tacitus intelligible. Amplification, doubtless, is frequently necessary; not only because English cannot be made so short as Latin, but also because in English it is not always the shorter expression that is the more forcible. And some omission at times may be pardoned. To give a little less than the meaning of an author so charged with meaning, so subtle in suggestion, as Tacitus, is less misleading than to give more; and a translator may be forgiven if he fail to squeeze out to the last drop all the meaning of a Tacitean sentence. But to attempt to add anything of his own is sheer impertinence.

This fault the early translators constantly committed. They did not grapple at close quarters with their text. They did not dissect every sentence so as to discover what association each word in it was intended to convey. They had not the scholarship needed for the purpose. They were apt to take an impressionist view of a passage, and to import into it, for effect's sake, their own notions. They make their author square with the fashions of their time; they arm Achilles with an arquebus, and clothe Dido in a sacque; they introduce things which Tacitus never could have seen, suggest ideas which he never could have thought of, and so tinge the whole with

anachronism. The modern scholar will avoid mistakes like these. He will examine his author's meaning, bit by bit, as he would the parts of a puzzle; he will steep himself in his spirit, and seek to understand how he looked at things, with what colour he sought to invest them; and then he will ask the question which M. de la Blérierie says he was always putting to himself, 'If Tacitus had lived in my day, how would he have expressed himself?'

The translation thus arrived at will be free and idiomatic; but it need not be loose or inexact. The translator must express the whole sense, neither more nor less; but he must not be kept from writing good English out of fear that he may be accused of making elementary mistakes in Latin; he must not follow the example of the authors of the Revised Version, who seemed more afraid of being credited with blunders in their Greek than desirous of hitting off happy equivalents in their English. Yet he must not shirk difficulties, nor take refuge behind vague generalities which leave no crisp and definite impression on the mind. He is bound so to translate as to enable a competent scholar to perceive how he has taken the construction; but he is not bound to satisfy the demands of a pass-examiner, or to make the construction plain to every school-boy.

No translation, however accurate, can claim a literary character which does not approve itself, by the quality of its English, to the cultivated English reader. For this purpose, one of the first questions which has to be faced is as to the kind of diction to be employed. Tacitus was a man of the world; and the language of his translator must be such as a man of the world would use. We have seen that at

every past period Tacitus has been claimed as giving voice to the ideas of the time; that claim is not less just at the present day. The world in which Tacitus lived was in many respects very modern; the Rome of his time presented in many points a similarity to the Great Britain of to-day. Rome had a world-wide Empire, which she was being constantly tempted, often almost forced, to extend. The commercial and expansive instincts of her citizens were perpetually leading her into new ventures, and creating difficulties for the home government. Her rule embraced many nationalities, representing various stages of civilization; the necessity for governing each according to its character, with due regard to the interests of the whole, was continually presenting new problems for her statesmanship, and putting a pressure, not to be resisted, upon her central institutions. She had debates in the Senate like our own parliamentary debates, dealing with subjects that are matters of debate still; her system of criminal and civil law, her municipal institutions, her whole Imperial administration, involve ideas, and call into requisition a vocabulary, which are familiar to the Englishman of to-day.

We find social questions discussed in the Annals which are matters of discussion still. Seniors complained that their juniors were no longer paying them the deference which was their due; prohibitive legislation was proposed to check the luxury of the table and of apparel, similar to that which in our own day some would apply to the problem of drink; women were denounced for seeking to emancipate themselves from all control, and for interfering in matters with which they had no concern: Lord Kitchener himself

might have delivered the speech in which Caecina Severus condemned the license which permitted wives to accompany their husbands in a campaign (iii. 33). Tiberius allayed a financial crisis by a measure analogous to a suspension of the Bank Act; in his day Rome, like Great Britain, had been led to place Egypt under a peculiar and anomalous form of government, as holding the key of the Mediterranean and the East; Rome, like Great Britain, had to conduct harassing campaigns of guerilla warfare in Africa; and one of the greatest of the sins of Tiberius in the eyes of Tacitus was that he was 'A Little Englander.'

Thus Tacitus brings us into a region in which we have to deal with political, military, social and economic problems like our own, and which must be set forth in language such as we would nowadays employ. In military matters, terms must be avoided which would bring a smile to a soldier's lips; social and economic facts must be described as our own economists would describe them; in the record of debates in the Senate, only such expressions should be used as might fall from the mouth of a British statesman in our own Houses of Parliament.

In view of this requirement, I am unable to fall in with a suggestion made by an eminent Latin scholar, that in order to equal the brevity and force of Tacitus, it would be well, so far as possible, to make use of Saxon words. In regard to many matters of ordinary life, no doubt, Saxon words are the best and most vigorous words; but in matters of law, government, politics and philosophy, with which Tacitus so largely deals, our own ideas being mainly drawn from Greek and Latin sources, words of Greek

or Latin origin are the appropriate words to use. To replace such terms by words of Saxon origin, not specially known in the same connection, would be an affectation, and would jar upon the English ear. The recommendation to use mostly Saxon words has been urged with more force in the case of Homer; but Mr. Matthew Arnold tells us that even in translating Homer it is dangerous for a translator to start with the idea that any class of words should be excluded from his vocabulary:—

‘It is a theory false in itself; because, in fact, we owe to the Latin element in our language most of that rapidity and clear decisiveness by which it is contra-distinguished from the German, and in sympathy with the language of Greece and Rome.’¹

If this be true of Homer, how much more true of Tacitus, in whom the qualities of ‘rapidity and clear decisiveness’ stand out pre-eminent? It is difficult at the best to render Tacitean thought at all; and the translator cannot afford to overlook any materials which the richness of our language may offer him for the purpose.

For a similar reason, it is not desirable for a translator to imitate another striking feature in the style of Tacitus—its poetic and archaic element. It may be doubted, indeed, whether this feature was as conspicuous to the audience which Tacitus addressed as it is to his modern commentators. Many traces of archaic usage, many reminiscences of well-known passages of poetry, may be detected in his works; but in the educated circles at Rome, in which Tacitus moved, the masterpieces of Roman literature had long been common property; their most famous

¹ ‘On translating Homer,’ p. 7.

passages, their most notable sayings, had passed like proverbs into the educated language of the day. Just as men nowadays make use of Biblical or Shakespearian phrases without any recollection of the source from which they come, so Tacitus may have introduced phrases from Plautus, Lucretius, Virgil, or Horace, not as deliberate quotations, but as phrases which had become imbedded in the language, and which passed as current in ordinary conversation. Be that as it may, beyond the occasional use of some time-worn expression, some household word, which has been adopted into common speech, any attempt to introduce poetic or old-fashioned diction into the Annals would be grotesque, and would be resented as an affectation.

But while the language of the translator should be modern, it should not be tinged by the special modernisms of the day. He should draw, as it were, from the common resources of the language, use pure and simple English that may be good for all time, and abstain, as far as possible, from phrases and figures which bear the hall-mark of his own particular generation. No doubt he must write primarily for the men of his own time, and is bound to make himself intelligible to them; and each generation may demand a translation of its own. Nevertheless, in dealing with a great and immortal classic, it will be well for him to use the common and abiding resources of our tongue, rather than those which are special and may last only for a day. Modern analogies, which seem at first sight exactly to fit the case, are sometimes misleading. It is tempting to translate the phrase *loco sententiae dixit*, so often used of a speech in the Senate, by our Parliamentary phrase 'got

up in his place and said, etc.' But this would suggest a wrong idea, as the English phrase implies that the member has a right to be heard, which the Roman senator had not. It is tempting to translate *grave conscientiae suae* (vi. 26, 2), 'would be a burden on his conscience.' But this would be a false translation, because the ancients had no consciences—in our sense of the term.

It may be well now to point out some of the main difficulties which confront the translator whose aim it is to render Tacitus with fidelity, and at the same time to express himself in English which shall be pure, natural, and idiomatic. Some of these difficulties are inherent in the Latin; some are peculiar to Tacitus. A few examples may after that be given to show how such difficulties have been met by different translators.

Every Latin author presents difficulties in the way of literal translation. To begin with differences of a minor and obvious kind, Latin enjoys great advantages over English for expressing a meaning briefly and unambiguously in its nice differentiation of pronouns; in its use of gender for adjectives, relatives and nouns; and in its complete system of verbal endings. The literal translator is pulled up at every step by the necessity of altering the order or the construction of the original to avoid ambiguities which arise from the want of these resources. In Latin, the verb-endings render possible the constant omission of the personal pronoun; in English, every pronoun must be expressed, and the translator is apt to involve himself in a constant repetition of the words 'they,' 'themselves,' 'who,' and 'which,' that results in clumsiness and confusion. The loss of the case-

endings in English is less important, as these are made up for, though at the expense of brevity, by the use of prepositions. The loose structure of the English language, and the absence of all trammels of inflection, give it greater freedom and flexibility; but they in turn impose upon the writer the necessity of using more words, and of exercising the greatest care to keep clear of ambiguity.

Again, the logical and orderly Latin mind required to have the nature of the connection between one sentence and another fully set out, and to see the successive points of time in a narrative clearly indicated. Hence an abundant use of relative clauses, and a plethora of inferential, adversative and temporal conjunctions, the repetition of which would be unnecessary and uncouth in English. In a literal translation of Tacitus, the words 'therefore,' 'and so,' 'however,' 'but,' 'for,' etc., would be perpetually recurring; so would words indicative of time, to represent such Latin words as *mox, dein, dehinc, inde, exin, exinde, interea, interim, inter hæc, tum, sed iam*, etc. The constant occurrence of the words *et* or *que* at the beginning of sentences, in different kinds of connection, is a peculiarity of the style of Tacitus which has hardly been sufficiently noticed by his editors. In such cases, as a rule, the word should not be translated in the English at all.

Other peculiarities in the style of Tacitus which are baffling to the literal translator, and which demand expansion in the English, are: (1) his frequent and gratuitous changes of subject within the limits of the same sentence, as in ii. 53, 3-4, and iv. 48, 4; (2) his sudden changes from an active to a passive form of sentence, and *vice versa*; (3) his frequent intermixture

of *Oratio Recta* with *Oratio Obliqua*, with corresponding changes of tense and mood; (4) his frequent interchange of past with present tenses. These and similar irregularities may be called blemishes in the style, and they go contrary to the ordinary rules followed by Latin writers. But they all have their purpose and their effect. They all help to arrest the reader's attention and keep it alive; and whether we deem them blemishes or no, they are all essential elements in what may be pronounced the most perfect pictorial style which the ancient world produced.

Another peculiarity of Tacitus which conduces to brevity and to vivacity is his habit of using a simple verb, instead of a verb, or some part of a verb, expressive of mood; in such cases English must supply 'could,' 'would,' or 'might,' or some such word, to complete the sense. Thus in i. 67, 1, Cæcina told his troops that if they made a dash out of the camp *illa eruptione ad Rhenum perveniri*, the meaning being 'that they *would* reach the Rhine.' Similarly in iii. 71, 3, Tiberius decided that leave of absence *Dialibus non concedi*, i.e. 'could not be granted to them.' In ii. 34, 1, L. Piso declares in the Senate *abire se et cedere urbe*, 'that he would leave,' or 'must leave, the city;' just as we might say colloquially, 'that he was off.' So *neque corpus ullum reperiri* (i. 23, 3), 'that no body was to be found;' *si legatos senatui redditis* (i. 43, 5), 'if you wish to restore;' *cum hastas ingens multitudo non protenderet* (ii. 21, 1), 'since their hordes could not thrust out their spears;' *simul sexum natura invalidum deserui et exponi suo luxu* (iii. 34, 9), 'the weaker sex would be left unprotected and exposed,' etc. Other instances occur in iv. 39, 6; 40, 8, and 41, 3.

Another form of Tacitean conciseness is to put two

meanings into one sentence, words being used which suggest something that is not actually stated. Thus in iv. 1, 4, Sejanus is said to have furthered his own ambitious ends by means of industry and vigilance, which qualities, we are told, are in themselves baneful *quoties parando regno finguntur*. Now industry and vigilance are not qualities which can be 'feigned;' they were actually exhibited by Sejanus. The word *finguntur* is used to insinuate that even his good qualities were simulated; they did not belong to his character.¹ In iv. 50, 5, Sabinus bids his men, if attacked by night, not to be misled by *simulationem quietis*, 'a pretence of silence.' There could be no pretence in the silence; what the men were warned against was being misled by the ruse of silence into supposing that there was no enemy at hand. In iii. 43, 4, it is said of the forces of Sacrovir that *augebantur vicinarum civitatum studiis et certamine ducum Romanorum*. The rivalry between the Roman generals did not increase the forces of Sacrovir; but it gave him an advantage of a different kind, which is implied in the word *augebantur*. Another remarkable instance occurs in ii. 35, 2, which is commented on in the notes; and one similar to it in ii. 58, 3, where Artabanus petitions the Romans *ne Vonones in Syria haberetur neu proceres ad discordias traheret*. To complete the sense, *traheret* must be translated either by 'nor permitted to entice,' or else 'where he had the opportunity of enticing.'

Again, Tacitus often distracts the translator by omitting words which in English are essential to the sense. He will omit the principal verb, as in *haec*

¹ The same idea occurs in the last words of book vi., where it is said of Tiberius that in the last and worst

phase of his life *suo tantum ingenio utebatur*.

callidis criminatoribus, iv. 12, 6, and even in dependent sentences, as in *spretis quae tarda cum securitate*, iii. 66, 6; or the object of a verb (vi. 24, 4), leaving it to be inferred from the context; or leave for the verb a wrong object, which has already done its duty with another verb. An instance of this occurs in i. 74, 3. Crispinus accused Marcellus of vilifying Tiberius. Having picked out all the worst things that could be said against Tiberius, he 'cast these up against Marcellus,' *obiectaret reo*; that is, he accused Marcellus, not of the failings themselves, but of having attributed them to Tiberius. Not unfrequently Tacitus puts the principal idea of a sentence into a subordinate place in it; as in iv. 64, 4, where he says that the ancient Romans 'had consecrated a statue which had twice escaped the flames;' when what he really means to say is that 'a statue consecrated by our ancestors had twice escaped the flames.' In these and various other ways Tacitus strikes out paths of speech in which the English writer cannot follow him; paths in which the *oratio* open to him may be said, in the words of ii. 87, 3, to become *angusta et lubrica*.

One special difficulty which encounters all translators of Latin prose authors is their use of the periodic style. A Period is a sentence in which several sub-clauses are introduced in subordination to one principal verb, which dominates and completes the whole. The logical Roman mind loved to place the accessory ideas of an argument or a narrative in so many subordinate clauses, so as to bring out the central idea with greater emphasis; and the organic structure of Latin, with its complete case- and verb-endings, its variety of relatives and conjunctions, and

its subtle use of mood, enabled this to be done without confusion. In English the Period is a foreigner; and the attempt to acclimatize it, in imitation of the flowing style of Cicero, did much to impair the native vigour of our language in writers of the later seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In French, Italian or German, the period is more possible: the possession of gender and verb-endings, and the more precise use of pronouns, enable a writer in those languages to carry the thread of his meaning through a long sentence which would be intolerably involved in English. The following passage from M. Gaston Boissier is a fine example of the period in French:—

‘ Je crois donc, si j’ai bien interprété la pensée de Tacite dans ces quelques phrases de ses prologues, que la préférence qu’il accorde aux historiens de l’époque républicaine, si sérieux, si pleins de qualités viriles, si instruits des affaires publiques, si étrangers à tout artifice oratoire, et sa sévérité pour ceux de l’Empire, qui, pour plaire à une société de lettrés raffinés, ont trop sacrifié aux agrémens de la composition et du langage, qui venus en un temps où la vérité était difficile à découvrir et dangereuse à dire, l’ont trop aisément remplacée par d’autres mérites, permettent de croire qu’au moment où il a commencé ses premiers ouvrages, il avait dans l’esprit la conception d’une histoire simple, grave, sincère, qui tirerait surtout son intérêt de la sûreté des informations, et tiendrait moins à la beauté de la forme qu’à la solidité du fond.’¹

The structure of English does not readily admit of complicated, yet perfectly lucid, periods like the above. An English period, in unskilful hands, is apt to degenerate into an agglomeration of single phrases with no cohesion but that afforded by prepositions. I had occasion in a recent address,² to

¹ Tacite, p. 67.

² ‘Efficiency in Education’ (MacLehose & Son, 1903).

quote the following passage, written by a man of science, as an example of what English may become when science has banished literature from our schools :—

‘ Electric arc lights have been recently erected in some parts of London on high standards placed a good distance apart, the height being arranged to disperse the powerful light to a distance and to prevent glare, and the distance apart being regulated by the intensity of the light. This arrangement may prove perfectly satisfactory in ordinary weather, but on noticing their erection the doubt at once occurred to me as to the efficiency of such lights in foggy weather, particularly in recollection of some observations referred to by me about twenty years ago in a discussion at the Institution of Civil Engineers on the illumination of lighthouses as to the arc lights which at that period lighted a portion of the Thames Embankment being as readily obliterated by fog as some adjacent ordinary gas lights owing to the relative deficiency of the arc light in red rays, which are the most capable of penetrating fogs.’¹

Tacitus is not a specially periodic writer ; his style indeed represents a reaction from the cloying style of Cicero. But he uses the period every now and then with extraordinary effect ; and his writing everywhere shews traces of the periodic style. Some of his most compact sentences may be described as truncated periods ; several subordinate ideas are introduced under one principal verb, but they are expressed by single words, usually Ablatives or Participles, loosely connected, sometimes without any connection at all, instead of by complete subordinate sentences. The result may be an apparently shapeless sentence like the following (iii. 39, 2) :—

Simulque cuncta prospere acta, caesis populatoribus et

¹ Letter to the *Times* of November 7, 1901.

dissentione orta apud obsidentes regisque opportuna eruptione et adventu legionis.

The most masterly of the periods of Tacitus occurs in i. 2, and is commented on in the notes to that passage. Another fine example is to be found in i. 74, 2 :—

‘Nam egens, ignotus, inquires, dum occultis libellis saevitiae principis adrepat, mox clarissimo cuique periculum facessit, potentiam apud unum, odium apud omnis adeptus, dedit exemplum quod secuti ex pauperibus divites, ex contemptis metuendi, perniciem aliis ac postremum sibi invenere.’

Such a sentence defies literal translation into English ; but Valeriani shews how it can pass naturally, and with little expansion, into Italian :—

‘Perocchè povero oscuro inquieto, mentre s’insinua con cieche accusa nella ferocia del Principe, poi s’accinge a rovinare i più nobili, fattone grande con uno, abbominavole a tutti, tal diede esempio che quanti lo seguitarano ricchi di miseri, d’abietti fatti tremendi, trassero gli altri e alfin sè stessi in rovina.’

Another example of a truncated period, in which single words do the office of separate subordinate clauses, may be quoted from ii. 2, 6 and 7, in which Tacitus describes the dissatisfaction of the Parthians with their new king Vonones :—

‘Accendebat dedignantés et ipse, diversus a maiorum institutis, raro venatu, segni equorum cura ; quotiens per urbes incederet, lecticae gestamine fastuque erga patrias epulas. Inridebantur et Graeci comites ac vilissima utensilium anulo clausa. Sed prompti aditus, obvia comitas, ignotae Parthis virtutes, nova vitia ; et quia ipsorum moribus aliena, perinde odium pravis et honestis.’

In this congested passage the ideas which might

be expressed in separate clauses are flung down like splashes of paint upon a canvas, with scarcely enough construction to hold them together. To express the above 54 words of Tacitus, Dati requires no less than 152 words; but Davanzati, keeping close to the original, in construction as well as order, makes 63 words suffice:—

‘Stomacavali anch’ egli’ co’ suoi modi diversi dagli antichi; cacciar di rado, non si diletta di cavalli; ire per le città in lettiga; fargli afa i cibi della patria: ridevansi del codazzo grechese, del serrare e bollare ogni cencio; le larghe udienze e le liete accoglienze, virtù nuove, ai Parti erano vizi nuovi; e ciò che antico non era, odiavano buono e rio.’

The strength of this rendering is unequalled by any translator. Not a word is omitted; not an idea added. M. Perrot d’Ablancourt, who, though he is often inaccurate and indulges in amplifications, has something of the grand manner of his time, thus gives the passage:—

‘Leur colère se redoubloit par la considération des mœurs de ce Prince, qui n’avoit point la passion de ses Ancestres pour la chasse ny pour les chevaux, dédaignoit leurs festins, se faisoit porter en litière dans ses voyages. D’ailleurs ils ne pouvoient souffrir un Roy des Parthes qui estoit toujours environné d’une troupe de Grecs, et qui tenoit toute la vaisselle de son Palais enfermée sous la clef. Enfin sa facilité extrême à recevoir et caresser tout le monde, vertu inconnue aux Barbares, estoit tachée par eux de lâcheté et de bassesse; et sans considérer si ces coutumes estoient bonnes ou mauvaises, ils les condamnaient toutes également, parce que ce n’estoient pas celles de leur País.’

The French is matchless; but all trace of the Tacitean style has disappeared.

A period of a more ordinary kind, in a passage of simple narrative, may be given in the English. It occurs in vi. 31, 1-2:—

‘C. Cestius and M. Servilius being consuls, Parthian nobles came to the city, the king Artabanus being ignorant. He, loyal to the Romans through fear of Germanicus, just to his subjects, afterwards assumed insolence towards us, cruelty to his countrymen, relying on the successful wars which he had waged with surrounding tribes, and despising the old age of Tiberius as unwarlike, and covetous of Armenia, over which, King Artabanus having died, he had placed Arsaces the eldest of his sons, insults having been added, and envoys sent to ask back the treasure left by Vonones in Syria and Cilicia; at the same time with vain-gloriousness and with threats he threw out talk about the ancient boundaries of the Persians and the Macedonians, and that he would invade the countries possessed by Cyrus and afterwards by Alexander.’

The intolerable clumsiness of this sentence is enough to shew how foreign to the genius of English is the Latin period. Such passages must be broken up into a number of separate sentences if we would make English of them; the translator will disregard the Latin punctuation altogether, and will frequently find himself compelled to use twice as many full stops as there are in the Latin, if he would emulate the clearness, the rapidity and the incisiveness of Tacitus.

But if the English writer must eschew the period, he is bound to give especial care to the construction of the paragraph. As Mr. Jowett has pointed out, in a passage quoted below, the main test of excellence in continuous English writing is to be found rather in the ordering of the paragraph than in the construction of individual sentences. The sentences in a paragraph,

however numerous, should all bear upon some one point, and mark a definite stage in the progress of the argument or narrative, leaving on the mind the impression that some one particular part of the subject in hand has been dealt with and done with. In modern English, paragraphs are tending to become inordinately long; it is not uncommon, even in our best written Reviews, to find paragraphs of a page or even two pages in length, each dealing with several subjects. French writers, as a rule, thoroughly understand the logical and rhetorical value of the paragraph; this is one reason why French writing is so luminous. The more flimsy of their number are apt to overdo the use of it, and will sometimes present a page with almost as many paragraphs as lines.

The ancients knew nothing of paragraphs in their writing. They wrote mostly for the ear, not for the eye; and in recitation the natural pauses in the sense would be marked by the voice. Their rolls were written continuously; and the modern division into chapters has been made rather with a view to uniformity of length than to natural pauses in the meaning. It would be a help both to the eye and to the understanding if modern editors would break up Latin texts into paragraphs of various lengths, corresponding to the progress of the subject; instead of which they sometimes run several chapters together, so as to present to the eye a long and tedious block of print. In the present translation, an attempt has been made, as far as possible, to introduce paragraphs corresponding to the sense, while the usual division into chapters and sections has been indicated in the margin for purposes of reference.

We have seen that the translator must frequently break up a long Tacitean sentence into several short English sentences; but, on the other hand, he is obliged often to expand a phrase to make it intelligible. What modern European language could express in four words the fact that the position of Eudemus as family physician enabled him to be constantly present at the secret interviews of Sejanus and Livilla, *specie artis frequens secretis*, iv. 3, 5? or picture in five words the pestilential condition of a fortress captured after a long siege, *pollui cuncta sanie, odore, contactu*, iv. 49, 4; or describe in four words how two chiefs fully armed spurred their horses against each other, shouting as they charged, *clamore telis equis concurrunt*, vi. 35, 4; or, again, express in three words that the degradation of a general's declining years caused the services of his prime to be forgotten, *cesserunt prima postremis*, vi. 32, 7?

Even Davanzati cannot rival brevity like this; but the following examples may suffice to shew that, in dealing with such pregnant phrases, as well as with the brilliant epigrams or 'sentences,' as they are called, with which Tacitus loves to close an incident, both Italian and French translators can come nearer to the original, in point and finish, than can our own.

The personal encounter between Pharasmenes and Orodes, quoted in part above, is thus described by Tacitus:—

Conspicui eoque gnari clamore telis equis concurrunt.

Richard Grenewey, the Elizabethan translator, is long, but keeps close to the original: 'Pharasmenes and Orodes, . . . being in sight the one of the other: and therefore knowing the one the other, with a great clamour of arms and horses ranne one against the

other.' Sir Henry Savile's translator¹ omits one half of the meaning, and is content with 'rencontring each other as they rid too and fro.' Gordon has 'themselves conspicuous to all and therefore known to each other they encountered fiercely, horse to horse, with terrible cries and lances darted.' Murphy, who says of his version that 'he has endeavoured to give a faithful transcript of the original in such English as an Englishman of taste can read without disgust,' renders thus: 'Conspicuous to all, at length they knew each other. At the sight, with instinctive fury, their horses at full speed, they rushed forward to the charge, bellowing revenge, and casting their javelins.' The Oxford translation, revised in 1854, gives: 'Meanwhile Pharasmenes and Orodes . . . might be seen by all, and therefore soon descried each other. In a moment, they gallop to the encounter, with loud shouts and lances poised.' Messrs. Church and Brodribb translate thus: 'Pharasmenes and Orodes . . . were conspicuous to all, and so recognized each other, rushed to the combat with a shout, with javelins, and galloping chargers.'

Of the French translators, M. Amelot de la Houssaie is graphic and vigorous: 'Venant tous deux à se connoître en cete rencontre ils piquent à toute bride l'un contre l'autre, le javelot à la main, et le défi à la bouche.' M. de la Malle, whose version has become common property, gives: 'Aussitôt leur cris, leurs chevaux, leurs lances se croisent.' This translation is copied by M. Burnouf; but by the

¹ The translation of 'the Annals and History of Cornelius Tacitus, made English by several hands,' and under the patronage of 'the Learned Sir Henry Savile,' was published by M. Gillyflower in 1698. The first book of

the Annals was translated by Dryden. It is a sorry performance. Gordon has shewn that it was not made from the original, but from De la Houssaie's translation, the French of which he sometimes villainously mistranslates.

addition of two words, he spoils the effect of the whole: 'Et leurs cris, leurs traits, leurs coursiers se croisent à *l'instant*.' M. Panckoucke is scarcely less vigorous: 'Ils se reconnaissent, ils poussent un cri, lancent leurs traits,¹ leurs chevau se heurtent.' Of other translators, Davanzati alone gives us Tacitus himself: 'Perciò conosciutisi, con grida arme e cavalli s'affrontano.' He is closely followed by Valeriani: 'Si fanno l'un all' altro vedere conoscere e con grida armi e cavalli s'affrontano.'

A few instances may next be given of the famous epigrams or 'sentences' of Tacitus. In the course of his noble address on behalf of liberty of speech, Cremutius Cordus commends the wisdom of Augustus in taking no notice of personal insults (iv. 34, 8):—

Namque spreta exolescunt: si irascere, agnita videntur.

Davanzati translates: 'Perchè queste cose sprezzate svaniscono; adirandoti le confessi;' a translation which has evidently afforded the model to the not less pointed rendering of the modern Valeriani: 'Poichè, sprezzate, inviliscono; se te ne adiri, pajono meritate.'

The French translator M. de la Malle is unusually brilliant in this passage. His version well shews the capacity of French for epigram: 'Car le mépris fait tomber la satire; le ressentiment l'accrédite.' This rendering is appropriated almost verbatim by M. Panckoucke: 'Car le mépris fait tomber la satire; l'irritation l'accrédite.' M. de la Houssaie gives: 'Car c'est étoufer la medisance que de la mépriser; et c'est avouer qu'elle a raison de s'en fâcher.'

The English translators are good here; and they differ greatly from one another. The Elizabethan

¹ It is unnecessary to translate *telis*. A hostile charge implies weapons; and the words which follow describe the wound inflicted.

Grenewey, in this and other passages, though more homely and less incisive than Tacitus, has much of his vigour and directness: 'For things of that qualitie neglected vanish of themselves; but repined and grieved at, argue a guiltie conscience.' Sir Henry Savile (who, by the way, begins the speech with 'Gentlemen') gives: 'Calumny falls to the ground when neglected; but we give a countenance to it by having any serious concern about it.' Gordon has an unusually vigorous version: 'For if they are despised, they fade away; if you wax wroth, you seem to avow them for true.' Murphy translates: 'Neglected calumny soon expires; shew that you are hurt, and you give it the appearance of truth.' Messrs. Church and Brodribb (but for the word 'assuredly') are excellent: 'Assuredly what is despised is soon forgotten; when you resent a thing, you seem to recognize it.'

Another notable epigram occurs in iv. 18, 3:—

*Nam beneficia eo usque laeta sunt, dum videntur
exsolvi posse; ubi multum antevenere, pro gratia odium
redditur.*

Here Davanzati is as short as Tacitus: 'Perchè i beneficj rallegrono in quanto si posson rendere; gli eccessivi si pagano d'ingratitude e d'odio.' Valeriani is shorter still: 'Poichè i benefizi aggradano sinchè possono ricambiarsi; ove d'assai trascessero, rendesi odio per grazia.'

M. Amelot de la Houssaie, representing the more expansive style of his time, expresses the thought admirably, but uses three words for every one of Tacitus: 'Car les bienfaits ne sont agréables, qu'autant qu'on se trouve en état de rendre la pareille; et quand une fois ils surpassent de beaucoup le pouvoir

de ceux qui les ont reçus, on les paie de haine au lieu de reconnoissance.' M. Panckoucke is excellent and epigrammatic: 'Car les bienfaits ne plaisent qu'autant qu'ils peuvent être acquittés; dès qu'ils vont au delà, au lieu de gratitude, la haine.' Sir George Savile's translator is clumsy and pointless: 'All benefits are pleasing, whilst the receiver is in a condition to make a suitable return; but when once they exceed recompence, hatred and ingratitude ever take place, instead of friendship and acknowledgment.' Murphy, after his wont, not only expands but adds matter of his own: 'He felt himself under obligations to his officer; and obligations (such is the nature of the human mind) are only then acknowledged when it is in our power to requite them; if they exceed all measures, to be insolvent is painful, and gratitude gives way to hatred.'

Another passage which has been the torment of translators occurs in iv. 33, 6:—

Etiam gloria ac virtus infensos habet, ut nimis ex propinquo diversa arguens.

Davanzati can translate exactly, both as to order and construction: 'Anche la virtù e la gloria ha dei nemici, quasi riprendenti troppo da vicino i loro contrari.' Not less close and exact is Valeriani: 'Han pur la gloria e la virtù i suoi nemici, come d'assai vicino i loro opposti sgridando.'

The rendering of M. d'Alembert, to whom we are indebted for an elaborate treatise on the art of translating Tacitus (1784), is good, but it has no pretence to being a translation: 'L'éclat même de la vertu irrite les méchans, parce qu'elle les démasque et les condamne.' De la Malle is at once incorrect and feeble: 'Il n'y a pas jusqu'à la gloire et à la vertu qui

ne choquent, parce qu' à la proximité elles semblent accuser la honte des contemporains.' M. Panckoucke is no better ; de la Houssaie hopelessly mistakes the passage. M. Louandre is fairly good : 'La gloire et la vertu même offensent, comme si lorsqu'elles sont trop près de nous, elles condamnaient ce qui leur ressemble pas.'

Grenewey and Sir G. Savile's translator are quite wrong ; the latter gives : 'Add to all this glory and virtue make men jealous, especially since like actions may be differently interpreted.' The best English translation is that of Messrs. Church and Brodribb : 'Again, even honour and virtue make enemies, condemning, as they do, their opposites by too close a contrast.'

Lastly, we have the perfect phrase in vi. 32, 7 :

Cesserunt prima postremis.

The best translation of it that I have found is that of De la Malle : 'Sa fin fit oublier ses commencements.' But the point of this rendering is taken from the version of M. Guerin (1742), who has : 'Les dernières actions de sa vie ont fait oublier les premières ;' and it has been copied in turn by almost all the later French translators. There is a reminiscence of it in Messrs. Church and Brodribb : 'The beginning of his career was forgotten in its end.' More than one English translator has copied the unhappy rendering of Gordon, 'His last character has swallowed up his first.' Grenewey is good, and nearer to the Latin than them all : 'And so his first virtues gave place to his latter vices.'

The above quotations show how brilliant at times Italian and French can be in the translation of the more striking sayings of Tacitus ; but it cannot be

said that any of them, except perhaps Davanzati, whose style is too crabbed, perhaps too provincial, to have a high literary character, do justice to the rare qualities of his style as a whole. The French are sometimes inordinately long. M. Guerin is often longer than Murphy himself. He complains that Tacitus employs 'moins de mots que de sens;' for French, he says, does not admit of a 'diction brusque et coupée, qui lui ôterait toute harmonie;' and so in his own version he usually reverses the proportion between words and thoughts by expanding the original into two or three times its length: see i. 2, or iii. 8, 3; in the latter passage 18 words of Tacitus are expanded into 62.

But Tacitus is not all epigram; and students of Tacitus have as a rule made too much of the gems and too little of the setting. His more brilliant sayings no doubt stand out conspicuously as condensed summaries of the observations of an experienced man of the world. But many men have been great in epigram who were great in nothing else, and who could never have produced a work of sustained dignity and power like the Annals. The greatest merit of Tacitus is the uniformly high level of writing which he maintains throughout. His style never droops; he is never trivial, commonplace, or dull. There is scarcely one dull sentence, one lifeless phrase, in all his works. His whole mode of writing is epigrammatic; his more notable epigrams do not come in by chance, they are not dragged in as ornaments from without; they arise naturally out of the subject, out of the thought, that have gone before. They are but the flash-point of a uniformly brilliant style.

In his most ordinary passages, Tacitus shews himself a master in the art of painting with words. In narrating an incident, a battle, or a campaign, he never wastes a word; he omits nothing that is essential, inserts nothing that does not help the effect, and brings out his points exactly in the order in which they will tell most. He never repeats himself; each stage in the narrative is brought out in a fresh and original way, and all combine to make up the colour with which he invests the whole. He is careless of his constructions; he will use any that serves his purpose; he will pass abruptly from one construction to another, or leave a construction half developed, if he can thereby aid the swift succession of ideas; no one ever realized more completely that grammar must be the servant, not the master, of the thought. The parts of his narrative come out in their proper proportion, because he saw them as a whole. This is what Montesquieu meant when he said: 'Tacite abrégéoit tout parce qu'il voyait tout.'

No better instance can be given of the vigour, vivacity, and variety of Tacitean narrative than the account of the mutiny in the Pannonian and German armies. Both mutinies sprang from similar causes, aimed at the same ends, and ran a similar course. Both were quelled, after much difficulty, by the personal influence of sons of the Imperial House. Yet there is no similarity in the two narratives. The incidents are different; the phrases used are different, the whole course of events is differently determined, and each stage of the story in each case is told with a novelty and freshness that hold the reader's interest to the end.

It is in the reproduction of the general effect of

narratives like these, and in weaving them into an equable and harmonious whole, that the translator's mettle will most be tried. Mr. Jowett has well said that 'the true test of translation is not a good phrase, as a boy at school supposes, or a good sentence, as some scholars imagine, but an equable and harmonious paragraph, or, rather, a harmonious whole.'¹ The large features of the style of Tacitus are independent of all tricks and turns of language, and rise superior to them. The whole is greater than the parts; and no translation of a single phrase can be good, however apt in itself, if it is not of a piece with the whole to which it belongs. To extend a metaphor of Dryden's, it is better for a writer to have his currency all in silver than to mingle farthings with his gold.

The variety of the style of Tacitus has been commented upon by all his critics; it is as conspicuous in his choice of words as in that of constructions. He takes infinite pains so to vary his diction as to avoid a sense of monotony. But the variety is not obtrusive; it corresponds naturally to some variety in the point of view, and leaves no feeling of effort on the reader's mind. The 5th chapter of book iv. contains a list of the Roman provinces, with an enumeration of the forces by which each was occupied; but instead of giving a lifeless catalogue of names and numbers, Tacitus so varies his mode of statement in each case that no impression of dulness or repetition is left upon the mind or the ear. Another example of inconspicuous variety may be taken from the disquisition on law in iii. 25-28. In those chapters the ideas of law and law-making occur over and over again, yet there is scarcely any repetition in the

¹ 'Life of Jowett, Abbott and Campbell,' vol. ii. p. 204.

language by which they are expressed. Rich as our own tongue is, to emulate the variety of such passages presents a literary puzzle to the English translator.

And there is another and opposite kind of variety in Tacitus which causes still more difficulty to the translator—his use of the same word with different shades of meaning. The Romans had not the analytical mind of the Greeks; they did not differentiate as nicely between the meanings of their words, or find it necessary, like the French, to have a special word for every variety of thing. Every student of Latin knows the difficulty of finding an exact equivalent, in any particular passage, for such words as *officium*, *religio*, *civitas*, etc., which according to the context may have a wide meaning or a narrow meaning, an abstract or a concrete meaning; may refer to something outside the mind, or to a consciousness of that thing inside the mind. The student of Tacitus is constantly baffled in the attempt to find the exact English equivalent for *ambitio*, *mores*, *conscientia*, *ludibrium*, *civilis*, *artes bonae*, and words of a similar character. Latin writers did not feel the awkwardness of using the same word twice over, in close proximity, with different meanings. Thus in ii. 59, 4, Tacitus applies the term *claustra* to Egypt, as the key of the Mediterranean; in the next chapter, he uses the same word to denote 'the extreme limits of the Empire.' He makes great use of this vague much-embracing quality of Latin words. Much of his suggestiveness, much of his so-called ambiguity, is due to the fact that he, as it were, throws his net widely, using words which cover various shades of meaning, and leaving the reader to divine for himself which is the particular

shade most appropriate in each case. Thus his phrases germinate differently in the minds of different readers; the crop they yield is often out of all proportion to the quantity of seed sown; and it is this quality which accounts for their applicability to all kinds of circumstances other than those which originally called them forth. The English translator is bound to be more definite; he has to commit himself to some one particular interpretation, and so frequently runs the risk of giving a portion of the meaning instead of the whole.

How much meaning may lurk under apparently simple words, may be illustrated by an analysis of the opening words of i. 4. Having described the political situation at the death of Augustus, Tacitus thus sums up the momentous change by which the Republic had been converted into an Empire:—

Igitur verso civitatis statu nihil usquam prisca et integri moris.

Every word in this clause is full of meaning. The revolution had been complete (*verso civitatis statu*); and it had come to stay (*statu*). It was no transient upheaval like those brought about by Marius and Sulla. The change extended to the whole Empire, to every department of life (*nihil usquam*). Editors differ as to the meaning of *moris*. Some would confine its meaning to 'constitutional usage,' some to 'private morality;' some take it of customs and habits in general. The word probably includes all these and more—life, manners, modes of thought, everything that made up the world of a Roman citizen. There was *nihil prisca moris*: the good old days, the good old life, were gone; everything that to the regretful regard of Tacitus was

great and free and noble in the old Republic had disappeared. *Nihil integri moris*: the forms of the past might remain; the magistrates might be called by the same names (chap. 3, 7); but the heart had gone out of it all, the reality was gone, the touch of change was everywhere. *Integri* is an innocent-looking word; it does not assert innovation, deterioration, corruption; but it implied them all to the mind and to the school which regarded every change as being for the worse. Translations may be searched in vain for an adequate rendering of these few words; they all give some part of the meaning, not the whole.

Nothing is more carefully studied in the narratives of Tacitus than the order. His frequent changes of construction are due partly, no doubt, to his love for variety, but in a still greater degree to a desire to arrange his facts in the most effective order. The ideas determine the grammar; and however much the grammar varies, the thread of the thought runs on continuously. The picture of the sufferings of Drusus in prison (iv. 24, 4) owes half its force to the order of the words. The Senate are aghast that one, hitherto so impenetrable as Tiberius—

huc confidentiae venisse ut tamquam dimotis parietibus ostenderet nepotem sub verbera centurionis, inter servorum ictus extrema vitae alimenta frustra orantem.

It is the same with his longer narratives. Nothing can be finer than the way in which the order is developed in the account of the disaster at Fidenae (iv. 62, 63), or of the landing of Agrippina at Brundisium (iii. 1, 2); or in that of the last campaign against Tacfarinas (iv. 23-36), and in other notable passages.

Order plays no less important a part in the

speeches which Tacitus puts into the mouth of various personages. These speeches are masterpieces of compressed rhetoric. The language is simpler, the construction less involved, the cadences more smooth, than in the narrative passages; but their crowning excellence lies in the luminous and effective order in which great ideas swiftly succeed each other, without one word of surplusage. It would not be easy to match the simple pathos of the speech in which Tiberius commends his grandsons to the Senate (iv. 8, 6-8); the loftiness of that in which he declines divine honours (iv. 37, 38); the spirit with which Cremutius Cordus vindicates liberty of speech (iv. 34, 35); the dexterity with which Germanicus plays on the feelings of the half repentant soldiery (i. 42, 43): and the most striking point in all these speeches is the unerring instinct with which every idea, almost every word, is introduced at the point where it is most effective.

Now of all the features in the style of Tacitus, his order is the one in which it is most easy for an English translator to follow him. The flexibility of our language enables it to express one thing in various ways, and to place ideas in almost any order by adopting the construction which suits that order best. We have seen that it is not possible in English to imitate the constructions of Tacitus; and that if his swiftness and vigour are to be reproduced, his long sentences must often be broken up into several short sentences in the English. But with some care, by adopting a suitably turned phrase, it is usually possible to observe his order. It is not always possible; for English has its own mode of expressing emphasis as well as Latin, and we often place the emphatic word first in

a sentence where Latin places it last. But, as a rule, the various points in a passage of Tacitus can be marshalled in the order in which he places them, and by preserving his order we preserve one of the most conspicuous features of his style.

That a style so full of interest as that of Tacitus should have tempted many translators into the field, is little to be wondered at; or that so many should have fallen short of the highest success. Masters of prose writing are few in number in any age; Mr. Frederick Harrison tells us that—

‘Mastery in prose is an art more difficult than mastery in verse. . . . At the death of Tennyson, we may remember, it was said that no less than sixty poets were thought worthy of the wreath of bay. Were there six writers of prose whom even a log-rolling confederate would venture to hail as a possible claimant to the crown?’¹ . . .

If this be so, it is indeed vain to look for a perfect translation of one of the prose master-pieces of the world, or to hope to interpret adequately an author whose thoughts are dressed in a strange language, and come wafted to us over a gulf of eighteen centuries. Apart from the essential difficulty of saying in one language what has been thought in another, who can catch the tone of a writer so concise, so suggestive, so varied; whose style is always stately, but not stiff, dignified, yet never dull; who is always in earnest, always on the stretch, yet never heavy or pedantic; always fresh, bright, interesting, though unrelieved by one spark of playfulness or humour; who speaks in accents of command, and who strikes in every sentence that note of moral and patrician

¹ *Nineteenth Century*, June, 1898, p. 938.

hauteur which befitted the Stoic philosopher, and the statesman of Imperial Rome?

In these days when general interest in ancient life and literature has been so greatly quickened, while the exacting demands of modern studies make it more and more difficult for the ordinary student to acquaint himself with the originals, an incomparable service is being rendered to education and to modern culture by those scholars whose finished translations are helping modern readers to realize for themselves what are the qualities in the Greek and Latin classics which have won for them the admiration of mankind. No translation can rise to the level of such a work as the *Annals of Tacitus*; but if the version here offered shall do something to make Tacitus live again for the English reader, or, better still, induce him to study the original, it will repay the years of solid labour which have been expended on it.

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THE ANNALS

OF

CORNELIUS TACITUS.

BOOK I.

1. 1 IN the beginning, Rome was ruled by Kings.¹ Lucius Brutus established liberty and the Consulship. The
2 Dictatorship was resorted to in emergencies. The authority of the Decemvirs lasted for only two years; that of the Military Tribunes with Consular Powers
3 for no long period. The tyrannies of Cinna and of Sulla were short-lived;² the ascendancy of Pompeius and Crassus passed quickly on to Cæsar, the swords of Lepidus and Antonius made way before Augustus: who under the title of 'Princeps' took the whole

How Rome was ruled before Augustus.

¹ Chapters 1 and 2 are written with great care. Chap. 1 begins with a short enumeration of the various forms of government set up in Rome from the time of Romulus to that of Augustus. Each is marked by an appropriate word. For the kings, the neutral word *habuere*, 'governed,' is used. *Libertas* stands for 'the Republic.' *Potestas* and *ius* imply that the powers of the decemvirs and military tribunes were constitutional, and exercised according to law. The rule of Cinna and of Sulla was a *dominatio*—a rule of violence without pretence of legality. The first triumvirate exercised a *potentia*, or undue ascendancy; it was an extralegal, rather than an illegal, authority;

a combination of influences which, without palpably overriding the constitution, worked it for the sole benefit of the triumvirs. The second triumvirate, of Antony, Lepidus and Augustus, was in its origin purely military (*arma*); while Augustus established an *Imperium*, under the title of *Princeps*.

² Cinna's *dominatio* lasted from 87 B.C., when he violated alike his oath and the constitution as Cos. I. (*i.e.* for the first time), till he was killed in a mutiny at Ancona in B.C. 84, when Cos. IV. It is curious that Tacitus makes no mention of Marius, whose reign of terror was in B.C. 87; nor of Sulla's later career as a legislator. Sulla was *dictator perpetuus* B.C. 82-79.

world, worn out by civil conflict, under Imperial rule.¹

Purpose
of this
History.

The story of ancient Rome, in her triumphs and 4
reverses, has been related by illustrious writers; nor were men of genius wanting to tell of Augustus and his times, until the rising spirit of sycophancy bid them beware. The histories of Tiberius and 5
Gaius, of Claudius and Nero, were either falsified through fear, if written during their life-time; or composed under feelings of fresh hatred after their 6
fall. I purpose, therefore, to write shortly of Augustus and his end, and then narrate the reigns of Tiberius and his successors;² unmoved, as I have no reason to be moved, by either hatred or partiality.³

¹ The phrase *nomine principis sub imperium accipit* expresses in the shortest and most exact form the government set up by Augustus: a military despotism under the modest title of *princeps*. The *imperium*, conveyed by a *lex curiata de imperio*, was properly the supreme power, civil and military, exercised by the higher magistrates of the Roman people, whether at home or abroad. In practice, under the Republic, the *imperium* within the city was so modified by the rights of *intercessio*, *provocatio*, etc., that it could only be fully exercised, even by the consuls, outside the city walls, and by provincial governors inside their respective provinces. Hence the term came to denote especially the power of the sword, exercised by every *imperator* over his troops, or over his province. An extended *imperium* became the basis of the power of the emperors (see n. on chap. 2, 1); but to avoid parading within the city the military nature of his rule, Augustus chose to be designated by the simple title of 'princeps.' That title, under the Republic, had been an honorary designation; it was given as a matter of courtesy to the senior consular in the senate, who was called *princeps senatus*. Gradually, however, it acquired what Mr. Greenidge ('Roman Public Life,' p. 352) describes as a semi-official

character, and came to denote a kind of political pre-eminence over other citizens, as in Cic. ad Att. viii. 9, 4 *nihil malle Caesarem quam principem Pompeio sine metu vivere*; and ad Fam. vi. 6, 5 *esset hic quidem (i.e. Caesar) clarus in toga et princeps*. Horace applies it in a complimentary manner to Augustus (Od. 1, 2, 50) *Hic ames dici pater atque princeps*. Similarly, the young Caesars, Gaius and Lucius, were styled *principes iuventutis* (chap. 3, 2). In the present passage, Tacitus is speaking of the principate in its ultimate form, as constituted in B.C. 23, without reference to the intermediate form which it assumed in B.C. 27. See n. on chap. 2, 1.

² Tacitus here announces the scope of the Annals, and his reasons for undertaking the work. He is to be the first impartial historian of the reigns of Tiberius, Caligula, Claudius and Nero.

³ Thus ostentatiously does Tacitus proclaim that he has no *causas*, i.e. no personal reasons, for partiality in writing of Augustus and Tiberius: he has received neither good usage nor ill usage at their hands. Similarly, in introducing his Histories, he says *Mihi Galba, Otho, Vitellius nec beneficio nec iniuria cogniti* (Hist. i. 1, 4). How far he makes good this claim in regard to Tiberius is one of the great questions for the reader of the Annals to determine.

2. 1 When the last army of the Republic¹ had fallen with Brutus and Cassius² on the field; when Sextus Pompeius³ had been crushed in Sicily; and when the deposition of Lepidus,⁴ followed by the death of Antonius,⁵ had left Augustus⁶ sole leader of the Julian party, he laid aside the title of Triumvir,⁷ assumed

Gradual ascent of Augustus to supreme power.

¹ In contrast to the curt sentences of chap. 1, Tacitus now plunges into one of his most carefully constructed periods. In one masterly sentence, he passes in review the whole reign of Augustus; noting the successive stages in his upward progress, the methods by which he paved the way for Empire, the exhaustion, the lassitude and corruption, which led the Roman world to acquiesce in it. In styling the army which fought at Philippi 'the last army of the Republic,' Tacitus declines to acknowledge the legality of the consular powers voted to the triumvirs for five years by a plebiscite carried by the tribune P. Titius in November, B.C. 43.

² Brutus and Cassius both committed suicide: Cassius after the first battle of Philippi, B.C. 42; Brutus after the second, fought twenty days later.

³ Sextus Pompeius Magnus, younger son of Pompey the Great, maintained the Pompeian cause after his father's death, principally in Sicily and by sea, till he was defeated by M. Agrippa in the sea-fight off Naulochus, Sept. 3, B.C. 36.

⁴ M. Aemilius Lepidus, the triumvir, attempting a revolt on his own account in Sicily, after the defeat of Sextus Pompey by M. Agrippa in B.C. 36, was deposed by Augustus, and forced into retirement. But he remained *Pontifex Maximus* until his death, B.C. 13, when he was succeeded in that office by Augustus.

⁵ After his memorable defeat at Actium, Sept. 2, B.C. 31, Antony fled to Alexandria, where he put an end to himself in the year following, on the approach of Augustus.

⁶ Tacitus here speaks of Augustus as *Caesar*. In chap. 1 he is spoken of as *Augustus* in connection with the 2nd triumvirate (B.C. 43), although that title was not conferred upon him until Jan. 16, B.C. 27; and in the same passage the name *Caesarem* refers to Julius Caesar. Tacitus applies the name indiscriminately, and without any addition, to all the members of the imperial

family in turn: to Augustus, Tiberius, Germanicus, Drusus, etc. The full name of Augustus at the time of the triumvirate was *Gaius Iulius Caesar Octavianus*; the termination *anus* signifying that he had belonged to the *Gens Octavia* before passing by adoption into the *Gens Iulia*.

⁷ The reference here (*posito triumviri nomine*) is to the intermediate constitution of B.C. 27, when Augustus, being now *potentiae securus* (iii. 28, 3), professed to hand back to the senate and people the extraordinary powers conferred upon the triumvirs in B.C. 43, of which powers he was now the sole holder. This act is constantly spoken of as a 'restoration of the Republic.' Thus in the great inscription known as the *Monumentum Ancyranum*, (vi. 13: see n. on i. 11, 5), Augustus tells us that in his 7th consulship (B.C. 27) the senate conferred on him the title of 'Augustus' because *rem publicam ex mea potestate in senatus populiq[ue] Romani arbitrium transtuli*. In return, he received back at their hands the consulship, to be held for ten years, with enlarged powers, and to be exercised over the whole Empire; it included the command of all armies, and the right of making peace and war. Besides the consulship, he was to hold the *tribunicia potestas*; that power being held, not in the larger sense attached to it after B.C. 23, but for its old constitutional purpose of affording protection to the plebs (*ad tuendam plebem*). This power, with all its privileges as known in republican times, had already been conferred upon Augustus for life in B.C. 37; but it would appear that he only gradually became conscious of the great possibilities which the holding of it opened up to him, enabling him, as it did, both to initiate measures at his pleasure, and to interrupt the course of ordinary law whenever he chose to consider that the interests of the people required it. The final development came in B.C. 23, when Augustus gave up the continued holding

the Consulship,¹ and professed himself content with the Tribunician Power for the protection of the plebs. But when he had won the soldiery by bounties,² the populace by cheap corn,³ and all classes alike by the sweets of peace, he rose higher and higher by degrees, and drew into his own hands all the functions of the Senate,⁴ the magistrates⁵ and the laws.⁶ And there

of the consulship, as being in appearance unconstitutional, and received in its place the *proconsulare imperium*. That power was now extended by the senate so as to embrace all the essentials of the *consulare imperium* which he had held previously; while the *tribunicia potestas* also was so enlarged in its scope as to carry with it the idea of supreme authority: *id summi fastigii vocabulum Augustus reperit ne regis aut dictatoris nomen adsumeret ac tamen appellatione aliqua cetera imperia praemineret* (iii. 56, 2). From that time onward the Emperors dated their reigns from the assumption of the *tribunicia potestas*. The assumption of the seemingly modest, but really extravagant, powers of the tribunate was a master-stroke of political genius; it exactly fitted the leading idea of the policy of Augustus, which was to gather into his own hands the substance, without the name, of power. See Rushforth, 'Roman Historical Inscriptions,' pp. 4-6, and n. on iii. 56, 2. As Mr. Greenidge says, 'Roman Public Life,' p. 337, the *trib. pot.* was 'the ideal complement of a lasting *imperium*, valuable for the inviolability it conferred, and for the "civil" and popular colouring which it gave its holder.' The combination of these two powers constituted a democratic military autocracy; analogous to the theory of the Second French Empire—that of military rule supported by a popular vote. 'A plebiscitary empire' was the fundamental doctrine of the Imperial party in France so long as it had any practical policy at all.

¹ Augustus held his first consulship in B.C. 43, forcing the senate to vote it to him. His second consulship, held for only a short time, was in B.C. 33: he then held the office for nine years in succession, from B.C. 31 to 23.

² In the Mon. Anc. iii. 17, 18, Augustus records that in his 5th consulship (B.C. 29) he gave 1,000 sesterces apiece to 125,000 veterans in his military colonies, as a *triumphale congi-*

arium. He gave the same amount (250 drachmae) to every soldier at the taking of Alexandria, B.C. 30, to save the city from pillage (Dio. li. 17, 7), and granted to the army generally liberal terms of discharge (Suet. Oct. 49; Dio. lv. 23, 1). Summing up all he had given to the treasury, or in largesses, or to discharged soldiers, Augustus himself puts the total at 2400,000,000 sesterces; equivalent, in round numbers, to about £20,000,000 of our money (Mon. Anc. vi. 29, 30).

³ The term *annona*, here used, applies primarily to the measures taken by Augustus for securing a plentiful and cheap supply of corn to the city; but also, no doubt, to the gratuitous, or nearly gratuitous, distributions of corn periodically made to indigent citizens (*frumentationes*). These distributions constituted what was practically a gigantic system of outdoor relief. Originally, a small payment was demanded; in B.C. 58, under Caesar's influence, the payment was abolished; and later, all that Caesar ventured to do was to reduce the number of recipients to 150,000 ticket-holders. See Suet. Oct. 41, and Dict. Ant. s.v. *Frumentariae Leges*. On the care taken by the emperors to regulate the corn-supply of the city, see n. on iii. 54, 6-8.

⁴ The senate nominally retained its old functions; but the tribunician powers of initiation and of veto gave the emperor complete command of its decisions.

⁵ All ordinary magistrates exercised their powers subject to the larger powers conferred upon the emperor under one or other of his titles; the powers of the censorship he exercised under the *regimen legum et morum*, or as *corrector morum*.

⁶ In legislation, the emperor held in his own hand the machinery of the senate and of the comitia; but he and his successors assumed also, by degrees, the right of issuing ordinances which

was no one to oppose; for the most ardent patriots had fallen on the field, or in the proscriptions; and the rest of the nobles, advanced in wealth and place in proportion to their servility, and drawing profit out of the new order of affairs, preferred the security of the present to the hazards of the past.

2 Nor did the provinces resent the change; for the rule of the Senate and the People had become odious to them from the contests between great leaders, and the greed of magistrates, against whom the laws, upset by force, by favour, and, in fine, by bribery, were powerless to protect them.¹

Acquiescence of the provinces.

3. 1 Meanwhile Augustus, as buttresses to his rule, advanced Claudius Marcellus,² his sister's son, to the priesthood and Curule Aedileship, while yet a lad; and bestowed the honour of two³ Consulships on Marcus Agrippa⁴—a man of ignoble birth, but a stout

Augustus seeks for heirs;

had the force of law: *quod principi placuit legis habet vigorem*, Ulpian Dig. i. 4. 1. And although the form of electing magistrates by the comitia continued for some time, the greater number were elected on the recommendation, and none without the approval, of the emperor. See the *lex de imperio* passed at the accession of Vespasian, C. I. L. vi. 930; and Rushforth, pp. 82-87.

¹ Even Tacitus has to acknowledge the breakdown of all justice in the government of the provinces under the republic. The establishment of monarchy was essential in their interests; it was largely caused by the reaction of the provinces upon Rome. The following books afford many examples of consideration shewn to the interests, and even the feelings, of the provincials, such as we look for in vain in republican days. Hence the frequent bestowing of honours upon the emperor by grateful provinces; see iv. 15. 4: 37, 1; Suet. Oct. 59, 60. As to the ultimate effects of the establishment of the principate upon the civilized world, see Greenidge, p. 427: 'The results were comfort and peace; but a comfort that was too often divested of even local patriotism, and a peace that was singu-

larly devoid of intellectual ideals. . . . The subject acclaimed it (*i.e.* the empire) in its initial stages, although his descendant was to find in it a burden in comparison with which the yoke of the republican proconsul would have seemed a trifle.' ✓

² M. Claudius Marcellus, son of Octavia, the sister of Augustus. He was born B.C. 43; adopted by Augustus, and married to Julia, B.C. 25; made curule aedile in B.C. 23, and died in the same year. It was in his honour that Augustus dedicated the well-known theatre of Marcellus; and that Virgil wrote the noble passage, Aen. vi. 851-887, the reciting of which was said to have caused Octavia to faint with emotion, and which she rewarded with a gift of 10,000 sesterces *pro singulo versu* ('for each line') Donat. Vit. Virg. 47. See Prop. iii. 18; Hor. Od. i. 12, 46.

³ In B.C. 28 and 27; he had been previously consul in B.C. 37.

⁴ Marcus Vipsanius Agrippa, born in the same year as Augustus (B.C. 63), was his early companion, and his right hand in all his wars. His daughter Vipsania (by his first wife, Pomponia, daughter of Atticus) was the first wife of Tiberius.

soldier, and partner in his victories. When Marcellus died, he took Agrippa as his son-in-law; and distinguished his two step-sons, Tiberius Nero and Claudius Drusus, with Imperial¹ titles, though as yet there was no lack of heirs in his own family.

For he had adopted the two sons of Agrippa,² Gaius and Lucius,² into the family of the Caesars; and before they assumed the manly gown, had caused them to be styled 'Chiefs of the Youth,'³ and to be designated Consuls—honours which he had affected to decline, but had most ardently coveted for them. But first Agrippa died; then the two Caesars were cut off—whether by an untimely fate, or through the machinations of their step-mother Livia⁴—the younger of them on his way to join the Spanish army, the elder when returning wounded from Armenia. Tiberius was now the sole surviving step-son of Augustus; for his brother Drusus⁵ had perished long

he adopts
Gaius and
Lucius
Caesar.

The death
of Agrippa
and the
young
Caesars

opens the
way for
Tiberius.

¹ Two uses of the title *imperator* under the empire have to be distinguished. What is here meant is the honorary title by which, according to ancient custom, a conquering general was hailed by his soldiers in the moment of victory. Such a title was carefully recorded, and was indicated by the letters *Imp.* placed *after* the recipient's name. It might be bestowed several times upon the same person; it was accorded 21 times to Augustus. After the year A.D. 22, when this title was conferred on Blaesus, it was never given to any but members of the imperial family (iii. 74, 6, 7). Quite different was the *praenomen Imperatoris*. This title was first assumed by Caesar, as a distinguishing mark of imperial sovereignty; it was placed, as the words imply, *before* the name. Augustus adopted it in B.C. 40 instead of his own praenomen *Gaius*, calling himself *Imperator Caesar Divi filius*; and his example was followed by most of the succeeding emperors, though not by Tiberius (Suet. Caes. 76; Dio. xliii. 44, 2). It is from this use of the term that the modern title 'Emperor' is derived.

² Gaius Caesar, the elder of the two, was born B.C. 19, and died in Lycia, A.D. 4, of a wound received in Armenia; Lucius was born B.C. 17, and died at Marseilles, on his way to Spain, A.D. 2.

³ A courtesy title, bestowed for the first time by the equites on the two young Caesars (Mon. Ancyran. iii. 5). From this time onwards, this title was usually bestowed on the probable successor to the empire. For the vague use of the word *princeps*, cp. the phrases *principes liberos*, 'the sons of great men,' Tac. Dial. 40, 1; *principes feminas*, Plin. H.N. viii. 32, 119; *principibus viris*, Ann. iii. 6, 5.

⁴ One of the many passages in which Tacitus suggests a suspicion of foul play, especially on the part of Livia, without committing himself to a definite assertion of it. See chap. 3, 4; 5, 2; ii. 43, 5; iii. 10, 4, etc.

⁵ Claudius Drusus Nero, the younger brother of Tiberius, and father of Germanicus (called *senior* to distinguish him from Drusus the son of Tiberius), was born B.C. 38, three months after his mother Livia had been carried off from his father's house by Augustus. See chap. 10, 4. He was the more

before. On him therefore all hopes were centred. He was adopted as a son,¹ made colleague in the 'Imperium,'² admitted to share the Tribunitian Power,³ and exhibited to all the armies: his mother no longer intriguing for him in secret, but affording him open encouragement.

4 For Livia had acquired such an ascendancy over Augustus in his old age, that he cast out on the island of Planasia⁴ his only surviving grandson, Agrippa Postumus:⁵ an uncultured youth, no doubt, with nothing but brute bodily strength to recommend him, but one who had never been found guilty of
5 any open misdemeanour. And yet⁶ so anxious was Augustus to strengthen his position that he appointed Germanicus, the son of Drusus, to the command of the eight legions on the Rhine, and ordered his adoption by Tiberius, although Tiberius had a young son of his own.

Ascendancy of Livia.

popular of the two brothers. His victorious campaign in B.C. 15, in conjunction with Tiberius, against the Rhaeti and Vindelici in the Eastern Alps, has been made famous by Hor. Od. iv. 4 and 14. After important successes in Germany, into which he penetrated as far as the Elbe, he was killed by a fall from his horse, B.C. 9.

¹ After the deaths of Lucius and Gaius, in A.D. 2 and A.D. 4 respectively, Tiberius was clearly marked out for the succession, not only as the possessor of the *imperium* and the *tribunitia potestas*, but also, and in a more marked manner, as the adopted son of Augustus. On the triumphal Arch at Ticinum (*Pavia*), erected in A.D. 7 or 8, Tiberius is described as 'son of Augustus, grandson of Divus (*i.e.* Julius Caesar), Augur, Cos II., and holder of the *trib. pot.* for the 9th time.' See Rushforth, p. 42.

² This phrase refers to partnership in the *proconsulare imperium*. That power, as we have seen above (see n. on chap. 2, 1), received its fullest application in B.C. 23, after which it practically became perpetual. The association of an heir in this power

would probably only be partial. Thus Germanicus received in A.D. 11 a special *imperium* in Gaul and Germany (see chap. 14, 4); and in A.D. 17 the senate voted him a *maius imperium*, above all ordinary provincial governors, over the provinces of the East (ii. 43, 2).

³ Tiberius received the *trib. pot.* for five years in B.C. 6. It was again conferred on him A.D. 4 for ten years; or more probably for a period of five years, renewed again (perhaps for life) in A.D. 9 (Suet., Tib. 16). M. Agrippa had previously held the *trib. pot.* from B.C. 18 to his death in B.C. 12.

⁴ A small rocky island 20 miles S. of Elba, now called *Pianosa*.

⁵ The youngest of the three sons of Agrippa and Julia, born after the death of the former (B.C. 12), and put to death by Tiberius A.D. 14, chap. 6, 1.

⁶ The words 'and yet' (*at Hercule*) emphasize the inconsistency of Augustus in banishing his own grandson, and yet conferring an important command upon his nephew. In causing Tiberius, who had a son of his own (Drusus junior), to adopt Germanicus, Augustus was introducing into the imperial family the fatal system of rival heirs; and in this

Peace prevailed abroad, tranquillity at home.

All wars had now ceased except that against the Germans; and even that was being continued rather to wipe out the disgrace of the loss of Quintilius Varus¹ and his legions, than from a desire to extend the empire, or for any profitable end. Tranquillity reigned at home; the magistrates were called by their old names;² the younger generation had been born since Actium,³ the elder, for the most part, during the course of the Civil Wars: how many were there left who had beheld the Republic?

Would the new system survive Augustus?

Thus a revolution had been accomplished. The old order had passed away; everything had suffered change. The days of equality were gone: men looked to the Prince for his commands, having no anxiety

case the adopted son was the older of the two. Yet, in spite of all court rivalries between their respective supporters, we learn from ii. 43, 7 that these two brothers lived on terms of perfect harmony—*egregie concordés et proximorum certaminibus inconcussi*—one of the very few pleasing touches introduced by Tacitus in his account of the family relations of the Caesars.

The death and total defeat of P. Quintilius Varus, with almost entire loss of his three legions, in A.D. 9, is one of the epoch-making disasters of history. Drusus, in his German campaigns, between the years B.C. 12 and 9, had overrun central Germany as far as the Visurgis (*Weser*) and the Albis (*Elbe*); and the beginnings of Roman civilisation and administration were being pushed gradually into Germany when Varus was appointed to the command, in A.D. 7. He was instructed to introduce regular Roman government into the province. With that view, he advanced in A.D. 9 as far as the *Weser*, and was retreating incautiously towards the head waters of the Amisia (*Ems*) and the Luppia (*Lippe*), in the direction of the Roman fort of Aliso, when he was overtaken by the patriot Arminius. Arminius and his family had professed friendship to Rome; but he now raised the German tribes in revolt, and suddenly fell upon the Roman army when entangled in the forest country known as the *saltus Teutoburgiensis*, on the watershed between the *Weser* on the E. and

the *Ems* and *Lippe* on the W. Almost the entire army, numbering about 20,000 men, was destroyed. Augustus felt this disaster bitterly; and Rome herself may be said never to have got over it. It led to the abandonment of all attempt to reduce Germany into the form of a province; and to the momentous consequences to modern Europe which have resulted from the fact that Germany remained un-Romanised. It is interesting to reflect how the course of history might have been changed had Germany been turned into a second Gaul; had the shorter and more scientific frontier of the *Elbe* been substituted for that of the *Rhine* and the *Upper Danube*, with the gigantic *limes* which had to be erected between the upper waters of those rivers; and had the hardy tribes of Germany been enlisted on the side of Rome to confront the inroads of the barbarians in the third and fourth centuries.

² As we have seen, it was the essence of the policy of Augustus to conserve or to revive the forms of ancient titles and institutions, so as to conceal more effectually the fact that all reality had been taken out of them.

³ The battle of Actium, fought upon the 2nd Sept., B.C. 31, decided once for all the question whether Rome was to remain a Western power; and, as one of the most decisive battles in the perennial contest between East and West, has deeply affected the course of modern history.

Arminius

for the present, so long as Augustus was of the age, and had the strength, to keep himself, his house and
 2 the public peace secure. But when he advanced in years, when his health and strength failed, and his approaching end gave birth to new hopes, some few discoursed idly on the blessings of liberty; many dreaded war; some longed for it.¹

3 But the greater number pulled to pieces the characters of their future masters with comments such as these:—

*Agrippa, they said, was a savage, exasperated by contumelious treatment; he had neither the years nor the experience to bear the weight of empire. [Tiberius Nero was of ripe age, and a tried warrior: but he had all the old pride² of the Claudii³ in his blood; and, however carefully suppressed, many indications of a cruel
 4 temper had escaped him.] He had been brought up from infancy in a reigning house; Consulships⁴ and Triumphs had been heaped upon him in his youth: even during the years of exile⁵ which he had spent in Rhodes,⁶ under*

Comments of the public on his possible successors.

¹ Tacitus here shortly states the three-fold division of public opinion at Rome at this crisis: (1) Idle and abstract laudations of liberty by the select few; (2) the opinion of the majority, who felt that nothing but monarchy could avert the horrors of civil war; (3) that of the party of revolution and confusion, ready to welcome war in their greed for *res novae*.

² For this hereditary quality in the Claudii, see Liv. ii. 56, 8; Suet., Tib. 2.

³ Here and elsewhere in Tacitus the word *familia* is used for *gens*; so in ii. 52, 8 of the *gens Furia*; and in iii. 48, 2 of the *gens Sulpicia*.

⁴ This is an exaggeration. Tiberius had only twice been consul: in B.C. 13 (aged 29), and again in B.C. 7 (aged 35). Suetonius mentions no triumph; only one ovation, with triumphal honours, granted after his German successes, in B.C. 7; the 'triumphal ornaments' being, as some thought, first devised on that occasion. See chap. 72, 1. His panygerist, Velleius Paterculus (ii. 97, 5),

mentions the ovation of B.C. 7 as 'his second triumph'; ascribing to him a first triumph for his successes in Pannonia and Dalmatia soon after B.C. 12. In reviewing his life, Velleius praises him for 'being content with three triumphs, when without any hesitation he could have claimed seven.' Which was the third triumph indicated here by Velleius is not clear.

⁵ Adopting *exul egerit*, the reading of Muretus, for the MS. *exulem*. Cp. *eum Rhodi agentem*, 'when living at Rhodes,' ii. 42, 2.

⁶ The retirement of Tiberius to Rhodes from B.C. 6 to A.D. 2 is one of the mysteries of his life. He had been Cos. II. in B.C. 7; early in B.C. 6 he had been invested with the *tribunicia potestas*, and charged with an important mission to Armenia. Yet he chose this moment to retire from public life, and shut himself up, under pretence of studying philosophy, in the island of Rhodes. Suet. Tib. 10 suggests three different reasons which may have moved

pretence of retreat, he had done nothing¹ but brood over his resentments, or practise hypocrisy and solitary debauch.² And then there was his mother, with all the ungovernable⁵ passions of her sex:³ they would have to serve a woman, and two striplings⁴ into the bargain, who would begin by oppressing the commonwealth, and end by rending it in sunder.

The health
of Augustus
fails.

Amid speculations such as these, the health of 5. Augustus began to fail. Some suspected foul play on the part of his wife.⁵ For a rumour had got 2

him to this step; (1) The profligate conduct of his wife Julia: Tacitus assigns this as the main cause, i. 53, 2. (2) A desire to make way for the two young Caesars, who were now stepping into the position hitherto occupied by himself. (3) A hope that his absence from Rome might prove him to be indispensable. See Dio iv. 9. According to Suetonius, he retired in a fit of sullenness, greatly against the will of Augustus; and when after a time he begged to be allowed to return, his petition was harshly refused. At Rhodes he lived a life of absolute seclusion; he was subjected to slight and insult at the hands of those who sought to curry favour with the young princes (ii. 42, 3; iii. 48, 3); yet he was permitted to return to Rome while those princes were still alive and in high favour, on the condition that he was to take no part in public affairs (Suet., Tib. 13). Whatever the true circumstances of his retreat may have been, it is certain that it was the result of friction between himself and Augustus, and that it left permanent traces for evil upon his proud, sensitive, and vindictive nature.

¹ Reading *aliud quam* with Halm and Nipp. for the MS. *aliquid quam*.

² Under cover of quoting opinions expressed at the time, Tacitus does not hesitate to put the vilest interpretation on the enforced seclusion of Tiberius at Rhodes. This is one of his favourite methods of detraction. He first puts a charge into some one's mouth, keeping himself clear of all responsibility for it; then afterwards, without more ado, assumes its truth. Thus in iv. 57, 4 he asserts of Tiberius as a fact *Et Rhodi secreto vitare coetus, recondere voluplates insuerat*. Even if we accept

as true the evil tales about the later years of Tiberius—and the probability is all the other way—there is no evidence against his private life in Rhodes. All that the scandal-monger Suetonius tells us of his doings in Rhodes points in the opposite direction. He describes him as leading there a quiet, inoffensive life; studious, kindly; humbly avoiding any occasion of giving offence. In vilifying the life at Capri, he knows no bounds; he says nothing against the life at Rhodes.

³ So in v. 1, 5, Livia is described as *mater impotens*, in reference to her exacting demands upon her son: cp. iv. 57, 4. The word *impotentia* means more than 'imperiousness'; it implies that total want of control over the passions, feelings and conduct, which Tacitus regards as a peculiarly feminine characteristic. He seldom misses an opportunity of having a fling at women.

⁴ *i.e.* Germanicus, and Drusus the son of Tiberius.

⁵ Another suspicion suggested, not vouched for. Dio is more precise, though he does not vouch for the truth of his own story. His account is that Livia was alarmed by the visit of Augustus to Agrippa Postumus, and that she determined to poison Augustus before he could change the succession. Augustus being fond of eating figs off the tree, she took him to a tree, plucked figs for him, and ate some herself, contriving to spread poison on those she gave to him (lvi. 30, 2). A likely story! Tacitus himself deals a death-blow to the credibility of such tales when he tells us that 'Rumour is ever charged with horrors when dealing with the death of princes' (iv. 11, 3).

abroad that Augustus, some months before, with the privity of a few special friends, and with Fabius Maximus¹ as sole companion, had journeyed to Planasia to see Agrippa. It was said that many tears had been shed, many signs of affection exchanged, between the two; and hopes were raised that the young man might be restored to his grandfather's home.² The secret of this visit, it was reported, had been betrayed by Maximus to his wife Marcia, and by her to Livia. This had come to the ears of Augustus; and when Maximus died not long after (whether by his own hand or not was a matter of doubt),³ Marcia had been overheard lamenting at his funeral, and blaming herself for her husband's death.

His reported visit to his grandson Postumus.

Be that as it may, Tiberius had scarcely reached Illyricum when he was recalled in haste by a message from his mother. Whether on arriving at Nola he found Augustus still alive, or already dead, was never known. For Livia had placed a strict guard upon the palace and its approaches; favourable bulletins were issued from time to time; until, when every necessary precaution had been taken, it was announced in one and the same breath that Augustus was dead, and that Tiberius was in possession of the government.

His death.

Precautions taken by Livia.

6. 1 The opening crime⁴ of the new reign was the

Murder of Agrippa Postumus.

¹ Paullus Fabius Maximus, consul B.C. 11, the patron of Ovid. The poet wrote two poems to this Fabius (Epist. ex Pont. i. 2 and iii. 3) urgently imploring him to intercede with Augustus in his favour, and procure his recall from exile. His death cut off Ovid's last hope: *Certus eras pro me, Fabiae lux maxime gentis, = Numen ad Augustum supplice voce loqui. = Occidis ante preces*; Ep. iv. 6, 9-11.

² Dio goes further, and says the fear was that Augustus meant to name Agrippa as his successor (lvi. 30, 1).

That Augustus, at his age, should have traversed forty miles of open sea, and that without the knowledge of Livia, is very improbable; that he could have thought, at the eleventh hour, of naming Postumus as his successor, is quite inconceivable.

³ Another unverified suspicion.

⁴ Tacitus begins his account of the reign of Tiberius with the grim insinuation that his whole reign was one long course of crime. So of Nero, Ann. xiii. 1, 1, *Prima novo principatu mors Iunii Silani . . . per dolum Agrippinae*

murder of Agrippa Postumus. He was taken by surprise, and was unarmed; yet the centurion, though a determined man, had some difficulty in despatching him. Tiberius made no communication 2 on the subject to the Senate. His father, he pretended, had left orders with the officer in charge to put Agrippa to death so soon as he himself should breathe his last. Now Augustus, no doubt, had said 3 many harsh things about the young man's character,¹ and had caused the Senate² to decree his banishment; but he never hardened himself so far as to put any of his own family to death,³ nor is it credible that he should have slain his grandson to secure a step-son's safety. It is more probable that this hurried murder 4 of a youth detested equally by Tiberius and by Livia, was the work of both; the former moved by fear, the latter by her hatred as a step-mother.

When the centurion reported, according to military 5 custom, that he had executed the order, Tiberius replied that he had never given any such order; and that the man would have to answer to the Senate for his conduct. When this became known to Sallustius 6

Advice of
Sallustius
Crispus.

paratur. Suetonius leaves it an open question whether the order for the death of Agrippa was left as an instruction by Augustus on his deathbed, or was given by Livia, with or without the knowledge of Tiberius. He adds that the death of Augustus was not given out till the murder had been accomplished (Tib. 22).

¹ Suet. (Oct. 65) informs us that Augustus adopted Tiberius and Agrippa on the same day; then disinherited Agrippa *ob ingenium sordidum ac ferox*; and finally, as he became *nihilo tractabilior, immo in dies amentior*, sent him into seclusion at Surrentum. The word *sordidum* is to be interpreted by Dio, who calls Agrippa *δουλοπρέπης*: he describes him as given to low pursuits, highly passionate, and violent in his abuse of Livia and Augustus.

² As Furn. points out, important criminals might be tried and sentenced either by the senate, or by the ordinary courts of law, or by the edict of the emperor himself. We shall find instances of all these methods in the Annals.

³ Augustus used coarsely to describe Agrippa and the two Julias (his daughter and grand-daughter respectively) as 'his three sores;' or 'his three cancerous ulcers' (Suet., Oct. 65). That Augustus should have contemplated extreme measures against such a grandson to secure the position of Tiberius does not seem improbable; he never permitted his heart to interfere with his policy. But the real object of Tacitus in exonerating Augustus is to whitewash him at the expense of Tiberius and Livia.

Crispus,¹ who was in the secret—it was he who had sent the written instructions to the Tribune—he was afraid that the charge would be shifted on to his own shoulders, in which case, whether he should tell the truth or not, he would be in equal peril. He therefore warned Livia that the secrets of the palace, the private advice of friends, and the services of the soldiery, were things not to be published abroad:—*Tiberius must not weaken the powers of the Principate by referring everything to the Senate. The condition of Imperial rule was this: that every one should be accountable to one man, and to one only.*²

7. 1 Meanwhile all at Rome—Consuls, Senators, and
 2 Knights—were plunging into servitude.³ Men bearing the most illustrious names were the foremost with false professions; composing their features so as not to show too much pleasure at the death of the one prince, or too little at the accession of the other; blending tears with their smiles, and flattery with
 3 their lamentations. The Consuls, Sextus Pompeius and Sextus Appuleius, were the first to take the oath of allegiance,⁴ which they in turn administered to Seius Strabo⁵ and Gaius Turranius—the former

Submission
of all in
Rome.

Oath of
allegiance
taken.

¹ Tacitus gives an interesting account of this Sallust, grand-nephew of the historian, by whom he was adopted. He compares him, both in character and career, to Maecenas, whom he succeeded as the confidant and adviser first of Augustus, and of Tiberius afterwards (iii. 30, 3-6). In ii. 40 we find him entrusted with a secret mission to inveigle the pretender Clemens, who attempted to raise an insurrection by personating Agrippa.

² A very apt definition of autocracy.

³ The phrase *ruere in servitium* seems to refer mainly to the voluntary taking of the oath of allegiance described below.

⁴ This was the military oath taken by every soldier to an *imperator* on his

assuming the command of his army. It was taken to the emperor in virtue of his *proconsulare imperium*, which extended over the whole empire. By a gradual extension, it became customary to exact this oath from the senate, from all magistrates, citizens and subjects, even in the provinces, on the 1st Jan. in each year, as well as at the beginning of a new reign. The oath bound them to maintain the emperor's authority against all enemies, even though they were their own children (Orell., Inscr. 3665). For the distinction between this oath and the oath *in acta principis*, see Furn. and n. on chap. 72, 2.

⁵ Father of the notorious favourite Aelius Sejanus (iv. 1, 3). See n. on chap. 24, 3.

Commandant of the Praetorian Cohorts,¹ the latter, Superintendent of the corn-market.² Then came the Senate, the soldiers, and the people. For Tiberius left all initiative with the Consuls, as though the old Republic were still standing, and as if he himself had not made up his mind to assume the Empire: even the edict by which he summoned the Senate he only put forth in virtue of the Tribunitian authority conferred on him in the lifetime of Augustus.

Tiberius issues a moderate edict,

but acts as Emperor.

The edict itself was short, and moderate in tone:—
He desired to take their advice as to the honours to be paid to his father; he himself would not leave the body, nor undertake any other public duty. And yet, no sooner was Augustus dead, than he had given the password to the Praetorians as their commander; he had surrounded himself with guards and sentinels and all the paraphernalia of a court; he was escorted by soldiers to the Forum and to the Senate-house, and he had issued a proclamation to the army as though he were already Emperor: nowhere did he show hesitation save in his language to the Senate.³

¹ The military office of *praefectus praetorii* (or —o), commander of the praetorian guards, and the civil office of *praefectus annonae*, superintendent of the markets, were now rising into great importance. As to the former, see iv. 2, 1-3. Both officers were appointed by the emperor, and responsible to him alone. The securing and regulating the corn-supply was one of the most important of the imperial duties. Under the republic, it had been discharged by the aediles, and its proper management was essential both for the tranquillity of the city and the security of the emperor. Tiberius speaks of this department being directly under his own control, iii. 54, 8: *Hanc, Patres Conscripti, curam sustinet princeps; haec omissa funditus rem publicam trahet.* At the head of the department was a *praefectus annonae* of equestrian rank. C. Turanius seems to have been the first to occupy that

position. See Rushforth, p. 31. The praefectures of the praetorian guards, of the corn-supply, and of Egypt, were held by Roman knights only, and constituted the three great prizes open to their order. The creation of these offices, the holders of which were responsible only to the emperors, was one of the chief means by which they gradually took all important administrative duties into their own hands. These offices, in fact, constituted a kind of permanent civil service.

² For *annona*, see nn. on chap. 2, 1, and iii. 54, 6 and 7.

³ The anxiety of Tiberius in regard to the attitude of Germanicus and his army is not to be wondered at. There was as yet no imperial law or custom of succession. Tacitus tells us over and over again, as in this passage, that Germanicus was the darling of the Roman people; that he had all the

- 9 His chief reason for this attitude was his fear of Germanicus. That prince had many legions under his command, and a vast force of allies; he was the darling of the people; and it might be that he would prefer possession to expectation.
- 10 Tiberius had regard also to public opinion. He wanted men to believe that he had been chosen and called to power by his countrymen, rather than that he had crept into it through the intrigues of a wife,¹
- 11 or as the adopted son of a dotard.² It transpired afterwards that this air of hesitation was assumed deliberately, for the purpose of fathoming the feelings of the leading men; for Tiberius would distort a word or a look into an offence, and treasure it up in his memory. ✓
8. 1 At the first meeting of the Senate, Tiberius permitted no business to be transacted except that relating to the obsequies of Augustus. The testament was carried in by the Vestal Virgins.³ Tiberius and Livia were appointed heirs. Livia was to be adopted into the Julian house, and to receive the title of 'Augusta.'⁴ His grandsons and great-grandsons

His fear of Germanicus,

and desire to test opinion.

The will of Augustus is brought in:

its provisions.

graces of character in which Tiberius was so deficient; that the army would have been willing to follow him had he chosen to take up arms on his own account; and that he was supposed to have republican leanings. See chap. 33, 5; ii. 13, 1 and 82, 3. There are few more pathetic passages in Tacitus than that in which he describes the misgiving in the hearts of the people which mingled with their delight in witnessing the triumph of Germanicus, A.D. 17: *breves et infaustos populi Romani amores* (ii. 41, 5). See Dio, lvii. 3, 1, and n. on chap. 11, 4.

¹ Tacitus regards the adoption of Tiberius as entirely due to the machinations of Livia. In iv. 57, 5 he represents her as constantly taunting him with having received the empire as her gift.

² Augustus was 65 years of age when he adopted Tiberius in A.D. 4. ✓

³ With whom, as in temples generally, it was common to deposit wills, papers, and other valuables for security.

⁴ The granting of the *nomen Augustum* to Livia was an extraordinary honour. It was more than a mere compliment; for that title belonged properly to the actually reigning emperor (Rushforth, p. 68), and was never borne by any one else till the middle of the second century. Mommsen points out (Staatsr. ii. 746 n.) that under a less determined ruler than Tiberius, Livia might have asserted her claim to be practically his colleague. The younger Agrippina bore the title as co-ruler with Claudius first and Nero afterwards; her head appears on coins beside that of Nero. See nn. on chap. 14, 3 and iv. 57, 4. The title was conferred upon Augustus on Jan. 16, B.C. 27, as a complimentary surname like *Magnus*,

Amounts
be-
queathed.

came next in the succession; in the third rank were many names of distinction, mostly those of personal enemies, inserted in a spirit of vain-glory, with an eye to the approbation of posterity. The amount bequeathed was not above the scale of a private fortune; but a sum of forty-three and a half million sesterces was left to the people and to the plebs. Each soldier of the Praetorian Cohorts was to receive one thousand sesterces; the soldiers of the Urban Cohorts, five hundred; the legionaries, and the members of the Cohorts raised from Roman citizens, three hundred sesterces apiece.¹ J

Question of
funeral
honours.

The question of funeral honours was then considered. The most outstanding proposals were that

Germanicus, etc., and also in a semi-religious sense to denote the greatness and sanctity of his person. He himself tells us it was given to him in return for his having restored the republic to the senate and the people: *pro quo merito meo senatus consulto Augustus appellatus sum* (Mon., Anc. vi. 16).

¹ There are some slight differences between the accounts of the will as given by Tacitus, by Suet. (Aug. 101), and by Dio (lvi. 32). But if we put the accounts carefully together (with the necessary insertion of *urbanis quingentos* after *singula nummum milia* in the passage before us, and reading *ac* for *aut* after the following word *legionariis*), we may conclude that the sums bequeathed were as follows. The main inheritance—what we should call ‘the residue’—was divided between Tiberius and Livia, in the proportion of two parts to Tiberius and one to Livia. Failing them, two-thirds were to go to Germanicus and his three sons, and one-third to Drusus, son of Tiberius. Failing these also, a number of distinguished names were inserted as heirs in the third degree. Suetonius states that Augustus estimated this residue at 150 million sesterces, equivalent roughly (if we take the metal value of a thousand sesterces as £8) to about £1,200,000. There were various legacies (amounts not named) to relatives and others, including some foreign princes. The most considerable legacies were (1) 40

million HS. (£32,000) to the *populus Romanus*, i.e. the public Treasury (*aerarium*); (2) 3,500,000 HS. (£28,000) to the *plebs*, i.e. to the 35 tribes, at the rate of 100,000 HS., or £800, a tribe; (3) 1000 HS., or £8, to each soldier in the praetorian cohorts; 500 HS., or £4, to each soldier in the urban cohorts; 300 HS., or £2 8s., apiece, to each common soldier, whether of the legions or of the *cohortes civium Romanorum*. Reckoning the praetorian guards at 9000 men, the urban cohorts at 3000, and the legionaries (25 legions) at 125,000 in all, the total sum left to the soldiery would amount to £354,000 of our money. The gross amount of the estate bequeathed would work out thus:

To the army	HS. 48,000,000
To the <i>populus</i>	„ 40,000,000
To the <i>plebs</i>	„ 3,500,000
To residue	„ 150,000,000
	<hr/>
	241,500,000

making a total of less than two millions of our money, not equal to a third of the amount bequeathed by Mr. Cecil Rhodes for public purposes. This was no great sum for one who had been sole ruler of the Roman empire for nearly half a century, and who, according to his own testimony, had himself received in legacies during twenty years no less than 1400 million sesterces, or something more than eleven millions sterling.

of Gallus Asinius, that the procession should pass through the Triumphal Gate;¹ and that of Lucius Arruntius,² that the titles of the laws passed by the deceased, and the names of the nations which he had conquered, should be borne before the body. To these Messalla Valerius added that the oath of allegiance³ to Tiberius should be renewed every year; and when challenged by Tiberius to say whether that motion had been made at his instigation, he replied that *no man had prompted him: nor would he follow any counsel but his own in public matters, even though he might give offence thereby.* Such was the only form of flattery still left untried!

It was carried by acclamation that the body should be borne to the pyre by senators; an honour which Tiberius waived,⁴ in a tone of arrogant condescension. And to the people he issued a proclamation, praying them not to think of burning the body in the Forum,⁵ rather than at its appointed resting-place⁶ in the

Proclamation by Tiberius.

¹ This gate was used only for triumphal processions. It was situated at some point in the low ground between the Capitol and the river, affording a natural access from the Campus Martius, in which the procession was marshalled, into the city. There were two other gates for ordinary use in this short space, the *P. Flumentana*, or River Gate, and the *P. Carmentalis*.

² For Asinius Gallus and L. Arruntius, see nn. on chaps. 12, 2 and 13, 1.

³ See n. on chap. 7, 3.

⁴ Though this honour was thus graciously 'remitted' by Tiberius, it was conferred all the same. The body was carried from Nola to Bovillae by the senators (*decuriones*) of the various municipalities; from Bovillae it was borne by equites; and on the day of the funeral *senatorum humeris delatus in Campum crematusque* (Suet., Aug. 100).

⁵ For the scene at the burning of

Caesar's body, see Suet., Jul. 84; Plutarch, Caes. 68; and above all, Shakespeare, Julius Caesar, Act iii. Scene 2. Augustus erected a temple to Caesar on the spot where the body was cremated, at the low end of the Forum. The platform of this temple, discovered in 1872, may still be seen near the Regia and the temple of Vesta. Close by the temple were the *Rostra Iulia*, ornamented by Augustus with beaks of the ships taken at Actium; it was from that spot that Tiberius delivered the funeral oration on Augustus.

⁶ The well-known *Mausoleum of Augustus*, built B.C. 28, between the Via Flaminia and the Tiber, at the spot where they come closest to each other. It was a huge circular structure, rising in three terraces, planted with cypresses. The first occupant of the mausoleum was M. Marcellus, son-in-law of Augustus, who died B.C. 23: *vel quae Tiberine videbis = Funera, cum tumulum praeterlabere recentem* (Virg., Aen.

Campus Martius, nor to repeat the disturbances caused by excess of affection at the obsequies of the Immortal Julius.

The funeral.

On the funeral day, the troops were drawn up on guard, amid the derision of those who had themselves beheld or had heard their elders describe the day when Rome, unripe as yet for slavery, had struck that ill-fated blow for freedom—the day when some regarded the assassination of Caesar as a foul crime, others as a most glorious achievement : whereas now an aged emperor, after a long lease of power, and after providing his heirs with resources against the Commonwealth, had need of a guard of soldiers to keep order over his grave !

Public gossip about Augustus.

There followed much talk about Augustus.¹ People idly marvelled that he had died upon the same day² as that on which he had first entered on power ; in the same house, in the very room, at Nola, in which his father Octavius had breathed his last. They dwelt upon the number of his consulships,³ equal to those of Valerius Corvus and Gaius Marius put together ; they recounted how the Tribunitian Power had been continued to him for thirty-seven years ;⁴ how the title of

vi. 874-5). Part of the original building is still to be seen ; it was till recently used as a theatre. Close by, adjoining the Via Flaminia, was the *ustrinum* or *bustum*, the walled and shaded enclosure in which the bodies were burned before burial.

¹ Chapters 9 and 10 afford one of the most striking instances of Tacitus' power of condensation. There is, perhaps, nothing like it in all historical literature. In two short chapters he gives a masterly sketch, from two opposite points of view, of the career, character, and political motives of Augustus, omitting nothing of essential importance.

² *i.e.* Aug. 19th, the day on which Augustus was first declared consul

by the senate in B.C. 43, along with Q. Pedius. The regular consuls of that year, C. Vibius Pansa and A. Hirtius, had been killed before Mutina in the month of April.

³ Augustus held the consulship thirteen times in all ; in the years B.C. 43 and 33 ; for nine years in succession from 31 to 23 inclusive ; and again in B.C. 5 and 2. Valerius Corvus had been consul six times, and C. Marius seven times.

⁴ *i.e.* from June 27, B.C. 23 (when the tribunitian power in its extended form was formally conferred on Augustus on the final constitution of the principate), down to his death on August 19, A.D. 14, a period of 37 years and nearly two months.

Aug
19
A.D.
14

'Imperator' had been conferred upon him one-and-twenty times:¹ how other distinctions had been heaped on him, or invented in his honour.²

3 Reflecting men discussed his career in various tones of praise or blame. Some maintained:—

4 *That he had been forced into civil war by regard for his father's memory, and by the exigencies of public affairs, which left no room for law: and civil war was a thing which none could bring about or carry on clean-handed. He had made many concessions to Antonius, many also to Lepidus, in order to secure vengeance on his father's murderers;*³
5 *but when the latter became old and lethargic, and the former lost himself in debauch, no resource was left for the*
6 *distracted country but the rule of one man. Yet even so, Augustus had not set up his government as King or Dictator,⁴ but under the name of 'Princeps.'⁵ Under his*

Some laud him and his career;

¹ See n. on chap. 3, 1. The custom is explained in iii. 74, 6. The first recorded instance of this title being bestowed was in the case of Scipio Africanus major, B.C. 209 (Liv. xxvii. 19, 4).

² Such as the title of *Augustus* itself, bestowed B.C. 27. For various other honours, see Suet. Oct. 26, 57, 58. The title *pater patriae* was not new; it had been given to Cicero by the senate (Juv. viii. 244). It was formally conferred on Augustus by a decree of senate B.C. 2, though it had been in popular use long before.

³ As though Augustus had only acquiesced in the cruel and violent proceedings of his colleagues in the triumvirate in order to secure their co-operation in his one great object, the avenging of Caesar's murder. But in fact he only used this pretext as a stalking-horse for his own ambition. The wily youth never spoiled his game by showing his hand; or by making a move too soon. He put up with Lepidus until his ineffectual revolt in Sicily (see n. on chap. 1, 3); he long diplomatised with Antony, and allowed him to waste himself with Cleopatra in the East until he was ripe to be struck down at Actium, B.C. 31.

⁴ The essence of the policy of

Augustus was to avoid the appearance of usurping autocratic power. The title of king was hateful to the Romans historically; it suggested to them also the idea of Oriental despotism, and the mere suspicion that he desired it cost Caesar his life. The dictatorship was essentially a temporary office, resorted to in emergencies (*ad tempus sumebantur*, chap. i. 1); a perpetual dictatorship, like that of Sulla, or a dictatorship for 10 years, such as had been conferred upon Caesar, involved a violation of constitutional principle, and the extinction of constitutional rights. The aim of Augustus was the impossible one of establishing a constitutional autocracy, with himself as constitutional autocrat. In his dexterous hands the contradiction succeeded for a time; but it broke down under his less wily successors, and the fiction of freedom involved Rome in degradations which might have been spared her under an autocracy openly avowed.

⁵ For the meaning of the term *princeps*, see above, n. on chap. 1, 3. In accordance with his subtle policy of concealing the appearance of power, Augustus assumed the modest title of *princeps* in a special sense, to imply that, though he was 'Chief of the State' (as Nap. III. styled himself), he was

rule, the frontiers had been pushed forward to the Ocean or to distant rivers; ¹ the provinces, the armies, and the fleets of the Empire had been brought into communication with one another. Justice had been dispensed at home; consideration had been shewn to the allies; the city itself had been sumptuously adorned: ² and, if some few acts of violence had been committed, ³ it had been in order to secure the general tranquillity.

On the other side it was said:—

The pleas of filial duty and political necessity were but pretexts. It was lust of power which had prompted Augustus to attract the veterans by bribes, ⁴ to collect an army while he was still a stripling and without office, to tamper with the troops of the Consul, and to affect sympathy with the Pompeian party. ⁵ After that, by virtue of a decree of the Senate, he had usurped the Praetorship, ⁶ with its military and judicial powers; and when Hirtius and Pansa were

others take
an adverse
view both
of his
public

10

only *primus inter pares*. He says of himself, Mon. Anc. Gr. xviii. 7, ἕξουσίας δὲ οὐδὲν τι πλείον ἔσχον τῶν συναρξάντων μοι. No other title could have suited his purpose so well.

¹ The famous frontiers of the Rhine, the Danube, and the Euphrates. But this description is only true in a loose sense. There were considerable populations E. of the Rhine subject to Rome; and the frontier between the Rhine at Mayence and the Danube near Ratisbon included much of SW. Germany. The description does not apply to the E. boundary of the empire, from the Euxine to the Euphrates; nor does it take any count of Egypt or Africa. See the careful statement of the imperial forces and their distribution given in iv. 5.

² By his various public works and buildings, his two new fora (the *Forum Iulium*, nearly completed by Caesar, and the *Forum Augustum*, ded. B.C. 2), and his reparation of ancient temples, Augustus had changed the whole face of the city. His boast was 'that he had found Rome a city of brick, and left it a city of marble' (Suet. Oct. 29), where (and in chap. 30) is given a list of his public works.

³ This refers to the conspiracies mentioned in the next chapter, § 3.

⁴ Augustus began by collecting an army, at his own expense, against Antony, in the summer of B.C. 44. He tempted out the veterans settled at Casilinum and Calatia in Campania by a bribe of 500 denarii apiece (Cic. Epp. Att. xvi. 8, 1). Later, he seduced from their allegiance two legions, *Martia* and *Quinta*, which Antony (then consul) was bringing over from Macedonia. For this he received the high-flown thanks of Cicero in the 3rd and 4th Philippics.

⁵ The wily youth entirely hoodwinked the orator, who in the Philippics pours forth all his eloquence in panegyricizing the young Caesar's devotion to the senate, and his loyalty to republican principles.

⁶ After gaining over the two legions of Antony, Augustus affected to embrace the cause of the senate; he induced them to confer upon him the office of praetor, and to send him to join the consuls Hirtius and Pansa in their attack upon Antony, who was then besieging Decimus Brutus in Mutina (*Modena*).

slain in battle¹—whether or no those generals were indeed so slain: or had died, the latter, of a poisoned wound, the former, at the hands of his own soldiers treacherously set on by Octavianus²—he had assumed command of both armies; he had forced the Senate to make him Consul against its will,³ and having received an army to oppose Antonius, had turned it against his own country: the proscriptions,⁴ the confiscations,⁵ were measures which not
 2 even their perpetrators could approve. The deaths of Brutus and Cassius, indeed, might be deemed a tribute of vengeance to his father; though even so it were right for private hatred to give way before the public good. But he had tricked Sextus Pompeius by a pretence of peace,⁶ and Lepidus under the guise of friendship; later on, he had

¹ Hirtius was defeated in a first attack upon Antony, and died of his wounds. Next, Pansa assaulted Antony's camp with success, but was killed in the attack, April 27th. The death of the two consuls and the flight of Antony left Augustus master of the situation.

² This suspicion is mentioned both by Suetonius (Oct. 11) and by Dio (xlv. 39) as current at the time. Suetonius adds that the physician Glyco was arrested on the charge of poisoning Pansa's wound. The fact of the arrest is confirmed by Brutus in a letter (Brutus ad Cic. i. 6, 2), but Brutus vehemently repudiates the charge, and begs Cicero to secure Glyco's release. We shall see how often Tacitus records suspicions, while taking care not to commit himself to their truth.

³ After Mutina, Augustus declined to follow up Antony, and began soon to parley with him. Backed by 8 legions, he marched on Rome, and forcibly demanded the consulship; in vain Cicero, now disabused, attempted to organise resistance. The opposition went over to Augustus, or slunk away; a rump of the senate submitted; all constitutional usages were set aside; the farce of a popular election by the comitia was carried through, and Augustus was installed as consul, with his cousin Q. Pedius as colleague, on the 22nd of Sept., one day before attaining the age of 20. By the end of

October the second triumvirate was formed.

⁴ The first act of the new triumvirs was to arrange, with hideous mutual bargaining, for the massacre of their respective enemies. 300 senators, 2000 knights, are said to have been included in the official list; a preliminary batch of 18 contained the great name of Cicero, who was barbarously murdered near Forumiae on the 7th Dec. The soldiers were let loose on the city; the grim list was swelled day by day, from motives of private cupidity or revenge. Plutarch gives most of the blame to Antony, but Suetonius says of Augustus *restitit quidem aliquamdiu collegis, ne qua feret proscriptio; sed inceptum utroque acerbius exercuit* (Oct. 27).

⁵ Eighteen of the choicest cities of Italy, with their lands, were assigned to the soldiers by the triumvirate in B.C. 43; no less extensive were the confiscations which took place after the campaign of Philippi, in B.C. 41, when Virgil (Ecl. 1 and 2), Propertius (iv. 1, 130), and Horace (Epp. ii. 2, 50) were deprived of their ancestral properties.

⁶ Sextus Pompey, having command of the sea with his fleet in B.C. 39, and threatening Rome with stoppage of her corn-supplies, had to be brought to terms. The treaty of Misenum surrendered to him Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica, and perhaps Achaia also, and admitted him to virtual partnership with the triumvirs.

entrapped Antonius by the treaties of Tarentum and Brundisium,¹ and by giving him his own sister in marriage—a treacherous alliance which Antonius had paid for with his blood. Peace, no doubt, had followed, but it was a peace stained with blood: there had been the disasters of Lollius and of Varus² abroad; at home, the executions of a Varro, an Egnatius, and a Iulus.³

Nor was his private life spared:—

He had torn Livia,⁴ when pregnant, from her husband, going through the farce of consulting the augurs whether she could rightfully marry without waiting for the child to be born; he had permitted the extravagance of a Quintus Tedi⁵ and a Vedius Pollio. And lastly, there was Livia:

¹ The treaty of Brundisium was negotiated in B.C. 40, to ward off a threatened combination of Antony and Sextus Pompey against Augustus, who, having put down the Perugian revolt, led by Lucius Antony, brother of the triumvir, was now master of Italy. A reconciliation was patched up by the marriage of Octavia, sister of Augustus, to Antony. Again, by the treaty of Tarentum, in B.C. 37, Antony lent Augustus 130 ships to be used against Sextus, while Antony received 20,000 legionaries for his contemplated Parthian expedition. The triumvirate was at the same time renewed for 5 years.

² M. Lollius, cos. B.C. 21 (Hor. Epp. i. 20, 28), was governor of Gaul in B.C. 16, when three German tribes, the Usipetes, the Tencteri, and the Sygambri, crossed the Rhine, and inflicted on him a severe defeat—soon, however, repaired. Augustus thought it necessary to go to Gaul in person; but Suetonius speaks lightly of the disaster, as *maioris infamiae quam detrimenti* (Oct. 23). Much more terrible was the disaster to P. Varus, in A.D. 9, who perished with the whole of his three legions. That disaster caused a panic in Rome. Augustus never entirely got over it; for months afterwards he let his hair grow, and he would cry passionately at intervals, 'O Quintilius Varus, give me back my legions!' (ib). See n. on chap. 3, 6.

³ Tacitus uses plurals of exaggregation.

L. Licinius Murena, the augur (Hor. Od. iii. 19, 10), called after his adoption Terentius Varro Murena, and brother of Terentia, wife of Maecenas, was put to death, along with Fannius Caepio, for a conspiracy against Augustus in B.C. 22, the details of which are involved in mystery (Dio, liv. 3). M. Egnatius Rufus, aedile in B.C. 20, and praetor in B.C. 19, was put to death for conspiracy B.C. 18 (Vell. Pat. ii. 91, 3). Iulus Antonius, son of the triumvir, after enjoying the high favour of Augustus, was put to death B.C. 2 for adultery with Julia.

⁴ Livia Drusilla, a woman of extraordinary fascination and cleverness, was daughter of Livius Drusus Claudianus. She was first married to Ti. Claudius Nero, to whom she bore the future Emperor Tiberius. Augustus forced her husband to divorce her, B.C. 38, three months before she gave birth to her second son Drusus. She never bore any children to Augustus. For Tacitus' studied account of her career and character, see v. 1, 1-5.

⁵ Tedi⁵ is unknown. Vedius Pollio was a knight [of low birth, a by-word for his wealth and savagery (ὠμότητι, Dio): famous for feeding his lampreys on live slaves (Plin. H. N. ix. 23, 77). He ordered a slave-boy to be thrown into his *piscina* to be devoured, for breaking a crystal vase; Augustus, who was present, forbade him, and had the rest of his crystals broken and thrown in instead (Sen. de Ira, iii. 40).

a very scourge to the Commonwealth as a mother, no less a scourge to the house of the Caesars¹ as a step-mother.

- 5 What honours were left for the Gods, when Augustus ordained temples and images to be set up to himself as to a
6 Deity, with Flamens and Priests to worship him?² Even in adopting Tiberius as his successor, he had not been moved by affection, or by care for the public good; but having sounded the depths of that proud and cruel nature, he had sought to win glory for himself by contrast with an execrable successor.³

He had not adopted Tiberius from affection.

- 7 For not many years before, when Augustus was asking the Senate to confer anew the Tribunitian Power on Tiberius,⁴ though he spoke of him in terms of compliment, he had let fall some observations

¹ Tacitus can never forgive Livia for being the mother of Tiberius. He here practically assumes as true the suspicion for which he declines to vouch in chap. 1, 3, that she had brought about the death of Gaius Caesar.

² It is not clear whether the reference here is to the worship of Augustus and the senate, organised throughout the provinces (see n. on i. 57, 2); or to the special worship of Augustus himself in Italy, which is an undoubted fact, in spite of the silence of the historians in regard to it. See the *Immolatio Caesari hostia*, noted among other things in the Calendar of Cumae quoted by Rushforth, p. 51, l. 3. Tacitus himself gives us no idea of the extent and importance of the worship of the Emperors; he seems to look upon it as a natural tribute to the majesty of Rome. See n. to iv. 37, 4 and 5. Dio (li. 20, 7) and Suetonius (Aug. 52) both state that Augustus allowed no temples to himself to be set up in Italy; and in the provinces only in conjunction with the worship of Rome, such as was commonly set up to proconsuls. In the noble speech attributed to Tiberius by Tacitus (iv. 37), Tiberius speaks as if only one such dedication had been permitted before that time, at Pergamum. The humorous *insouciance* with which Augustus himself regarded such honours is illustrated by an anecdote told by Quintilian (vi. 3, 77). The people of Tarraco, in Spain, reported to him that

a palm-tree had sprung up out of an altar dedicated there to him: 'Which shews,' he remarked, 'how frequently the fire on the altar is kindled.'

³ This atrocious *innuendo* is mentioned slightly by Dio (lvi. 45), but is emphatically contradicted by Suetonius (Tib. 21), who records a solemn oath made in public by Augustus that he adopted Tiberius *rei publicae causa*. He quotes extracts of letters from him to Tiberius couched in the most affectionate language; and he especially discredits a popular rumour to the effect that Augustus had been overheard exclaiming, *Miserum populum Romanum qui sub tam lentis maxillis erit!* At an earlier period there was undoubted estrangement between the two; the harsh and intense nature of Tiberius can never have been congenial to the subtle, polished, and easy-tempered opportunist. The view of Tacitus elsewhere (iv. 57, 5) is that the adoption of Tiberius was entirely the work of Livia.

⁴ Probably in A.D. 4, when the *trib. pot.* for 5 years was conferred upon Tiberius for a second time, shortly after his return from Rhodes. At that time some sort of public introduction may have been thought necessary, on his return to favour (Suet. Tib. 6). It may less probably have been in A.D. 9, when a further extension of the *trib. pot.* was conferred upon him.

about his bearing, his manners and style of living, which under guise of an apology bore all the character of a reproach. ↓

Temple voted to Augustus.

The obsequies were carried out in due form; and a temple,¹ with religious worship, was voted in his honour.

Entreaties of the Senate; hesitation of Tiberius.

The Senate then turned to Tiberius with entreaties. I I. He replied in various strains. He spoke of *the vastness of the Empire; of his want of confidence² in himself: no mind but that of the Divine Augustus² could cope with so huge a task. Having been himself invited to share that monarch's cares, he had learned by experience how grievous, how precarious, the burden of universal rule. A State which had so many distinguished men on whom to lean, should not place all power in one man's hands; the business of government would be easier were it divided among several partners.* 3

His dark and ambiguous language

Grand words these; but there was little sincerity⁴ in them.³ For whether by nature or by habit, Tiberius was at all times ambiguous and obscure in his utterances, even when he had nothing to conceal; and on the present occasion, when he was doing his utmost

¹ This temple, built in course of time by Tiberius and Livia, and dedicated to Augustus, is the huge building of which the brick walls still survive at the corner of the Palatine nearest to the Capitol. See n. on vi. 45, 3.

² The *modestia* of Tiberius—his diffidence or want of self-assertion—is mentioned by Tacitus (iii. 56, 4) as a quality on which Augustus thought he could safely rely, in conjunction with his own *magnitudo*, in admitting him to share the *trib. pot.*

³ This comment is hardly justified; see n. on chap. 7, 9. The situation for the successor of Augustus was a very delicate one. There was no acknowledged law of succession. Augustus himself had acted, for years, on the

fiction that he was only a citizen; and he had ostensibly waited to assume power till almost entreated to do so. The attitude of the legions was quite unknown; and the whole theory of the principate was that its powers were spontaneously conferred by the senate, as expressing the will of the Roman people. The *mimus impudentissimus* of professing to decline power, while performing all the acts of sovereignty, was carried on by Tiberius for a few hours or days at most; it was played by Augustus for years. It was the fiction of freedom, with the absence of any recognised law of succession in the imperial family, which deluged Rome with her own best blood, and finally extirpated the family of the Caesars.

to hide his meaning, his language was more involved and unintelligible than ever.¹

5 Meantime the Senators, whose only terror was that they should appear to understand what he meant, broke out into tears, prayers, and protestations; they held out their hands in supplication to the Gods, to the statues of Augustus, and to the knees of Tiberius himself. Upon that he ordered a document² to be
6 brought in and read, containing a statement of the public resources; an enumeration of the troops under arms, whether Roman or allied, and of the naval forces; of the Provinces and Protected States, of the direct and indirect taxes, of the public burdens and
7 state largesses.³ All this Augustus had written out with his own hand; appending to it a recommendation—whether prompted by timidity or jealousy—that the empire should be kept within its present limits.⁴

Statistical
account of
the Empire.

12. 1 While the Senate was thus grovelling in abject entreaties,⁵ Tiberius let fall the remark that *although*

Altercation
with
Asinius
Gallus.

¹ Dio tells us of Tiberius (lvii. 1) that what he said was usually the opposite of what he thought; he would refuse what he wished for most, and propose what he most disliked; he would show most anger when least offended, and *vice versa*. But it was not safe to presume on this; for what he hated most of all was to have his real sentiments divined. It was therefore almost a greater offence to see through his mask, and endeavour to promote what he really desired, than to oppose it openly. As to his slow and hesitating utterance, Tacitus describes him as *velut eluctantium verborum* (iv. 31, 4).

² Suetonius says that Augustus left three documents along with his will (Oct. 101). One contained instructions for his funeral; a second, a record of his achievements, to be inscribed on brazen tablets in front of his mausoleum. The greater part of this has been preserved, both in Greek and Latin, in the famous duplicate inscription found on the

temple to Rome and Augustus at Ancyra, known as the *Monumentum Ancyranum*. The original is quoted by Suetonius as an authority (Aug. 10), and mentioned by Dio (lvi. 33). The third was the *breviarium* or Blue-book of the Empire here mentioned: one of a more complete kind than the ordinary financial statements which Augustus used to put out at certain intervals (*rationes imperii ab Augusto proponi solitas*, Suet. Cal. 16).

³ These were voluntary and extraordinary distributions of corn or oil, such as are mentioned in the Mon. Anc., as distinguished from the regular *frumentationes* (see n. on chap. 2, 1).

⁴ 'The conquest of Britain by Claudius in A.D. 67 was the first important departure from this policy, which was dictated largely by financial considerations' (Rushforth, p. 112).

⁵ The account here given of this famous scene corresponds closely with that given by Suetonius (Tib. 24). He

unequal to the burden of Government as a whole, he would undertake the charge of any part that might be committed to him.¹ Thereupon Asinius Gallus² broke in:—Then² let us know, Caesar, which part of the Government you wish to have committed to you? Taken aback by so unforeseen a question, Tiberius hesitated for a moment; then recovering himself, replied that it would ill become him, diffident as he was, either to select or to decline any portion of a responsibility of which he desired to be relieved altogether. Perceiving, from his face, that Tiberius had taken offence, Gallus rejoined:—He had not put the question with a view to dividing what was indivisible, but to convince the Emperor, out of his own mouth, that the State had but one body, and must be governed by a single mind. He went on to laud Augustus, and reminded Tiberius of his own military successes, as well as of the

tells how Tiberius, though he had at once assumed every function of sovereignty, for a long time *principatum recusavit impudentissimo mimo*; how he rebuked his insisting friends by telling them 'they little knew what a monster Empire was;' and how, when the senate went on their knees before him, he put them off with answers of studied ambiguity. One senator was bold enough to exclaim, 'Let him either take it or leave it'; another, 'Whereas most men were tardy in performing what they had promised, Tiberius was slow in promising what he had performed.' At last, as if under compulsion, he accepts the burden; but even then only with the pretended hope of an early release from it. Suetonius finds the true reason for his hesitation in a saying which was constantly in his mouth, 'That he had hold of a wolf by the ears.' Cp. Dio, lvii. 2, 1. See also Vell. ii. 124, 2, *una tamen veluti luctatio civitatis fuit, pugnantis cum Caesare senatus populique Romani, ut stationi paternae succederet, illius, ut potius aequalem civem eminentem liceret agere principem.*

¹ Dio is more precise, as usual, and makes Tiberius suggest a threefold

division of power into (1) Rome and Italy; (2) the army; (3) *οἱ λοιποὶ ὑπήκοοι*, 'the rest of the subjects'—whatever that may mean. A most improbable story, and entirely inconsistent with the attitude assumed by Tiberius, which was throughout one of evasion and non-committal.

² We shall hear much of Asinius Gallus. He was the son of the famous C. Asinius Pollio, the orator, poet, historian, warrior and statesman; the patron of Virgil, and founder of the famous Palatine Library. See Virg. Ecl. 4, and Hor. Od. ii. 1. The full name of the son was L. Asinius Gallus Saloninus. He was cos. B.C. 8, and married Vipsania after her divorce by Tiberius. Tacitus exhibits him as generally anxious to put himself forward in the senate, and as proposing, under a show of freedom, various motions likely to be grateful to Tiberius. See i. 8, 4: 76, 2; ii. 32, 4: 33, 3: 35, 1; iv. 20, 2: 30, 2: 71, 3; etc. He was denounced in A.D. 30, when actually on a visit to Tiberius at Capri; was kept for three years in custody, and permitted at last to die in prison—possibly of starvation (vi. 23, 1).

admirable work that he had done in civil offices
6 for so many years. But this did not appease the
Emperor's anger. He had long hated Asinius; for
Asinius had married his own divorced wife Vipsania,¹
the daughter of Agrippa, and he credited him with
ambitions above those of a private citizen: deeming
him to retain something of the high spirit of his
father Asinius Pollio.

13. 1 Next, Lucius Arruntius² gave equal offence by a
speech of a similar kind. Tiberius had no old grudge
against Arruntius; but as he was wealthy, energetic,
and accomplished, and stood correspondingly high in
public estimation, Tiberius regarded him with sus-
2 picion. For when Augustus, in his last days, was dis-
cussing what men were fit to fill the highest place, but
would decline it; or being unequal to the position,
might aspire to it; or possessed alike the ambition
and the ability: he had described Manius³ Lepidus

Offence
given by
Arruntius,

¹ No more cruel wrong could have been inflicted on a proud, sensitive nature like that of Tiberius, than to force him to divorce the wife to whom he was tenderly attached, and marry the profligate Julia. Suetonius tells how once, and once only, Tiberius caught sight of Vipsania after the divorce; he was so deeply affected that care was taken to prevent a repetition of the occurrence. This incident throws a flood of light upon the character of Tiberius, and suggests that he may have been incurably embittered by the treatment he received at the hands of Augustus and his court.

² The father of this Arruntius commanded a wing of the fleet at the battle of Actium; he himself was cos. A.D. 6. He is frequently mentioned, always with respect, in Ann. i.-vi. On some occasion unknown to us, his accusers met with punishment (vi. 7, 1); in reference to which Tacitus speaks of him in terms of the highest praise (*sanc-tissimis Arruntii artibus*). At last, in A.D. 37—the last year of the reign of Tiberius—he was falsely accused of adultery with Albuilla. In a speech conceived in the highest spirit of Stoic fortitude—Tacitus says he pronounced

it like one inspired—he announced his determination to live through no more such humiliations, and calmly put an end to himself by opening his veins (vi. 48).

³ The MS. here reads *M'*, i.e. *Manius*, which seems to be the proper reading, and is given in full iii. 22, 2; elsewhere the name appears as *M.*, i.e. *Marcus*, who was a different person. The distinguished man here named was cos. A.D. 11; was one of two consulars selected for the command in Africa A.D. 21, iii. 35, 2; became proconsul of Asia A.D. 20; and is specially commended for his wisdom and moderation, iv. 20, 4 and vi. 27, 4. In this last passage his death is recorded, A.D. 33. Marcus Lepidus was not so distinguished. He was the son of Cornelia, the famous subject of the beautiful poem of Propertius (El. iv. 11); he was cos. A.D. 6, along with L. Arruntius; and was sent out as proconsul to Asia A.D. 21. He is described by a personal enemy on that occasion as a poor and poor-spirited person, though the senate took a more favourable view of his character (iii. 32, 2). †

as *capable but indifferent*; Gallus Asinius, as *having the ambition, but not the capacity*: but *Lucius Arruntius was not unworthy, and if the chance were offered him, he would embrace it*. As to the two former of these names, ³ all authorities are agreed; but some put the name of Gnaeus Piso¹ in place of that of Arruntius: and all of them, except Lepidus, were cut off before long on charges trumped up against them by Tiberius.

Quintus Haterius² also, and Mamercus Scaurus, ⁴ both pricked that jealous temper to the quick: Haterius, by asking the question, *How long, Caesar, will you suffer the Commonwealth to be without a head?*³ and Scaurus, by remarking that *he entertained some hope that the Senate's prayers would not be in vain, from the fact that Tiberius had not put his tribunitian veto*⁴ on the motion⁵ of the Consuls. On Haterius the Emperor ⁵ retorted at once; but to Scaurus, against whom his resentment was of a more deadly kind, he made no reply.

by Haterius
and by
Scaurus.

¹ This is the famous Cn. Calpurnius Piso who was given the command of Syria by Tiberius, A.D. 17, to be a thorn in the flesh to Germanicus during his mission to the East (ii. 43, 3-5); and who was subsequently brought to trial for compassing the death of that prince, and carrying war into his own province (ii. 76-81 and iii. 8-17). He is described by Tacitus as *ingenio violentum et obsequii ignarum*, like his father Gnaeus, whose career is sketched in the same passage (ii. 43, 3). He was cos. along with Tiberius B.C. 7. Tacitus records a bold and embarrassing question put by him to Tiberius in the senate (i. 74, 6).

² Q. Haterius was a consular, a fluent and facile orator (iv. 61, 2), and given to making servile motions (iii. 57, 3). Mamercus Scaurus is described as 'a disgrace to his ancestors' (iii. 66, 3), and as *insignis nobilitate et orandis causis, vita probrosus* (vi. 29, 4). Tacitus, however, admits that his death, self-inflicted in face of threatened prosecution, was *dignum veteribus Aemiliis*.

³ The words *caput reipublicae* were an open assertion of the monarchical character of the government, and therefore distasteful to Tiberius.

⁴ This remark of Scaurus shews how the emperor could at once stop any action in the senate by virtue of his tribunitian veto.

⁵ The motion here referred to was doubtless a decree of senate prescribing the terms of the famous law styled *Lex de Imperio*, by which the various imperial powers were conferred upon a new emperor upon his accession to power. In theory, the whole of his authority depended upon the passing of this law by the comitia, in terms approved of by a decree of senate: *cum ipse Imperator per legem imperium accipiat* (Gaius, i. 5). The only extant example of such a law is the considerable fragment of that passed on the accession of Vespasian, A.D. 70. See the interesting account of this fragment given by Rushforth, 'Latin Historical Inscriptions,' pp. 82-87.

6 Worn out at last by the clamour of the whole Senate, and the remonstrances of individuals, Tiberius gradually gave way; not indeed so far as to agree to undertake the government, but at least to bring solicitations and refusals to an end. Haterius, we are informed, went afterwards to the Palace to implore forgiveness. He found the Emperor walking, and threw himself down on his knees before him; whether by accident, or because entangled in the other's arms, Tiberius fell: and Haterius narrowly escaped being put to death by the soldiers.¹ Yet even the danger of so distinguished a man did nothing to mollify Tiberius: Haterius had to implore the protection of Augusta, and owed his safety to her urgent intercession.

Tiberius at last gives way.

Danger of Haterius.

14. 1 The Senate showered many flatteries on Augusta also. Some proposed that she should be styled 'The Parent,' others 'The Mother,'² of her country; many more, that after the name 'Caesar,' the words 'son of Julia'³ should be added. Tiberius protested that there must be some limit to the honours bestowed on women;⁴ and that he would exercise a like moderation in regard to honours to himself. But in reality he was wrung by jealousy, regarding the exaltation of a woman as a belittling of his own dignity. He

Flatteries to Livia checked by Tiberius.

¹ This story (without the name) is confirmed by Suetonius (Tib. 27), but he gives a better colour to it. His account is that Tiberius fell when endeavouring to escape from what he thought the unworthy abasement of a senator in prostrating himself before him.

² The inscription *Augusta Mater Patriae* actually occurs on the reverse of a bronze coin of Leptis, along with a seated figure of Julia (*i.e.* Livia). On the obverse is a head of Augustus; on another is *genetrix orbis*. See Cohen, *Monnaie de l'Emp. Rom.*, 2nd ed., pp. 165, 807.

³ The title *Divus*, with a formal

consecratio, was almost invariably bestowed on the emperors after their death; sometimes also on their wives, children and parents. The title *Divi Aug. f.* (*i.e.* *filii*) appears regularly on the inscriptions of Tiberius. To add the mother's name, as here proposed, would have been contrary to all Roman custom. It is to be noted that after her adoption by the will of Augustus (chap. 8, 2), Livia appears on coins, etc., as *Julia Augusta* (Cohen, p. 169).

⁴ Tiberius had good reason to fear undue pretensions on the part of his mother; see n. on chap. 8, 2. In spite of all his efforts, Suetonius describes

refused therefore to permit even a lictor¹ to be voted to her; he forbade the erection of an altar of adoption,² and other honours of a similar kind.

Imperium
conferred
on Ger-
manicus.

Yet he requested that the Proconsular³ Imperium⁴ should be conferred on Germanicus; and an embassy was despatched for that purpose, as well as to offer condolences upon the death of Augustus. No such demand was made for Drusus; the reason being that he was Consul Designate, and on the spot. For the office of Praetor, Tiberius nominated twelve candidates,⁴ the number usually nominated by Augustus.

her as *partes sibi aequas potentiae vindicans* (Tib. 50); and Dio says that in everything except actually appearing in the senate or in the comitia or before the army, she claimed for herself autocratic powers. Temples were dedicated to her in conjunction with Tiberius and the senate (iv. 15, 4; 37, 1); she could rescue her favourites from the courts of law (ii. 34, 3; iii. 15, 1 and 3). No wonder that the relations between son and mother were strained (iii. 64, 1): he could never shake her off (iv. 57, 4), nor endure her eternal reproaches that he owed his elevation to her influence (iv. 57, 5); and to the last she was the only person who dared stand in the way of Sejanus (v. 3, 1).

¹ Vestal virgins, alone among women, were preceded by a lictor when they went abroad.

² Furn. points out that altars were often erected as monuments of various events without implying worship, as of the lying-in of Agrippina (Suet. Cal. 8); or of such abstractions as *ultio*, *clementia*, *amicitia*, and the like.

³ From the time of Sulla onwards, military commands were confined to proconsuls and pro-praetors; hence the term *proconsulare*. The *imperium proconsulare* was conferred upon Augustus, as we have seen, for ten years, when he was given charge of certain provinces; it soon became perpetual, and was exercised even within Rome. To invest a prince with *proconsulare imperium* for a part, or the whole, of the Empire, was to take a long step towards pronouncing him successor. On this occasion, the *imperium* was conferred on Germanicus for Germany and the Western Provinces, in continuation of

that already bestowed on him by Augustus in A.D. 11; just as in A.D. 17 he was invested with an *imperium maius*, i.e. an *imperium* superior to that of all ordinary provincial governors, over all the provinces of the East (ii. 43, 2).

⁴ Under the Republic, the praetors, consuls, and all higher magistrates, were elected by the people, assembled in their comitia; under the early empire, the form of popular election was still retained, but passed into a mere form, since the emperor, under one power or another, could control all elections. One of these powers was (1) *Nominatio*, by which the Emperor (as formerly the magistrate presiding at the election) could decide whether a particular candidate was eligible for the post he was seeking. Naturally, all candidates desired to have this certificate of qualification; though the people, theoretically, could vote for others also. Another was (2) *Commendatio*, by which the emperor (as any prominent citizen might do under the Republic) 'recommended' a particular candidate to the suffrages of the people. As late as B.C. 8 Augustus would actually canvass for his own nominees; this probably is what is referred to in chap. 15, 1. Candidates thus 'commended' were called *Candidati Caesaris*. Now under Caesar the number of praetors had been raised to 10, 14, and eventually to 16; under Augustus it varied from 8 to 16; at the beginning of the reign of Tiberius it was 12, rising afterwards again to 16. Thus by 'nominating' only 12 candidates for 12 vacancies, Tiberius practically left no choice to the electors; not content with this, he 'commended' specially four out of the

The Senate urged him to name more; but he bound himself by an oath not to exceed that number.

5. 1 And now for the first time the elections¹ were transferred from the Comitia to the Senate; for up to that time, though the principal appointments were made at the Emperor's good pleasure, some few were still
2 voted by the tribes. The people offered no objection to the loss of their rights beyond an idle murmur; while the Senate were well pleased to be relieved from the bribery and the degrading solicitations of the old system. Tiberius limited himself to the recommendation of four candidates, to be designated without canvassing or risk of rejection.

Elections transferred to the Senate.

3 About the same time the Tribunes of the Plebs petitioned to be allowed to celebrate games at their own expense to be called after Augustus, and to be inserted in the Calendar under the title of 'The
4 Augustan games.'² The petition was granted; but the money required for the purpose was voted from the Treasury. The Tribunes were to wear triumphal robes in the Circus, but not to ride in chariots. Before long, however, the annual celebration of these games was handed over to one of the Praetors—that one to whose lot it fell to administer justice between citizens and strangers.³

Ludi Augustales instituted.

twelve *sine repulsa et ambitu designandos*, as if the fate of the other eight was quite uncertain (chap. 15, 2). Later emperors exercised an unlimited right of 'commendation:' it was expressly conferred upon Vespasian in the *Lex de imperio* (Rushforth, p. 86).

¹ This passage refers to the election of praetors; for that of consuls see i. 81 and n. The word *comitia* here stands simply for 'elections,' irrespective of any exercise of rights by the popular assembly. Those rights were now transferred to the senate; the old right of the people being represented by the idle formality of a public announcement of the result (*renuntiatio*).

² The first celebration of these games is mentioned in chap. 54, 1, where Tacitus records the institution of the *Sodales Augustales*, a special priesthood in honour of Augustus. The games were held annually early in October.

³ The office of *praetor peregrinus* was instituted about 244 B.C., to try suits in which foreigners (*peregrini*) were concerned, as the Romans would not extend to them the privileges of their own law (*ius civile*). Out of the decisions in such cases, recorded and continued from year to year in the annual Praetor's Edict, and vivified by the Stoical doctrine of the 'Law of Nature,' grew a beneficent system of

Mutiny of
the Panno-
nian Army,

Such was the state of affairs in Rome, when a mutiny broke out among the troops in Pannonia.¹ There was no special cause for this mutiny, beyond the fact that the accession of a new emperor afforded occasion for license, and held out the hope of civil war with all its attendant gains. There were three legions² encamped together in summer quarters under the command of Junius Blaesus;³ who, on hearing of the death of Augustus and the beginning of the new reign, had suspended the ordinary labours of the camp, as a mark of mourning or of joy. From this beginning, a spirit of insubordination and disorder took its rise; the men lent ready ears to the talk of the worst among their number; till at length a longing for ease and idleness set in, with impatience of work and discipline.

Now there was in the camp a man called Percennius, who had once been a fogle-man in theatrical factions,⁴ and had afterwards enlisted as a private soldier. Forward of tongue, and well versed in the feuds of the theatre, this man was an accomplished sedition-monger. Discoursing to the soldiers by night, or as

equity law, analogous to that which has played such a great part in the formation of our own law in England. See Maine's Ancient Law, chap. 1.

¹ Pannonia was one of the most important frontier provinces; it extended eastwards along the Danube from Vienna (ancient *Vindebona*). It was bounded by the province of Noricum to the W., by the Danube to the N. and E., and by the *Save* to the S. Like other frontier provinces, it was imperialatorial, *i.e.* governed directly by the emperor, through a *legatus pro praetore* appointed by himself. The more peaceful senatorial provinces were governed by senators of consular or praetorian rank, appointed, as of old, by lot, and all equally called 'pro-consuls.' See Furn., *Introd.* p. 94 foll., and n. on chap. 76, 4.

² These three legions were the 8th, 9th, and 15th, known respectively by the names of *Augusta*, *Hispana*, and *Apollinaris*. See chap. 23, 6.

³ Uncle of the notorious Sejanus, through whose influence he became afterwards proconsul of Africa in A.D. 21 (iii. 35, 2), and whose fall brought about his death (v. 7, 2).

⁴ What these *operæ* were is not clear. They may have been (1) actors; or (2) workmen employed about the theatre; or more probably (3) professional supporters and applauders, acting under a leader. Nero had 5000 of such 'claqueurs,' some imported from Alexandria, some raised from the lusty plebeian youth. The *dux* of such a body might earn a salary of 400,000 sesterces; see Suet. Nero, 20; Oct. 45; and Juv. vii. 43-4.

fomented
by Percen-
nius.

16.

2

3

4

5

night fell, he worked gradually upon their ignorant minds, wondering as they were what might be the conditions of the service after Augustus; and as the more respectable men slipped away, all the riff-raff of the camp gathered round him.

7. *v* At last, having secured a following ready to join in an outbreak, he addressed them in demagogue fashion:—

Speech of Percennius.

Why did they obey a handful of centurions, and a number of Tribunes smaller still,¹ like so many slaves? When would they have the spirit to demand a redress of grievances, if they dared not approach a new Emperor, not yet firm in his seat, with petitions at any rate, if not with arms? They had shewn weakness enough all these years, serving on for thirty or forty² seasons, till they had become old men, their bodies perhaps all hacked with wounds. Even discharge brought with it no end to service; still kept together, under a special standard, they had the same round of toil to endure under a new name. If any lived through all this, they would be draggea off to some remote region, where under the name of a farm, they would receive a dismal swamp, or an uncultivated

¹ There were 6 *tribuni militum* and 60 centurions (commanders of *centuriae*) to each legion. Two centuries made a maniple, three maniples a cohort; ten cohorts made up the legion. The century, at this time, probably numbered about 80 men; and the whole strength of the legion, including cavalry, artillery, etc., would be something over 5000. We may therefore consider a military tribune, one of the six commanding officers of the legion, as corresponding more or less to a colonel. Each legion, since the time of Caesar, was under the command of a *legatus*, called *legatus legionis*; to be distinguished from the *legatus Augusti pro praetore*, the title given to the commander of an imperial province. See n. above on chap. 16, 1.

² Such were extreme cases. Augustus,

in the year B.C. 13, fixed the period of service for legionaries at 16 years, and for the praetorians at 12. In A.D. 5 the periods were extended to 20 and 16 years respectively, with bounties at the close, of 12,000 and 20,000 sesterces. At some time, however, the vexatious plan had been introduced of retaining veterans, after their full period of service, under a separate *vexillum* or standard of their own, for fighting purposes, and with lighter conditions of service. These men were called *vexillarii*. See below, chap. 36, 4 and 38, 1. Under this arrangement, or in other ways, the rules laid down by Augustus had apparently not been fairly carried out; hence the mutiny. The soldiers were not so ready to be put off with evasions and legal fictions as were the senate and populace of the city.

hillside.¹ The soldier's life, at the best, was hard and un- 6
 profitable; body and soul were valued at ten asses a day:²
 and out of that he had to find himself in clothes, arms,³
 and tents, and get the wherewithal to buy off the brutality
 of centurions, and purchase exemptions from duty. Stripes 7
 and scars: winters of privation, summers of ceaseless toil:
 bloody wars, or futile peace—these things were always
 with them. There was but one remedy. Let them demand 8
 fixed conditions of service, with pay at the rate of sixteen
 asses a day, and discharge at the end of the sixteenth year:
 after that, no further retention under the standards, but a
 gratuity paid money down, in the camp where they had
 been discharged. The Praetorians received two denarii a- 9
 day, and were sent back to their homes after sixteen years;
 were the perils of the Praetorians greater than their own?
 He would not disparage the Guards of the City; neverthe- 10
 less their own lot was cast amongst savage nations, with
 an enemy ever in sight of their tents.

The multitude murmured assent, each man stung 18.
 by his own grievance. One pointed angrily to the
 marks of stripes, another to grey hairs; the greater

¹ Such plots of land had apparently been substituted for the money gratuities.

² Polybius (vi. 39, 12) reckons the pay of the legionaries at 2 obols a-day, which sum was usually estimated as = one-third of a denarius. But 3½ asses per day is an impossible sum; and Polybius must be held to refer to the time when the copper coinage had so depreciated (as it did in the 2nd Punic war) that the silver denarius was equal to 16 copper asses. If so, he probably meant to indicate 5 asses = 2 sesterces—a very probable sum. Caesar doubled the legionary's pay (Suet. Jul. 26), thus raising it to 10 asses, or 4 sesterces; and if Pliny be correct in saying that in reckoning soldiers' pay, the denarius was still held as equivalent to only 10 asses (Nat. Hist., xxxiii. 3, 44), the demand of the mutineers must have been to receive the full value of the silver

denarius, or 16 asses instead of 10. The praetorians received double the pay of the legionaries (Dio, liii. 11, 5); when, therefore, it is stated below that the praetorians received 2 denarii a day, the speaker must either mean the denarius of 10 asses, or use a rhetorical exaggeration. Suetonius says the men demanded equal pay with the praetorians (Tib. 25).

³ Polybius says the soldier had to find corn, dress, and arms out of his pay. C. Gracchus passed a law (Plut. 5, 837) that dress was to be provided free. Only in Nero's time were rations of corn provided free to the praetorians (Suet., Nero, 10); no mention is made of corn here. Perhaps the law of Gracchus was set aside when the pay was raised; or perhaps there was a system of deductions from pay, as in our own army, for any damage to uniform or accoutrements.

number to the tattered garments which scarce covered
 2 their limbs. Their fury went so far at last that they
 proposed to mix up the three legions into one; but
 3 as every man jealously insisted that his own legion
 should have the place of honour, they gave up this
 idea and adopted another in its place. Putting together
 the three eagles, and the standards of the cohorts,¹
 4 they built up with turf a kind of platform to mark the
 5 spot. They were hurrying on the work when Blaesus
 came up. He remonstrated with them, and tried to
 hold the men back, one by one:—*Better imbrue your
 hands in my blood, he cried. It were lesser shame to slay
 6 the Legate than to be traitors to your Imperator; if I
 cannot maintain your allegiance and live, my murder
 shall hasten on your repentance.*

Blaesus
 intervenes

19. 1 But still the work went on; and the sods had been
 raised breast-high before his urgency compelled them
 2 to desist. With much adroitness he told them that
*mutiny and riot were not the proper methods for bringing
 their grievances to Caesar's ears; never in old days had
 soldiers pressed such novel demands upon their com-
 manders, nor they themselves upon the Divine Augustus:
 the beginning of a new reign was an ill time to choose
 3 for adding to a Prince's cares. If they were bent upon
 demanding, in time of peace, what they had never dared
 to ask even when victors in the Civil Wars, why break
 through all habits of obedience, and the sacred character
 of discipline itself, by a resort to violence? It were better
 to appoint delegates, and instruct them in his presence.*

and ad-
 dresses the
 soldiers.

4 To these words they shouted assent, and asked
 that the son of Blaesus, who was a Tribune, should
 act as envoy, and demand discharge at the end of
 sixteen years' service:—*Further instructions would be*

They con-
 sent to
 name en-
 voys.

¹ It thus appears that each of the cohorts, as well as the legion as a whole, had a distinguishing standard of its own.

added when they had gained their first demand. The 5
 departure of the young man restored some kind of
 order; but the troops exulted that they had got the
 son of their General to plead their cause—clear proof
 that compulsion had extorted what they never could
 have gained by orderly behaviour.

Meanwhile some maniples which had been sent to 20.
Nauportus¹ before the outbreak of the mutiny, to work
 on roads and bridges and other such things, got word
 of the disturbance in camp. They at once plucked up
 their standards, plundered the neighbouring villages,
 as well as Nauportus itself, which was on the scale of
 a municipal town, and when the centurions tried to
 hold them back, assailed them with jeers and insults,
 and at last with blows. The special object of their
 fury was Aufidienus Rufus, Commandant of the camp.²
 They dragged him from his carriage, loaded him with
 baggage, and drove him on at the head of the line,
 asking him in derision, *How he liked such heavy loads,
 and such long marches?* For Rufus had long served 2
 in the ranks; having risen to be a centurion, and
 afterwards Commandant of the camp, he had revived
 the stern discipline of earlier days: inured to severe
 toil himself, he was the more rigid in exacting it.³

The arrival of this detachment in camp caused the 21.
 trouble to break out afresh. Marauding parties
 spread themselves over the surrounding country. To 2
 strike terror into the remainder, Blaesus singled out
 a few who were more heavily laden with plunder

¹ Identified with Ober-Laybach in Carniola, close to the frontier of Italy.

² An office apparently instituted by Augustus, not connected with any one legion. It was a post to which centurions might aspire. It would appear that under the exceptional arrangement made by Augustus for Egypt, the command of the legion there was held by a

Praefectus castrorum. See n. on ii. 59, 4; and Rushforth, p. 132.

³ This famous epigram (*eo immittior quia toleraverat*) may have suggested the similar phrase applied in 'Waverley' to Spontoon, the elderly military-looking servant of Col. Talbot: 'accustomed to submit to discipline himself, he was rigid in enforcing it.'

Outbreak
 of detach-
 ment at
 Nauportus;

they attack
 Aufidienus,

arrive in
 the camp,
 and cause
 fresh
 tumult.

than the rest, and ordered them to be flogged and put in prison; for the centurions and the best of the men were still ready to obey the Legate. Struggling with their captors, clutching at the knees of the by-standers, these men called on their comrades by name, or on the century, cohort, or legion to which they severally belonged, crying out that the same treatment was in store for all. With that they heaped insults on Blaesus; they called Heaven and the Gods to witness, leaving nothing untried to stir up feelings of hate and pity, of terror and indignation. A general rush was made; the prison doors were burst open, chains were knocked off, and legionaries, deserters, and condemned criminals were all mixed up together.

22. 1 The movement now assumed a more violent form, with several leaders to direct it. A common soldier of the name of Vibulenus was hoisted up on the shoulders of the by-standers in front of the General's tribunal, and thus addressed the rioters, who hung eagerly on his lips:—

Harangue
of Vibulenus,

You have indeed, he cried, brought back to light and liberty these unhappy innocents; but who will bring my brother back to life, or restore to me my brother? Despatched to you on a mission from the German army upon our common interests, he was murdered last night by gladiators¹—gladiators kept in arms by your General for your destruction. Say, Blaesus, where have you cast away the body? Not even enemies grudge burial to a foe. Bid me too be slain, when my grief has sated itself with kisses and with tears; provided only that when butchered for no other crime than that of taking thought for the welfare of the legions, we may be buried by our comrades.

¹ Gladiators were kept by provincial governors for holding shows. All such shows of gladiators, wild beasts,

or plays, were forbidden to governors by Nero as burdensome to the provincials (xiii. 31, 4).

He heightened the effect of these words by tears, 23.
 and by beating his breast and face with his hands.
 Then, thrusting aside the men who held him up, he 2
 cast himself down at the feet of one man after
 another, till he raised such a storm of dismay and 3
 indignation, that some of the soldiers threw into chains
 the gladiators of the household of Blaesus, others
 did the same to the rest of his slaves, while others
 again dispersed to search for the body. And had it 3
 not soon become known that no body was to be found ;
 that the slaves, under torture, denied the murder ;
 and lastly, that the man had never had a brother :
 they had come nigh putting the Legate to death. As 4
 it was, they drove the Tribunes and the Commandant
 out of the camp, plundered their baggage as they
 fled, and killed the centurion Lucilius. This man
 was known amongst the soldiers by the nickname of
 ' *Another, quick !* ' for when he broke one vine-rod¹
 over a man's back, he would shout for a second,
 and then again for a third. The rest of the centurions 5
 found safety in hiding ; all except Clemens Julius,
 who, being a man of ready wit, was kept as a suitable
 envoy to convey the demands of the soldiers. Two 6
 of the legions—the 8th and 15th—were on the point
 of drawing their swords against each other, because
 the latter refused to give up for slaughter a centurion
 called Sirpicus, whose blood was demanded by the
 former. The men of the 9th legion, however, inter-
 posed with entreaties, and when these proved of no
 avail, with threats.

¹ The vine-rod was the centurion's instrument of punishment, and the symbol of his office. Its use, however, was reserved for the sacred backs of soldiers who were Roman citizens, just as the Roman law (*Ius Civile*) was applied only to citizens, not to foreigners

(see n. on chap. 15. 5). Soldiers who were not citizens were punished with the *fustis* (Liv., Epit. 57). Cp. Juv. xiv. 193, *aut vitem posce libello*, i.e. 'petition for a centurion's post ;' and ib. viii. 247 (of Marius), *Nodosam post haec frangebat vertice vitem*.

whose
 story ex-
 cites a
 storm.

His fraud
 discovered.

Officers
 driven out
 and Luci-
 lius mur-
 dered.

24. 1 The report of these proceedings induced Tiberius, impenetrable as he was, and disposed to hush up all bad news, to send his son Drusus¹ on a mission to the army, accompanied by a distinguished staff and an escort of two Praetorian Cohorts. Drusus received no specific instructions; he was to act according to circumstances. The cohorts were composed of picked men, and made up beyond the usual strength; in addition, there was the greater part of the Praetorian horse, and a strong body of Germans,² then serving as bodyguard to the Emperor. Aelius Sejanus,³ who had been appointed colleague of his father Strabo in the command of the Praetorian Guards, and had great influence with Tiberius, was to act as adviser to the young man, and hold out expectations of reward or punishment to the army.
- 4 At the approach of Drusus, the legions came out to meet him, as if from respect; but not with glad looks, as was their wont, and with no glitter of decorations: their unkempt, disordered persons, and their gloomy faces, might counterfeit distress, but it was a distress that was closely allied to insolence.
25. 1 No sooner had Drusus passed within the ramparts than the gates were secured by guards, and bodies of armed men were ordered to occupy certain positions within the camp. The remainder, in one vast multitude, surrounded the tribunal. There stood

Tiberius sends Drusus to the army.

Drusus arrives in the camp;

he attempts to address the soldiers.

¹ Drusus Caesar, commonly called *Drusus iunior* (to distinguish him from his uncle, *Drusus senior*, younger brother of Tiberius) was the only son of Tiberius, borne to him by his first wife Vipsania. The tragic story of his death (poisoned, as supposed, by Sejanus) is told below in iv. 3-11. He was married to his first cousin, Livia, sister to Germanicus.

² This was a body-guard of Batavian cavalry, attached by Augustus to his own person (Dio, lv. 24, 7).

³ This is the first mention by Tacitus

of this notorious upstart, destined to play such havoc with the family of Tiberius, and to change the whole character of his rule. His father, Seius Strabo, has been mentioned above as commander of the praetorian cohorts (chap. 7, 3). The termination of the name *Seianus* shows that the bearer of it had been adopted by one of the name of *Aelius*: probably the Aelius Gallus who was Praefect of Egypt B.C. 24. See iv. 1, 3. and n. there.

Drusus, demanding silence with his hand. When the men looked on their own numbers, a murmur of threatening voices would arise; but again they trembled when they cast their eyes on Caesar. There was a confused hubbub; wild shouts alternated with sudden lulls, as the mob yielded to contending emotions, quailing and menacing by turns. At last, in a moment of quiet, Drusus read aloud ³ his father's letter. The terms of the letter were as follows:—

The interests of the brave legions, with whom he had gone through so many campaigns,¹ were very near to his heart; so soon as his mind should recover from its present grief, he would bring their demands before the Senate. In the mean time he had sent his son, to make without delay such concessions as could be granted at once; all else must be reserved for the Senate, who would not be found wanting, they should believe, either in indulgence or in firmness.

To this the multitude replied that they had ^{26.} entrusted the centurion Clemens with their demands. Clemens proceeded to set these forth in order: ² 'Discharge after sixteen years' service, with gratuities at its close; Pay at the rate of a denarius a day; Veterans to be relieved from all further service.' Drusus pleaded that such matters could only be dealt with by the Senate and his father; but he was interrupted by a storm:—*Why had he come, if he had no* ³ *authority either to increase the soldier's pay, or to lighten*

¹ In addition to the brilliant campaigns in which Tiberius and his brother Drusus had conquered the Raeti and Vindelici, and so opened up the Eastern Alps (as celebrated by Hor., Od. iv. 2 and 14), Tiberius had carried on the war in Germany for two years after the death of his brother Drusus in B.C. 9. In A.D. 4 and 5 he was consolidating the Roman

authority in N. Germany, when he was called back to quell a great rising in Pannonia and Dalmatia, A.D. 6. This took him some three years to accomplish. All his work in Germany was undone by the disaster to Varus in A.D. 9; but in these various campaigns he had displayed military talents of no mean order.

and reads
the letter of
Tiberius.

The men
formulate
their
demands.

Their indignation on
being referred to
the Senate.

his labours, or to confer on him any benefit at all? And yet, by Hercules! every one had liberty to scourge or slay
 4 *him. Drusus was but repeating the old trick of Tiberius,*
who used to disappoint the legions of their hopes under
 5 *cover of the name of Augustus.¹ Would they never have*
coming to them any but sons of the Imperial house? It
was a novel thing indeed for the Emperor to throw back
the soldier upon the Senate for his rewards, and his
 6 *rewards only: let him consult the same Senate every time*
that a man was punished, or the signal for battle raised!
Were they to be under masters for their rewards, and
have no appeal against their punishments?

7. 1 At last they moved away from the tribunal. Their threatening gestures to such members of the Praetorian Guard, or of Caesar's staff, as they encountered, led to altercations and bid fair to end in a conflict. Their fury was specially directed against Gnaeus Lentulus,² on whose age and military reputation Drusus was supposed to lean, and who had taken the lead, it was believed, in scouting *the monstrous*
 2 *demands of the soldiers.* And when, not long afterwards, foreseeing danger, he was departing for the winter camp, in company with Drusus, he was set upon by a crowd who asked, *Whither was he going? Was it to the Emperor or to the Senate, that he might*
 3 *there also oppose the interests of the legions?* With that they made a rush on him, and pelted him with stones: wounded and bleeding, he was rescued from certain death by the hurrying up of the force which had arrived with Drusus.

Their fury
 against
 Lentulus.

¹ What facts, if any, are here referred to is unknown.

² Doubtless the Cn. Lentulus whose death is narrated in iv. 44, 1. In addition to his distinction as a consular (cos. B.C. 28), and for gaining triumphal honours over the Getae, Tacitus commends him in that passage for having

first borne poverty with patience, and afterwards honestly acquired, and unostentatiously spent, a large fortune. He is to be distinguished from the Cn. Lentulus Gaetulicus, cos. A.D. 26, who took up such a hardy position towards Tiberius when legate of Upper Germany, A.D. 34 (vi. 30).

Eclipse of
the moon

The night threatened an outbreak of crime; but the danger was averted by a happy chance. Suddenly, in a clear sky, the moon was seen to fail.¹ Accepting this as an omen, the ignorant soldiery found a similitude to their own present troubles in the failing of the luminary:—*Things would go well, they thought, with their demands, if the light and brightness of the Goddess should come back to her.* So they set up a clashing of brazen vessels,² with an accompaniment of horns and trumpets; as the light waxed or waned, they passed from exultation to despair. Then a cloud came up, shutting out the moon from view; whereupon they believed that she was lost in darkness, and with that susceptibility to superstitious terror which affects those who have once given way to it, they lamented that labours without end were portended for them, and that the Gods were turning away in horror from their crimes.³

turned to
account by
Drusus.

Minded to take advantage of this change of mood, and turn the happy incident to account, Drusus sent word round the camp, and summoned to his presence the centurion Clemens, and such other well-conducted

¹ The eclipse here recorded took place on the 26th September, A.D. 14, from 3 to 7 a.m. Thus, as Furn. points out, there had been time in the 38 days intervening between August 19 and September 26, for the news of Augustus' death to reach Pannonia (a distance of over 500 Roman miles); for the mutiny to develop, and for the news of it to reach Rome; and for the embassy, with perhaps a force of 1500 or 2000 men, to reach the spot.

² For the superstition that the evils predicted by an eclipse were to be averted by the clashing of brazen instruments, see Liv. xxvi. 5, 9; Mart. xii. 57, 15; Juv. vi. 442-3. Yet the true theory of the eclipse was known to Lucretius (v. 751), Cicero (de Div. ii. 6, 17), and all educated persons; it was known even to early Greek philosophers (Plin. ii. 12). A similar divergence of view between the educated and the

vulgar existed over the whole field of pagan mythology. The Turks still regard eclipses as the direct act of God, and blow horns, trumpets, etc., as a means of propitiation. My colleague, the Rev. Dr. Cooper, tells me that he was in Ephesus on the occasion of the solar eclipse of 1890, when the offices of a newspaper were wrecked for having impiously ventured to predict the eclipse on the day before it occurred. The character of an Ephesian mob does not seem to have materially changed since the days of St. Paul.

³ This scene, as here described, recalls the pathetic story of the eclipse of the moon on the 27th August, B.C. 413, which completed the ruin of Nicias and the Athenian army before Syracuse, as so graphically told by Thucydides (vii. 50, 4). Probably no eclipses known to history had such important consequences as these two.

men as were popular with the multitude. These men made their way among the sentries, the pickets, and the guards, appealing to their hopes and fears alternately. *How long, they asked, shall we hold our Emperor's son in siege? How is this struggle to end? Are we to swear allegiance to Percennius and Vibulenus? Is it from Percennius and Vibulenus that we shall get our pay, and grants of land upon discharge? Are they to take the places of Nero or of Drusus as rulers over the Roman people? Were it not better for us, as we have been the last to go astray, to be the first with our repentance? Boons which are asked for all, are slow to come: a private favour is no sooner earned than granted.*

This language had its effect. It sowed the seeds of suspicion between recruit and veteran, between one legion and another. By degrees, the sense of discipline returned; the guards slunk away from the gates; and the standards, which had been collected on one spot at the beginning of the outbreak, were taken back to their proper places.

At daybreak Drusus called the men together. Though without skill in speaking, he shewed all the dignity of his race as he reproved their past misconduct, and commended their present attitude. *Neither fears, he said, nor threats would move him. Should he see them inclined to submission, should they approach him as suppliants, he would write to his father to receive their petitions without displeasure.* At their own request, a deputation was despatched to Tiberius. The envoys chosen were Blaesus, as before; Lucius Apronius, a Roman knight on the staff¹ of Drusus; and Justus Catonius, a centurion of the first grade.

Drusus addresses the army.

permits envoys to be named.

¹ The word *cohors*, here used, is the special term to denote the personal suite or staff of a commander; not the

military division, the 10th part of a legion, called by that name.

and pun-
ishes the
ringleaders.

After that, there was a conflict of opinion. Some ³ thought that nothing should be done till the envoys returned, and that until then the soldiers should be humoured and kindly treated; others called for stronger measures. *The temper of a multitude, they urged, was always in extremes; they must either terrorise or tremble: once cowed, they were to be feared no more. While the terrors of superstition were still upon them, let the General strike fresh fear into their minds by making an end of the ringleaders.* Drusus himself ⁴ was by nature inclined to severity;¹ he summoned Vibulenus and Percennius before him, and ordered them to be executed. Their bodies, according to some accounts, were flung outside the lines to be gazed at; but the common story is that they were buried hastily inside the General's tent.

Search was then made for the principal agitators. ³⁰ Some were found wandering outside the camp, and were cut down by the centurions or soldiers of the Praetorian Guard; others were given up by the men themselves, as a token of their loyalty. The troubles ² of the soldiers were aggravated by an unusually early winter. Continual and excessive rains made it impossible for them to leave their tents or gather together; they could scarcely keep up the standards, which were blown down by the winds and swept away by the waters. And they were still under ³ fear of the divine wrath:—*It was not for nothing that they had seen the heavenly bodies grow dim, and the storms come down upon their impious heads; their*

Depression
of the
soldiers.

¹ Tacitus elsewhere describes Drusus as 'revelling in bloodshed' (i. 76, 5); Dio calls him ἀσελεύστατος καὶ ὀμότατος (lvii. 13, 1). In iv. 3, ² Tacitus speaks of him as 'passionate in temper, and unable to brook a rival.' But if ever Drusus had a natural rival, it was

Germanicus, the adopted son of his father; yet Tacitus tells us that whereas their respective supporters formed two bitterly hostile factions in the court, the brothers remained *egregie concordēs et proximorum certaminibus inconcussi* (ii. 43, 7, where see n.).

troubles would have no end till they quitted that ill-omened and unhallowed camp, and returned, after expiating their

4 *offences, to their several winter quarters.* So first the 8th legion, then the 15th, went back; the men of the 9th at first protested that the answer of Tiberius should be waited for: but when the others had departed, and they were left alone, they made a virtue of
5 necessity and went of their own free will. Drusus himself did not wait for the return of the envoys. Things having settled down sufficiently for the present, he returned to Rome. ✓

They return to their winter quarters.

1 About the same time, and from identical causes, disturbances broke out in the armies of the Rhine; and with all the greater violence, in proportion to their greater numbers. They indulged the hope also that Germanicus Caesar, unable to brook a master over him, would lend himself to the legions: they were strong enough, they thought, to carry all before them.¹

Mutiny of the German army.

2 There were two armies² on the banks of the Rhine.

¹ The legions were not slow to learn the lesson that emperors could be made elsewhere than in Rome. Galba, in Spain, revolted against Nero in A.D. 68; Vitellius was proclaimed emperor by his army at Cologne, January 10, A.D. 69; and Vespasian by his troops at Alexandria on February 1st of the same year.

² There were two separate commands on the Rhine frontier, called respectively Upper and Lower Germany. Each comprised the frontier districts on both sides of the Rhine, each army being prepared to act as occasion required, either against Gaul or Germany. Each army consisted of 4 legions: *praecipuum robur Rhenum iuxta, commune in Germanos Gallosque subsidium, octo legiones erant* (iv. 5, 2). The army of Upper Germany, whose headquarters were at Moguntiacum (*Mayence*), consisted of the 2nd, 13th, 14th, and 16th legions; the legions of Lower Germany, with headquarters at Ara Ubiorum (*Cologne*), were the 1st, 5th, 20th, and 21st. The *Ara Ubiorum* had been the headquarters of the original German

province, before the disaster of A.D. 9; after that date, and throughout the first century, the two Germanies were not strictly provinces at all: hence the full title of their commanders is not *legatus provinciae*, but *legatus Augusti pro praetore inferioris* (or *superioris*) *exercitus*, respectively. See iv. 41, 3; iv. 73, 1. Two altars, with inscriptions given by Rushforth, pp. 107, 108, fix the boundary between the Upper and the Lower commands. They were found on a bridge over the Vinxtbach, between Andernach and Sinzig on the left bank of the Rhine. C. Silius held the command of the Upper army from A.D. 14 to 21; A. Severus Caecina of the Lower army from A.D. 14 to 19. Both were under the supreme command of Germanicus, who was invested with the *imperium maius*: see n. on chap. 14, 4. Under Augustus, who favoured centralisation, the command of the Rhine had been united with that of the three Gauls under Agrippa, Tiberius, and Drusus in turn. See Pelham, 'Outlines of Roman History,' p. 422.

The Upper army, as it was called, was under the Legate Gaius Silius; Aulus Caecina had command of the Lower: both alike were under the supreme command of Germanicus, who was at that time occupied in taking the census¹ in the provinces of Gaul.

The Lower
Army
breaks out
first,

The army of Silius hesitated, watching the result of the movement elsewhere; but the Lower army broke out in open mutiny. The movement began with the men of the 21st and 5th legions, who carried along with them the 1st and 20th; all these four being at that time encamped together in the territory of the Ubii,² with little or no work to occupy them. No sooner had the news of the death of Augustus arrived, than the town-bred³ recruits who had been raised in the city not long before, accustomed to license, and impatient of all labour, filled the simple minds of their comrades with the idea that the time had now come for the veterans to press for an early discharge, the younger soldiers for more pay, for all alike to demand some relief from

¹ The *census* here mentioned was the periodic valuation of property on which the apportionment of the state tribute was made. This general survey and census, with enumeration of properties and owners, was first taken by Augustus in his own provinces. See Marquhardt, Staatsv. ii. p. 204-208. A total contribution of 40 millions was levied on Gaul by Caesar (Suet., Jul. 25); a Roman commissioner (xiv. 46, 2) or distinguished officer (as here) apportioned the amount among the communities. We hear of such valuations being made in Gaul in B.C. 27, in B.C. 13, in A.D. 14 (the present year), and in A.D. 61. Such was the census held in Judaea, when 'there went out a decree from Caesar Augustus that all the world should be taxed,' i.e. 'rated' (St. Luke ii. 1). The taking of the census often caused discontent and even outbreaks in the provinces (vi. 41, 1). Of a similar kind are the revaluations of rents periodically made by the British Government in India.

² The Ubii were a German tribe, settled originally on the right bank of the Rhine. Desiring to escape the hostility of the tribes on that bank, they were removed at their own request to the left bank of the river by Agrippa in B.C. 37 or 39 (Dio, xli. 49). It was here that Agrippina—the daughter of Germanicus, the wife of Claudius, and the mother of the Emperor Nero—was born. In recognition of that fact, Agrippina had a colony of veterans planted there in A.D. 50. It then took the name of *Colonia Claudia Agrippinensis*, from which the present name *Cologne* is derived (xii. 27, 1). It is called sometimes *Civitas Ubiorum* (chap. 37, 3), sometimes *Ara Ubiorum* (chap. 39, 1).

³ Suetonius (Oct. 25) and Dio (lvi. 23, 3) both inform us that after the disaster of Varus and his three legions, Augustus enlisted *libertini* in the new forces hurriedly raised to supply their place.

their irksome duties, and wreak vengeance on the centurions for their brutality. And such talk was not confined to single agitators, like Percennius in the Pannonian army, nor addressed to trembling soldiers, looking anxiously around to armies more powerful than themselves.¹ The spirit of sedition found many tongues and many voices:—*The fortunes of Rome were in their own hands; it was by their victories that the Empire was extended, it was from their name that Emperors derived their titles.*²

with great determination.

1 Unnerved by the general frenzy, the Legate made no attempt at resistance. In one moment, an infuriated mob rushed with drawn swords upon the centurions—the objects, from time immemorial, of the soldiers' hatred, and the first victims of their violence.

The Legate Caecina loses all control.

3 The men threw them down and beat them, sixty³ of them setting upon each centurion, so as to match the number of the centuries; then having belaboured and mangled them, they cast them out, many already dead, upon the entrenchments, or into the river.

Attack on the centurions.

4 One of them called Septimius took refuge on the tribunal, and threw himself down before Caecina's feet; but so determined was the demand made for him, that he was given up to death. One young man of spirit, called Cassius Chærea, who afterwards acquired notoriety as one of the murderers of Gaius Caesar,⁴ cut his way, sword in hand, through the armed mob which blocked his path.

Murder of Septimius.

6 The Tribunes, and the Commandant of the camp,

The soldiers act methodically.

¹ See iv. 5, 5r where Tacitus informs us that the army of two legions stationed in Delmatia (or Dalmatia) was intended to keep an eye both on the armies of the Danube provinces and on Italy.

² The name *Germanicus* was first borne by Drusus the elder, then by his two sons Germanicus and Claudius, sometimes even by Tiberius.

³ Because there were 60 centuries in the legion: 'a piece of grim humour,' as Furn. justly terms it.

⁴ Alluding to the murder of the Emperor Gaius or Caligula in the Crypto-porticus of the Palatine by Cassius Chærea, then tribune of a prætorian cohort, and others, Jan. 24, A.D. 41.

now lost all authority. The men distributed among themselves all sentry and picket duty, and other matters of immediate urgency. To those who best understood the temper of the soldiery, nothing shewed more clearly the serious and uncompromising character of the movement than this, that everything was done in concert, nothing at the prompting of a few; all rose to fury, or sunk into silence, like one man: with such uniformity and regularity that it seemed to be at the word of command. ✓

Germanicus in Gaul: difficulties of his position. ✓

Meantime Germanicus, as we have said, was taking the census in Gaul when he heard of the death of Augustus. He was the son of Drusus, brother of Tiberius; the grandson of Augusta; and his wife Agrippina, by whom he had several children, was the grand-daughter of Augustus. But he was disquieted by the secret hatred which both his uncle and his grandmother bore him: a hatred which was all the more bitter that it sprang from unworthy reasons.¹ For the memory of his father was much cherished by the Roman people; and it was the popular belief that if he had succeeded to power, he would have restored the Republic. Germanicus had become the object of the same favour, and the same hopes; for his unassuming character, and his rare affability of manner, presented a strong contrast to the haughty looks and dark language of Tiberius. And besides all this, feminine rancours were at work. For Livia regarded Agrippina with

His character and popularity. ✓

¹ Furn. illustrates this sentiment by the cynical maxim of the Agricola, chap. 42, 4: *Proprium humani generis est odisse quem laeseris*; which recalls the equally cynical opposite saying, 'Why do you hate me? I never did you a service.' But *iniquae* can hardly bear this meaning. Livia and Tiberius had

as yet done Germanicus no injury, if they ever did; and what Tacitus really means is that they hated Germanicus for qualities which should rather have won their love: his affability, his popularity, and above all, his popular leanings.

a true step-mother's hatred; and Agrippina herself was somewhat passionate and imperious in temper, though her faults were all redeemed by her chastity and her devotion to her husband.

1 But the fact that Germanicus stood near to the succession only caused him to exert himself all the more strenuously for Tiberius. He took the oath of allegiance himself, and then administered it to the neighbouring tribes, and to the communities of
2 Belgium. On hearing of the mutiny, he hurried back at once. The men met him outside the camp, their eyes cast down to the ground as if in penitence. As he passed within the lines, a babel of murmurs might
3 be heard. Some seized his hand as if to kiss it, and then thrust his fingers into their mouths to let him feel their toothless gums; others pointed to their
4 bodies, bowed down with age. Perceiving the crowd about him to be without order, he bid them form up in maniples; they replied that they could hear him better as they were. Next, he ordered the standards to the front, so that the cohorts at least might be distinguished from one another: reluctantly they obeyed.¹
5 Beginning with expressions of reverence to Augustus, he passed on to speak of the victories and triumphs of Tiberius, dwelling especially upon his splendid achievements in Germany, along with those same
6 legions; he extolled the unanimity of Italy, the loyalty of the Gallic provinces:—*Nowhere was there disturbance or disaffection.* He was listened to in silence, or with slight murmurs of dissent.

1 He then touched on the mutiny:—*Where was now*

He returns to the camp,

and addresses the army

¹ Germanicus first asks the legion to parade in proper military order, each of the 30 maniples in its own place. This order disobeyed, he asks them to observe, at least, the distinction of

cohorts: the men unwillingly obey. The word *vexillum*, properly used of the standard of the maniples, is here used for the *signa* of the cohorts. See chap. 20, 1.

their military subordination? he asked, *where their old pride in discipline? Whither had they driven forth their Tribunes and their centurions?* At this, with one consent, they bared their bodies, and pointed reproachfully to the marks of wounds and stripes. With a confused roar, they denounced the cost of exemptions, the smallness of their pay, the severity of their labours: naming one by one the making of earthworks and ditches, the collecting of fodder, timber and firewood, and every other kind of necessary work, or work devised to keep the camp from idleness. Fiercest of all was the clamour of the veterans. 2 Counting up their thirty or more years of service, they implored him to find some remedy for their troubles: not to let them perish in the same round of toil, but to vouchsafe to them some limit to so arduous a service, and with repose, a competence.

The men
state their
grievances,

and offer to
follow him
to Rome.

His indig-
nation.

Some even demanded of Germanicus the money 3 bequeathed by Augustus, adding words of happy augury towards himself,¹ signifying that, if he aimed at empire, they would back him up in the attempt. At this he leapt down headlong from the tribunal, as 4 though himself infected with their crime; but the men thrust their arms in his way, threatening him with violence unless he returned. At that he drew 5 his sword, raised it in the air, and exclaiming that he would rather die than play the traitor, he was in the act of plunging it into his breast, when the bystanders seized his arm, and held it back by force. Some voices from the densely packed crowd behind, 6 and even, what almost passes belief, individual men coming close up to him, urged him to strike on;

¹ This demand, and the language in which it was made, implied that they des ired Germanicus to claim the succession, and march for Rome.

and one soldier called Calusidius offered him a drawn sword, adding :—*It was sharper than his own.* Infuriated as the men were, they thought this a cruel and inhuman speech; and during the pause which followed, Germanicus was hurried off by his friends into his tent.

1 A consultation was now held as to what should be done. Word came that the men were preparing to send envoys to bring over the Upper Army to the movement; that the town of the Ubii had been marked out for destruction; and that the troops, having once tasted plunder, would make a raid into 2 Gaul. The alarm was heightened by the fact that the enemy were aware of the mutiny, and by the likelihood that they would make an incursion into Gaul if the river-bank were left unguarded; yet if they called out the auxiliary and allied forces against the seceding 3 legions, they would be embarking on civil war. An unbending attitude was hazardous; to give way was ignominious: whether all or nothing were conceded, the Commonwealth would be in equal 4 jeopardy. After all due consideration, it was resolved to write a letter in the Emperor's name granting discharge after twenty years' service; partial release to men of sixteen years' service, who should be kept under a standard of their own, and relieved of all duty except that of fighting; the sum claimed as legacies to be paid in full, and to twice the amount.¹

Anxious consultations.

Concessions are offered:

1 The soldiers felt that these terms were concocted for the emergency, and demanded their instant fulfilment. Accordingly the discharges were made out by the Tribunes at once; the payments in cash were to be deferred till the troops should return to their

the soldiers demand their instant fulfilment.

¹ These concessions, extorted for the moment (chap. 37, 5), were set aside and repealed in the year following (chap. 78, 3).

respective winter quarters. But as the men of the 2
5th and 21st legions refused to move till the money
was paid in their present summer quarters, Ger-
manicus had to make up the amount from the privy
purses of himself and his staff. The 1st and 20th legions 3
were conducted back to the country of the Ubii by
the Legate Caecina; when might be seen the dis-
graceful spectacle of the treasure-chests¹ taken from
Germanicus being conveyed among the standards and
the eagles. Germanicus himself proceeded to the 4
Upper Army, where the oath of allegiance was taken
without hesitation by the 2nd, 13th, and 16th legions.
The 14th hesitated for a moment; so the money and 5
the discharge were granted to them unasked.

Germani-
cus pro-
ceeds to the
Upper
Army.

Outbreak
among the
veterans.

Meantime, in the country of the Chauci,² a move- 38
ment had begun among the veterans of the dis-
affected legions stationed there on outpost duty; but
it was suppressed for the moment by the summary
execution of two soldiers, on the order of Manius 2
Ennius, Prefect of the camp. Salutary as this
example was, the Prefect had exceeded his authority³
in ordering it; and as the trouble grew worse, he took 3
to flight. Discovered and dragged from his hiding-
place, he drew upon audacity for his protection:—*To
do violence to him, he declared, would be to lay hands, not
on the Prefect of the camp, but on their General Germanicus
—nay, upon the Emperor Tiberius himself.* Having thus 4

Danger of
Manius
Ennius.

¹ The term *fuscus*, or 'basket,' was applied to the revenues, especially those from the imperial provinces, which were accounted for directly to the emperor, as distinguished from those paid into the *aerarium*, or public treasury. As the *fuscus* included both public and private money, the term 'privy purse' is not in all cases applicable to it: but see *Juv. iv. 53-55*, where the huge turbot caught in the Adriatic is despatched post-haste to

Domitian, as though belonging to the *fuscus*.

² The Chauci, whose territory cannot exactly be fixed, seem to have occupied the lower parts of the valleys of the Weser and the Ems, and the country between those rivers.

³ Properly speaking, in an imperial province, no officer below the *legatus Augusti* could inflict the death penalty; in senatorial provinces (Africa alone excepted), not even the proconsul (*Dio, liii. 13, 7*).

overawed the men who stood in his way, he seized the standard, headed with it towards the river,¹ and proclaiming that all who left the ranks should be treated as deserters, he brought the force back to their winter quarters, disaffected indeed, but not in open mutiny.

- 1 Meanwhile the envoys from the Senate reached Germanicus on his return to the altar of the Ubii.
- 2 Two legions were wintering there, the 1st and 20th, together with the recently discharged veterans under
- 3 a standard of their own. Uneasy and conscience-stricken, a terror seized them that the envoys had come with orders from the Senate to cancel the con-
- 4 cessions extorted by the mutiny; and with the usual tendency of a mob to fasten a charge, however false, on some one's shoulders, they laid the blame of the decree on Munatius Plancus,² a Consular, who was at the head of the embassy. In the dead of night, they called for their standard,³ which was in the house of Germanicus. Mobbing the door of the house, they forced it open, dragged Germanicus from his bed, and compelled him to give up the standard under fear of death.

Arrival of envoys from Senate;

danger of Munatius Plancus,

- 5 Later on, as they were parading along the camp-roads,⁴ they encountered the envoys, who having

¹ No doubt the Rhine is meant: the detachment was at once marched off to head-quarters.

² This Plancus must have been a son or grandson of the famous L. Munatius Plancus, cos. B.C. 42, who so falsified the hopes of Cicero by going over to the triumvirs with his Gallic army after the battle of Mutina in B.C. 43. He is still more famous for the allusion to him in Horace, Od. iii. 14, 27: *Non ego hoc ferrem calidus iuventa = Consule Planco.*

³ To mark his displeasure, and as a sign of possible punishment, Germanicus had apparently taken into his own keeping the *vexillum* which guaranteed

the privileges of the *vexillarii* . See above, chap. 17, 4.

⁴ The *viae* of a Roman camp were laid out with great regularity. The camp was divided into three equal portions by two broad roads, each 100 feet wide, the *Principia* , and the *Via Quintana* . The upper portion, that between the *Principia* and the *Porta Praetoria* , contained the *Praetorium* , or head-quarters. The other two-thirds of the camp were occupied by the men's tents, being divided into six oblong spaces by five *viae* , of 50 feet in width, running at right angles to the *Via Quintana* . For the gates in the camp, see n. on chap. 66, 2.

heard the uproar were on their way to the quarters of Germanicus. They loaded them with insults, and were on the point of murdering them—more particularly Plancus, who thought it beneath his dignity to take flight. The only refuge open to him was the camp of the 1st legion. Embracing the standards¹ and the eagle, he sought to protect himself by their sacred character; but had not the standard-bearer Calpurnius prevented the men from proceeding to extremities, there would have been witnessed in a Roman camp a sight scarce ever seen even among our enemies—that of a Legate of the Roman people staining the altars of the Gods with his blood. At last, when day dawned, and it became possible to distinguish soldiers from officers, and to discover what had happened, Germanicus ordered Plancus to be brought to him, and took him up on to the tribunal. Upbraiding the soldiers for their infatuation—now reviving, he declared, not so much from their own passions as through the wrath of the Gods—he explained to them the purpose of the mission; spoke with eloquence and sorrow of the rights of envoys, of the grievous and undeserved peril of Plancus, and of the disgrace thereby brought upon the legion; and having thus cowed rather than quieted the assemblage, he sent off the envoys under an escort of auxiliary cavalry.

who narrowly escapes death.

Speech of Germanicus;

At this perilous juncture, Germanicus was much blamed for not proceeding to the army of the Upper Rhine, which was still loyal, and would have afforded aid against the mutineers:—*Mischief enough, and more than enough, had been done by discharges and bounties and other weak concessions. If he had no regard for his own*

¹ *i.e.* the *signa* or standards of the cohorts, and the eagle which was the standard of the legion.

life, why leave his little son and his wife, and his yet unborn child, among an infuriated soldiery, who had violated every human right? He should send these, at least, back
 3 *in safety to their grandfather and their country.* For a while he hesitated; and Agrippina would not listen to such counsels, protesting that she was of the blood of Augustus, and could face danger like the rest of her race. At last, tearfully embracing his wife, now great with child, and the son she had borne him,
 4 he prevailed on her to depart. And now the long sad line of women moved away; the General's wife a fugitive, carrying her little boy in her arms; her friends' wives dragging themselves after her, and weeping as they went: not less sorrowful were the friends that were left behind.

he consents at last to send away his wife and child.

1 This spectacle, these wailings, more like those of a captured city than of a camp commanded by a Caesar, drew towards them the eyes and the ears
 2 of even the common soldiers. Coming forth from their tents, *What are these sounds of weeping? they ask; What this dismal procession? A company of high-born ladies—with no centurion, not even a soldier, for an escort; with none of the state or retinue that befit the wife of an Emperor—going forth to the Treveri,¹ to seek protection at the hand of strangers!*

The soldiers, touched by the spectacle,

3 A feeling of shame and pity came over them at the sight. They remembered her father Agrippa, her grandfather Augustus, and her father-in-law Drusus; they thought of her notable fertility, her incomparable purity; then of her infant son, born in camp,² and

¹ The Treveri, or Treviri, were a powerful tribe in *Gallia Belgica*, staunch friends of Rome. Their chief town, on the right bank of the Moselle, was made a Roman colony by Augustus, under the name *Augusta Trevirorum*, the modern Trèves, or Trier, the chief resi-

dence of Constantine the Great. Here is the famous *Porta Nigra*, with other Roman remains.

² That Caligula was born in the German camp was a fiction of Caligula's own, to which he himself gave currency in a couplet beginning *In*

brought up in the soldiers' quarters, to whom, in soldier fashion, they had given the name of 'Little Boots,' because to please the men he used to wear boots like those of the legionaries. But what moved them most of all was a feeling of jealousy towards the Treveri; so they threw themselves in the way, and implored her to come back and remain with them; some going after Agrippina herself, the greater number turning back to Germanicus. Stung to the quick with grief and indignation, he thus addressed the throng around him:—

implore
Agrippina
to remain.

Speech of
Germanicus.

*Neither wife nor son are dearer to me than my father and my country; but my father is safe in his Imperial Majesty, and the other armies of Rome will protect the Empire. My wife and children, whom I would freely offer up to death for your glory, I am now removing from your rage; that whatever crime you may yet be meditating may be wiped out by my blood alone, and that you may not add to your guilt by the slaughter of the great-grand-son of Augustus, the murder of the daughter-in-law of Tiberius. For of what insolence, of what impiety, have you not been guilty, during these past days? What name shall I give to this concourse? Am I to call you soldiers—you who have besieged the son of your Emperor with arms and entrenchments? Or citizens—you who have trampled under foot the authority of the Senate; who have disregarded rights accorded even to enemies; who have done violence to the sacred person of an envoy, and the law of nations? The Divine Julius quelled a mutiny by one word: styling those who broke their oath of fealty as 'Quirites.'*¹ The Divine Augustus, by one look, made the

castris natus, patriis nutritus in armis. Suetonius shows that he was born at Antium, before Germanicus left Rome for Germany, and was now two years old (Cal. 8).

¹ The characteristic appellation of the Roman people (*Populus Romanus Quiritium*) when addressed in their civil capacity.

legions at Actium quail before him. Though I be not such as they, yet am I sprung from them; and it were a strange and unworthy thing if soldiers from Spain, or Syria, were to scorn my commands. And will you, the
 6 men of the 1st legion, who received your standard from Tiberius;¹ and you of the 20th—you who shared in his many battles, whom he enriched with so many rewards—
 7 will you thus notably repay your General? Is this the word that I am to carry to my father, at a time when he is receiving from other provinces no news but what is good? How his own recruits, his own veterans, are not content with discharge and bounties; how here, and here alone, centurions are being murdered, Tribunes cast out, envoys beleaguered, camp and river stained with blood? And that I am in the midst of enemies, holding my life at their mercy!

43. 1 Why, O why, did you, unthinking friends, on that first day of assembling, hold back the steel which I was ready to plunge into my breast? A better and kindlier act was
 2 his who offered to me his sword! For I should have fallen then with no guilty knowledge of outrages by my army; and you would have chosen for yourselves a General, to leave my death indeed unpunished, but to avenge Varus
 3 and his three legions. For may the Gods grant that the Belgians—ready as they are to offer themselves—may not have the honour and glory of restoring the Roman name,
 4 and of conquering the tribes of Germany! O! may thy spirit, Divine Augustus, that has now been received into Heaven; may thy image, O my father Drusus, and thy memory, in the hearts of these same soldiers, alive once more to a sense of shame and honour, wash out this stain, and turn this fury between fellow-citizens to the destruction of our
 5 foes! And you also: you whose looks, whose hearts, I

¹ It would appear that, on some occasion unknown, the 1st legion had been

largely recruited by Tiberius. Hence *ipsius tirones* in the following sentence.

see to be other than they were: if you would render obedience to your General; if you would restore to the Senate their envoys, to me my wife and child: withdraw from the contagion! Put forth from you the breeders of sedition! Thus only will you make fast your penitence, thus firmly bind your loyalty.

Penitence
of the men.

This speech turned the soldiers into suppliants. 44.
Humbly acknowledging the justice of these reproaches, they implored Germanicus to punish the guilty, to forgive those who had been led astray, and to lead them out against the enemy; they entreated him to recall his wife, and to let the legions have their foster-child back again, rather than hand him over as a hostage to the Gauls. Germanicus excused 2 Agrippina from returning because of her lying-in, now near at hand, and the wintry season; *but he would let his son come back: the rest they must do themselves.*

The guilty
punished
by acclamation.

At this they hurried away like new men, and 3 dragged the ring-leaders in chains before Gaius Caetronius, the Legate of the 1st legion, who judged the culprits and passed sentence upon them one by one in the following fashion. In front stood the 4 legions, with swords drawn; the accused was put up to view by the Tribune on a raised platform. If the men shouted 'Guilty,' he was thrown headlong down, and cut to pieces. The troops delighted in the 5 slaughter, as though they were thereby absolving themselves; and Caesar allowed it to go on, since in this way, without any order from him, the severity and odium alike were laid upon the same shoulders. The example thus set was followed by the veterans, 6 who were despatched soon afterwards to Raetia,¹

¹ Raetia was the name given to the E. part of Switzerland (Canton *Graubunden* or *Les Grisons*) and the Tyrol,

extending N. as far as the country between the Danube and the Inn. The Engadine, or Upper Inn Valley, so well

under pretence of protecting that Province from an attack threatened by the Suevi;¹ but in reality, to remove them from a camp whose grim associations reminded them not only of their crime, but also of the 7 rigour with which it had been repressed. Germanicus then revised the list of centurions. Each was called up in turn, and stated his name, rank, and country; his period of service; his acts of gallantry, and his 8 decorations, if he had any. If men and officers commended him for energy and integrity, he was permitted to retain his rank. If they agreed in declaring him corrupt or cruel, he was discharged from the service.

45. 1 Things having thus been settled for the moment, a trouble no less formidable remained because of the defiant attitude of the 5th and 21st legions,² who were in camp at a place called *Vetera*, sixty miles 2 away. These men had been the first to mutiny; they had committed the worst excesses; and now, neither awed by the punishment of their comrades, nor moved by their repentance, they remained as intract- 3 able as ever. Germanicus accordingly prepared to despatch a flotilla down the Rhine with a force of legionaries and allied troops, determined to fight it out if his authority were disputed.

Defiant attitude of the two legions at *Vetera*.

46. 1 At Rome, meanwhile, the news of the outbreak in the German army had arrived before the issue of the troubles in Illyricum was known. The city was

Alarm in Rome.

known to mountaineers, still bears in its present language (*Romaunsch*) the traces of its conquest by Drusus and Tiberius, B.C. 15 (*Hor.*, *Od.* iv. 4 and 14).

¹ The name Suebi, or Suevi, was given to a number of Germanic tribes, sometimes confederated, which stretched across the E. of Germany from the Baltic to the Danube.

² The 5th and 21st legions, as we have seen, formed part of the army of Lower Germany. Their head-quarters *Vetera*, or *Vetera Castra*, has been supposed to be at Xanten, some 66 miles N. of Cologne, where the other two legions of this army, the 1st and 20th, were stationed. See chap. 39, 2. The next passage shows that *Vetera* was on the river.

in a panic; and men censured Tiberius in this fashion:—

He was befooling the poor helpless Senate and people with his pretences of hesitation, at a moment when the legions were in revolt, and needed something more than the authority of two youths, new to command, to put them down. He should have gone himself, and confronted them with the Imperial presence: they would have given way before a prince of ripe experience, himself the final arbiter of rewards and punishments. Augustus, in extreme old age, had been able to pay repeated visits¹ to Germany; was Tiberius, in the prime of life, to sit still in the Senate-house, carping at the speeches of the Fathers? Precautions enough had been taken to secure the servility of the capital: it was time that something were done to soothe the army, and reconcile it to a state of peace.

Talk like this made no impression upon Tiberius; he was resolved not to quit the capital, nor to expose himself and the commonwealth to risk. He was distracted by many opposing considerations:—

Of the two armies, the German was the more powerful, the Pannonian the nearer to Rome; the former had the resources of Gaul behind it, Italy lay at the mercy of the latter. Which of the two should he visit first? Which-ever he put last, would be a-flame at the indignity. In sending a son to each, he put both on an equality; yet without compromising his own dignity, which gained in reverence from the distance. Then again, the young men might be excused for referring some points to their father, and if the troops resisted Drusus or Germanicus, they might be crushed or conciliated by himself: but

¹ A rhetorical exaggeration. Augustus never went to Germany at all. So far as we know, he only twice went to

Gaul, in B.C. 16 and 8. In the latter year Augustus was 54; Tiberius was now 56.

Censures passed on Tiberius.

Tiberius unmoved;

he anxiously reviews the situation,

*if they were to flout their Emperor, what resource was left?*¹

5 For all that, however, he made as though he were always on the point of starting; he selected his staff, collected his baggage, and had ships made ready; then pleading various excuses of weather, business, and what not, he hoodwinked the shrewdest for a time; the populace for a while longer; longest of all, the Provinces.

and resolves not to quit Rome.

48. 1 Meanwhile Germanicus had collected his army, and had everything ready for taking vengeance upon the rebels. Thinking, nevertheless, that he should still give them time to take the matter into their own hands, according to the example lately set, he sent on a letter to Caecina, informing him of his approach with a strong force, and announcing that unless the guilty were punished before he came, he would put
2 all indiscriminately to the sword. This despatch Caecina read privately to the eagle- and standard-bearers,² and to the best affected among the men, urging them to save the honour of the corps as well as their own lives. *In time of peace, he remarked, cases are judged upon their merits; when it comes to fighting, innocent and guilty fall alike.*

Germanicus prepares for strong measures.

3 These men sounded those whom they thought the likeliest; and having satisfied themselves that the majority were loyal, fixed a time, at the suggestion of the Legate, for falling upon the most obnoxious and
4 prominent agitators. At a given signal, they burst into their tents, and cut them down unawares, none

The men take vengeance into their own hands, and

¹ The reader will doubtless be of opinion that the reasons ascribed to Tiberius for not going in person to quell the mutiny are convincing, even as stated by Tacitus. The historian clearly intends us to take the opposite

view; and this is one of many cases in which Tacitus states fairly the view opposed to his own. So with the speech of Asinius Gallus, ii. 33.

² See n. on chap. 39, 7.

but those in the secret knowing how the slaughter had begun, or where it was to end.

Never was there a conflict in any civil war like 49.
to this. There was no battle; there were no opposing 2
camps: men who had messed together by day, and
slept together at night, rose out of the same beds,
divided themselves into sides, and fell upon each
other. The shouts, the wounds, and the blood, every
one could see or hear; but no cause for it could be
seen: chance ruled all. Some loyal men were slain 3
with the rest; for the worst offenders had taken up
their arms on discovering against whom the attack
was aimed. There was no Legate, no Tribune, to
control; every man had free license to glut his
vengeance to the full. Germanicus entered the camp 4
soon afterwards; and declaring, with many tears, that
this was a massacre, and no remedy, he ordered the
bodies to be burned.

The minds of the soldiers being still set on blood, 5
a longing seized them to march against the enemy as
an atonement for their madness; as though there
were no other way to appease the spirits of their
comrades than to expose their guilty breasts to
honourable wounds. Falling in with their ardour, 6
Germanicus threw a bridge across the Rhine, and
passed a force of twelve thousand legionaries over
the river, together with twenty-six cohorts and eight
squadrons of the allies, who had never wavered in
their allegiance.

The Germans were not far off. They had rejoiced 50.
to see our attention taken up, first by the holiday on
the death of Augustus, and afterwards by the mutiny.
A rapid march brought Germanicus to the Caesian¹ 2

¹ This forest must have lain some- Rhine was crossed near Xanten, and
where between the point where the the Lippe. The *limes*, on which was

the guilty
are cut
down un-
wares.

Germani-
cus marches
his army
across the
Rhine,

reaches the
limes of
Tiberius,

forest, where he crossed the lines laid out by Tiberius and encamped upon the works, his front and his rear protected by entrenchments, his flanks by barricades
 3 of trees. He had next to traverse a dense forest country, having two routes to choose from—one the shorter and usual route, the other more difficult and unfrequented, and for that reason unguarded by the
 4 enemy. Selecting the longer of the two, he pushed on with all speed; for his scouts had brought word that the Germans were to hold a festival that night,
 5 with games and banqueting. Caecina was sent on with some light cohorts to clear a way through the forest; the legions followed at some little distance.
 6 A bright starry night favoured the enterprise. On reaching the Marsian¹ villages, he drew his posts all round them. The enemy were already in bed, or sprawling upon the tables, suspecting no danger;
 7 there were no sentries set in front; all was carelessness and confusion: for they had no thought of battle, and even such quiet as they were enjoying was but the feeble and relaxed repose of drunkenness.

captures
the Marsian
villages
with much
slaughter,

51. 1 To extend the area of his ravages, Germanicus divided his eager troops into four columns, and laid
 2 waste fifty miles of country with fire and sword. No pity was shewed to either age or sex. Things sacred and profane alike—even the most famous temple² of the tribe, that of the Goddess called Tamfana—were
 3 levelled to the ground; and as our men had fallen on the enemy when half-asleep, unarmed or dispersed, they had sustained no loss.

and deva-
states far
and wide.

the fort Aliso and apparently another fort also (see ii. 7, 1 and 5), had one of its extremities on that river.

¹ The position of this tribe, or confederation of tribes, is not exactly known. Nipp. places them between the Lippe and the Ruhr. Strabo (who lived till about A.D. 24) and Tacitus

speak of them as an important tribe; they are not heard of later.

² The word *templum* in Latin does not necessarily denote a building, but only a spot consecrated by augurs. The Germans worshipped in consecrated ground; they had no temples.

Rising of
tribes in his
rear.

The news of this massacre roused the Bructeri,¹ 4
the Tubantes, and the Usipetes, who beset the forest
passes² by which the army had to return. Apprised
of this, Germanicus arranged his retreat alike for
marching and for fighting. The auxiliary cohorts, 5
with part of the cavalry, led the way; then came the
1st legion. In the middle was the baggage, guarded
on the left flank by the 21st, on the right by the 5th
legions; the 20th protected the rear, and behind came
the rest of the allies.

The
Romans
break
through
success-
fully.

The enemy bided their time till the force was 6
stretching out through the pass; then making feint
attacks upon the front and flanks, they fell with
their full force upon the rear. The light cohorts 7
were being thrown into confusion by the dense
masses of the Germans, when Germanicus rode up
to the 20th:—*Now is the time*, he shouted, *to wipe*
out all memory of the mutiny! Forward! quick
forward! and turn your shame into glory! In- 8
flamed by these words, the 20th burst through the
enemy's line with one dash, and drove them back
with great slaughter into the open; at the same
moment the van emerged from the pass, and threw up
entrenchments for a camp. From this point onward 9
the march was undisturbed. Rendered confident by
their recent successes, and forgetting past occurrences,
the troops settled down into their winter quarters.

¹ The *Bructeri* were to the N. of the Marsi, in the angle between the Lippe (flowing W. into the Rhine) and the Ems (flowing N. into the North Sea). To the W. of the Marsi, and nearer the Rhine, were the *Tencteri*; S. of these, and closely united to them, came the *Usipetes*; then the *Chatti*. The *Tubantes* were to the E. of these last tribes, and S. of the River Ruhr, occupying probably the province of Arnberg.

² The word *saltus* is used by Tacitus of any wooded, hilly, or uncultivated

country; it is sometimes 'a pass.' In this chapter the point beset by the Germans is twice called *saltus*, once *silvae*. The two words are frequently coupled: *silvas saltusque penetrantibus* (Agr. 34, 2); *non campos modo . . . sed silvas et saltus* (ii. 14, 3); *per angustias saltuum* (iv. 47, 1). The Hercynian and Teutoburgian forests are called respectively *Hercynius saltus* (Germ. 30, 1), and *Teutoburgiensis saltus* (i. 60, 5). See chap. 63, 2.

2. 1 /The news of these events caused Tiberius no less anxiety than satisfaction. He was pleased that the mutiny had been got under; but he was annoyed that Germanicus should have gained the goodwill of the soldiers by gifts of money, and by shortening the term of service. He was jealous also of his military
 2 success. /Nevertheless, he brought his exploits before the notice of the Senate, and said much in his praise, though in language too carefully studied for effect
 3 to create an impression of sincerity. His satisfaction with Drusus, and at the ending of the movement in Illyricum, he expressed in fewer words; but they were more earnest and sincere. And he extended to the Pannonian army all the concessions which Germanicus had granted to the other.✓

Dissatisfac-
tion of
Tiberius.

3. 1 This same year witnessed the death of Julia,¹ whose profligate conduct had caused her father Augustus to confine her, first in the island of Pandateria,² and afterwards in the town of Rhegium,
 2 on the Sicilian straits. Married to Tiberius when her sons Gaius and Lucius were yet alive, she had looked down upon him as her inferior;³ and it was her conduct that was the real reason of his retirement to
 3 Rhodes. On succeeding to the empire, he left her in

Death of
Julia.

¹ Julia was the only child of Augustus, to whom her notoriously profligate life was a bitter trial. She had been married (1) to Marcellus in B.C. 23, when she was fourteen years of age; (2) to Agrippa in B.C. 21; and (3) to Tiberius in B.C. 12. Her children (by Agrippa) were the young Caesars Gaius and Lucius, Agrippina (wife of Germanicus), Julia, and Agrippa Postumus. When, in B.C. 2, Augustus announced her misconduct and its punishment to the Senate, he was so stung with shame that he shut himself up for a time, and even thought of putting her to death. Her daughter Julia was as bad or worse. These two, and his grandson Postumus, he used to call 'his three sores and cancers,' and

would repeat the Homeric line, 'O that I had never wedded, or could childless die' (Suet., Oct. 65; Dio, lv. 10, 12). See also iii. 24, 2. In vi. 51, 3, Tacitus says that the misconduct of Julia was the greatest difficulty in the life of Tiberius: *sed maxime in lubrico egit accepta in matrimonium Iulia*.

² A small rocky island in the bay of Naples, now Vandotena. Julia remained there for five years; and when permitted to go to Rhegium, she was still kept, by order of Tiberius, under the strictest surveillance.

³ Noble as the blood of the Claudii was, Julia could boast that she was of the Julian gens, and mother of the heirs apparent to the succession.

dishonoured banishment. With the death of Agrippa Postumus, her last hope was gone; and Tiberius suffered her to die a lingering death by waste and starvation, believing that her end would pass unnoticed from the distance of her place of exile.

Her para-
mour
Gracchus
put to
death.

For a similar offence, Sempronius Gracchus was brought to punishment. Born of a noble family, shrewd of understanding, and with considerable though ill-directed eloquence, Gracchus had carried on an intrigue with Julia when she was the wife of Marcus Agrippa. Not satisfied with that, he persisted in the amour after her marriage to Tiberius; he fanned her feelings of defiance and antipathy towards her husband; and he was supposed to have been the composer of a certain letter from Julia to her father, filled with abuse of Tiberius. Banished on that account to Cercina,¹ an island off the coast of Africa, he languished there in exile for fourteen years. Soldiers were now sent to put him to death. They found him on a headland, prepared for the worst. On their arrival, he asked for a short respite to write his last instructions to his wife Alliaria. He then offered his neck to the blow; and, unworthy as his life had been, he perished at least with a fortitude worthy of the Sempronian name. According to another account,² the soldiers were not sent from Rome, but by Lucius Asprenas, Proconsul of Africa, under instructions from Tiberius, who vainly hoped to throw upon Asprenas the odium of the crime.

Institution
of the
Sodales
Augustales.

This same year witnessed the institution of a new religious worship by the addition to the existing

¹ Cercina, now Kerkenna, a group of small islands in the Lesser Syrtis (Gulf of Cabes) off the E. coast of Tunis.

² Another rumour recorded, but not vouched for.

priesthoods of the Augustan Brotherhood¹—a body framed after the model of the Titian Brothers, instituted by Titus Tatius for the conservation of Sabine
 2 rites. A body of twenty-one ‘Companions’ was chosen by lot from the principal men in the state; to these were added Tiberius, Drusus, Claudius, and Germanicus.

3 At the celebration of the Augustan games,² then held for the first time, a disturbance took place owing to some quarrel between the actors.³ Augustus had patronized such performances out of regard for the passion of Maecenas for Bathyllus; he was himself also fond of entertainments of this kind, and it was part of his popular policy to share in the amusements of the people.⁴ Very different was the temperament of Tiberius;⁵ but as the people had been indulged for so many years, he did not venture as yet to turn their tastes in a more serious direction.

Celebration of the Augustan Games.

¹ The *Sodales Augustales*, whose institution as a dignified priestly College for the worship of Augustus and the *Gens Iulia* is here recorded, must be carefully distinguished from the Order of *Augustales* in the provinces. These last, also for the worship of Augustus, formed an inferior order of priests recruited from freedmen, to which class membership of the Order became an object of ambition. They were presided over by a body of six in each locality, appointed for one year, called *Sexviri* or *Seviri*. Inscriptions shew that these officers were expected, or required, to contribute to works of public utility (Rushforth, pp. 63-66; Marqt., Staatsv. iii. p. 443; and Bouché-Leclercq, Man. d. Inst. Rom., p. 558 foll.).

² There were no less than three sets of games held in honour of Augustus: (1) *Ludi Circenses*, inst. in B.C. 13; (2) *Augustalia*, first held on Oct. 12, B.C. 9, to celebrate Augustus' return to Rome: after A.D. 14 they lasted for ten days, Oct. 3-12; (3) *Ludi Palatini*, private games held in the palace, and

lasting ultimately for five days, Jan. 17-19 and 21-22 (Marqt., vol. xiii. pp. 215-19, French trans.).

³ The excesses committed by the supporters of rival actors often called for public notice. See chap. 77; iv. 14, 4; xiii. 25, 4. Augustus caused the actors Stephanion and Hylas to be flogged in three theatres for impropriety; and exiled Pylades, the rival of Bathyllus, for pointing out with his finger a spectator who had hissed him (Suet., Oct. 45).

⁴ Cicero complains bitterly of the intolerable burden and waste of time imposed on public men by having to attend games to please the public (ad Fam. vii. 1). Caesar gave offence by reading and writing despatches while games were going on, an error which Augustus took care to avoid (Suet. 45). The saying of Sir George Cornwall Lewis that ‘life would be tolerable but for its pleasures’ is well known.

⁵ Pliny says of Tiberius, *tristissimus, ut constat, hominum*, H. N. xxviii. 2, 5. See nn. on chap. 77. 5.

A.D. 15. CONSULS DRUSUS CAESAR AND C. NORBANUS
FLACCUS.

Triumph
voted to
Germani-
cus.

Quarrel of
Arminius
and
Segestes.

A Triumph was now voted to Germanicus, 55
although the war had not yet come to an end.
While preparing to put forth his whole strength in
summer, he made in early spring a sudden ex-
pedition against the Chatti.¹ It was hoped that the 2
enemy would be divided between Arminius² and
Segestes, two chiefs equally notorious, the one for
his treachery, the other for good faith towards us.
Arminius was the firebrand of Germany. Segestes 3
had often warned Varus of the coming rebellion;
and especially at that last banquet before the battle,
he had advised Varus to throw Arminius, himself,
and the other chiefs into chains:—*The multitude*, he
said, *would do nothing without their chiefs; Varus would*
thus gain time to separate the innocent from the guilty.
But Varus met his fate at the hands of Arminius; 4
and though Segestes was dragged into the war by
the general feeling of the tribe, his quarrel with
Arminius remained, fed by private reasons of his
own: for Arminius had carried off his daughter,
though already betrothed to another man. Hence 5
Segestes hated his son-in-law; the two fathers-in-law
were at open variance: and thus the ties that are
wont to draw friendship closer between friends, did
but add fresh fuel to their animosity.

¹ A powerful tribe, enemies of the Cherusci. They occupied modern Nassau and the two provinces of Hesse on the right bank of the Rhine.

² A Cheruscan prince, the great national hero of Germany and destroyer

of Varus; his name survives in the modern German name *Hermann*. He seems to have served in the Roman army (ii. 10, 3), and to have received the Roman citizenship (Vell. ii. 118, 2).

5. 1 Germanicus accordingly gave Caecina a force of four legions, five thousand auxiliaries, and some levies newly raised from German tribes settled on this side of the Rhine. He himself, at the head of a like number of legions and twice the number of allies, established a fort on Mount Taunus¹ on the ruins of one built by his father, and then hurried on with a light force against the Chatti, leaving Lucius 2 Apronius to secure the roads and bridges. A long drought, unusual in that country, had enabled him to push on without check across dry or half-empty water-courses; and he feared for rain and floods on 3 his return. And so unexpectedly did he fall on the enemy, that he captured at once, or killed, all who 4 were helpless through age or sex. The younger men swam across the river Adrana,² and attempted to 5 stop the Romans from building a bridge; but they were driven off by engines and arrows. After a vain attempt to arrange terms of peace, a few came over to Germanicus, the rest abandoned their hamlets and townships, and dispersed amongst the forests. 6 Germanicus burned their chief town Mattium,³ ravaged the open country, and then made for the Rhine; the enemy not daring to harass his retreat as it is their wont to do when they fall back through 7 cunning rather than through fear. The Cherusci⁴ had intended to assist the Chatti; but they were alarmed

Expedition
against the
Chatti and
Marsi.

¹ A range of hills still bearing the name of Taunus, running parallel to the right bank of the Rhine, and N. from the Main. The establishment of this fort on Mt. Taunus by Drusus, the *castellum* on the Lippe (ii. 7, 1), the *pontes longi* near the Ems (i. 63, 5), the *Fossa Drusiana* (ii. 8, 1), and the Fort Aliso (ii. 7, 5), all show that the Romans had made considerable progress towards the permanent occupation of Germany.

² The modern Eder, which runs N.E. into the Fulda, a tributary of the Weser.

The ideas of Tacitus on the geography of Germany are of the vaguest kind.

³ Apparently N. of the Eder. But the *Mattiaci* are subsequently found in the country about Wiesbaden, S. of the Taunus range.

⁴ The Cherusci appear in Tacitus as the most powerful of the German tribes, authors of the disaster to Varus. Their country lay between the Weser and the Elbe, to the NE. of the Chatti, by whom at a later period they were overcome.

by Caecina's rapid movements. The Marsi¹ ventured to engage him, but were defeated and driven off.

Soon afterwards, envoys arrived from Segestes, asking for protection against his own countrymen who were besieging him in force. Arminius, as the advocate of war, was the more popular of the two leaders; for among barbarians, the more reckless a man's daring, the more will he be trusted and preferred in troublous times. Segestes had included his son Segimundus among the envoys; but the youth hesitated, remembering his own misconduct. For in the year of the German rebellion, having been appointed priest at the altar of the Ubii,² he had rent his sacred fillets, and gone over to the insurgents. Nevertheless, in the hope of mercy from the Romans, he now presented himself with his father's message; he was received kindly, and sent under escort to the Gallic side of the river.³

Germanicus thought it worth while to retrace his

Segestes
besieged
asks for
help
against
Arminius,

and is
rescued
by Ger-
manicus.

¹ For the Marsi, see n. on chap. 50, 6.
² This altar at the head-quarters of the Ubii—the modern *Cologne*—was doubtless set up for the worship of Augustus, probably conjoined with that of Rome. This worship, as has been proved by inscriptions, was no idle piece of court flattery, but was deliberately instituted by Augustus as a means of creating a sense of loyalty and imperial unity among the heterogeneous populations which composed the Empire. With his rare sense of state-craft, he at once felt the want and discovered the means of supplying it, systematising throughout the Empire a practice which had its origin in the Hellenised East. The worship paid in the Eastern cities to Alexander and his successors was naturally transferred to Rome, the first example being set by the people of Smyrna, who erected a temple to the City of Rome, B.C. 195 (iv. 56, i.). Proconsuls had been honoured in the same way (Suet. Oct. 32); and Augustus permitted and organised a similar worship to himself and Rome in conjunction (Suet. Oct.

32). Such altars or temples were set up in the chief towns of provinces, with a regular hierarchy to conduct the worship. The office of high priest, or flamen, was one of great dignity, and was held by distinguished provincials. The first known instance in the West is that of the altar set up for the three Gaulish provinces in B.C. 12 at Lugdunum, where an inscription describes a Celt, with a Latinised name, as being *sacerdos Romae et Augusti ad aram quae est ad Confluentem*. The altar of the Ubii was one of the same kind; Segimundus, son of the distinguished Segestes, had been appointed priest, as a symbol and pledge of the Romanisation of Germany. His repudiation of the office and his flight were therefore a proclamation of revolt from Rome, and a declaration of national independence. See Dio, li. 20, 7; Rushforth, pp. 18, 47, 51; and Do. Inscr. Nos. 16, 17, 35. Tacitus seems to have had no idea of the extent and real bearing of this provincial worship.

³ *i.e.* the part of the old German province on the left bank of the river.

steps; he attacked the besieging force, and rescued Segestes with a large number of his relatives and dependents, including some women of high rank. Among these was the daughter of Segestes, now wife of Arminius, who displayed a spirit more akin to that of her husband than to that of her father: no tear betokened weakness, no entreaty escaped her lips, as she stood with her hands folded on her bosom, and her eyes cast down upon her gravid womb. Some trophies also of the Varian disaster were brought in, which had been given as plunder to some of those now surrendering; and there was Segestes himself, a man of imposing mien, undismayed in the consciousness that he had been true to Rome.

8. 1 He spoke as follows:—*This day is not the first on which I have shewn myself true and faithful to the Roman people. From the moment when the Divine Augustus gave me the citizenship,¹ I have chosen my friends and enemies alike in accordance with your needs; not from hatred of my own country—for traitors are abhorred even by those whose cause they espouse—but because I held that the interests of Roman and German were one, and was for peace rather than for war. I therefore denounced Arminius—Arminius, the ravisher of my daughter, the violator of your treaty—to Varus, the commander of your army. Put off by his supineness, and knowing that the law would be no protection, I implored him to put me into bonds, along with Arminius and his accomplices. O let that night be my witness! Would that it had been my last! What followed can be better lamented than excused. But I put Arminius in chains; he and his faction did the like*

Speech of Segestes.

¹ Not only individuals, but whole communities, might receive the gift of the franchise direct from the emperor,

usually as a reward for military services, or for aid afforded to Rome. See chap. 58, 2; vi. 37, 4; and Hist. i. 8, 3.

to me: and now that, for the first time, I approach
 your person, I declare that I prefer the old state to the
 new, a state of peace to a state of unrest. I look for no
 reward; I ask only to clear myself from the charge of
 treachery: I come as a fit mediator for the German
 people, if haply they may prefer penitence to perdition.
 For the youth and error of my son, I crave forgiveness:
 my daughter, I avow, has been brought hither against
 her will. Which fact shall weigh most with you—that
 she is bearing a child to Arminius, or that she is a child
 of mine—it will be your part to consider.

He is
 graciously
 received.

Germanicus made a gracious reply. He promised
 to spare the children and the kindred of Segestes;
 to Segestes himself he offered a retreat in the old
 province. He then withdrew his army. By desire
 of Tiberius, he received the title of 'Imperator.'¹
 The wife of Arminius gave birth to a son. The boy
 was brought up at Ravenna; how he was befooled by
 fortune² and undone, shall be related in the proper
 place.

Fury of
 Arminius:

The news of the surrender of Segestes, and of
 his favourable reception, was as welcome to those
 who desired peace, as it was the reverse to those
 who wished for war. At all times violent in temper,
 Arminius was driven to frenzy by the capture of his
 wife, and the thought of her unborn child condemned
 to slavery. He flew hither and thither among the
 Cherusci, calling them to arms against Segestes and
 against Caesar. *To arms! To arms!* he cried, not
 sparing taunts like these:—*A precious father this! A*

his ha-
 rangue

¹ See n. on chap. 3, 1. This hon. title (twice borne by Germanicus) was apparently no longer conferred by the soldiers, as of old, on the field of battle, but by the senate on the motion of the Emperor (*auctore Tiberio*). See iii. 74, 6.

² The circumstances referred to are unknown, and the translation therefore is uncertain. *Confictatus* does not necessarily imply a fatal or final issue. For the meaning of the word *ludibrium*, see n. on iii. 18, 6.

mighty *Imperator*, a gallant army, to carry off one weak
 4 woman with all their hosts! Before himself, three legions,
 three Legates, had bit the dust; he did not make war by
 treachery, nor upon pregnant women, but in open fight,
 5 and against armed men. The Roman standards were
 still there to see, in the German groves, hung up to the
 Gods of his fatherland. Let Segestes take up his abode on
 the conquered bank of the river; let him again make his
 son a priest, for the worship of a man:¹ but that the
 rods, the axes, and the toga should have been seen between
 the Elbe and the Rhine—that no German would forgive.
 6 Other nations might know naught of Roman rule, might
 not have felt her punishments or known her tributes; but
 now that they had put these things from them: now that
 the new-made Divinity, Augustus, and his own chosen
 Tiberius, had passed discomfited away, let them not quail
 7 before an untried stripling and a mutinous army. If
 they preferred their fatherland, their fathers and their
 fathers' ways, to living under masters in new-fangled
 colonies, let them follow Arminius to liberty and to glory,
 rather than Segestes to shame and slavery!

60. 1 These words roused not the Cherusci only, but
 also the adjacent tribes; and Inguiomerus, the uncle
 of Arminius, a man long in repute among the
 Romans, went over to his side. Alarmed by this
 2 defection, and wishing to conduct the campaign on
 more than one line of operations, Germanicus de-
 spatched Caecina with forty cohorts² through the
 country of the Bructeri up to the river Ems, to effect
 a diversion, while the Prefect Pedo led the cavalry

raises the
 Cherusci
 and other
 tribes.

Operations
 between
 the Lippe
 and the
 Ems.

¹ The terminations of the words *sacerdotium hominum* in the MS. are not quite legible; I follow Halm's reading and interpretation. In any case the words which follow make the meaning plain.

² *i.e.* the four legions (each legion had 10 cohorts) which constituted the Lower Army. These were the 1st, the 5th, the 20th, and the 21st (chap. 64).

through the territory of the Frisii. Germanicus³ himself put his four legions on board ship, and conducted them along the lakes; the whole force, infantry, cavalry and fleet, effecting a junction on the river at an appointed spot.¹ The Chauci, offering assistance, were permitted to join in the expedition. The Bructeri set fire to their own villages; ⁴ whereupon Stertinius was sent off with a light force, and dispersed them with much slaughter. Amid the plunder he found the eagle of the 19th legion, lost with Varus. The army was then marched to the ⁵ furthest borders of the Bructeri, laying waste all the country between the Ems and the Lippe.

As the army was now not far from the Teuto- ^{61.} burgian² Forest, in which the remains of Varus and his legions were said to be lying still unburied, a desire sprang up in the mind of Germanicus to pay the last rites to that General and his soldiers; and the whole army was moved to pity at the thought of fallen friends and kinsmen, of the calamities of war, and the chances of human life. Caecina was ² sent on to reconnoitre the recesses of the forest, and to lay down bridges and causeways over swampy or treacherous ground.

¹ The words might equally well mean 'the before-mentioned river,' *i.e.* the Ems.

² The *Saltus Teutoburgiensis* is mentioned only in this passage. The scene of the terrible disaster to Varus must be looked for somewhere in the huge district enclosed by the Lippe on the S., the Ems on the W., and the Weser on the E. Any spot within that district fulfilling the necessary conditions of mountain, wood, and marsh, will satisfy the documentary evidence. Some have looked for it on the S. side of the Osning hills; but with the further evidence afforded by coins, etc., Mommsen fixes the spot close to the village of Barenau, just N. of a line drawn from Engter to Venne, S. of

the *Grosses Moor*. He identifies the *saltus Teutoburgiensis*, not as modern maps do, with the Osning hills S. of Osnabrück and the Lippischer Wald, but with the range N. of Osnabrück, stretching from Porta Westphalica on the Weser, close to Minden, to Bramsche on the Haase ('Die Ortschaftlichkeit der Varusschlacht,' p. 56. Berlin, 1885). Popular sentiment, however, has consecrated the former site. In the year 1875 a colossal memorial to Arminius, as the champion of German Liberty (known as the *Hermanns-Denkmal*), was inaugurated on the Grotenburg, a hill 1270 feet high, about 3 miles to the SW. of Detmold, in the midst of the so-called Teutoburgian Forest.

The Roman army reaches the Teuto-burgian Forest,

The army then advanced to the sad spot, so full of
 3 ghastly sights and memories. Here was the place
 where Varus first pitched his camp, with its wide
 circuit, and its head-quarters marked out, shewing
 that three legions had been at work ; further on, the
 half-completed¹ rampart, the shallow ditch, indicated
 where the crippled remnant had made a stand. In
 the middle of the plain lay the whitening bones,
 scattered about, or in heaps, just as the men had
 fallen: some running away, some still holding their
 4 ground. Fragments of weapons, and limbs of
 horses, were lying about ; human heads also, stuck
 5 on to trunks of trees. In groves close by were the
 barbarian altars on which the Tribunes and cen-
 6 turions of the first rank had been butchered. And
 survivors of the disaster, who had escaped from the
 battlefield or from captivity, told how the Legates
 had fallen here, how the eagles had been captured
 there ; showed the spot where Varus had received
 his first wound, and where the unhappy man, with
 his own hand, had dealt himself the fatal blow ;
 pointed out the mound from which Arminius had
 harangued ; told how many gibbets were set up, what
 trenches dug for the captured: and with what
 contumely Arminius had treated the standards and
 the eagles.

visits the
 scene of the
 Varian
 disaster,

52. 1 And so six years after the event, the whole of
 the Roman army there present proceeded in sorrow
 and in anger, and with an indignation rising higher
 and higher against the enemy, to bury the bones of
 the three legions. None could tell whether he were
 laying the remains of friend or stranger in the earth ;
 all alike were treated as kinsfolk and of the same

and buries
 the bones
 of the
 slain.

¹ *i.e.* built up to only half the usual height, the ditch being correspondingly shallow.

blood. Germanicus himself, as a grateful office to 2
 the dead, and as sharer in the present sorrow, laid
 the first sod of the mound. But this act displeased 3
 Tiberius; whether because he took everything that
 Germanicus did in evil part, or because he thought
 that the sight of their slain and unburied com-
 rades would unnerve the soldiers for battle, and
 increase their terror of the enemy: perhaps, also,
 he thought that an Emperor who held the Augur-
 ship and other ancient priesthoods should not have
 handled things pertaining to the dead.¹

Engage-
 ment with
 Arminius.

Arminius retired into a trackless country; but 63.
 Germanicus followed him up, and as soon as he came
 within striking distance, ordered his cavalry to move
 out and seize a level space occupied by the enemy.
 Arminius bid his men draw close together, and move 2
 towards the woods;² then turning suddenly round,
 he gave to a force which he had concealed inside the
 forest² the signal to charge. This unlooked-for attack 3
 threw our horse into confusion; the confusion was
 increased by some cohorts sent up as a support,
 who were pushed back by the retreating cavalry;
 and both were being driven into a marsh where
 the victorious enemy would have had the advantage
 from his knowledge of the ground, when Germanicus
 led out his main force in battle order. This struck 4
 terror into the enemy, and restored the confidence of
 our men: the armies withdrew without advantage
 to either side.

Caecina is
 beset in his
 retreat,

Soon after this the army returned to the Ems, 5
 whence the legions were taken back, as they had

¹ It was a special impiety for members of priestly colleges to touch the dead; see note of Furn. Suetonius says of Germanicus on this occasion *Caesorum reliquias . . . colligere sua manu et*

comportare primus aggressus est (Cal. 3).

² The words *silvis* and *saltus* are here again used convertibly. See n. on chap. 52, 4.

come, by sea. Part of the cavalry were ordered to make for the Rhine along the coast;¹ while Caecina, who was to lead back his own division by the usual route, was warned to lose no time in getting over the
 6 Long Bridges²—a narrow causeway traversing a huge morass, constructed some time before by Lucius Domitius.³ Except on the causeway itself, the ground was boggy, consisting of a deep sticky clay, intersected by water-courses. The marsh was surrounded by gently-rising wooded slopes; these were now occupied by the troops of Arminius, who by means of short cuts and rapid marches had outstripped the heavily-
 7 laden and heavily-armed Romans. Doubting in what way he could at one and the same time repair the worn-out parts of the causeway and beat off the enemy, Caecina determined to lay out his camp where he was, telling off some to work while the rest were to give battle.

54. 1 The barbarians made every effort to break through the protecting force, and get at the working party. They attacked both in front and flank; the cries of the
 2 workers and the fighters mingled together. Every condition was against the Romans. The bog was so deep that they could neither stand firm where they were, nor move on without slipping. They were weighed down by their breastplates; they could not
 3 hurl their heavy javelins from amid the water. The

and with difficulty holds his ground till nightfall.

¹ Germanicus had brought the four legions to the mouth of the Ems by sea; the cavalry returned by land (chap. 60, 3).

² Site unknown. Nipp. states that remains of such causeways laid with trunks of trees have been found in the Burtanger marshes. If so, the cavalry must have accompanied the legions to their point of embarkation near the mouth of the Weser.

³ L. Domitius Ahenobarbus, grand-

father of the Emperor Nero. He married the elder (Tacitus wrongly says the younger) of the two daughters borne by Octavia to Antony. When in command on the Danube, he had penetrated into Germany further than any of his predecessors, crossing the upper Elbe (iv. 44, 3; Dio, lv. 102, 2). The 'bridges' here mentioned must have been laid down at a later period, when Domitius was in command in Lower Germany, B.C. 2.

Cherusci, on the other hand, were used to fighting in swamps; their great stature and their enormous spears gave them a long reach in striking. The 4 legions were beginning to waver when night saved them from defeat. The Germans lost all sense of fatigue in their success; late as it was, they took no rest, but at once set to work to turn on to the low ground all the water rising in the heights above. In this way the ground was flooded, the works already finished were submerged, and the labour of the soldiers had to begin all over again.

His dispositions for next day's fight.

But Caecina was not a man to be daunted. He 6 had seen forty years of service, either in, or under, command, and had had experience of every kind of fortune, good and bad. On forecasting the situation, 7 he saw that his only chance was to confine the enemy to the woods until his own wounded, and the heavier part of his train, should get well forward; for between the marsh and the hills there was enough level ground on which to draw up a line of moderate depth. For the right flank he selected the 5th legion, the 8 21st for the left; the 1st were to lead the van, the 20th to close the rear.

An anxious night.

Both armies passed a disturbed night, from dif- 65 ferent causes. The barbarians feasted, and filled the valley below and the woods above with their savage cries and songs of triumph. In the Roman camp the fires were kept low; the men muttered broken sentences as they lay scattered along the entrenchments, or moved from one tent to another, sleepless rather than watchful. The general himself had an 2 alarming dream. He thought he saw and heard Quintilius Varus, stained with blood, rising out of the swamp and calling him: but he would not

The General's dream.

go: and when Varus held out to him his hand, he thrust it back.

3 At daybreak, the legions told off to guard the flanks, whether from terror or in disobedience, left their station, and hurriedly took up a position on the
4 ground beyond the swamp. This movement left the way open for Arminius; but instead of attacking at once, he waited until he saw the baggage stuck fast in the mud or in the ditches, and the men in disorder round it: each taken up with himself, as might be expected in such a case, and paying no attention to the word of command. He then ordered the Germans to fall on, shouting:—*Behold another Varus! Behold the legions caught in the same trap once more!*

The Romans fight their way out,

5 With these words, at the head of a picked corps, he cut the Roman line in two, striking chiefly at the
6 horses. Slipping in their own blood or on the oozy ground, the horses threw their riders, overturned all in their way, and trampled upon those that were
7 down. The fight waxed hottest round the eagles, which could neither be held up against the storm of
8 darts, nor planted in the boggy ground. Caccina fell, his horse killed under him, while cheering his men on; and he would have been surrounded had not the
9 1st legion thrown themselves in the way. Happily, the greed for plunder drew the enemy away from slaughter; and by the time evening came on, the legions struggled out on to open and solid ground.

10 But even then their troubles were not over. There were earthworks to be put up, and turf to be fetched; and most of their tools for digging and for cutting had been lost. There were no tents for the maniples, no appliances for the wounded; and as they divided among themselves their rations fouled

and pass another anxious night.

with mire or blood, they bewailed the darkness that seemed like the darkness of death, and the day that was to be the last for so many thousands of men.

Panic in
camp.

It chanced that a horse broke his tether, and got loose; terrified by the outcry, he knocked down some who ran in his way. This started a panic: persuaded that the Germans had broken in, all rushed to the gates, especially the *Porta Decumana*,¹ which as being furthest from the enemy was the safest for escape. Discovering that there was no cause for fright, and having tried commands, entreaties, and even force, all in vain, to keep back the men, Caecina threw himself down before the gate; and thus at last, by working on the men's compassion, who would have to pass over the Legate's body, blocked the way. The Tribunes and centurions at the same time explained that it was a false alarm.

Caecina
encourages
his men.

Caecina then collected the men at head-quarters, and bidding them listen in silence to what he had to say, warned them of the gravity of the situation. *Their one hope, he said, was in their arms; but they must use discretion also. They must remain behind their defences until the enemy should come close up in the hope of storming them. Let them then dash out all along the line; that one effort would bring them to the Rhine. Were they to fly, they would have forests as endless, and bogs still deeper, before them, and an enemy as fierce as ever; if they conquered, honour and glory would be theirs.* He spoke of their dear ones at home, of the honours they had won in war; but not one word

¹ There were four gates to a Roman camp. The *Porta Decumana* was that furthest from the enemy; the gate nearest to the enemy and to the *Praetorium*, the head-quarters of the general, was the *Porta Praetoria*. The other

two gates, right and left, were called *Porta Principalis Dextra* (from the main cross-road, *Principia*) and *Porta Principalis Sinistra* respectively. For the *viae* of the camp, see n. on chap. 39, 5, and ii. 13, 1.

4 about their disasters. He then distributed the horses of the Legates and Tribunes, beginning with his own, among the best fighting men of the army, regardless of rank; the mounted men were to begin the attack, and the infantry to back it up.

8. 1 Not less disturbed was the night passed by the Germans, under the influence of hope and greed, and of opposing counsels among the leaders. Arminius advised that they should let the Romans move out, and then close round them, as before, on marshy and difficult ground. Inguiomerus proposed a bolder course, such as barbarians love, and advised a general assault upon the Roman lines. *These could easily be stormed*, he said; *they would thus take more prisoners, and get their plunder undamaged.*

Opposing counsels among the Germans.

2 At daybreak, accordingly, they filled in the ditches, threw hurdles across them, and were proceeding to lay hold of the top of the breastwork, where only a few and seemingly panic-stricken
3 soldiers were to be seen. But at the moment when they were struggling to get over, the signal was given to the cohorts; the horns and bugles¹ blew, and
4 the Romans, sallying forth with a shout, threw themselves upon the rear of the Germans. *It was no case now*, they tauntingly cried, *of woods and marshes, but*
5 *of a fair field and fair chances.* The enemy, who had looked for the easy destruction of a few half-armed men, were taken aback by the blare of trumpets and the flash of arms, which were all the more telling because unexpected; and, being as resourceless in reverse as they are impetuous in success,² they
6 gave way. Arminius escaped from the field unhurt;

They assault the Roman camp.

but are repelled with great slaughter.

¹ See n. on ii. 81, 2.

² Cp. Oman's 'Seven Roman Statesmen,' p. 313, of the Gauls: their

gallant but unstable hordes were 'more than men at the first onslaught, less than women after a repulse.'

Inguiomerus, severely wounded. The slaughter of the multitude went on till fury and daylight failed. Not till night-fall did the legions return; and though suffering not less than before from hunger, and from the pain of their wounds still more, their victory salved their wounds, and supplied them with strength, food, and everything.

Panic on the Rhine: heroic conduct of Agrippina.

Meanwhile a rumour had got abroad that the army had been cut off, and that the Germans were on the march for Gaul. Some, in terror, were cowardly enough to suggest that the bridge¹ over the Rhine should be broken down; but Agrippina would not hear of it. All through those days that intrepid woman took upon herself the duties of a general.² She distributed clothes to such as needed them, and medicaments to the wounded. Gaius Plinius, the historian³ of the German wars, relates how she took her stand at the head of the bridge, bestowing praise and thanks on the returning legions.

Displeasure of Tiberius,

Such conduct made a deep impression on the mind of Tiberius. *These, he thought, were no simple-minded attentions; it was not to meet a foreign enemy that the soldiers were being thus courted. What was there left for the General to do, if his wife inspected the maniples, presented herself before the standards, tried her hand at largesses, and in the most artless manner conceivable paraded the General's son about the camp in the dress of a private soldier, delighting to hear him called by the appellation of 'Little Caesar in Boots'?*⁴

¹ The bridge thrown over the Rhine by Germanicus at the beginning of the campaign (chap. 49, 6).

² In other cases than that of his favourite Agrippina, Tacitus had no tolerance for women interfering in military matters. See the case of Plan-
cina, ii. 55, 5, and iii. 33, 2-4, where Caecina obviously expresses the historian's own sentiments.

³ This work on the German War by the elder Pliny, now lost, is referred to by his nephew the younger Pliny (Epp. iii. 5, 4).

⁴ The nickname or pet name 'Caligula,' by which posterity has chosen to designate the Emperor Gaius, is a diminutive of *caliga*, the heavy shoe or sandal worn by soldiers. Hence private soldiers are called *caligati*.

6 *Agrippina had become a personage of more consequence in the army than either General or Legates: a woman had quelled a mutiny which had not given way before the name of Emperor.*

7 These suspicions were inflamed and aggravated by Sejanus. Knowing full well the temper of Tiberius, he would sow in his mind seeds of hatred for some far-off day, to be treasured up and brought forth with increase.

ⁿ inflamed by Sejanus.

0. 1 Meanwhile Germanicus had ordered Publius Vitellius to take back by land two of the legions which he had brought by sea—the 2nd and the 14th—so as to enable the vessels either to float in shoal waters, or

2 ground more lightly when the tide receded. Vitellius at first encountered no difficulties, his way lying across firm ground, or where the tides rose to no great height. Before long, however, the column was caught and buffeted by a violent gale from the north, occurring at the time of the equinox, when the Ocean

3 is most tempestuous. The land was flooded; sea, shore, and fields, all presented one aspect: solid ground and quicksand, deep water and shallow, were

4 indistinguishable. The men were knocked down by the waves and sucked under; baggage, baggage-animals and corpses, floated about and jostled against each other. All distinction of maniples was lost. Some had their breasts above water, some their heads only; sometimes the ground would give way beneath them altogether: they would be thrown this

5 way and that, and go under. Against this watery foe, no words of mutual encouragement availed; rash man and prudent, counsel and haphazard, were all as one: brave man and coward alike were swept along by the fury of the elements.

Difficulties of Vitellius in his retreat.

He reaches
the river
and
embarks
his army.

At last Vitellius struggled up to some higher 6
ground, and his column after him. They passed the
night without necessaries, without fire, many of them
naked or injured, in a plight as pitiable as that of
men in a beleaguered city; nay, such men have the
chance of an honourable death open to them, these
only of an ignominious end. Daylight and dry land 7
appeared together; and the army made its way
to the river [Weser],¹ where Germanicus had arrived
with his fleet. The legions were then embarked. 8
A rumour had got abroad that the whole flotilla
had been lost; nor did people believe in its safety
until they saw Germanicus and his army back
again.

Submission
of Segi-
merus and
his son.

By this time Stertinius, who had been sent on 71.
to receive the submission of Segimerus, brother of
Segestes, had arrived at the city of the Ubii, bringing
with him Segimerus and his son, both of whom were 2
pardoned. About Segimerus, there was no difficulty;
but there was some hesitation as to the son, as he
was reported to have treated the body of Quintilius
Varus with insult. The Provinces of Gaul, Spain and 3
Italy vied with one another in making good the losses
of the army, each offering what they had in the way
of arms, gold, or horses. Germanicus commended 4
their zeal; but accepted only the arms and horses
out of his own purse. And wishing to soften the 5
recollection of their suffering by personal kindness,
he visited the wounded, and commended them indi-
vidually for acts of valour. As he examined their
wounds, he would appeal to the ambition of one,
or to the pride of another, thus strengthening the

Germani-
cus repairs
his losses,

and treats
his soldiers
kindly.

¹ The MS. gives *Visurgin*, the Weser, as the name of this river, which is manifestly wrong.

attachment of all to himself by his affability and attention, and restoring their confidence for battle.

2. 1 Triumphal ornaments¹ were voted in this year to Lucius Apronius and Gaius Silius for their services
2 under Germanicus. For himself, Tiberius declined the title of 'Father of his Country,'² though it was more than once pressed upon him by the people; nor would he accept a proposal voted by the Senate for requiring an oath of obedience to his acts.³ *All human things, he protested, were uncertain: every increase of his honours did but add to the perils of his position.*

Triumphal ornaments voted. Tiberius rejects new honours,

3 And yet he gained no credit for moderate views, in consequence of his having revived the law against High Treason. That law was known, indeed, by the same name to antiquity; but it was applied to a different class of offences,⁴ such as the betrayal

but revives the law of *Majestas*.

How that law was applied under the Republic,

¹ The 'triumphal insignia' or 'ornaments' conferred the honour and status of a triumph on a general, and his family after him, without actual celebration. The actual celebration was reserved for members of the imperial family. Under Tiberius, the only triumph was that of Germanicus over the Germans, May 16th, A.D. 17 (ii. 41, 2). The lesser 'ovation' was voted in A.D. 19 to Germanicus for his successes in Armenia, and to Drusus for his capture of Maroboduus (ii. 64, 1). Germanicus died before his return home, but Drusus celebrated his ovation on May 28, A.D. 20 (iii. 19, 4).

² This hon. title, first granted by acclamation to Cicero in B.C. 63, after the suppression of Catiline (*Roma patrem patriae Ciceronem libera dixit*, Juv. 8, 244), and again in B.C. 45 on Caesar, was formally conferred on Augustus, B.C. 2, by the *senatus et equester ordo populusque Romanus universus* (Mon. Anc. 6, 25). Tiberius consistently refused the title (ii. 87, 2), as he did the offer of divine honours (iv. 38, 4).

³ This oath, again, is a relic of republican times, converted to imperial uses. During the last two centuries at least (Liv. xxxi. 50, 7) magistrates entering office had to take an oath to

observe the laws, usually on January 1st. After B.C. 45 all magistrates had to swear *se nihil contra acta Caesaris facturum*: the same oath was strictly exacted by the triumvirs, and under the emperors, when the oath was extended so as (1) to cover the acts not only of the reigning, but of all previous emperors, except such as were specially excluded, as Tiberius and Caligula (Dio, lxxvii. 18, 3); (2) to be required of senators as well as magistrates. Tiberius expels the senator Apidius Merula *quod in acta Divi Augusti non iuravisset* (iv. 42, 3). This oath is distinct from the general oath of allegiance to the emperor, originally the military oath, taken by the whole people and the provinces (chap. 7, 3), which is called *sacramentum in nomen Tiberii* (chap. 8, 5).

⁴ In nothing did the substitution of the emperor and his person for the commonwealth as a whole, tell more directly and grievously on the persons and fortunes of Roman citizens, than in the new application of the law of *Majestas*. By a disastrous application of the principle *L'Etat c'est moi*, the emperors were first regarded as representatives of, then as identified with, the state as a whole. Whatever by ancient law had been an offence against the Roman people became now a personal

of an army, the stirring up of sedition among the people, or to any act of public misconduct by which the 'Majesty of the Roman people' might be impaired: deeds were impugned, words passed unpunished. Augustus, for the first time, applied the law to libellous writings,¹ being indignant at the outrageous and scurrilous attacks made by Cassius Severus² upon men and women of distinction; and when Tiberius was asked by the praetor Pompeius Macer³ whether cases of High Treason were to be sent to trial, he replied:—*The laws must be put in force.*⁴

and by
Augustus.

offence against the emperor; and every offence against the emperor was an offence against the Majesty of the people.

¹ Roman law was severe on libels; it would not permit the personalities of the Greek comic stage. The XII. Tables, according to Cicero, de Rep. iv. 10, 12, prescribed capital punishment *si quis occentavisset sive carmen condidisset quod infamiam faceret flagitiumve alteri*; whereas among the Greeks *fuit lege concessum ut quod vellet comœdia de quo vellet nominatim diceret*. How the poet Naevius was indicted and imprisoned for his attack on the Metelli is well known; and Horace makes it a turning-point in the history of Latin poetry that when the buffoonery natural to the Italian character had turned *iocus* into *rabies*, it had to be sternly put down by law (Epp. ii. 1, 153). The law, it seemed, was confined to libels on the stage or in poetry; political speeches were untouched by it, until, apparently, the time of Sulla: *verumtamen est maiestas ut Sulla voluit ne in quemvis impune declamare liceret* (Cic. Fam. iii. 11, 2). The extraordinary license of oratory, as evidenced by Cicero's speeches, as well as the gross freedom of poets like Catullus, shews that Sulla's law cannot have been rigorously enforced. Augustus, as suited his character, was singularly tolerant of personal abuse (Suet., Oct. 54, 55); and according to the passage before us, though he brought *famosi libelli* under the law of *maiestas*, it was not on his own account, but as a matter of public decency (Dio, lvi. 27, 1); and perhaps also, as Merivale suggests (vol. 5, p. 154), with the special object of extending

protection to women. But there were occasions of acknowledged license. During the Saturnalia, slaves might be as saucy as they pleased to their masters (Hor., Sat. ii. 7, 4); and on the occasion of a triumph, soldiers were free to indulge in the grossest scurrility at the expense of their general (Suet., Jul. 49). In the triumph of Lepidus and Plancus over the Gauls, the soldiers shouted at them *De germanis non de Gallis duo triumphant consules*; each having had a brother included in the list of proscribed persons (Vell. Pat. ii. 67, 4). How venomous could be the spirit of Roman satire, even under the empire, in spite of all prohibitions, appears from numberless instances. See Suet., Tib. 59.

² Described in iv. 21, 5 as *sordidae originis, malefcae vitae, sed orandi validus*. He had been banished to Crete, probably in B.C. 12; in A.D. 24 he was interdicted from fire and water for continuing the same practices, and relegated to the island of Seriphos.

³ For the family and fate of Pompeius Macer, see vi. 18, 3 and 4.

⁴ *i.e.* he was to receive such a case in the ordinary course, and make arrangements for a judge and jury to try it. This implies that in addition to the state trials of important offenders before the senate, such as Tacitus records, there was an ordinary court (*quaestio*) for trying minor cases, or minor offenders, under the law of *maiestas*. See Furn. and cp. Suet. Tib. 58: *consulente praetore an iudicia maiestatis cogi deberet, exercendas esse leges respondit, et atrocissime exercuit*. He then enumerates various cases too trivial for senatorial jurisdiction.

5 For he too had been exasperated by the publication of some anonymous verses¹ animadverting upon his cruel and haughty temper, and his differences with his mother.

73. 1 To shew from what beginnings² this deadly system of oppression took its rise; how craftily it was fostered by Tiberius; how it was checked for a time, and then at last burst out as it were in an all-consuming blaze, it will not be amiss to recount the charges that were brought against two respectable Roman knights,
 2 Falanius and Rubrius.³ The former was accused of having admitted into a College of priests instituted for the worship of Augustus—such as existed in almost every family⁴—a certain actor of infamous character called Cassius; and of having included in the sale of some pleasure-grounds a statue of Augustus. Rubrius was charged with having sworn
 3 a false oath by the divinity of Augustus. When Tiberius heard of these charges, he wrote to the consuls as follows:—*Divine honours, he declared, had not been granted to his father for the purpose of bringing*
 4 *citizens to ruin. The actor Cassius had been in the habit of taking a part, along with others of his profession, at the games instituted by his mother in honour of Augustus; and*

The charges against Falanius and Rubrius.

are repelled by Tiberius.

¹ See Suet., Tib. 59.

² I take these words to refer exclusively to the reign of Tiberius, and to mark its different stages by the progressive attitude he assumed to delation. The words *quanta arte* apply to the whole. First Tiberius allowed delation insidiously to creep in; see chap. 74, 2, of the delator Romanus Hispo, *dum occultis libellis saevitiae principis adrepsit*. For a time he appeared to discourage it and hold it in check. He next let it burst into flame; and lastly, like a destroying fire, carry all before it.

³ Falanius and Rubrius being only knights of modest position, Tacitus does not mention their *praenomina*. So in vi. 14, 1.

⁴ Although Augustus prohibited his own worship in Italy, he permitted the worship of his *Genius* in connection with the household gods (*Lares*) of the 265 *vici*, or quarters, into which Rome was divided in B.C. 7. Each *vicus* had four elected *magistri*, whose duties were partly religious; they now began to be called *magistri Larum*, and later *magistri Augustales*. A similar worship of Augustus was set up in private houses, and conducted, it would appear, by *collegia*: as early as B.C. 13 Horace could write to Augustus on his return to Rome from Gaul, *et Laribus tuum = Miscet numen, uti Graecia Castoris = Et magni memor Herculis* (Od. iv. 5, 34-6).

there was no impiety in including a statue of Augustus, as of any other deity, in a sale of houses or gardens. As for the perjury, it should be judged as if the name of Jupiter had been taken in vain: ¹ the Gods must avenge their own wrongs. ²

Not long afterwards Granius Marcellus, Praetor of Bithynia, ³ was accused of treason ⁴ by his own Quaestor, Caepio Crispinus, supported ⁵ by Romanus Hispo. This last was a man who entered upon a line of life destined soon to acquire notoriety in those calamitous and shameless days. Needy, low-born ² and restless, he first crept into the good graces of the cruel-minded Emperor by supplying him with

¹ These replies of Tiberius to the first efforts of the delators are a model of cutting common sense. It is evident that at the beginning of his reign he adopted a firm and contemptuous attitude towards informers. That attitude seems gradually to have been broken down by the distrust engendered by excess of flattery; by the perpetual insinuations of Sejanus; and lastly, by the revealed treachery of his one trusted favourite. That treachery left him friendless, and with the sense that there was no one whom he could trust.

² This perfect epigram (*deorum iniurias dis curae*) sums up that wise, if cynical, tolerance shewn by Rome to foreign religions and religious cults which was a necessity of her empire, and contributed so largely to its success. Only when religion became associated with disaffection or with national movements, as was thought to be the case with the Jews and the Christians, did she abandon this principle. The famous attitude of Gallio (Acts xviii. 12-17) was an embodiment of Roman sentiment on the subject. The Roman senate (see iii. 60-63) adjudicated on religious differences arising among provincials with the same careful and learned impartiality which the Judicial Committee of our Privy Council shews in its elaborate judgments on the claims of Hindoo divinities.

³ Bithynia was a senatorial province, including not only Bithynia proper, but also Paphlagonia up to the river Halys

to the E.; *i.e.* the whole country between that river and the Rhyndacus on the W. As Paphlagonia had been part of the Mithradatic Kingdom, the province was usually called *Bithynia et Pontus*. It was governed by a senator of praetorian rank who might be called (1) *proconsul*, in virtue of his command; (2) *pro-praetor*, to denote his rank; or simply, as here, (3) *praetor*. He had under him a *legatus pro praetore* and a quaestor. See Marquardt, *Staatsv.* i. pp. 191 and 381.

⁴ Under the Republic, it was considered a breach of proper feeling for a quaestor to impeach the governor under whom he served. They were supposed to be tied together by bonds of the closest kind: *praetorem quaestori suo parentis loco esse oportere* (Cic., *Div.* in *Caecil.* 19, 61). Tacitus rejoices in pointing out that in prosecutions for majestas all such ancient sentiments were disregarded.

⁵ The word here used is *subscribere*. Those who added their signatures to the indictment lodged by the accuser were called *subscriptores*. During the trial they took the part of junior counsel. In this case, as Hispo was a professional rhetorician (Sen. attributes to him *asperiore dicendi viam*), he seems to have taken the principal part. He is treated in this chapter as the sole accuser; hence there is no need to read the plural *insimulabant* with Nipp., in § 3 below.

Accusation
of Granius
Marcellus
by
Romanus
Hispo.

→ This last was a man who entered upon a line of life destined soon to acquire notoriety in those calamitous and shameless days.

74.

2

secret informations; and before long no name, however distinguished, was safe from his attacks. Becoming thus all-powerful with one man, and earning the hatred of all besides, he set an example through which men rose from poverty to affluence, and from insignificance to power: bringing ruin upon others first, and in the end upon themselves also.

3 Marcellus was charged with having spoken evil of the Emperor: an accusation from which there was no escape, since the accuser picked out all the worst features in the character of Tiberius, and charged Marcellus with having pointed them out. As the things said were true, it was believed that Marcellus had said them.¹

4 Hispo added that Marcellus had placed his own statue above those of the Caesars; and that he had cut off the head² of Augustus from another statue
5 and substituted that of Tiberius.³ This so incensed the Emperor that he broke silence, and declared that *he would himself record his verdict in the case, openly and on oath:*⁴ meaning thereby to compel all the
6 others to do the same. But there remained even yet some traces of expiring liberty; for Gnaeus Piso⁵

Outburst of
Tiberius.

¹ The venomous bitterness of this comment could hardly be surpassed.

² Caligula felt no scruple in beheading the statues of Olympian Jove and other gods, and substituting his own head (Suet. 22).

³ This involved a double offence. The changing of the head of the statue was at once an insult to the divinity of Augustus, and a thrusting of divine honours upon Tiberius. Such, however, Tiberius persistently refused for himself (iv. 38, 4); while it was a fundamental principle of his policy to shew every respect to Augustus. See chap. 77, 4 and iv. 37, 4. Hence the warmth of his indignation. The charges advanced here, as well as others of which we shall hear later, appear somewhat trumpety. But they may be matched in absurdity by similar

charges in modern times in countries not distant from our own. A respectable citizen was sent to prison not long ago for narrating in his cups a story about Diogenes and Alexander the Great which was held to apply to the sovereign of the country; another was haled to prison for dropping and breaking (it was thought intentionally) the bust of a royal personage.

⁴ For the greater weight attached to an assertion made, or a vote given, when the person said he did so 'on his oath,' see chap. 14, 6; iv. 21, 5; 31, 5; Liv. xxx. 40, 12.

⁵ This is the celebrated Piso who as governor of Syria was contumacious to Germanicus in his Eastern command (ii. 43, 3), and was brought to justice after his death (iii. 12-18). See n. on chap. 13, 3.

asked, *Will you vote first or last, Caesar? If you vote first, I shall have a guide to follow; but, if last, I fear I may unwittingly disagree with you.*¹ Tiberius winced: ⁷ repenting of his incautious outburst, he made up for it by suffering the accused to be acquitted on the charge of treason.² The matter of extortion was referred to assessors³ for adjudication.

He re-
pents;
Marcellus
is acquitted.

Attendance
of Tiberius
on the
bench.

But the Emperor was not satisfied with taking ⁷⁵ part in trials before the Senate. He would take his place in the ordinary courts of law, seating himself at the corner of the bench, so as not to oust the Praetor from his curule chair.⁴ On such occasions,

¹ This home-thrust of Piso's brings out how absolutely the senate was dependent upon the emperor in virtue of his *tribunicia potestas*. He presided over it; he initiated all business in it; he could give his opinion first, or at any stage he chose; if he spoke last, the unfortunate senators, however anxious to please, had no guide to follow. The incident suggests that the emperor might attend in the senate as an ordinary senator, without actually presiding. The rule was for the presiding magistrate (usually a consul) to ask the opinion (*sententia*) of the leading senators, beginning with the senior consular; and then put the question to the vote, with or without an expression of his own opinion. Had the emperor been himself presiding, Piso could hardly have put the question *Quo loco censebis?* Dio speaks of Tiberius giving his vote (lvii. 7, 3); and it may be that he occasionally took his seat on the ordinary benches, as our princes of the blood do in the House of Lords. The supposition is confirmed by the fact mentioned in the next chapter, that in ordinary trials he would take a seat on the judicial bench as an assessor, without deposing the praetor from his chair. Such a practice would be eminently *civilis*; but, as Piso's question indicates, it must have been extremely embarrassing to the other senators.

² Suetonius mentions the condemnation; but omits the essential point that Granius was acquitted of *majestas*, and only sentenced to give an account on the financial charge (Tib. 58). Here, as elsewhere, Tiberius aimed at strict

justice; and Tacitus has the fairness to record the fact. Nevertheless, his sympathies are with Granius; and he insinuates here and elsewhere, that if *majestas* be included in any charge along with others, it is always the determining element in the conviction, however much the other charges may be proved also. Cp. *sed cuncta quaestione maiestatis exercita* (iv. 19, 5). The sympathies of Tacitus are always with any one accused of *majestas*, even though proved guilty of other offences.

³ The case was treated as one for civil damages only. *Recuperatores* or *recuperatores* were a sworn committee or board, of three or five persons, appointed by a praetor to adjudicate in cases of compensation arising in the provinces. We read in Livy of this board acting sometimes as a court of arbitration.

⁴ The assiduity of Tiberius in attending the law courts, and the conscientious care which he shewed in trying cases, and resisting undue influence, are distinguishing features of the early part of his reign—though little appreciated by Tacitus. Suetonius (Tib. 33) and Dio (lvii. 7, 6) confirm the account here given. The emperor, as possessed of the *tribunicia potestas*, had an unlimited power of veto: his presence on the bench would enable him to exercise that right in person (as was required under the old rule), and thus over-rule the decision of the praetor; while his own claims to independent jurisdiction would enable him to substitute another decision in its place.

many just judgments were pronounced in opposition to the influence and solicitation of important persons; but though truth might thus be served, it was at the expense of liberty.¹

About this time a senator² of the name of Pius Aurelius complained that the construction of a public road and an aqueduct had caused his house to fall in, and applied to the Senate for compensation. The claim was resisted by the Treasury;³ but the Emperor,⁴ who liked to be generous in a good cause—a quality which he retained long after discarding every other virtue⁵—paid Aurelius the price of the house out of his own pocket. And when Propertius Celer, an ex-Practor, craved permission to resign his senatorial rank on the score of poverty, Tiberius presented him with a million⁶ sesterces, having ascertained that his poverty came to him from his father. When others, however, made similar applications, he required them

He deals generously with worthy applicants,

but will not suffer his liberality to be abused.

¹ The assertion that 'a regard for truth was fatal to liberty' sounds like a paradox, and is repugnant to modern ideas; but Tacitus is not so far wrong. An all-powerful emperor, with a passion for going into details, would be an embarrassing colleague on a judicial bench; however anxious to get at the facts, he might fail to reach them, or mis-read them. Tiberius himself confesses *neque posse principem sua scientia cuncta complecti* (iii. 69, 4). Whatever his view of the facts might be, it would overbear every other, and have to be accepted; and his very anxiety to get at the truth might defeat the ends of justice. A striking instance of Tiberius' love of *veritas*—his desire to probe matters to the bottom for himself—is given in iv. 22. Plautius Silvanus was accused before him of throwing his wife out of the window. Plautius alleged that he was asleep at the time, and that the lady committed suicide. Tiberius went straight off to examine the chamber, and there discovered, with his own eyes, evidence of a struggle between the pair. But it is scarcely the part of an emperor to play the detective.

² Not having held the praetorship or consulship, Aurelius is simply called a senator. See iii. 56, 2.

³ Tacitus says 'the praetors of the Treasury.' Originally the quaestors had charge of the aerarium. Augustus transferred it to two *praefecti* of praetorian rank, and afterwards to two of the praetors. Eventually, under Nero, A.D. 56, it was handed over, like other departments of administration, to special *praefecti*, and so came under the direct charge of the emperor. See the account given in xiii. 29.

⁴ According to his usual policy, Tiberius supports the magistrates in resisting encroachments on the public purse, or invasions of their authority.

⁵ Tacitus repeatedly does justice to Tiberius' freedom from avarice, and even his generosity, in regard to money matters. For special instances see ii. 37, 1: 48, 1: 86, 2; iv. 64, 1; vi. 17, 4: 45, 1, etc.

⁶ One million sesterces was the property qualification for a senator as fixed by Augustus, B.C. 18 (Dio, liv. 17, 3). Thus *Ov. Fast.* iii. 8, 55, *Curia pauperibus clausa est, dat census honores.*

to make good their case to the satisfaction of the Senate; his love of strictness leading him to do even a right thing in a harsh way.¹ Hence others preferred poverty and silence to relief coupled with exposure.

Inunda-
tions the
of
Tiber.

In the same year the Tiber, swollen by continuous rains, flooded the lower parts of the city, and much destruction of life and property followed on the subsidence of the waters.² Asinius Gallus proposed that the Sibylline books should be consulted; but this Tiberius would not permit, loving mystery in all things, divine as well as human.³ It was remitted to Ateius Capito⁴ and Lucius Arruntius to devise a plan for keeping the river within its banks.

Commis-
sioners
and
appointed.

Relief to
Achaia
and
Macedonia.

The Provinces of Achaia and Macedonia⁵ having

¹ So in iv. 7, 1, while acknowledging the general excellence of the first eight years of the reign of Tiberius, Tacitus says of his manner, *non quidem comita, sed horridus plerumque et formidatus*. Tacitus apparently would have allowed such petitions from needy senators to be acceded to without inquiry.

² The floods of the Tiber were a constant source of disaster in ancient, as they have been in modern, times, and afforded a plentiful supply of omens (Hor. Od. i. 2, 3). Augustus took special charge of the work of cleaning and keeping open the channel of the river (*terminatio*: see Suet. Oct. 30). Inscriptions on slabs found on the banks of the Tiber shew that this work was carried out by the consuls in B.C. 8, by Augustus himself in B.C. 6 (Rushforth, p. 29). According to Dio (lvii. 14, 8), Tiberius instituted in this year a special board of five *Curatores* for the purpose. Ateius Capito was chosen, no doubt as being *Curator Aquarum*, or superintendent of the aqueducts, at this time; L. Arruntius was apparently made president of the new board. In more recent times, no less than 40 great floods are known to have devastated Rome. In 1870 the water rose to a height of 56 feet above its usual level; and in 1900 a flood carried away 300 yards of the new

embankment, which was supposed to have made inundations impossible.

³ An idle scoff on the part of Tacitus. With his usual good sense, Tiberius would have nothing to do with the farce of consulting the Sibylline books. Not here only, but on other occasions also, he set his face against having resort to superstitious observances in dealing with practical matters. See n. on vi. 12, 2. Dio treats the instance before us most sensibly. He tells us that whereas most people regarded floods, like earthquakes and thunderstorms, as a matter of divine portent, Tiberius thought they were caused by an over-supply of water from the springs (lvii. 14, 8).

⁴ A distinguished lawyer: described by Tacitus as *principem in civitate locum studiis civilibus adsecutus* (iii. 75, 1). He held the important post of *curator aquarum* A.D. 13 to 23.

⁵ Macedonia had been a province since B.C. 146; it originally included Achaia, which was not made into a separate province till B.C. 27. These two provinces were restored to the senate in A.D. 44 (Suet. Claud. 25). The division of provinces as left by Augustus at the time of his death seems to have been as follows:—(1) Eleven senatorial provinces: Sicily, Sardinia and Corsica, Hispania Baetica, Gallia Narbonensis, Macedonia, Achaia, Asia,

petitioned for some remission of their burdens, it was resolved to relieve them, for a time, from Proconsular government, and to hand over both provinces to the Emperor.⁽¹⁾

5 Drusus presided over a gladiatorial exhibition held in his own name and that of his brother Germanicus. The inordinate delight which he displayed in bloodshed—though it was but the blood of slaves²—was a quality of evil import for the people, and was
6 said to have been reproved by his father. The Emperor himself did not appear; for which various reasons were given. Some said that he disliked a crowd; others that he was naturally morose, and shrank from a comparison between himself and Augustus, who had graciously attended such spec-
7 tacles.³ Another explanation was suggested which I cannot bring myself to believe:⁴ that he purposely

Drusus presides at gladiatorial games; his delight in blood.

Bithynia, Cyprus, Crete and Cyrenaica, Africa. (2) Eighteen imperial provinces: *Hispania Tarraconensis, Germania superior, Germania inferior, Pannonia, Moesia, Dalmatia* (including Illyricum), *Syria* (including Cilicia), *Lusitania, Aquitania, Gallia Lugdunensis, Gallia Belgica, Galatia, Pamphylia*, together with the five following under procurators: *Alpes Maritimae, Raetia, Vindelicia* (afterwards joined with Raetia), *Noricum, Iudaea*. *Egypt* was governed under a special arrangement by an equestrian prefect. Governors of senatorial provinces were all called *proconsuls*, whether they had held the consulship or not, to distinguish them from the *legates of Caesar's provinces*, who bore the title *pro praetore*. See n. on chap. 31, 2. Moreover, the governors of senatorial provinces were civil, not military officers, and (except in Africa up to the time of Caligula) did not command the troops. See Greenidge, p. 433.

(1) A noteworthy passage, shewing (1) that the provinces met with considerate treatment under the emperors, such as they had not known under the Republic; and (2) that the government of the imperial provinces was more lenient

than that of the senatorial. The benefit here may have been due, as Furn. suggests, to a saving of expense in staff, etc., resulting from the amalgamation of two provinces; but more than that seems to be implied. There was probably more elasticity, and less of interested red-tapeism, in regard to taxation, etc., in the imperial provinces, which made it easier for the emperors to deal leniently with the inhabitants. These two provinces were restored to the senate in A.D. 44.

² For the character of Drusus, see chap. 29, 4 and n. Mr. Tarver makes a curious slip here ('Tiberius the Tyrant,' p. 314). He translates 'although too easily pleased with cheap bloodshed,' and suggests a complicated explanation: 'the word "although" suggests that Drusus could get his bloodshed more cheaply than by giving gladiatorial shows.' But *quamquam* obviously goes with *vili*, not with *gaudens*; the meaning being that 'Drusus rejoiced too much in bloodshed—though, to be sure, it was only worthless blood.'

³ See n. on chap. 54, 3.

⁴ Though Tacitus rejects this hateful suggestion, it is hateful to make mention of it, and the rejection is not very

afforded to his son an opportunity of displaying his savage temper, and thus rousing the feeling of the people against him.

Theatrical
riots;

The theatrical riots which had begun in the immediately preceding year now broke out with fresh violence.¹ Lives were lost, and not amongst the populace only; for some soldiers and a centurion were killed, and a Tribune of the Praetorian Cohorts was wounded in the attempt to preserve order and protect the magistrates from insult. The affair was² discussed in the Senate; and it was proposed that the Praetors should have power to have actors flogged. This proposal was vetoed³ by Haterius Agrippa,³ a Tribune of the Plebs; for which he was sharply rebuked by Asinius Gallus. Tiberius said nothing; too pleased to leave this phantom⁴ of liberty to the Senate. The veto however was allowed to stand, for the Divine Augustus, whose every utterance was sacred in the eyes of Tiberius,⁵ had once laid it down that actors were exempt from corporal

hearty. The epigrammatic point with which the innuendo is conveyed has made it live; and it remains recorded for all time that this odious suspicion was entertained by some of the contemporaries of Tiberius. This can scarcely be called writing history *sine ira et studio* (chap. 1, 6).

¹ The old Italian tradition of license in connection with merry-making (Hor. Epp. ii. 1, 146-150) clung tenaciously to the theatre and the circus, the contests between supporters of rival actors or charioteers frequently ending in disorder and even bloodshed. See the famous account in Gibbon (chap. 40) of the Nika riots at Constantinople, which ended in the massacre of 30,000 persons. See Mayor on Juv. vii. 114, 243, and xi. 198; and esp. Ann. xiii. 25, 4.

² Thus alongside of the *tribunicia potestas* possessed by the Princeps, the ordinary tribunes of the plebs, who continued to be elected as before, could still occasionally exercise their right of veto. But it was only, as here, in

some unimportant matter; and the last known instance of its exercise (A.D. 69) was for the adulatory purpose of preventing the consuls from putting a question in the absence of the emperor (Hist. iv. 9, 2).

³ This man was raised to the praetorship, as a relative of Germanicus, in B.C. 17 (ii. 51, 2), to the consulship in A.D. 22 (iii. 52, 1), and is described in vi. 4, 5, as a man 'who plotted the destruction of illustrious men in the intervals between his gluttonies and debaucheries.' As consul-designate he gave his vote for death against Clutorius Priscus (iii. 49, 4); so we may be sure that on this occasion he used his veto to meet the wishes of Tiberius.

⁴ Cp. the similar phrases, *imago libertatis* (chap. 81, 4), and *imago rei publicae* (xiii. 28, 1), by which Tacitus describes the mockery of independence still permitted to the senate. So in chap. 74, 6 *manebant etiam tum vestigia morientis libertatis*.

⁵ See iv. 37, 4, and Agric. 13, 3.

5 chastisement.¹ Several decrees were passed to limit the salaries² of actors,³ and to check the excesses of their partisans.⁴ Of these the most notable were, that Senators should not be permitted to enter the houses of pantomime players, nor Roman knights to escort them when they went abroad; that performances should be held only⁵ in the theatre; and that the Praetors should have the power of punishing with exile any misbehaviour on the part of spectators.

remedies
adopted.

3. I A petition from Spain for leave to set up a temple to Augustus in the colony of Tarraco,⁶ was granted; and an example was thereby set for all the provinces.

Tarraco
permitted
to set up a
temple to
Augustus.

2 The people petitioned for the abolition of the tax of

Tiberius
declines to
remit tax
on sales.

¹ This statement is scarcely correct; for, according to Suetonius, who on such a point is perhaps a better authority than Tacitus, all that Augustus did was to enact that actors should only be liable to corporal punishment when plays were actually going on (*ludis et scaena*, Oct. 45). The motion referred to, therefore, in the preceding words (*ut praetoribus virgarum in histriones esset*) was probably to revert to the state of things before Augustus.

² The term here used is *lucar*; 'a forest-tax' which was originally derived from *luci*, or 'sacred groves': see Dict. Ant. ii. 81, a. It was a contribution towards the expenses of scenic games; the remainder being borne by the magistrate (usually a praetor) who held and presided at the games. Some holders of games declined to accept the *lucar*.

³ Suetonius says of Tiberius: *Ludorum ac munerum impensas corripuit mercibus scaenicorum recisis, paribusque gladiatorum ad certum numerum reductis* (Tib. 34).

⁴ This discouragement of games added much to his unpopularity. See iv. 62, 3: *adfluxere avidi talium, imperitante Tiberio procul a voluptatibus habiti*. Actors were mostly slaves, or freed-men; when slaves, they were either kept for the entertainment of their owners, or let out for hire. All actors were by law stigmatised by *infamia* (Edict. Praet. Dig. iii. 2, 1). They were liable to be sent into exile at any moment if they or their supporters

caused disorder. In spite of all this, and the liability to personal chastisement, the text shews how important stage success had become in the non-political times of the empire, and how extravagant was the court paid to popular actors; the attempts to drive them from Rome seem to have been all in vain (iv. 14, 4; xiii. 25, 4 and 28, 1; xiv. 21, 2, etc.). Actors of eminence, like Roscius and Aesopus, acquired large fortunes even in the time of Cicero; under emperors like Nero and Hadrian they might become favourites and be all-powerful (Juv. vii. 90-92).

⁵ There is no need, with Halm and Furn., to adopt Wölfflin's conjecture *sectarentur*. The MS. *spectarentur* gives an excellent sense: performances in private houses were to be forbidden. The meaning to be got out of *sectarentur* has already been sufficiently expressed by *ne egressientes . . . cingerent*. Nor would the theatre be the proper place for *sectatio*.

⁶ Tarraco, the modern Tarragona, about 50 miles N. of the Iberus (*Ebro*), was founded by Julius Caesar, and called *Colonia Iulia Victrix Triumphalis*. It had supplanted Carthago Nova (*Cartagena*) as chief town of the province of *Hispania Tarraconensis* from the time of the Cantabrian wars, B.C. 26-19. Its position near the mouth of the Ebro made it the natural headquarters for operations in the NW. of Spain.

^{five} per cent. on the value of things sold by auction, which had been instituted after the civil wars; but Tiberius put forth an edict declaring that the military treasury¹ depended upon that impost: and that if veterans were to be discharged before completing twenty years of service, the state would not be equal to the burden. Thus fell to the ground the ill-advised concession extorted by the late mutiny, whereby service was to end after sixteen years.²

A discussion was then raised in the Senate by Arruntius and Ateius as to whether the streams and lakes which feed the Tiber should be diverted from their natural beds with a view to the abatement of floods.³ Deputations from municipal and colonial towns were heard upon the subject. The people of Florence implored that the waters of the Clanis might not be taken from their natural channel, and diverted into the river Arnus: the consequences, they declared, would be disastrous to them. The people of

Deputations as to the Tiber floods.

¹ The Military Treasury, established by Augustus A.D. 6, for the purpose of providing bounties, etc., for soldiers (Mon. Anc. iii. 37), was fed by the legacy duty (Dio, lv. 25, 2, 5) as well as by the *Centesima Venalium*. It was under the charge of three *praefecti*.

² Much as Tacitus blamed Tiberius for not going to quell the mutiny himself, this passage shews how successful his treatment of it was. Not one of the concessions temporarily made was maintained.

³ The Romans were not afraid of facing huge engineering works, especially in connection with water-courses; the draining of the Alban Lake, the huge aqueducts which supplied Rome with water, are monuments of their engineering skill. But it must be confessed that the proposals of the Commissioners (for whose appointment see chap. 76, 3) for checking the Tiber floods were rather wide of the mark. To dissipate the waters of a stream like the Nar; to dam up another like the Velinus, so as to hold up its waters permanently, would be

impracticable. What was proposed for the Clanis was possible, but would have had little effect upon the Tiber floods. That river, the modern *Chiana*, flows for about thirty miles, from Arretium (*Arezzo*) to Clusium (*Chiusi*), through a valley so level that its waters can be made to flow either way. These flats are now drained by artificial channels, some of which take the water N. into the Arno. The cause of the great floods in the Tiber is the heavy rainfall on the W. face of the Appennines of central Italy, which pour their waters, by long winding valleys, into the basin of the Tiber. The Tiber alone has a course of some 225 Roman miles; joined by the Tinia, the Nar, the Velino, and the Anio, it carries the drainage of a vast mountain area by one channel past Rome into the sea.

⁴ Tacitus frequently uses the terms *municipia* and *coloniae* in conjunction, to designate the provincial towns of Italy generally, the distinction between the two having now practically disappeared (iii. 55, 4; iv. 67, 1; etc.). See n. on iii. 2, 2.

Interamna spoke in similar terms: the finest land in Italy would be ruined if the Nar were to be drained off, as proposed, into small channels, and spread over the country. The people of Reate¹ too had their say. They objected to damming up the Veline lake at the point of its outflow into the Nar, because it would inundate the adjacent country. *Nature, they urged, had done well for man in assigning to every river its own outlet, its own channel as well as its source. Regard also should be paid to the religious feelings of the allies, who had instituted rites, and set up groves and altars, in honour of the rivers of their country; nay, old Tiber himself² would ill endure to be shorn of his glory by the loss of his affluent streams.*

Whatever the reason that prevailed—whether it was the remonstrance of the towns, or the difficulty of the work, or the appeal to religious sentiment—Piso's motion in favour of leaving things as they were carried the day.

Poppaeus Sabinus³ was continued in the govern-

It is decided to do nothing.

¹ Reate was a Sabine town on the Velinus (*Velino*), close under the walls of Interamna (*Terni*). That river discharges itself into the Nar by the artificial channel which was cut by M'. Curius Dentatus, B. C. 272, thus forming the well-known falls of Terni.

² Even the prosaic Romans loved to personify their rivers. To this they were assisted, no doubt, by the custom of carrying along at triumphs representations of the rivers of conquered countries, and by the personification of rivers in Greek statuary, especially at the corners of pediments. See the fine lines of Propertius, ii. 1, 31, 32: *Aut canerem Aegyptum et Nilum cum atratus in urbem = Septem captivis debilis ibat aquis.*

³ C. Poppaeus Sabinus was grandfather of Nero's wife Poppaea. He received triumphal honours in A. D. 26 for his successes in Thrace; when he died, in A. D. 36, he had been in command of important provinces for no less than 24 years. He was retained in command

all this time, Tacitus tells us, *nullam ob eximiam artem, sed quod par negotiis neque supra fuit* (vi. 39, 3): a passage which shews that Tacitus had Poppaeus in mind in the words which follow. The length of tenure of office by provincial governors (C. Silius ruled Gaul for seven years, iv. 18, 8) was one of the blessings conferred upon the provinces by the empire. Under the republic, short-term governors had to squeeze their province to the utmost while in command, in order to make a good thing of it; and it can be imagined to what an art provincial extortion had been carried when we learn that to procure a really satisfactory result, a province should be held for three years. In the first year, a governor should accumulate enough to repay what he had borrowed to bribe the electors in his candidature for office; in the second, enough to secure an acquittal from the court when impeached for extortion on his return to Rome; in his third year, enough to live upon

Poppaeus Sabinus continued in his command.

ment of the province Moesia,¹ with the addition of Achaia and Macedonia. To prolong commands in this way was part of the policy of Tiberius; in many cases he permitted the holders of military or administrative posts to retain them throughout their lives. Various reasons for this have been suggested. Some say that it was the worry and anxiety attending any change which led him to give permanence to an appointment once made; others that jealousy inclined him to confine the sweets of office to a few. Others again think that the very shrewdness of his judgment made selection a perplexity. He had no fancy for conspicuous merit; but then again he hated incapacity: if the one were dangerous to himself, the other might bring disaster upon the State. And to such a length did he at last carry this irresolution that he appointed governors to provinces without any intention of allowing them to leave the city.²

Reasons for such prolongations.

Consular elections.

As to the consular elections³ which were now held for the first time under Tiberius, as well as those which came after, I can assert nothing positively; so conflicting are the accounts given, not only by historians, but in the speeches of Tiberius himself.⁴

in comfort ever afterwards. The empire changed all this. If a governor could look forward to a long tenure of office, it would be for his interest to nurse his province, rather than to bleed it; and he had a master over him whose interest and whose care it was, for imperial purposes, to keep the provinces in prosperity. Hence the readiness with which careful emperors (we shall find many instances under Tiberius) brought to trial and punishment cases of provincial misgovernment. Added to this, governors of provinces had now a regular salary, which removed one main temptation to extortion.

¹ The important frontier province of

Moesia (bounded on the N. by the Danube, on the E, by the Euxine, and to the S. by the mountain chains of Thrace) corresponded to the modern states of Servia and Bulgaria.

² Only two instances of this are known. Aelius Lamia had been appointed to Syria, in some year unknown; L. Arruntius to Spain: neither were permitted to leave Rome (vi. 27, 2 and 3).

³ The word *comitiis* here means simply 'elections,' without any reference to election by the comitia. It is used similarly in chap. 15, 1.

⁴ According to Suetonius, Augustus *comitorum pristinum ius reduxit*, i.e. as compared with the anarchy of the civil wars (Oct. 40). As a matter of

2 Sometimes he would withhold the names¹ of the candidates, indicating each by his birth, career and services, so that it might be known who they were. Sometimes even that amount of indication would be suppressed: he would bid candidates not create disturbance at the elections by canvassing, and proffer
3 his own services for that purpose. He usually gave out that none had offered themselves but those whose names he had given in to the consuls:—*Others might apply, if they had confidence in their influence or their*
4 *deserts.* Specious words these, but hollow and insincere: the greater the semblance of liberty in which they were clothed, the more abject was the plunge into slavery which was to follow.

Practice of Tiberius in regard to them.

fact, the election of consuls and praetors by the end of the reign of Augustus might have been described in the words of the Digest, xlviii. 14, 1 pr. *ad curam principis magistratum creatio pertinet, non ad populi favorem.* In this passage Tacitus modifies to some extent, in regard to the consulship, the statement made above in chap. 15, 1, that under Tiberius elections of magistrates were transferred from the comitia to the senate. It is evident that in the case of the highest office of all, the

transference was not made so openly or so immediately as in the case of other magistracies. The present passage suggests that the form of popular election was preserved for some time longer, but that by the astute mode of using the right of *nominatio* (see n. on chap. 14, 6), Tiberius reduced it to a nullity. But the question is not free from doubt (see Greenidge, p. 372).

¹ In regard to *nominatio* and *commendatio*, see n. on chap. 14, 6.

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BOOK II.

A.D. 16. CONSULS T. STATILIUS SISENNA TAURUS
AND L. SCRIBONIUS LIBO.

Commo-
tions in the
East.

DISTURBANCES broke out in this year in the kingdoms I. and provinces of the East. These troubles originated with the Parthians,¹ who after petitioning for, and

¹ The relations of Rome with the kingdom of Parthia—the one power towards which she had a foreign policy in the modern sense of the word—were so important, and the narrative of Armenian and Parthian affairs given by Tacitus (ii. 1-4; vi. 31-37 and 41-44) is so condensed, that a more full and consecutive account of them may here be given. The following note, taken mainly from Professor Rawlinson's 'Sixth Great Oriental Monarchy,' and 'The Parthian Coinage' of Professor Percy Gardner, gives a short account of the Parthians, and brings the history of their relations with Rome down to the point at which it is taken up by Tacitus.

The kingdom of Parthia was now the great power of the East, ruling in Oriental fashion—the vast country between the Euphrates and the Hindoo-Koosh. The first mention of Parthia is by Herodotus, who includes it among the provinces of the Persian Empire, and names Parthian infantry as taking part in the expedition of Xerxes (iii. 117). Their ancient home was finely situated in the well-watered mountain region which extends from the Caspian Sea to the borders of Afghanistan; having on the N. the bare wastes of the steppes, on the S. and W. the arid plains of the Persian desert. The central and eastern parts of this mountain district formed the province of Parthia; the western portion, extending to the SE. corner of the Caspian Sea, was the seat of the Hyrcanians, from

whom that sea received its ancient name of *Mare Hyrcanum*. The origin of both peoples is unknown; but Professor Rawlinson gives good reasons for supposing that the Parthians were of Scythian or Turanian origin, and that their ancestors, like the Turcomans of later times, had formed one of those hardy nomad hordes that have periodically swooped down from the barren plains of northern Asia to seize the fertile regions, and overmaster the more civilised and less warlike races, of the sunny South; settling in the countries which they have conquered, but never amalgamating with the peoples whom they have subdued.

For centuries the Parthians bided their time, and nursed their strength, in their mountain home. From the time of Cyrus onwards, their country formed a satrapy of the Persian empire; they fought against Alexander at Arbela, and submitted, with the rest of the East, to his rule and to that of his successors, until the growing weakness of the Seleucid princes, and the removal of their capital from the Tigris to Antioch, gave an opportunity to the distant eastern provinces for revolt. First Bactria rebelled, under a Greek dynasty of its own; next came the revolt of Parthia, probably about B.C. 250, with consequences far more serious to the peace of the eastern world. A native prince, Arsaces, was set up as king at Hecatompytus, with the help apparently of an allied horde of Scythians, called Dahae; and a movement was

accepting, their king from Rome, now looked down upon him as an alien, although he was a member

thus started whereby the work of Alexander was to be undone, and the sceptre of the East was to pass from Hellenic hands into those of a hardy, fierce, and alien race, brave but rude, filled with the savage instincts of their nomad ancestors, and possessing a mere veneer of Greek civilisation. The name Arsaces remained henceforth the hereditary royal name: the second of that name (his original name was Tiridates) annexed Hyrcania; succeeding princes resisted every attempt of the Syrian kings to win back the lost provinces; until at length Mithradates I. (B.C. 174-136) came forth as a conqueror, wrested from Syria all her eastern provinces, and established a new empire, destined to last for four centuries, over all the regions from the Euphrates to the mountain frontiers of India.

The first contact of Rome with Parthia was in B.C. 92, in which year Sulla was sent out to check the ambitious designs of Mithradates, king of Pontus, upon Cappadocia and other provinces. Tigranes, the Armenian king, was son-in-law of Mithradates, and had assisted him in his attempts to gain possession of Cappadocia: hence Sulla turned savagely upon Armenia, and inflicted upon her a severe defeat. Now Tigranes had been at war with Parthia, and had encroached, not without treachery, upon her territory; it was natural therefore for the Parthian king (Mithradates II.) to make overtures for an alliance with Rome. His ambassador had a meeting with Sulla; but nothing more than friendly sentiments were interchanged on that occasion. During the later phases of the Mithradatic war, the Parthian king (Phraates III.) was more anxious to recover territory seized by Armenia than to assist the Romans. He irritated Lucullus (B.C. 69) by promises of help unfulfilled; but subsequently made an arrangement with Pompey (B.C. 66) whereby he was to prevent Armenia from helping Mithradates, while Pompey, in return, was to aid him in his designs upon that country. When the Mithradatic war was over, Pompey failed to keep his promise; he cleared the Parthians out of Armenia, and a rupture between the two countries was narrowly avoided.

Soon after this, Phraates III. was murdered by his two sons, Mithradates

and Orodes. The two brothers quarrelled; Mithradates, the elder of the two, worsted and driven out, sought help from Gabinius, pro-consul of Syria, who received his overtures favourably; and though nothing came of it at the time, an excuse was thus afforded for Roman intervention in Parthian affairs. Mithradates carried on the struggle for a time: in the end he submitted to, and was murdered by, his brother Orodes, who thenceforth ruled as undisputed king of Parthia. It was against Orodes that the disastrous expedition of Crassus was undertaken in B.C. 53, ending in the almost total destruction of the Roman army by the Parthian archer-horsemen on the fatal field of Carrhae.

From this time onwards until the reign of Trajan, the Euphrates remained the eastern boundary of the Roman Empire; but for a time it seemed as if the Parthians were to push back Rome towards the West. Pompey, in his difficulties, trafficked for Parthian support; Caesar's projected expedition to wipe out the disgrace of Carrhae was cut short by his assassination; and a body of Parthian horse fought for Brutus and Cassius at Philippi. Then came the Parthian opportunity. While Antony was dallying in Egypt with Cleopatra in B.C. 40, a Parthian host, led by the renegade Q. Labienus, and Pacorus son of Orodes, burst into Syria and Asia, overthrew the Roman governor Decidius Saxa, and advanced to the Aegean: 'for a year Western Asia Minor changed masters; the rule of Rome disappeared, and the Parthians were recognised as the dominant power' (Rawlinson, p. 189). But it was not for long. In the course of two swift campaigns, in B.C. 39 and 38, Antony's hardy legate, P. Ventidius, stemmed the invasion, defeated and slew Labienus, destroyed Pacorus and his host in a final battle on the right bank of the Euphrates, and put an end, once for all, to the aggressive designs of Parthia on the West. Inconsolable for the death of Pacorus, Orodes abdicated soon afterwards in favour of his eldest remaining son, Phraates IV., who soon after confirmed himself on the throne by parricide.

One more attempt at an invasion of Parthia was made by Antony. Collecting an enormous army of 100,000 men

of the Royal house of the Arsacidae. The name of ² this king was Vonones. He had been given over to Augustus as a hostage by Phraates; for though

in B.C. 36, in alliance with Artavasdes, king of Armenia, he designed to attack Parthia from the north; but permitting himself to be inveigled by Artavasdes into a long and desperate enterprise against Media Atropatene, he was set upon by the Parthians on his return; a large portion of his army was cut off, and numbers perished from the severity of the climate before he made good his retreat. Enraged with Artavasdes for having deserted him in his time of difficulty, Antony wheedled him into negotiations, and finally seized his person (see note on chap. 3, 1); but the final rupture between Antony and Augustus was now at hand, and all troops had to be recalled from the East to take part in the great struggle which was to decide the mastery of the Roman world.

Thus ended all Roman attempts on Parthia, the contest between the two powers being henceforth mainly confined to the attempt to gain a paramount influence over the state of Armenia.

King Phraates IV. reigned from B.C. 38 to B.C. 2: his reign brings us down to the events recorded in the chapter before us. In B.C. 33, his cruelties raised against him a revolt, headed by Tiridates; he was expelled, and for some three years Tiridates reigned in his stead. But Phraates was restored by the help of friendly Scythians; and Tiridates fled to Augustus, carrying with him the younger son of Phraates. Augustus declined to give up Tiridates, but shortly afterwards restored the son, in the hope of receiving back the standards and the prisoners captured at Carrhae. At last, in B.C. 20, when Augustus seemed in a position to threaten war as an alternative, the standards were restored into the hands of Tiberius; an event which was loudly acclaimed by the writers of the day as the crowning glory of the foreign policy of Augustus (Suet. Oct. 21; Hor. Od. iv. 15, 6-8; Ov. Trist. ii. 227, etc.).

The succession of Parthian kings, from the time when Rome first came into contact with Parthia down to the end of the reign of Tiberius, is as follows. It is to be noted that all Parthian kings bore the name of

Arsaces, in addition to their own proper name.

1. *Mithradates II.*, or Mithradates the Great, succeeded his father, *Artabanus II.*, in B.C. 123. This king drove back to the East a horde of invading Scythians called Sakas; it was he who negotiated with Sulla. He reigned at least until B.C. 87.

2. The successor or successors of Mithradates II. are unknown: a king named *Sinatroces*, of whom nothing is known, probably reigned from B.C. 76 to 69.

3. *Phraates III.*, son of *Sinatroces*. He was engaged in constant wars with Tigranes I. of Armenia; he nearly came to war with Pompey. He was murdered by his two sons, Mithradates and Orodes; of whom—

4. *Mithradates III.* had a short reign, being expelled for his cruelty by the Parthian nobles. He was succeeded by his brother—

5. *Orodes I.*, B.C. 55 to 37, in whose reign Crassus was defeated at Carrhae by the Surena, or Grand Marshal, in B.C. 53, and the Parthian arms were pushed to the Aegean in B.C. 40. He was murdered by his son—

6. *Phraates IV.*, B.C. 37 to 2. This monarch restored the standards to Augustus in B.C. 20, and sent his four sons (of whom Vonones was the eldest) to Rome. He also was murdered by his son—

7. *Phraataces*, B.C. 2 to A.D. 4, who came to terms with Gaius Caesar. He was killed in an insurrection.

8. *Orodes II.*, assassinated for his cruelties in A.D. 7 or 8. The Parthians then sent for—

9. *Vonones*, son of Phraates IV. He soon disgusted the Parthians (chap. 2, 3-6), who substituted the Arsacid—

10. *Artabanus III.*, who had a vigorous but chequered reign, extending from A.D. 16 to 40, and covering all the events narrated by Tacitus in the first six books of the Annals (ii. 1-4; ii. 58 and 68; vi. 31-37 and 41-44).

In all the revolutions and counter-revolutions of Parthia it is to be noted that no Parthian king or pretender ever failed, in time of difficulty, to get the aid of allied Scythian tribes from beyond the border.

that monarch had repulsed the Roman armies and their generals, he had shown every mark of respect towards Augustus, and with a view to making fast his friendship had sent to him some of his own children—not so much because he was afraid of Rome, as because he distrusted his own countrymen.¹

2. 1 When Phraates and the kings who succeeded him had been assassinated in the course of family quarrels,² a deputation of leading Parthians came to Rome to invite Vonones, the eldest of the sons of Phraates, 2 to return. Augustus took this as a high compliment to himself; he loaded Vonones with presents, and Vonones received from the barbarians the welcome 3 that always awaits a new ruler. But after a time a sense of shame came over them:—*They had undergone, they thought, a national degradation: they had gone to another world to fetch a king tainted with the manners of their foes. The throne of the Arsacidae was being dealt with and disposed of as if it were one of the*

The Parthians dissatisfied with their king Vonones;

he had been given them by Rome,

¹ The difficulties of Phraates in his own kingdom had enabled Augustus to obtain by diplomacy, in B.C. 20, the result which Caesar had intended to achieve by force of arms—the restoration of the standards lost by Crassus at the battle of Carrhae, B.C. 53, together with a nominal acknowledgment of Roman supremacy. Phraates continued, till his death, to maintain friendly relations with Rome; and about B.C. 10, as here mentioned, he sent four of his sons to Rome—probably from fear that one of them might be set up as a pretender against himself. The names of these sons were Vonones, Seraspadanus, Rhodaspes, and Phraates; they were treated handsomely and entertained as princes. Tacitus, like other historians, wrongly describes Vonones as a hostage (chap. I, 1).

² The reigns which followed that of Phraates IV. were short and stormy. Phraates himself was poisoned in B.C. 2, by his own trusted son Phraataces, who was aided in the crime by his mother Musa, who had been the favourite wife

of Phraates, and who, though originally a slave-girl, was a woman of great capacity as well as beauty. Tempted by proposals from Armenia, Phraataces adopted at first a defiant attitude towards Augustus, and demanded the surrender of his four brothers; but finding Augustus resolute to maintain Roman influence in Armenia at all costs, he gave way, met Gaius Caesar in a friendly interview in A.D. 1 (see next chapter), and undertook to interfere no further in the affairs of that country. After a reign of a few years, Phraataces was deposed and put to death; the nobles, it would seem, being disgusted by his associating his mother with himself in the government, as well as by the extravagant honours paid to her. An Arsacid prince, Orodes, was now put upon the throne; but his violence and cruelty soon alienated his subjects, and he too was assassinated, in A.D. 7 or 8. Thereupon a mission was despatched to Rome to invite Vonones to the throne, with the results recorded in this and the following chapter.

Roman provinces: what of their old boast of having slain Crassus and routed Antonius, if a minion of Augustus, who had passed all these years in slavery, were to lord it over them?

and his tastes were not to their mind.

These feelings were heightened by the king's own habits, which were alien from those of his ancestors. He seldom hunted; he had no taste for horses; if he made a progress through the cities, he rode in a litter; he had no stomach for the national feasts. He was ridiculed also for his Greek attendants, and for his habit of keeping under seal even the most ordinary domestic articles. He was easy of access, indeed, and affable to all comers; but these virtues were as strange to the Parthians as his vices: both being equally foreign to them, they hated the good and the bad alike.

Artabanus called in.

They accordingly called in Artabanus, who was also of Arsacid blood, and had been brought up among the Dahae. This prince was routed in a first encounter; but he rallied his forces and gained possession of the throne. The defeated Vonones took refuge in Armenia, the throne of which was at that time vacant.¹ Now that country, situated

Affairs of Armenia.

¹ For the Armenian monarchy, and its relations with Rome, see n. on chap. 56, 1. The somewhat intricate succession of Armenian kings here enumerated may be made clearer by the following table:—

1. *Tigranes I.* (by some called Tigranes II.), descendant of Artaxias, the founder of the Armenian kingdom. This was the king with whom Lucullus fought (B.C. 69–67), and who submitted to Pompey (B.C. 66–65). He died between B.C. 56 and 54.

2. *Artavasdes I.*, son of Tigranes I., persuaded Antony to attack Media, and deserted him in the campaign; was treacherously seized by Antony in B.C. 34, and put to death by Cleopatra in B.C. 30.

3. *Artaxias II.*, son of Artavasdes I.,

was hostile to Rome, and massacred the Romans in Armenia; Augustus, being appealed to, sent Tiberius to put Tigranes, the exiled brother of Artaxias, on the throne: Artaxias was murdered (*per dolum propinquorum*) before the arrival of Tiberius.

4. *Tigranes II.*, set up by Tiberius in B.C. 20. A short reign.

5. *Tigranes III.* and *Erato*, son and daughter of Tigranes II., intermarry and reign conjointly: another short reign.

6. *Artavasdes II.*, son or brother of Artaxias II., is set up by Augustus. He is apparently driven out again by Tigranes III. and Erato.

7. *Ariobarzanes*, a Mede, is set up by Gaius Caesar, B.C. 1 to A.D. 4.

8. *Artavasdes III.*, son of Ariobarzanes, is soon dismissed.

between the empires of Rome and Parthia, was mistrustful of us in consequence of the criminal proceedings of Antonius, who had first decoyed their king Artavasdes under pretence of friendship, then thrown him into prison, and finally put him to death.

- 3 Artaxias, the son of Artavasdes, mindful of his father's fate, was unfriendly to us; but he was protected in his throne and person by the power of the
4 Arsacidæ until he was treacherously slain by his own kinsmen. Thereupon Augustus gave Tigranes to the Armenians for their king, and Tiberius Nero
5 conducted him into his kingdom. But neither Tigranes nor his two children reigned for any length of time, though the latter, in Oriental fashion, were united in matrimony as well as in sovereignty.

4. 1 Then another Artavasdes was set up as king by order of Augustus; but he too was soon deposed, not without disaster to our arms. Next, Gaius Caesar¹

Reigns of Artavasdes, Artaxias and Tigranes;

of Artavasdes III., Ariobarzanes and Erato.

9. *Tigranes IV.*: a king of this name, not mentioned by Tacitus, would appear to have been set up by Augustus (see Mommsen on *Mont. Anc.*, pp. 76-80).

10. A queen *Erato* (perhaps the same as No. 5 above, re-instated).

11. *Vonones*, son of the Parthian monarch, Phraates IV. He flies to Syria, A.D. 16; tries to escape, and is put to death, A.D. 19 (chap. 68, 3).

12. *Zeno*, son of Polemo, king of Pontus, is chosen by the people to succeed Vonones. Germanicus crowns him king at Artaxia in A.D. 18 under the name of *Artaxias III.* (chap. 56, 3).

13. On the death of Artaxias III. in A.D. 35, Artabanus, king of Parthia, puts his son *Arsaces* on the Armenian throne. Arsaces is soon murdered at the instigation of the Iberian prince *Mithradates*, who seizes the country (vi. 31-34).

¹ Gaius Caesar was sent to the East in A.D. 1, during his consulship. The *Mon. Anc.* mentions the Armenians as rebelling, and as reduced by Gaius; who set up first, Ariobarzanes (son of Artavasdes), and at his death, his son Artavasdes; after which Augustus

put Tigranes on the throne. Gaius died Feb. 21, A.D. 4. As the Romans never again attempted to make a serious invasion of Parthia, it was in Armenia that the interests of the two powers came most frequently into collision. When Tiberius, in B.C. 20, set Tigranes upon the throne of Armenia, Augustus regarded this intervention as equivalent to a conquest of Armenia. A denarius of that year bears the legend *Armenia capta* (Cohen, 2nd ed. pp. 63-64); and Augustus says of himself, 'When I might have made Armenia Major into a province I preferred to hand it over to Tigranes' (*Mon. Anc.* 5, 24-27); and again, in regard to the events which led to the mission of Gaius Caesar in B.C. 1, *eandem gentem postea desciscientem et rebellantem domitam per Gaium filium meum regi Ariobarzani tradidi*. Armenia was thus intended to be a Roman Protectorate; and a very troublesome one it proved, as it responded to all the ups and downs of party faction in Parthia. Rome pursued a very poor and half-hearted policy towards both kingdoms. Always anxious to have the appearance of patronising them, always putting a

was appointed to settle the affairs of Armenia; he set up Ariobarzanes, who was by birth a Mede, and was acceptable to the Armenians for his handsome person and his high spirit. Ariobarzanes died an accidental death; but the people would have nothing to do with his son, and for a time they tried female government, under a queen of the name of Erato. This queen was soon deposed; whereupon, in a state of doubt and disorganisation, not so much free as masterless, they set the fugitive Vonones on the throne. But Artabanus assumed a threatening attitude; Vonones had little or no backing among the Armenians; and as we should have been involved in war with the Parthians had we employed force on his behalf, Creticus Silanus, the Governor of Syria, sent for him and kept him a prisoner: maintaining him however in his royal state and title. How Vonones attempted afterwards to escape from this ignominious position, I shall relate in the proper place.

Vonones put on the throne of Armenia, and expelled.

Germanicus bent upon success in Germany.

Meanwhile Tiberius was by no means displeased by these disturbances in the East, since they afforded him a pretext for removing Germanicus from his own familiar legions, and exposing him to the risks of treachery or disaster in a new provincial command. Germanicus, on the contrary, was all the more bent upon hurrying on a victory on account of the devotion of his soldiers to him, and the aversion of his uncle. He pondered over plans of campaign; and reflected upon his reverses and successes during the two past years.¹ The Germans, he saw, had the worst of it in pitched battles and on level ground; the woods, the bogs, the shortness of the summer, and

He reflects upon his past campaigns,

finger into their affairs, she sheered off the moment any real opposition was encountered. See n. on vi. 37, 6.

¹ Germanicus had been appointed to

the command of the Rhine frontier in A.D. 13, having held his first consulship A.D. 12. His first campaign was that of A.D. 14, narrated in i. 49-51.

the early setting in of winter, were the things that told in their favour. His own men had suffered more from long marches, and from loss of their arms, than from injuries in battle. The supply of horses in the Gallic provinces was used up;¹ his long baggage-trains were easy to surprise, and hard to protect. If, however, he were to make his approach by sea, he would occupy the enemy's country speedily and without his knowledge, and begin operations at once; the legions and their supplies would advance together; horses and horsemen, conveyed up estuaries and river-courses, would be landed without loss in the heart of Germany.

resolves to approach by sea,

5. 1 Germanicus made up his mind accordingly. He despatched Publius Vitellius and Gaius Antius to take the census of Gaul. Silius, Anteius and Caecina 2 were charged with the building of a flotilla. It was thought that a thousand vessels would suffice. Some were built of shallow draught, sharp at both ends, but broad in the beam, so as better to stand the seas, and some flat-bottomed, so as to take the ground without hurt; most of them were fitted with steering-oars on both sides,² that they might change their direction rapidly, and so be able to take the shore either way 3 on. Many were decked over, to carry engines, horses or stores. Composed thus of vessels handy for sailing and swift to row, and having on board a force full of enthusiasm, the flotilla presented a truly formidable appearance.

and builds a flotilla.

¹ An exaggeration; for we read that in A.D. 14 *ad supplenda exercitus damna certavere Galliae Hispaniae Italia* (i. 71, 3). These words show that the losses of Germanicus in Germany must have been considerable.

² It will be remembered that ancient ships were steered by an oar at the side of the vessel, near the stern. Repre-

sentations of Greek vessels show that it was not unusual to have two such steering oars, one on each side, for more rapid and effective steering. When there were two such oars they could at any moment be used, not merely to steer or stop the vessel, but to pull backwards.

Rendez-
vous at the
mouth of
the Rhine.

A rendezvous was appointed at the Batavian Delta, 4
where good landing-places afforded every facility for
embarking troops, and fitting out an armed expedition.
For the river Rhine, which 'down to this point flows 5
in a single channel, broken only by small islands,
separates as it were into two rivers at the beginning
of the Batavian territory. The branch which skirts
the German bank preserves its name, and its rapidity
of current, until it mingles with the Ocean; that on
the Gallic side, which is broader and more sluggish,
has its name changed to 'Vahala' by the inhabitants.
Lower down, it changes its name again for that of the
Meuse, and discharges itself through the vast mouth
of that river into the same Ocean.

Raids
against the
Chatti and
towards
the Lippe.

While the flotilla was collecting, Germanicus 7.
despatched the legate Silius with a light force to raid
the Chatti;¹ while he himself, hearing that the fort
upon the river Lippe was being besieged, marched
with six legions in that direction. Sudden rains, 2
however, prevented Silius from doing anything more
than carry off some booty, together with the wife
and daughter of Arpus, chief of the Chatti; and Ger-
manicus got no opportunity of engaging the besiegers
of the fort,² for they dispersed at the news of his
approach: before doing so they destroyed the mound 3
recently set up as a memorial to the legions of Varus,
and the old altar in honour of Drusus. The mound 4
Germanicus thought it better to leave as it was; but

¹ This expedition was to keep the Chatti employed, and prevent them from joining the Cherusci. In each campaign we hear of similar by-excursions. Germanicus attacked the Chatti separately in A.D. 15 (i. 56). On that occasion the Cherusci had thought of helping the Chatti. The Marsi also were attacked separately at the same time (ib.).

² Nipp. thinks this fort could not have been the same as Fort Aliso (below § 5), as Tacitus would naturally have named it when mentioning it for the first time. Fort Aliso was at the junction of the Lippe and Ahse (Dio, liv. 33, 4): the fort here referred to was probably further E., near the Teutoburger Wald.

he restored the altar, and took part with the legions
 5 in a funeral procession in his father's honour. And
 he secured the whole country between Fort Aliso and
 the Rhine by a new line of earthworks.

1 By this time the fleet had mustered. The ships
 with supplies were sent on ahead; the legionaries
 and the allies were distributed over the various
 vessels; and Germanicus himself, entering the canal
 known as 'the Fosse of Drusus,'¹ addressed a prayer
 to his father:² entreating him to look graciously upon
 an enterprise so like his own, and to aid him both in
 counsel and in action by his memory and example.
 Passing thence through the lagoons into the ocean, he
 sailed without mishap as far as the mouth of the river
 2 Ems. He left the fleet upon the left bank of that
 river; but as the troops were to operate on the
 right bank, it would have been better had he either
 taken it further up the stream, or landed his army on
 the other side. As it was, several days were wasted
 3 in the construction of a bridge. The cavalry and the
 legions, crossing the first tidal marshes before the
 water rose, passed over in good order; but the rear,
 which was made up of allies, the Batavians among
 the number, was thrown into confusion in conse-
 quence of the men plunging into the water to show
 off their skill in swimming; and some of them were
 drowned.

4 While Germanicus was laying out his camp, news
 came that the Ampsivarii³ had revolted in his rear. He
 at once sent off Stertinius with a body of cavalry and

Muster of
 the flotilla.

Germani-
 cus enters
 the Ems.

Revolt of
 the Ampsi-
 varii.

¹ For this canal, see Furn. and Suet. Claudius I. The work connected the Rhine near Arnheim with the old Yssel at Doesburg.

² His father, Drusus, had been the first to sail upon the North Sea (*Oceanum Septemtrionalem*, Suet. Claud. 1).

³ The MS. reads *Angrivarii*; but as that people are mentioned as living beyond the Weser, and bordering on the Cherusci (chap. 19, 3), we should read *Ampsivarii* with Nipp. That tribe lived between the Ems and the Weser; they were old allies of Rome.

light-armed troops, who chastised this perfidy with fire and sword.

Colloquy of
Arminius
and his
brother
Flavus.

There was nothing now to separate the Romans 9.
from the Cheruskans but the waters of the Weser.
Arminius took his stand upon the further bank with
his chiefs around him, and enquired if Caesar had
arrived. On being informed that he was there, he
craved permission to speak with his brother Flavus, a 2
man of noted loyalty, who had lost an eye while
fighting under Tiberius some years before, and was
now serving in the Roman army. Permission having 3
been granted, Flavus stepped forward and was saluted
by his brother. Dismissing his own attendants,
Arminius requested that the bowmen posted on our
side of the bank might be withdrawn. As soon as
they had retired, he asked his brother how he had got
that ugly wound upon his face. Informed of the place 4
and occasion of the battle, Arminius enquired, *What
reward had he got for it?* Flavus enumerated his 5
increase of pay, his necklace and crown, and other
military distinctions. Arminius scoffed at all these
as *the trumpety rewards of slavery.*¹

They
almost
come to
blows.

Then began a colloquy in opposing strains. The 10
one dwelt on the power of Rome, the wealth of
Caesar, the heavy punishments meted to the con-
quered, the kindly treatment in store for his brother
if he submitted: even his wife and child had not been
treated as enemies. The other spoke of the sacred
claims of country, of their ancestral freedom, of the
national Gods of Germany, of their mother, who added
her prayers to his:—*let not Flavus choose to be the*

¹ This interview and conversation across the river have an air of romance about them. So also have the dream in chap. 14, 1; the omen of the flying

eagles, chap. 17, 2; and still more the night ramble of Germanicus among the tents of the camp, chap. 13.

deserter and betrayer, rather than the leader, of his own kindred and his country. By degrees they fell to reproaches; and not even the intervening river would have kept them from coming to blows, had not Stertinius run up and held back Flavius, who was full of wrath, and crying out for horse and arms. On the other side was to be seen Arminius, threatening and challenging to combat: he used the Latin tongue¹ freely in his discourse, having once commanded a force of his countrymen in our army.

1 Next day the Germans formed up on the other side of the river. Not deeming it good generalship to risk a crossing for his legions without a bridge and a force to hold it, Germanicus sent his cavalry over by 2 fords, under the command of Stertinius and Aemilius—the latter one of the first-grade centurions. The two passed over at separate points, so as to divide 3 the forces of the enemy. The Batavians dashed through where the current was swiftest, under their leader Chariovalda. The Cherusci, feigning flight, lured our men on to a level spot surrounded by wood: then springing on them from every side, drove in their front, followed them up as they gave way, and having rolled them up into one mass, assailed them 4 both from near and far. Chariovalda held his ground against this fierce onset for a time; till at last, urging his men to keep together and force their way through the attacking hordes in one compact body, he threw himself into the thickest of the fight; after having his horse killed under him, he fell² amid a storm of javelins, with many of his chiefs around him. The

The Romans cross the Weser.

Batavians severely handled.

¹ This and other incidents show that the process of Romanising Germany, even in language, had gone some way before the disaster of Varus. In chap. 13, 2 a German soldier is spoken of as

knowing Latin, and familiar with Roman money.

² *Labitur* is poet. for 'fell:' *Et labentis equo describat vulnere Parthi*, Hor. Sat. ii. 1, 15.

but rescued
by the
cavalry.

rest fought their way out, or were saved by the cavalry of Stertinius and Aemilius coming up to the rescue.

Arminius
ready to do
battle.

Crossing the Weser, Caesar learnt from a deserter 12
that Arminius had chosen a place for battle. Other
tribes also, he was informed, had gathered in a wood
sacred to Hercules ; they were to make a night attack
upon the camp. The informant seemed trustworthy, 2
and the enemy's fires could be seen ; and some scouts,
creeping close up, brought word that they could hear
the neighing of horses, and the hum of a vast and
disorderly multitude. Being thus on the eve of a 3
decisive battle, Germanicus resolved to sound the
temper of his soldiers, and pondered how best he
could get at their true sentiments. *Tribunes and* 4
centurions, he reflected, said what was pleasant, rather
than what they knew to be true ; freedmen were still slaves
in mind, friends were flatterers : were he to summon an
assembly, whatever the few proposed, the rest would
receive with acclamation. He must discover what the 5
men really thought in their private unguarded moments,
as they poured out their hopes and fears over the mess-
table.

Germani-
cus sounds
the temper
of his men

by making
a night
ramble
among the
tents.

Accordingly, when night came on, he threw a wild- 13
beast skin over his shoulders, and with a single
attendant quitted the augural tent¹ by a private
passage unknown to the sentries. Making his way
along the camp-roads, he stood beside the tents and
drank in his own praises. One spoke of the General's
noble birth, another of his fine person ; almost all
praised his endurance, his affability, his temper, always
the same in moments grave or gay :—*They must show*
him their thanks on the battle-field, and at the same time

He hears
his own
praises.

¹ *Augurale* here is the general's tent, as in Quint. viii. 2, 8.

*offer up the faithless peace-breakers as victims to vengeance
2 and to glory.*

Just then one of the enemy who could speak Latin rode up to the lines, and in a loud voice promised wives and lands in the name of Arminius to all deserters, together with a hundred sesterces a day
3 so long as the war should last. This insult roused the legions to fury:—*Let daylight come, they cried, and battle with it; they would indeed take the lands of the Germans and carry off their wives: welcome the omen which marked out for their booty the wealth and women of the enemy!*

Insolence
of the
enemy;

4 About midnight the enemy made an attempt upon the camp; but when they found the lines well guarded, and all on the alert, they retired without discharging their missiles.

they find
the camp
guarded.

4. 1 That same night, Germanicus had a happy dream. He dreamt that he was engaged in sacrifice; that the blood of the victim had spurted on to his purple-bordered robe, and that he received a more handsome garment in its place at the hands of his grand-
2 mother Augusta. Encouraged by this omen, and finding the auspices favourable, he called his men together, and explained to them the precautions which he had taken, and the tactics which he recommended for the coming battle.

Happy
dream of
Germani-
cus.

3 *It was not level ground only, he told them, that was favourable to the Romans, but rugged and wooded country also, if only judgment were used. The huge shields and enormous spears of the barbarians were more unmanageable among the trunks of trees and thick undergrowth than the pila and swords of the Roman soldier, with his
4 close-fitting armour. Let them shower their blows thick, and aim straight at the faces of the enemy. The Germans*

He ad-
dresses the
army.

had neither breast-plates nor helmets ; their shields were only made of osiers, or thin boards daubed with paint, without iron or leather to give them strength. The front rank had spears of some sort ; but the rest were only armed with short pikes, or wooden stakes burnt at the point. Their great stature¹ made them terrible to look at, and formidable in a charge ; but they were impatient of wounds, they would leave their ranks and run without sense of shame, without regard for their leaders : cowards in defeat, they respected no law, human or divine, in victory. If the legions desired an end to the weariness of voyages and marches, it lay on the field before them. The Elbe was now nearer than the Rhine : treading as he was in the footsteps of his father and his uncle, they had only to place him as conqueror where they had stood, and the war would be at an end.

These words roused the enthusiasm of the soldiers, and the signal was given for battle.

Nor did Arminius and the other German chiefs fail to harangue their several tribesmen. *These Romans, they said, were the runaways of the army of Varus : men who had broken out in mutiny rather than face war. Some of them had their backs scarred with wounds, others were crippled by the winds and the waves ; once more they were offering themselves to the ire of their foes, with the Gods against them, and no hope before them. They had come in ships, over the pathless ocean, where none might meet them, none repulse and rout them : but once vanquished in open fight, neither winds nor oars could save them. Let them remember the greed, the cruelty, the arrogance of Rome ; what remained for them but to hold fast their liberty, or die before becoming slaves ?*

Inflamed by these words, and clamouring for

¹ Cp. Germ. 4, 2, of the Germans, *magna corpora et tantum ad impetum valida.*

battle, the barbarians were led down into a level
 2 plain between the Weser and the hills called
 Idiavisus,¹ which takes the shape of an irregular
 crescent, according as the river banks recede from, or
 3 come up to,² the projecting spurs of the hills. Behind
 was rising ground, covered with high-growing trees,
 4 but clear of undergrowth. The level ground, and
 the lower parts of the wood behind it, were held
 by the barbarians; the Cherusci held a position by
 themselves on the heights, ready to fall upon the
 Romans so soon as they should be engaged.

5 Our army advanced in the following order. In
 front were the Gallic and German auxiliaries; next,
 the unmounted archers. Then came four legions,
 and the general himself with two Praetorian Cohorts³

Order of
 the Roman
 army.

¹ Explained by J. Grimm as meaning 'the Nymphs' meadow' = 'Elfenwiese.' Nipp. gives *Idiavisus* as the name, remarking that Tacitus commonly uses the Nom. case in this construction. The site of the battle is supposed to have been somewhere between the Porta Westphalica and Hameln, on the Weser.

² The Latin here has a false double antithesis, which will not bear translation. I take *resistunt* in its proper sense, 'stand up against.' At one point the river-banks recede from the hills (*cedunt*); at another, the hills stand up against (*resistunt*) and meet the river. The two phrases state the same thing from the point of view of the river and the hills respectively. The flat space left between two projecting spurs, opposite the part of the river which 'recedes,' would thus form 'an irregular crescent.' An exactly similar phrase, in which by a false antithesis the same fact is repeated twice over, occurs in chap. 65, 3: *alter facilitate, alter fraude, cuncta inter se concederent acciperentque*. The site cannot be identified, or even very clearly understood, from the description. Supposing the Romans to be on the right or E. bank, on crescent-shaped ground, with their left on the river, they would have rising ground (one of the projecting spurs) in their front, and on their right the main

hill-chain. Both these slopes were wooded. The main force of the enemy were in front, some on the plain, some on the wooded slope rising behind it; the Cherusci were on the hills to the Roman right, ready to charge the Roman right flank so soon as the front ranks should be engaged. Germanicus sends off his cavalry in two detachments. The *validissimi equitum* are sent round to the right, to take the Cherusci in the rear. Stertinius, *cum ceteris turmis*, is to get in the rear of the main army—marching probably round their right flank. Thus both the Cherusci on the enemy's left, and their main body, found themselves attacked at the same time in front and rear; the Cheruscan attempt to force a wedge into the Roman right flank being thus foiled. Stertinius, having made his way round behind the Cherusicans, fell on their rear just as they were about to charge the Roman right flank. Their charge was thus disordered; and they also, as well as the main body, found themselves between two attacking forces.

³ Nipp. thinks that these praetorian cohorts must have been sent to Germanicus from Rome, just as two were sent with Drusus to Pannonia; for the name was now appropriated to the city Guards. Possibly Germanicus may have been allowed praetorian cohorts of his own; though no mention is

and a body of picked cavalry; then four more legions, the light infantry and the mounted bowmen, with the rest of the allied cohorts. All were on the alert, ready to pass from the order of march into the order of battle.

On sighting the Cherusci, who had dashed forward 17. impetuously, Germanicus ordered his best squadrons to charge them in flank, sending Stertinius round with the rest of the cavalry to take them in the rear, while he himself was to come up at the critical moment. In this interval, a splendid omen arrested 2 his attention: eight eagles were seen flying towards and entering the wood. *Forward, legions!* he cried, *follow the birds of Rome, your own Divinities!* The 3 infantry charged in front, and at the same moment the cavalry that had been sent forward fell upon the rear and flank. Thereupon a strange sight was to be 4 seen—two bodies of the enemy flying in opposite directions: those who had occupied the wood were running into the open, those formed up on the plain, into the wood. Midway between the two the Cherusci 5 were being pushed down from the heights; conspicuous among them was Arminius, sustaining the fight by hand, voice, and wound. Throwing himself 6 upon the bowmen, he would have broken through at that point, had not the Raetian, Vindelician and Gallic cohorts planted their standards¹ in the way. Making a desperate effort, thanks to the swiftness of 7 his horse, he got off: he had smeared his face with his blood so as to prevent his being recognised.

made of such a body in connection with Germanicus throughout the mutiny. They were evidently picked troops (chap. 20, 6).

¹ For the special *signa* of the cohorts, see i. 18, 3: 34, 4. The Chauci were

subject to Rome. A *Vexillum* is stationed in their country (i. 38, 1); they offered assistance in the campaign of A. D. 15 (i. 60, 3), and in *commilitium adsciti sunt*.

Disposi-
tions of
Germani-
cus.

Happy
omen.

Complete
victory
of the
Romans.

Escape of
Arminius
and Inguio-
merus.

Others say that the Cherusci serving among the Roman auxiliaries recognised him and permitted him to escape. Inguiomerus owed his safety either to his own bravery, or to a like device; the rest were cut down in every direction. Many attempted to swim across the Weser, but were shot down by javelins, carried off by the current, or overwhelmed by the rush of fugitives and the falling in of the banks. Others ignominiously climbed up trees and hid themselves in the branches. Some of these were shot down, by way of sport, by archers brought up for the purpose; or else the trees were felled, and the occupants dashed to the ground.

18. 1 It was a great victory, and one not costly to our side. The slaughter of the enemy lasted from the fifth hour till night-fall; the ground was covered with their arms and corpses for a distance of ten miles. Among the booty captured there were chains which had been destined for the Romans, brought in expectation of certain victory.

Great slaughter of the enemy.

2 The troops hailed Tiberius as 'Imperator'¹ on the field of battle, and built a mound on which were set up arms in the style of a trophy, with the names of the conquered tribes written below.

Tiberius hailed as 'Imperator.'

19. 1 This spectacle roused the indignation and fury of the Germans more than all their wounds, losses and disasters. The men who but now were preparing to abandon their settlements and retire behind the Elbe, flew to arms, and called for battle: chiefs and tribesmen alike, young and old. Sudden and harassing attacks were made upon the Romans on their march.

Fresh rising of the Germans;

¹ For this ancient custom, whereby the soldiers saluted their victorious commander as 'Imperator' on the field of battle, see iii. 74, 6, and note. The salutation was addressed not to

Germanicus, but to Tiberius, whose *proconsulare imperium* gave him the *auspicia* and the command-in-chief of all the armies of the empire. See chap. 22, 1.

they block
the Roman
retreat.

At last the enemy took up a position where some flat marshy ground was closed in all round by a river and a wood.¹ The wood itself was surrounded by another deep morass, except on one side where the Angrivarii² had raised a broad mound as a boundary between themselves and the Cherusci. On this mound the enemy posted his foot; his cavalry were concealed in the adjoining wood, so as to be on the rear of the legions as soon as they should enter it.

Severe
fight in
marsh and
wood.

These dispositions were all known to Germanicus. He knew the enemy's plan of battle, and the nature of the ground; nothing escaped him: and he was ready to turn the cunning of his foes to their own destruction. On the level ground he placed the Legate Seius Tubero,³ with the cavalry. The infantry he so disposed that one part should enter the wood on the flat, while another climbed up the mound in front; he himself took the post of difficulty, leaving the rest to the Legates. Those who had to enter on the level, got in easily; but those who had to attack the mound, having practically a wall to climb, were severely handled from above. Seeing that his men were getting the worst of it at close quarters, the General withdrew the legions for a while, and

¹ It is hopeless to attempt to localise the geography from the descriptions of Tacitus. Ancient historians, as a rule, had little eye for ground, and little sense of what was needed in order to make a description intelligible to a reader, or even to a traveller visiting the scene. No one can discover from Livy's account of the battle of the Trebia on which side of that river the contending armies were originally drawn up; and having spent some time, Polybius in hand, in exploring the valleys which compete for the honour of having conducted Hannibal across the Alps, I formed the opinion that the conditions of the Polybian narrative which the champions of each route consider as

decisive in their favour, are fairly satisfied in them all. Hence the vast literature on the subject. The river indicated in the present passage would seem to be some river E. of the Weser—possibly the Leine or the Aller—as Germanicus was obviously moving from the Elbe to the Weser. After the victory which follows, he boasts that he has conquered all the tribes up to the latter river (chap. 22, 1, and 41, 2). See Furn.'s note.

² The Angrivarii were N. of the Cherusci; they apparently occupied the part of Hanover E. of the Weser.

³ Seius Tubero is mentioned in iv. 29, 1 as a distinguished citizen and personal friend of Tiberius.

ordered his slingers and javelin-men¹ to drive off the
 5 enemy; spears too were hurled at them by engines.
 In this way the defenders, who suffered the more in
 proportion as they were the more exposed, were dis-
 6 lodged; Caesar himself stormed the mound at the
 head of his Praetorians, and charged into the wood
 7 beyond. Here a hand-to-hand fight took place. The
 enemy had a morass behind them; the Romans were
 closed in by hill or river. For both alike retreat
 was impossible; their only hope was in their valour,
 in victory their only safety.

I. 1 The courage of the Germans was equal to our
 own; but their arms and their style of fighting put
 them to a disadvantage. With their great numbers
 crowded into a narrow space, they had no room to
 thrust out, or draw back, their enormous spears;
 forced to a stand-up fight, they could not turn to
 account their natural strength and agility. Our men,
 holding their shields close against their breasts, and
 grasping their swords firmly by the hilt, hewed at
 the giant limbs and exposed faces of the barbarians,
 and so opened for themselves a road over the dead
 bodies of the enemy.

The
 Romans
 prevail;

Under the strain of the prolonged conflict, and
 perhaps impeded by his recent wound, Arminius lost
 2 his presence of mind. Inguiomerus displayed his old
 valour in every part of the field, but his good fortune
 3 failed him. Germanicus had thrown off his helmet,
 that he might more easily be recognised. He bid his
 men *slay and slay on: no captives were wanted: nothing*
but the extermination of the race would bring the war to
 4 *an end.* Late in the afternoon he withdrew one of
 the legions from the battle-field to lay out a camp;

great
 slaughter of
 Germans.

¹ The words of Tacitus (*funditores* different kinds of slingers; the distinc-
libratorisque) seem to refer to two tion between them is unknown.

the rest glutted themselves with the blood of the enemy till night fell. The cavalry were engaged, but with no decisive result.

Germanicus erects a trophy.

Having publicly¹ commended his victorious troops, Germanicus set up a huge pile of arms with this proud inscription:—*Dedicated to Mars, Jupiter and Augustus by the army of Tiberius, after conquering all the nations between the Rhine and the Elbe.* Of himself he made no mention, fearing to excite jealousy; or perhaps satisfied with the consciousness of what he had done. Soon afterwards, he despatched Stertinius on an expedition against the Ampsivarii;² but these made haste to surrender. Throwing themselves on his mercy, and accepting all his conditions, they received a full pardon.

Submission of the Ampsivarii.

Return of the flotilla.

The season being now far advanced, some of the legions were sent back to their winter quarters by land; but Germanicus put most of them on board ship, and took them down the Ems to the Ocean. At first the sea was calm, and the water rippled gently beneath the oars and prows of the thousand ships as they sailed or were rowed along. But before long a storm of hail burst out of a dense black cloud; the sea rose; and squalls, coming from every quarter at once, made it impossible for the mariners either to see or steer. The soldiers, in their terror and inexperience, got in the way of the crews, and impeded the skilled seamen by clumsy attempts at assistance. Then sea and sky together were swept by a south-east gale, bred in the swelling uplands and deep gorges of Germany. Gathering strength within a

It is caught by a terrific gale.

¹ See Furn. here, and on i. 44, 4. The phrase *pro contione* has the same meaning in both places, equivalent to 'in public meeting.'

² Here again Nipp. reads Ampsivarii as in chap. 8, 4 (see n.), and 24, 5. He is apparently right in all three places.

vast bank of clouds, and chilled by the proximity of the frozen north, this wind caught the ships and scattered them, carrying some out to the open sea, some among islands¹ bristling with rocks and shoals.

4 Scarcely, and with much difficulty, had these dangers been avoided, when the tide turned, so as to run in the same direction as the wind. The anchors now would no longer hold; the water came in faster than it could be baled out; horses, baggage-animals, and even arms, were thrown overboard to lighten the vessels, into which the water found its way by leaking through the seams, or by dashing in over the sides.

1 Just as the Ocean is the roughest of all seas, and the climate of Germany the most inclement of all climates, so did that disaster exceed all others in novelty and magnitude. On one side were shores occupied by enemies; on the other was a sea so deep and vast that it is believed to be the outermost
2 of all, with no land beyond. Some of the ships foundered; many were cast upon distant, uninhabited islands, where the soldiers perished of starvation, or had to support life by feeding upon the bodies of
3 horses thrown ashore along with them. The galley of Germanicus, alone of the whole fleet, came to land in the territory of the Chauci. Here he passed all those days and nights upon the cliffs and headlands, reproaching himself as the cause of this great disaster, and was with difficulty restrained by his friends from seeking an end in that self-same sea.

4 At length the tide flowed back, the wind became favourable, and the disabled ships began to come in; some with short complement of rowers, some with outspread garments for sails, some towed by vessels

Fleet scattered : many ships are lost.

Distress of Germanicus.

Ships and men recovered.

¹ Another romance. There are no rocky islands on these coasts near the Ems and the Weser, only shoals and quicksands.

that were less crippled than themselves. These were at once repaired and sent off to search the islands. In this way the greater number of the men were recovered; many were ransomed from inland tribes and brought back by the Ampsivarii, who had lately returned to their allegiance; some who had been carried as far as Britain were sent back by the princes of that country.¹ Strange were the tales told by those who returned from those distant parts: tales of whirlpools; of unheard-of birds; of sea-monsters; of forms half-beast, half-human: whether they really saw these things, or only imagined in their terror that they had seen them.

after
strange
adventures.

Fresh
expeditions
against the
Chatti and
the Marsi;

The rumour of the loss of the fleet roused once more the warlike hopes of the Germans; but this only increased the determination of Germanicus. He ordered Gaius Silius to march against the Chatti with 30,000 foot and 300 horse; while he himself, with a still larger force, attacked the Marsi,² whose chief Mallovendus had lately tendered his submission, and reported that the eagle of one of the Varian legions lay buried in a wood close by, with a small force to guard it. One detachment was sent off at once to draw out the enemy in front, while another was to go round behind and open up the ground. Both parties succeeded in their purpose; and the success encouraged Caesar to advance further into the interior, plundering and destroying as he went. The enemy did not venture on an engagement; or if they made a

¹ If this mention of Britain be not pure romance, it would imply that the British princes were friendly to Rome at this time.

² The fact that military expeditions should be necessary to hold in check such tribes as the Chatti and the Marsi, who had been already subdued (see i.

50 and 56)—in spite of the boast of Germanicus that he had conquered all the nations between the Rhine and the Elbe (chap. 22, 1)—shows how transitory these successes must have been. See the virtual admission of Tacitus himself in chap. 26, 2.

stand anywhere, were at once routed. Prisoners reported that the tribes had never been so cowed before:—*The Romans were indeed invincible, they muttered, no misfortunes could overcome them. Their fleet had been wrecked, their arms lost; the shores were strewn with the dead bodies of their men and horses, and yet they had attacked as bravely, as fiercely as before, and in numbers that seemed greater than ever.*

despair of
the enemy.

1 The army was now taken back to winter quarters, in high spirits at having made up for their disasters at sea by this successful expedition. Germanicus treated the soldiers handsomely, making good to every man his reported losses.

The army
returns to
winter
quarters.

2 It was now evident that the enemy's power was broken, and that he was preparing to sue for peace; 3 one more summer would bring the war to a close.¹ But

Tiberius
recalls
Germani-
cus;

¹ This modest statement of the final result of the German campaigns of Germanicus — that the enemy was thought to be shaken and ready to sue for peace—carries with it the confutation of all the praises showered by Tacitus on his generalship. Tacitus attributes to him every quality of a great general; he does not hesitate to regard him as the equal, nay the superior, of Alexander the Great (ii. 73, 4): yet nothing is more certain, from the narrative of Tacitus himself, than that the history of these three campaigns is but a story of immense and finely organised forces led into aimless adventures without strategic foresight, winning barren victories at the cost of repeated disasters, and only rescued from destruction by the disciplined valour of the legions, and the sturdy hardihood of the subordinate commanders.

in jeopardy the main military strength of Rome (*praecipuum robur Rhenum iuxta*, iv. 5, 2); and although Tacitus had made a special study of Germany and the sources of her strength, he shows no appreciation of the political problem which should have stood first in the mind of Germanicus—how to win over the German tribes and enlist their sympathies on behalf of Rome, as Caesar had done with the Gallic tribes in Gaul. It was as much by gaining the good-will of the Gauls as by beating them down in battle that Caesar had won Gaul for Rome.

Let us recount briefly the details of the campaigns exactly as given by Tacitus.

First Campaign, A.D. 14.

The failure of the operations as a whole is kept out of the reader's view by the annalistic form of treatment. Each campaign, or part of a campaign, is narrated separately, under its own year; in each the story is so told as to bring out to the utmost the personal qualities of Germanicus, and the steadfastness of his troops. But there is no general review of the results as a whole; no criticism of the rashness which put

Germanicus crosses the Rhine with a force of nearly 30,000 men. He storms the Marsian villages; ravages fifty miles of country with four columns or 'wedges'; spares neither sex nor age; and destroys the temple of Tamfana. The Bructeri, Tubantes, and Usipetes rise in his rear, and beset his return. The army gets through with difficulty; fortifies a camp, and retires unmolested (*quietum inde iter*) to winter quarters (i. 49-51).

Tiberius plied Germanicus with letters pressing him to come home and celebrate the Triumph voted in his honour :—

his letter.

He had achieved enough, and suffered enough. He had won great battles : but he must not forget the many and grievous losses which he had sustained, through no fault of his own, from the winds and the waves. He himself had been sent nine times to Germany by the Divine Augustus ; but he had always effected more by policy than by arms. It was by policy that the Sygambri had been brought to submission, and peace imposed upon the Suevi and their king Maroboduus. Now that Roman

Second Campaign, A. D. 15.

In this year two separate expeditions are undertaken : (1) In early spring the entire army of eight legions, with allied forces, march out in two divisions to Mount Taunus. The Chatti are taken unawares, their women and children are slaughtered or captured. The Marsi (conquered last year), again in arms, are driven back. An embassy arrives from Segestes, asking for help against Arminius, who is besieging him. Germanicus turns back, rescues Segestes, captures Thusnelda and some Varian spoils. Arminius rouses the Cherusci and other tribes (i. 56–59). (2) In the summer, Caecina marches his four legions to the Ems ; Germanicus takes the other four thither by sea. An eagle is rescued from the Bructeri ; the country between the Lippe and the Ems is ravaged. The scene of the Varian disaster is visited, and a tumulus erected. Arminius draws on the Romans to wooded ground ; the whole force barely escapes disaster (*manibus aequis abscessum*). The army returns to the Ems ; Caecina, with his half of it, taking the route of the 'Long Bridges.' He is all but intercepted by the Germans. After two days of desperate struggle, with every condition against him, he fights his way out and secures his legions in a camp : his escape, on the following day, and his safe retreat to the Rhine, are due to the rash attempt of the enemy to carry his camp by assault. P. Vitellius, returning with two legions by the coast, suffers severely from the equinoctial tides (i. 60–70).

Third Campaign, A. D. 16.

Final effort of Germanicus. A flotilla of 1000 vessels is built. Silius makes a fruitless expedition against the Chatti ; Germanicus himself, in early spring, with a force of six legions, relieves a besieged fort on the Lippe, and restores the altar to Drusus ; he retires without waiting even to rebuild the tumulus to Varus, destroyed since last summer.

The flotilla being now ready, it sails down the Rhine, passes through the *fossa Drusiana*, and lands at the mouth of the Ems. Germanicus marches to the Weser, and crosses that river, not without loss ; he defeats the gathered tribes at Idiavivus with great slaughter. His erection of a trophy rouses all the tribes once more ; he has to engage his whole army on ground of the enemy's choosing. After a desperate fight Roman valour gains the day ; Germanicus retreats to the Ems, leaving another boastful trophy as sole fruit of his victory. The flotilla returns, after suffering great losses in a storm. The year closes with an expedition by Silius and 33,000 troops against the Chatti, and one by Germanicus himself with a still larger force against the Marsi. Nothing but plunder is attempted by either force ; one more of the standards of Varus is recovered (ii. 5–26).

Such were the achievements of Germanicus in Germany ; thus ended the efforts of Rome to subdue that country. And yet it is on the strength of these three campaigns that we are calmly asked by Tacitus to regard Germanicus as the military equal, if not the superior, of Alexander !

honour had been vindicated, the Cherusci and other insurgent tribes should be left to their own dissensions.

4 Germanicus begged for one year more to complete his work; but the Emperor put a pressure on him too great to be resisted by offering to him a second Consulship—the duties to be discharged in person.¹ To this he added that *if the war was to go*
5 *on, he should leave his brother Drusus some opportunity of distinction, seeing that in the dearth of other enemies, Germany offered him his only opportunity of gaining the title of 'Imperator,' or the honour of a Triumph.*

Tiberius offers Germanicus the Consulship,

6 Germanicus hesitated no longer; but he felt that the reasons assigned were false, and that it was out of jealousy that he was being dragged away from a distinction which he had already won.

and Germanicus submits.

1 About this same time Libo Drusus,² a member of the Scribonian family, was accused of treasonable designs. As it was on this occasion³ that those practices were first devised which for so many years⁴ ate

Case of Libo Drusus.

¹ This part of the promise was not fulfilled. Germanicus had already left Rome to discharge his Eastern mission, and was in the city of Njopolis in Achaia, when he entered upon his consulship in the year A.D. 18. He spent the whole of that year abroad, and died at Antioch late in A.D. 19.

² This M. Drusus Libo was probably brother of the L. Scribonius Libo who was consul in this same year. His mother Pompeia was daughter of Sextus Pompey and Scribonia; hence Pompey was his great-grandfather. His grandmother, Scribonia, was niece to Scribonia, the first wife of Augustus and mother of Julia. Thus Scribonia was his great-great aunt, and her descendants, through Julia, would be consobrini.

³ The words *tum primum* are usually held to refer only to the treachery, now for the first time used in delation. But the words which follow, *quae tot per annos rem publicam exedere*, are more appropriate to the system of delation as a whole. Tacitus is never tired of denouncing the iniquities of that system;

he comes fresh to the attack each time, and treats each outbreak of accusations as a new development. Delation for majestas is first formally introduced in i. 72; in i. 74 the rise of the *delatores* is described in scathing terms. The case before us (A.D. 16) is the next that occurred after those recounted in i. 73 and 74 (A.D. 15); yet Tacitus treats it as if it were the first of its kind, and takes the desired opportunity of denouncing it once more. In A.D. 17 he tells us *adolesebat interea lex maiestatis* (ii. 50, 1); and after fully describing the cases of Clutorius Priscus, A.D. 21 (iii. 49-51), of Silanus, A.D. 22 (iii. 66-69), and of Ennius (iii. 70), he specially notes the year A.D. 23 as marking the deterioration of the Government of Tiberius in the matter of prosecutions: *repente . . . saevire ipse aut saevientibus vires praebere* (iv. 1, 1).

⁴ Tacitus writes as if from a haven of rest, under the benign rule of Nerva and Trajan, when such political prosecutions were a thing of the past.

like a canker into our public life, I will recount with some minuteness the beginning, the development and the issue of this affair.

He is in-
veigled by
Firmius
Cato,

A Senator called Firmius Catus, one of Libo's intimate friends, encouraged that feeble-minded and credulous youth to have recourse to magical¹ rites, to Chaldean fortune-tellers and interpreters of dreams; representing to him that he was great-grandson of Pompeius; that Scribonia, once the wife of Augustus, was his great-aunt; that the Caesars were his cousins, and that his own house was full of ancestral images. Cato also encouraged him in extravagance, and led him into debt; sharing in all his debaucheries and embarrassments, so as to accumulate evidence for his entanglement.

betrayed to
Tiberius,

Having collected enough witnesses, as well as slaves to testify to the same facts, he asked an audience of the Emperor; having first informed him of the nature of the charge, and the name of the accused person, through Flaccus Vesularius,² a Roman knight, who was on more intimate terms with Tiberius than himself. Without rejecting the information, the Emperor declined the interview:—*Communications*, he intimated, *might be conveyed as before through the same Flaccus as go-between*. Meanwhile he advanced Libo to the Praetorship; he invited him to his table, shewing no estrangement in his face, no agitation, still less resentment, in his language; and although he might easily have put a stop to the whole affair,

¹ Lit. 'rites of the *magi*' or *mathematici*, i.e. 'astrologers.' Tacitus himself believes in the art of astrology; though he admits that its reputation is damaged by impostors (vi. 22, 5). Tiberius and other emperors believed in it and practised it; hence all the greater danger to others who ventured to do the same. The Magi were an inferior

order of spiritualists, dealing with drugs, philtres, raisings from the dead, etc.

² Flaccus Vesularius is mentioned in vi. 10, 2 as one of the oldest intimates of Tiberius, his companion in Rhodes and Capri. He fell a victim to his fury after the fall of Sejanus, in A.D. 32.

he preferred to be kept informed of everything that Libo said or did. At last a certain Junius, who had been pressed by Libo to raise the spirits of the dead by incantations, reported this fact to the well-known
 4 informer Fulcinius Trio,¹ a man of sinister ambition, and notorious for his talents as an accuser. Trio at once impeached² Libo, waited on the Consuls, and
 5 demanded an investigation by the Senate: a summons was at once issued *for the consideration of a grave and horrible affair.*

and impeached by Fulcinius Trio.

1 Meanwhile Libo assumed mourning attire, and accompanied by some ladies of high rank went from house to house, appealing to his kinsmen, and imploring the services of an advocate. Every one refused: each giving a different excuse, but all alike
 2 afraid. On the day of the trial, broken down by terror and anxiety—some say his indisposition was feigned—Libo had to be carried to the door of the Senate-house in a litter. Leaning on his brother's³ arm, he lifted up hand and voice to the Emperor, imploring mercy. Tiberius received him with an
 3 unmoved countenance. He then read aloud the indictment, and the names of the informers, in such a measured tone of voice as seemed neither to aggravate the charges nor to make light of them.

His trial before the Senate.

1 Additional accusers had now come forward.

Absurd charges

¹ This man Trio was a notorious informer and instrument of imperial tyranny. He was the principal accuser of Cn. Piso (iii. 10, 1), and for that service Tiberius promised him promotion (iii. 19, 1); a promise fulfilled by his elevation to the consulship in A.D. 31, the year of the fall of Sejanus. During his year of office he attacked his colleague Regulus for being too lenient to the supporters of Sejanus; hence a bitter quarrel between the two

(v. 11, 1-3). Finally Trio committed suicide in fear of accusation, A.D. 36 (vi. 38, 2).

² *Corripere reum* seems only to be a stronger form of the phrase *nomen deferre*, 'to institute a prosecution.' See iii. 28, 5 and 66, 2.

³ Apparently the consul of the year: see above. The *libellos* mentioned were the documents put in for the prosecution, as in chap. 30, 1.

brought
up.

Besides Trio and Catus, Fonteius Agrippa¹ and Gaius Vibius disputed for the honour of conducting the prosecution.² As none of them would give way and Libo himself was undefended, Vibius announced that he would state the charges, one by one, and produced the informations. These proved to be of the most absurd kind: for instance, Libo was said to have enquired of the astrologers whether he was likely to be rich enough some day to pave the Via Appia with money all the way to Brundisium. There were other follies of the same kind, deserving ² of pity rather than of censure.

Mysterious
document
adduced.

There was, however, one document in which the accuser alleged that certain sinister or at least secret marks, in Libo's handwriting, were set against the names of senators or members of the Caesarian family. As this was denied by the accused, it was determined ³ to apply torture to the slaves who could give evidence; and as there was an old decree of Senate which forbade the torturing of slaves in regard to a capital charge against their master,³ Tiberius shewed his cunning as the inventor of a new principle of law by ordering the slaves to be sold singly to the agent of the Treasury.⁴ In this way testimony might be

¹ The same who offered his daughter to be a Vestal Virgin (chap. 86).

² *Ius perorandi* is not the right of speaking last, but of making the chief speech in prosecution, after evidence had been taken.

³ This was an old legal rule; but there were certain statutory exceptions to it (Cic. pro Deiot. i. 3, and pro Mil. 22, 59). Among these exceptions probably *maiestas* (certainly in later times) was included. Dio speaks of Augustus resorting to this device in B.C. 8 (lv. 5, 4), so that the sarcasm of Tacitus seems ill-placed. The words of Tacitus, as they stand, would imply that in old times the senate had the power of legislating, and of laying down principles of

law. This was not the case. The praetors had the power of laying down principles of interpretation in their annual edicts; in this case perhaps the senate had approved of the particular point referred to after it had been agreed upon by the magistrates (Greenidge, p. 275). The senate could only recommend a particular measure, or interpretation of law, to the magistrates; if the recommendation was adopted, it might be described (as here) as introduced by a decree of senate. See n. on vi. 17, 2.

⁴ The *actor publicus* was an official of the treasury who had to do with state property. He appears again in iii. 67, 3 as taking over the possession of

extracted from the slaves against Libo without infringing the rule of Senate. Thereupon the accused asked for an adjournment until the day following; and on returning to his own house, he drew up a final appeal to the Emperor, putting it into the hands of his kinsman Publius Quirinius¹ for presentation.

Trial
adjourned.

The answer he received was that the petition must be addressed to the Senate. Meanwhile soldiers surrounded his house, and even clattered about the fore-court;² making themselves heard and seen at the very moment when Libo was at table, holding a feast which he had ordered as a final gratification.³ In an agony of terror,⁴ he called upon some one to strike: then clutching at his slaves, he sought to thrust a sword into their hands. Shrinking back in horror, the slaves upset a lamp which was standing on the table; and then in the darkness, which was for him the darkness of death, he stabbed himself twice in the belly, and fell groaning to the ground. His freedmen

Libo
commits
suicide.

slaves who had been made over to the state to enable them to give evidence against their master Silanus.

¹ The same *Quirinius* appears under the form of *Cyrenius* in the Gospel of St. Luke, ii. 2: 'And this taxing was first made when Cyrenius was governor of Syria.'

² The *vestibulum* was not part of the house itself, but an open space or entrance court in front of it, being the space enclosed between the two wings which extended to the street, and the main front which stood back from it. In the case of great houses, the vestibule was big enough to contain statues, even a four-horse chariot (Juv. vii. 125), or a colossus 120 feet high, like that of Nero (Suet. Ner. 31). In smaller houses, like those at Pompeii, the *vestibulum* might be a space of a few feet only, the front door standing back that distance from the street.

³ That a man in instant expectation of a death sentence should order for himself a specially good dinner 'as a last pleasure,' is a striking instance of the materialism of the Roman mind.

⁴ Nipp. here supplies a fine instance of the sense of humour sometimes displayed by learned commentators. From the special mention of the feast, he argues that the word *excruciat* must refer, not to mental anguish, but to the agonies of indigestion, brought on by terror! Equally happy is his note on the passage in chap. 13, 1, where Tacitus tells how Germanicus overheard his soldiers in their tents praising him for his *per seria per iocos eundem animum*. A fondness for jests, Nipp. tells us, could not have been part of the character of Germanicus, since Tacitus describes him, in chap. 72, 3, as 'venerable' (*visuque et auditu iuxta venerabilis*). As no man worthy of veneration could indulge in jests, he therefore inserts the word *in* before *animum* in chap. 13, 1, and translates 'heard the soldiers praise him in words of jest or earnest to the same purport.' Apart from the defective psychology of the commentator, it must be pointed out that the words *in eundem animum* could not possibly mean 'to the same purport.'

ran up at the sound; the soldiers, seeing he was dead, took their departure. The prosecution, nevertheless, 4 was carried through in the Senate with the same determination to the end, though Tiberius declared on oath that he would have begged for the life of the accused, however guilty, had he not put an end to himself so precipitately.

The
accusers
rewarded.

Adulatory
decrees of
Senate.

The property of Libo was divided among his 32 accusers;¹ and Praetorships were conferred, out of the ordinary course,² on such of them as were of senatorial rank. Cotta Messalinus³ proposed that 2 Libo's bust should not be borne in procession at the funerals of his descendants; Gnaeus Lentulus, that none of the Scribonian family should bear the name of Drusus. Days of public thanksgiving were ap- 3 pointed on the motion of Pomponius Flaccus; offer- 4 ings were voted to Jupiter, Mars, and Concord; and it was resolved that the 13th of September, the day on which Libo had put an end to himself, should be kept as a public holiday. These last resolutions were adopted on the motion of Lucius Piso, Gallus Asinius, Papius Mutilus, and Lucius Apronius respectively: I give the names of those who brought forward⁴ these adulatory proposals that all may learn how long this form of evil has flourished among us.

¹ We know from vi. 29, 2 that, as a rule, suicide saved a condemned man's property from complete confiscation; but in such cases, whether suicide followed or not, the accusers received a fourth part of the condemned man's property as a reward. In the case before us they received the whole. Some years later (iv. 3, 3), it was proposed that in cases of suicide the accusers should receive nothing at all; but to that Tiberius objected. The case in iv. 20, 1, quoted by Furn., is not in point; the money there refunded was not a reward for the accusers, but a repayment of sums claimed as legally due to the fiscus.

² This does not necessarily imply, as Furn. supposes, that these men received supernumerary praetorships, but only that they were admitted to the office before the regular time.

³ For Cotta Messalinus see iv. 20, 6; v. 3, 4.

⁴ The word here used is *auctoritates*. The phrase *auctoritas senatus* is properly used of a resolution of senate on a matter not within its competence, and therefore not having the force of law, but yet carrying much weight as an important expression of opinion—like an abstract resolution in our House of Commons.

5 Decrees were also passed for the expulsion of astrologers from Italy. One of their number, Lucius Pituanus, was hurled from the Tarpeian Rock; another, of the name of Publius Marcius, was executed by the Consuls after the old fashion,¹ to the sound of the trumpet, outside the Esquiline gate.²

Astrologers expelled or punished.

1 At the next meeting of Senate denunciations of the luxury of the time were delivered by Quintus Haterius,³ a Consular, and by Octavius Fronto, an ex-Praetor. A decree was passed prohibiting the use of solid gold plate for private⁴ entertainments, and forbidding for men the shameful practise of wearing clothes made of silk. Fronto went still further, and called for restrictions in regard to silver-plate, furniture, and the number of a man's slaves; for it was still a common thing for senators, when called upon⁵ to speak, to make any proposal which they might deem for the public good.

Proposals to restrain luxury,

3 Gallus Asinius took the other side. *With the increase of the Empire, he argued, private wealth had increased also. There was nothing new in this; it had been so from the earliest times. Wealth meant one thing in*

opposed by Asinius.

¹ *i.e.* decapitation, after being beaten to death. See Nipp's note, and xiv. 48, 4; xvi. 11, 6; also Suet. Nero, 49.

² The usual place of execution, just inside the modern *Porta Maggiore*. In old times the trumpet was sounded through the city as a summons to the *comitia centuriata* to hear a capital case.

³ Q. Haterius was evidently a person anxious to keep himself in evidence. See i. 13, 4, and iii. 57, 3. The character of his oratory is described iv. 61, 2: being deficient in *meditatio et labor*, his *canorum et profuens* style of oratory secured no reputation for him after his death.

⁴ *i.e.* for private, as distinct from sacrificial, use.

⁵ A Roman senator could not speak unless called upon by the presiding magistrate; but once called upon, he

could speak on any subject he pleased, whether relevant to the motion before the house or not. A good example of this occurs in Cicero's 7th Philippic. Cicero devotes a few words at the beginning and at the end of that speech to the motion under discussion; the body of the speech is taken up with a general harangue against Antony. See chap. 38, 3. The motion of Caecina that wives should not accompany their husbands into provinces was brought on in this way (iii. 33: see iii. 34, 1; and also iv. 74, 3). Tacitus commends the practice, as enabling independent members of senate to call attention to matters of public importance. It may be compared in this respect with the practice of putting questions to Ministers in our Parliament; or with special motions for adjournment.

the days of the Fabricii, another in those of the Scipios ; all must be judged with reference to the condition of the State. When the State was poor, the establishments of citizens were small ; but now that it had reached its present scale of magnificence, private grandeur had increased also. In such matters as slaves, plate, and articles of daily use, nothing was moderate or extravagant except in proportion to the owner's means. Senators and knights had special scales¹ of fortune required of them, not because they were different from other people, but that² they might have the same pre-eminence in matters conducive to peace of mind and health of body as was accorded to them in place, rank, and privilege : unless indeed it were maintained that men of mark were to have more anxieties, and to run greater risks, than others, and yet be deprived of the means for their alleviation.³

Veiled under fine phrases like these, this acknowledgment of vice won for Gallus a ready assent from an audience like-minded with himself. Tiberius added that the time was not opportune for such a censorship ; but that, should any deterioration in manners take place, he would not fail to apply a remedy.

In the course of this debate⁴ Lucius Piso,⁵ after 34.

¹ *i.e.* distinct from each other, as well as from those of a lesser rank. The fortune required for a senator was a million sesterces ; for an *equus*, 400,000. See l. 75, 5, and Dio, liv. 17, 3.

² The insertion of *sicut* after *ut* in this passage, with Halm and others, may be avoided by supposing that by careless writing *ut* does duty twice over ; first with *locis, ordinibus* and *dignationibus*, in the sense of 'just as,' the verb *antistent* being supplied ; and again before *antistent*, in a Final or Definitive sense. See the curious use of *ut* in chap. 35, 2.

³ The wisdom and good sense of this speech of Asinius, which reads as if it had been delivered in a modern poli-

tical assembly, are distasteful to the ideas of Tacitus ; yet he puts the case so admirably that it is hard to believe that he did not feel the force of the reasoning.

⁴ Here, and in iii. 33, 1, Nipp. takes the words *inter quae* to mean 'in the course of the same debate' or 'the same meeting of senate,' as here rendered.

⁵ This L. Piso (there were several of the name) ventured to defend his brother Gnaeus Piso, when others declined through fear (iii. 11, 2). Tiberius never forgave him the freedom he showed on the occasions here mentioned. He was accused of *majestas*, and committed suicide, A.D. 24 (iv. 21, 1-4).

Tiberius agrees with Asinius.

L. Piso threatens to leave the city.

declaiming against the favouritism of the courts, the corruption of the tribunals, and the savage eagerness of orators in threatening prosecutions, announced his intention to withdraw from the city, and take up his abode in some retired and distant country place ; with which words he proceeded to leave the Senate-house.

2 This greatly disturbed Tiberius : he did all that soft words could do to soothe Piso, and urged his relatives also to use their influence and entreaties to prevent his departure.

3 Not long afterwards, this same Piso gave a no less notable example of sturdy independence by summoning into court Urgulania, a lady raised above the reach of the law because of her friendship with
4 Augusta. Defying Piso, she refused to obey the summons, and went in her litter to the Palatine ; but in spite of her protest that Piso's action was an affront and outrage to herself, he refused to give way.

Piso calls Urgulania into Court ;

5 Tiberius thought it due to his mother to humour her so far, and announced that he would appear before the Praetor to support Urgulania. Bidding his guards follow at some distance, he came forth from
6 the Palace, and might be seen making his way through the crowd,¹ conversing calmly as he walked. In vain did Piso's friends implore him to desist ; and at last Augusta gave orders for payment of the sum
7 demanded. Thus ended an affair which redounded much to Piso's honour, and to that of Caesar also.

she is supported by Tiberius.

8 Urgulania, however, still remained so powerful, so entirely above the law, that when summoned as a witness in a case which was being tried before the Senate, she haughtily declined to appear. A Praetor

Great influence of that lady.

¹ This anecdote gives a curious picture of how, with all their absolutism, the emperors would go in and out like

ordinary citizens, without pomp or escort. It is an example of the kind of conduct which would be termed *civilis*.

was sent to take her deposition in her own house; though according to ancient custom even Vestal Virgins, when they gave evidence, had to appear in open court.

Proroga-
tion of the
Senate.

Of the prorogation¹ of the Senate this year I should 35
take no notice, were it not worth while to record the
opposing opinions of Gnaeus Piso² and Asinius Gallus
upon the subject. The Emperor had intimated his 2
intended absence; and Piso thought that business
should be proceeded with all the more on that
account. *It was for the credit of the State*, he urged,
that the knights and the Senate should be ready to do their
duty, even in the absence of the Emperor. Forestalled by 3
Piso in making a show of independence, Gallus urged
that³ the business of the Roman people would suffer
in distinction and dignity if it were not transacted in
the presence, and under the eyes, of the Emperor.
He proposed therefore that the business pouring in
from Italy and the provinces should be kept back
until the Emperor could attend in person. Tiberius 4
listened in silence while the point was hotly argued
on both sides; but the adjournment was carried.

Opinions of
Piso and
Asinius.

A contention then arose between Gallus and the 36
Emperor. Gallus proposed that the election of
magistrates should be held for five years in advance;
that such Legates as were then serving in command

¹ *Res prolatae* = 'the long vacation.'
The question was whether the senate
was to be prorogued, and business sus-
pended, as soon as the emperor left
the city. For the reluctance of the
senate to decide anything on their
own authority, see also iii. 32, 3: 35, 1,
etc.

² This is the Cn. Piso whom we shall
find later in this book behaving so insol-
ently to Germanicus in the East. His
independence on this occasion amounted
almost to roughness; and makes it the
less necessary to suppose that he re-
ceived special instructions from Tiberius

to make himself obnoxious to Ger-
manicus.

³ The use of *ut* in this sentence is
illogical and untranslatable. Tacitus
might either have made Piso propose
that the business should go on 'in order
that the magistrates might discharge
their functions in the emperor's absence';
or say 'that it would be a credit to the
state' for them to do so. What he
does say is, 'in order that it might be a
credit to the state that they should dis-
charge their functions,' etc. That is,
as he often does elsewhere, he attempts
to put two meanings into one sentence.

Proposal
of Asinius
as to
elections;

of legions before having held the Praetorship, should be forthwith designated to that office; and that the Emperor should nominate twelve candidates for each year.¹ This motion had more in it than met the eye; it was, in fact, a blow aimed at the secret methods of autocracy. Tiberius, however, treated the proposal as if it were one for the increase of his powers:—

It would be too much to lay on him the burden of selecting or postponing so many claims. Even with annual appointments it was hard to avoid giving offence, though rejected candidates might solace themselves with the hope of an early success. How much greater would be the resentment of men whose claims were postponed for five years or more? Who could foresee the state of a man's mind, family, or fortune, at the end of so long a period? Men plumed themselves on being nominated even one year in advance: ² what if they could boast them of their offices for five whole years? Such a plan would multiply the number of office-holders by five, and upset the laws which prescribed to candidates definite periods for displaying their talents, for seeking office as well as for holding it.³

opposed by
Tiberius.

Such was the plausible language by which Tiberius retained his hold of power.

As the Emperor had helped out the incomes of certain needy Senators, it was the more strange that he stiffly refused an application from Marcus Hortalus, a young noble in notoriously poor circumstances. He was a grandson of the orator

Applica-
tion by
Marcus
Hortalus.

¹ The proposal had two parts: (1) The emperor was to nominate (*commendatio* is evidently meant: see note on i. 14, 6) to all magistracies for five years in advance; and (2) Such *legati legionum* (commanding officers of legions: see note on i. 31, 2) as had not already held the praetorship were to be put on the lists from which the emperor should select for that office. The *legati le-*

gionum were senators, and usually, as here appears, of praetorian rank.

² *i.e.* sometime during the preceding year. The practice varied; but as a rule, probably to lessen excitement, designations were made early in the year preceding the tenure of office.

³ Here again Tacitus puts with convincing force the views which he condemns.

Hortensius,¹ and had been induced by the gift of a million² sesterces from Augustus to marry, and bring up a family,³ and so prevent the extinction of that illustrious house. Posting his four sons at the door³ of the Senate-house when the Senate was meeting in the Palatine,⁴ he addressed the House, and casting his eyes now on the statue of Hortensius, which stood amongst those of other orators, now on that of Augustus, spoke as follows:—

These children, Conscript Fathers, whose number and tender age you see, I have reared, not of my own wish, but on the encouragement of my sovereign; and because my ancestors were men who deserved to have descendants. For myself, having no means, no popular following, and being unable, in these changed times, to succeed to or to acquire the hereditary possession of our house—that of eloquence—I should have been content if my own lack of fortune had brought no dishonour on myself, and laid no burden upon others. At the Emperor's bidding, I took to myself a wife. Behold the offspring of all those Consuls and Dictators! It is not as a reproach that I recall these things; but to enlist your pity. Under your glorious reign, Caesar, they will attain such honours as you may be pleased to bestow; meanwhile I pray you to save from penury the great-grandsons of Quintus Hortensius, the nurslings of the Divine Augustus.

The favour with which this speech was received³⁸ by the Senate made the Emperor more instant in his opposition to it. He replied nearly in these words:—

¹ Q. Hortensius (B.C. 114–60), the famous orator, long the principal rival of Cicero, noted for his wealth and extravagance.

² See note on chap. 33, 5.

³ A father was not bound to rear children born to him. He acknowledged them by lifting them from the ground. For this the technical phrase was

tollere liberos; hence below, *non sponte sustuli*.

⁴ Probably in the library of the temple of Apollo, built by Asinius Pollio on the Palatine (Hor. Od. i. 31; Prop. ii. 31), of which the foundations are still to be seen. In his later days, Augustus often held meetings of the senate there (Suet. Oct. 29).

Speech of Hortensius.

Cutting reply by Tiberius;

2 *If every poor man is to come to this House and ask for money for his children, there will be no satisfying the claimants, and the public exchequer will be emptied. When our ancestors permitted senators to pass beyond the limits of a motion, and use their turn of speaking to make sug-*
 3 *gestions for the public good, it was not to enable us to push our private interests, or advance our family fortunes, bringing odium thereby alike on Senate and on Emperor,*
 4 *whether the bounty were granted or refused. It is no petition, this: it is a demand, a demand as unseasonable as it is unexpected; that a member should get up, when the fathers have been summoned for some other purpose, and by recounting the number and ages of his children put pressure on the Senate, and on me also, and as it were force open the door of the public treasury. That treasury we may exhaust by favouritism: but if we do, we shall*
 5 *have to replenish it by crime. The Divine Augustus did indeed give you money, Hortalus, but he gave it unasked; nor did he bargain that he was to go on giving*
 6 *it for ever. If it be otherwise—if a man is not to rely upon himself in his hopes or fears—all energy will be sapped; a premium will be put on lethargy: men will look calmly for help to others, throwing on me the burden which they have not the spirit to bear themselves.*¹

7 These and such-like words, though assented to by hearers ready to applaud everything, whether base or noble, that falls from a prince's lips, were received by the majority in silence, or with suppressed disapprobation. Perceiving this, Tiberius

who, however, gives a grant to the sons.

¹ The speech of Tiberius, as here given, is unanswerable in its justice, but harsh and crushing. It is the sort of answer which such a Chancellor of the Exchequer as the late Lord Sherbrooke might have given to some unreasonable demand for public money. But nothing could be more unblushing than the request of Hortalus. His application, and his manner of making it, is one

of many instances which show how destitute even the noblest Romans were of true self-respect, and of the feeling of personal honour, in the modern sense of those terms. Tacitus sympathises with the request—because made by a noble—but not at all with the well-merited rebuke. Nothing could be more unworthy than his comment on the speech.

proceeded, after a brief silence, to say that he had answered Hortalus ; but that, with the approval of the Fathers, he would present each of his male children with two hundred thousand sesterces. For this the other senators thanked him. Hortalus alone uttered not a word : either because he was afraid, or because, even in his reduced fortunes, he still retained some vestiges of ancestral pride. The family soon sank into a state of abject poverty ; but it met with no more compassion from Tiberius.

In this same year, but for prompt measures of repression, the State would have been plunged into the miseries of civil war by the audacity of a slave Clemens, who had once belonged to Agrippa Postumus. On hearing of the death of Augustus, this man, with a spirit unlike that of a slave, formed the project of crossing to the island of Planasia, carrying off Agrippa Postumus by force or fraud, and presenting him to the armies of Germany. The plan was only frustrated by the slowness of his ship ; for Agrippa had been murdered before he arrived. Clemens then resolved upon a greater and more desperate enterprise. Carrying off by stealth the ashes of Agrippa, he crossed over to Cosa,¹ a promontory on the Etruscan coast, and there kept himself in hiding till his hair and beard had grown ; for he happened to bear some resemblance in age and appearance to his late master. He then let the idea get abroad, through suitable confederates, that Agrippa was still alive. The story was at first secretly whispered about, as is the way with forbidden topics ; but it soon spread, and gained a

¹ Cosa was a town on the mainland opposite to Planasia (*Pianosa*). The promontory in front of the town was

called Mons Argentarius (*Monte Argentario*).

Enterprise
of the slave
Clemens.

He per-
sonates
Agrippa
Postumus,

ready hearing from the ignorant, or among unquiet
 5 spirits ready for any change. Clemens himself
 would find his way into the towns at dusk, never
 showing himself in public, nor staying long in one
 place: knowing that truth comes out with publicity
 and delay, while hurry and evasion befriend impos-
 ture, he would run away from the rumour of his
 arrival, or arrive before it.

O. 1 Meantime the report spread throughout Italy lands at
Ostia,
 that Agrippa had been saved by divine interposi-
 tion; and the story was believed in Rome. On
 landing at Ostia, Clemens was received by a vast
 multitude; crowded meetings of his supporters were
 held in secret in the city; and Tiberius himself was
 distracted with doubt whether to use the soldiery to
 crush his own slave, or to allow men's idle credulity
 to die away through time. Wavering between
 2 shame and fear—thinking at one moment that he dare
 not disregard anything, at another, that he need not
 3 be afraid of everything—he put the affair at last into
 the hands of Sallustius Crispus.¹ Sallustius selected
 two of his own clients—some say they were soldiers
 —and instructed them to approach Clemens under
 pretence of sharing in his designs; to offer him
 money, and pledge themselves to share his perils.
 4 The men did as they were ordered. Furnished is betrayed
 with a sufficient force, and watching for a night
 when Clemens was off his guard, they dragged him,
 5 gagged and bound, to the Palace.² Tiberius asked
 how he had made himself into Agrippa:—*Just as
 you made yourself Caesar*, is said to have been his
 reply. Nothing could induce him to disclose his

¹ For Sallustius Crispus see i. 6, 6.

² The Latin *Palatium* stands properly
 for the Palatine Mount as a whole, but
 is frequently used to denote some build-

ing upon it, especially one or other of
 the palaces of the emperors which
 gradually occupied the greater portion
 of the hill.

accomplices. Not venturing to execute him in public, ⁶ Tiberius ordered that he should be put to death in a private part of the Palace, and his body conveyed secretly away. And though many of the imperial household, as well as knights and senators, were said to have assisted Clemens with advice and money, no further enquiry was made into the affair.

At the end of the year, an arch was put up near ^{4 I.} the Temple of Saturn¹ to record how the standards lost with Varus had been recovered under the leadership of Germanicus and the auspices² of Tiberius. A Temple also was dedicated to Fors Fortuna near the Tiber, in the gardens³ which Caesar had bequeathed to the Roman people; and a shrine at Bovillae⁴ in honour of the Julian family, with a statue of the Divine Augustus.

A.D. 17. CONSULS C. CAELIUS RUFUS AND
L. POMPONIUS FLACCUS.

Upon the 26th of May in this year, Germanicus ² Caesar celebrated his triumph over the Cherusci, the Chatti, the Angrivarii, and the other German nations as far as the river Elbe. Spoils and captives, with ³ representations⁵ of mountains, rivers and battles, were borne along in the procession; ⁶ and as Germanicus

¹ It is to this temple that the eight Ionic columns belong which form so conspicuous an object on the left hand of the ascent to the Capitol from the Forum.

² Such was the regular formula applied to campaigns under the empire when not conducted by the emperor in person.

³ These gardens were beyond the Tiber (Hor. Sat. i. 9, 18).

⁴ The Julii had a special connection with Bovillae, a town ten miles from Rome on the Via Appia, close under the Alban Mount. Both town and gens

were supposed to have sprung from Alba Longa. Recent excavations have revealed there the remains of a stadium and a theatre.

⁵ Such representations were commonly borne along in triumphal processions. Propertius finely describes the Nile as sorrowfully dragged to Rome after the conquest of Egypt by Augustus (ii. 1, 31-32).

⁶ A coin represents Germanicus in a triumphal chariot, with the inscription *Germanicus Caesar signis recept(is) devictis German(is)*. See Nipp.

and
privately
executed.

Arch,
temple,
and shrine
dedicated.

Triumph
of Ger-
manicus.

had been forbidden to end the war, it was held as
 4 ended. What riveted most of all the gaze of the
 spectators was the splendid figure of the General
 himself, with his five children in the car beside him.

5 And yet there were misgivings in their hearts as they
 reflected how the popular favour had brought no
 good to his father Drusus; how his uncle Marcellus,
 the darling of the people, had been carried off in the
 hey-day of youth: how short-lived, how ill-starred,
 were the beloved ones of the Roman people.

Misgivings
 among the
 people.

2. 1 Then Tiberius, in the name of Germanicus, pre-
 sented the populace with a largess of 300 sesterces
 per head; and designated himself to be his colleague
 in the Consulship. Yet this did nothing to make
 people believe in the sincerity of his affection.
 Having resolved to send Germanicus out of the way
 on the pretence of some honourable appointment, he
 now created an opportunity, or seized on one thrown
 in his way by chance.

Largess to
 populace.

2 Archelaus had been for fifty years on the throne
 of Cappadocia; but he had incurred the displeasure
 of Tiberius by omitting all marks of respect towards
 3 him when residing at Rhodes. This had not been
 due to insolence on the part of Archelaus; but to a
 hint from the intimate friends of Augustus that at
 a time when young Gaius Caesar was in favour, and
 charged with a mission to the East, it was hazardous
 4 to be the friend of Tiberius. But now that the young
 Caesars had been put out of the way, and Tiberius was
 in power, he caused his mother to write to Archelaus
 and invite him to Rome. She made no secret of her
 son's displeasure, but held out hopes of a pardon if
 5 he would come to sue for it. Suspecting no treachery,
 or perhaps fearing violence if he should be thought

Archelaus
 enticed to
 Rome;

he is impeached and dies.

Cappadocia made into a province.

Affairs of Commagene and Cilicia.

Germanicus entrusted with a mission to the East.

to suspect it, he hastened to the city. He found the Emperor inexorable. He was impeached before the Senate,¹ and came to his end soon afterwards, either by his own hand, or by a natural death: not because of the charges trumped up against him, but from chagrin and old age; and because Kings cannot brook being treated as equals, much less as inferiors. His kingdom was reduced to the form of a Province; the Emperor announced that its revenues would enable him to reduce the tax of one per cent.² on saleable articles, and he fixed the amount for the future at one half per cent.

About the same time, the deaths of Antiochus, king of Commagene,³ and Philopator, king of Cilicia, created trouble in those countries, the majority wishing for the rule of Rome, the remainder for that of their native princes. And the provinces of Syria and Judea, borne down by taxation, petitioned for a diminution of their tribute.

These facts, as well as the state of affairs in Armenia as described above, Tiberius laid before the Senate, informing them that *nothing short of the wisdom of Germanicus could compose the troubles in the East: he was declining in years himself,⁴ and his son Drusus had*

¹ The senate was the ordinary High Court before which misconduct by a foreign prince would be brought. So with the case of Rhescuporis (chap. 67). The lot of princes semi-dependent on Rome was not a happy one. Every species of treachery was practised on them. If troublesome, they might be lured to Rome, like Archelaus and Rhescuporis (chap. 67, 2-5), and cruelly made away with. If they had to take refuge within the empire, like Maroboduus (chap. 62-63), however loyal their previous services, they were treated as puppets, to be used as occasion served to further Roman interests.

² This tax of a hundredth per cent. (i.e. 1 per cent.) on sales was pro-

nounced by Tiberius to be indispensable for the expenses of the army (i. 78, 2). Though the evidence is not clear, the tax seems to have been raised to its original amount some years later by Tiberius (Dio, lviii. 16, 2), and abolished altogether by Gaius. See i. 42, 7.

³ Commagene was a small mountainous district on the upper Euphrates, lying between Cilicia and Armenia. Its princes, descended from the Seleucidae, were the last reigning dynasty among the successors of Alexander. Temporarily put under the legatus of Syria in A.D. 17 (chap. 56, 5), it was not finally incorporated in that province until A.D. 72, under Vespasian.

⁴ Tiberius was now 59 years of age.

2 *not yet attained to man's estate.* Upon that, a decree was passed committing to Germanicus all the provinces beyond the sea,¹ together with powers, wherever he should go, greater than those of other Governors, whether of Senatorial or Imperial provinces.² Meanwhile Tiberius had removed from Syria Creticus Silanus,³ who was connected with Germanicus—the daughter of Silanus having been betrothed to his eldest son Nero—and had appointed in his place Gnaeus Piso, a man of violent and insubordinate temper, who inherited the fierce spirit of his father. The father had opposed Caesar during the civil war, and strenuously supported the republican cause in Africa; after that, he had followed the fortunes of Brutus and Cassius; and on being permitted to return to Rome, had abstained from seeking public office until Augustus himself solicited him to accept the
4 Consulship. The haughtiness which Piso inherited from his father was still further heightened by the high birth and wealth of his wife Plancina.⁴ He would scarce yield precedence even to Tiberius; he looked down upon the sons of Tiberius as far beneath himself, and he never doubted that he had been selected for the command of Syria for the purpose of holding
5 in check⁵ the ambition of Germanicus. Some believed

Piso appointed to succeed Silanus as Governor of Syria.

Character of Piso.

¹ Germanicus was now granted an *imperium* superior to that of all ordinary governors in the East, similar to that which he had exercised in Germany. For such a *maius imperium* see note on i. 14, 4.

² *i.e.* in both classes of provinces: whether senatorial and proconsular, to which the senate appointed qualified consulars by lot (*sorte*); or imperatorial, governed by legati appointed by the emperor (*missu principis*). Suet. Oct. 47 explains the principle of division: *provincias validiores ipse suscepit . . . ceteras proconsulibus sortito permisit*. The latter were *provinciae*

inermes, Hist. i. 11, 4. For an enumeration of the provinces, see n. on i. 76, 4.

³ Q. Caecilius Metellus Creticus Silanus had been consul in A.D. 7, and legatus of Syria since A.D. 11.

⁴ Plancina was probably a granddaughter of the famous Plancus (the *consule Planco* of Hor. Od. iii. 14, 28) who, when commander of Gaul in B.C. 43, went over to Antony and Lepidus with all his army, in spite of the entreaties of Cicero, and so sealed the fate of the Republic.

⁵ Cn. Piso (Cos. in B.C. 7) was a formidable personage, counted by some as a possible aspirant to the empire

that he had been furnished with instructions by Tiberius to that effect; and it is beyond dispute that Augusta prompted Plancina to do all that female rivalry could do to harass Agrippina.

Rivalry between the supporters of Germanicus and Drusus.

For the Court was torn asunder by a secret rivalry between the partisans of Drusus and Germanicus. Tiberius was partial to Drusus, as his own son, and of his own blood; but Germanicus was the more popular of the two, not only because his uncle hated him, but also by reason of his more illustrious birth on the mother's side. For whereas Drusus had for his great-grandfather a Roman knight, Pomponius Atticus, a man whose image was scarce fit to stand beside those of the Claudii, Germanicus could count Marcus Antonius as his grandfather, and Augustus as his great-uncle.¹ Agrippina, too, the wife of Germanicus, outshone Livia,² the wife of Drusus, both for her character and her fertility. Yet the two brothers lived on terms of beautiful harmony together, unshaken by the rivalries of those around them.³

Drusus sent to Illyricum.

Shortly after this, Drusus was sent to Illyricum for military training, as well as to gain the goodwill of the army. It would be better for the young man, Tiberius thought, to be leading a camp life than a

(i. 13, 3); and we have seen how boldly he could face Tiberius in the senate (i. 74, 6). Without crediting the suggestion of Tacitus that Tiberius privately instructed Piso to act as a thorn in the side of Germanicus, we may well believe with Furn. (Introd. p. 120) that Tiberius purposely placed side by side, to act as checks upon each other, two men who were special objects of his fear or jealousy. Nor can we doubt that this was the idea on which Piso acted.

¹ Augustus was great-uncle of Germanicus; Octavia minor, the sister of Augustus, was his grandmother. The mother of Drusus was Vipsania Agrip-

pina, daughter of Agrippa by his first marriage to Pomponia. Pomponia was the daughter of Cicero's great friend, T. Pomponius Atticus.

² Livia was the daughter of Drusus major and Antonia minor (daughter of Octavia and Antony), and sister of Germanicus.

³ This picture of the two brothers (by adoption) living in perfect harmony with each other in the midst of the furious passions of their followers, is one of the most charming touches in Tacitus. The two are described on a coin (Eckhel vi. 211) as *καισάρες νέοι θεοί φιλάδελφοι*. See Furn. and Nipp.

life of dissipation in the city; his own position also would be more secure if both of his sons were in command of armies. The pretext alleged was the attitude of the Suevi, who had prayed for help against the Cherusci; for those two nations, being relieved from all fear of external enemies by the departure of the Romans, had been led by the warlike instinct of their race, and by rivalry in their thirst for glory, to turn their arms against each other. The two nations were as well matched in strength as were their leaders in valour; but Maroboduus¹ bore the title of King, which was hateful to his countrymen, while Arminius, as the champion of freedom, possessed the popular favour.

War
between
the Suevi
and the
Cherusci.

And so not only did the old followers of Arminius—the Cherusci and their allies—take up arms, but two of the Suevian tribes also who were subjects of Maroboduus—the Semnones and the Langobardi²—went over to his cause. This accession of force would have given Arminius the preponderance, had not his uncle Inguiomerus, with a number of his followers, deserted to Maroboduus; for no other reason than that the uncle, being an old man, disdained to serve under his youthful nephew. The two armies drew up for battle, each equally confident. Taught by long experience of warfare against us, they had discarded the old German method of desultory fighting without regular formation, and had learned to range themselves behind standards, to have troops in reserve, and to obey the word of command. Passing the whole army in review, Arminius rode up to each division in turn, reminding them how they had

Inguiome-
rus joins
Marobo-
duus
against
Arminius.

¹ For Maroboduus, see chap. 62-64, and Vell. Pat. ii. 108, 109.

² The Semnones and the Langobardi were between the Elbe and the Oder,

to the N. of Bohemia. The former made terms with Rome A.D. 5 (Mon. Anc. v. 17).

Speech of
Arminius.

won back their liberty, and cut to pieces the Roman legions; pointing to spoils and arms wrested from the Romans which many of them had still in their hands. Maroboduus he styled *a run-away, with no experience of war, who had first sought safety in the recesses of the Hercynian¹ Forest, and then with gifts and embassies had sued for a treaty with Rome. A traitor to his country, a hanger-on of Caesar, they should thrust him forth with the same hostile fury which had brought Quintilius Varus to destruction. Let them but remember* 5
all their battles, and what came of them: that they had at last driven forth the Romans proved well enough which of the two nations had been conquerors in the war.

Speech of
Maroboduus.

Nor did Maroboduus abstain from boasting, and 46
flinging insults at the enemy. Holding Inguiomerus by the hand, he declared that *all the glory of the Cherusci was centred in his person, all their successes were due to his counsels. Arminius was a madman, ignorant of affairs, who took to himself the honour due to others; he had treacherously beset three legions that had gone astray,² and their unsuspecting General—and that not without disaster to Germany and to his own honour, seeing that his wife and son were now in slavery—whereas he* 2
himself, attacked by Tiberius at the head of twelve legions,³ had kept the German name unsullied, and left the field on equal terms. Thanks to him, it was now in their power to decide whether to make war upon Rome with their forces unimpaired, or to secure a bloodless peace.

Desperate
battle:
Maroboduus retires
worsted.

Incited as they were by these words, each army 3

¹ The country called Hercynia probably corresponded to the mountain district of Bohemia, the Erzgebirge, etc. (Vell. ii. 108).

² The MS. reading here is *vacuas*, for which *vagas*, as translated in the text, has been adopted from Draeger. *Vacuas* might possibly mean 'without a

general,' referring to the ignorance and incompetency of Varus; or, as Furn. suggests, 'taken unawares,' 'off their guard.'

³ Tiberius had projected a comprehensive attack on Maroboduus in A.D. 6, from both S. and N., when he was called off by the Illyrian revolt.

had motives of its own to prick it on. The Cherusci and Langobardi were fighting for ancient renown, or new-won liberty; their foes for increase of dominion. Never did armies engage in deadlier struggle; never was issue more doubtful. The right wing on each side was routed; and a renewal of the struggle was expected when Maroboduus gave sign of discomfiture by withdrawing his camp to the hills. Left gradually alone by desertions,¹ he retired to the country of the Marcomanni,² and sent envoys to beg help from Tiberius. The reply returned was that, as he had given no aid to the Romans when fighting against the Cherusci, he had no title to claim Roman help against them now. Drusus however was despatched, as above related, to secure the peace of the border.

7. 1 In this same year, twelve famous cities of Asia were destroyed by an earthquake.³ As the disaster occurred in the night, there was no warning, and the destruction was all the greater. Even the usual mode of escape in such cases, that of rushing into the open, was of no avail; for people were swallowed up by fissures opening in the ground. Men say that great mountains sank down, that what had been plains were seen high in air, and that flames burst out amid the ruins. The greatest sufferers were the people of Sardis, and their case attracted most commiseration:

Twelve Asian cities destroyed by earthquake.

Generous aid to the sufferers.

¹ This refers to the recent defection from Maroboduus of the Langobardi and Semnones.

² The Marcomanni were a powerful tribe who joined Ariovistus in the invasion of Gaul (Cæsar B. G., i. 51, 2), and had now retired into Bohemia.

³ Pliny also, who calls this earthquake *maximus terræ memoria mortalium motus*, gives 12 as the number of cities destroyed (H. N. ii. 86); but an extant inscription, on a huge monu-

ment raised in honour of Tiberius by the grateful cities for his liberality on this occasion, adds Ephesus and Cibyra to the list. As this monument was set up in A.D. 30, it is supposed that Ephesus may have suffered and been relieved at a later date than the rest. The ruin of Cibyra and the relief accorded to that city are mentioned in iv. 13, 1. For details of the above monument, see Rushforth, p. 124.

the Emperor promising them ten million sesterces, with remission of all contributions either to the public or the Imperial¹ exchequer for a period of five years. The Magnesians of Sipylus came next, both 4 in suffering and compensation. It was resolved to give remission of tribute for the same period to the people of Temnos, to those of Philadelphia, Aegeae and Apollonis, to the people called Mostenians or Hyrcanian Macedonians, to Hierocaesarea, Myrina, Cyme and Tmolus; and to send a senator to inspect and give relief upon the spot. For this duty a senator 5 of praetorian rank, Marcus Ateius by name, was selected, for fear that if a man of equal consular rank with the Governor were appointed, there might be rivalry and difficulties between them.

Liberality
of Tiberius
as to in-
heritances.

In addition to this splendid public munificence, 48. the Emperor performed acts of private generosity which were no less welcome. A rich lady of the name of Aemilia Musa having died intestate, her property was claimed for the Imperial exchequer; but Tiberius let it pass to Aemilius Lepidus, to whose family she was reputed to belong. In another case, a wealthy Roman knight, of the name of Patuleius, had made the Emperor joint-heir with others; but on discovering that in a previous will, undoubtedly genuine, Marcus Servilius had been named sole heir, Tiberius gave over to him the property. In both cases, he remarked, the money was needed to maintain the nobility of the family. He would accept 2 no inheritance which he had not deserved by private friendship;² and he would have nothing to do with

¹ As Asia was one of the senatorial provinces, it thus appears that even in these there were certain payments due to the emperor's *fiscus*, collected, no doubt, by one of his fiscal procurators in the

province. For the office of *procurator* see n. on iv. 6, 5.

² Caligula and Nero had no such scruples as to accepting inheritances. The former calmly pronounced null

bequests from strangers, or from persons who left fortunes to the Emperor because they had quarrelled with their own relations.

3 But whilst relieving innocent and honourable poverty,¹ he either expelled or permitted to retire from the Senate the following persons, whose indignity was due to extravagant or vicious habits—Vibidius Varro, Marius Nepos, Appius Appianus, Cornelius Sulla, and Quintus Vitellius.²

Expulsion
of un-
worthy
Senators.

9. 1 About this same time, Tiberius dedicated certain temples which had fallen into decay, or had been destroyed by fire, the restoration of which had been begun by Augustus. One of these was to Liber, Libera and Ceres, near the Circus Maximus, vowed 2 originally by Aulus Postumius the Dictator. Another, in the same place, was to Flora, built by the Aediles Lucius and Marcus Publicius; and a third, to Janus, in the Vegetable Market,³ built by the Gaius Duilius who won the first sea-victory for Rome, and celebrated a naval Triumph over the Carthaginians. 3 Germanicus consecrated a temple to Hope, vowed in that same war by Aulus Atilius.

Dedication
of temples.

50. 1 Meantime the law of treason was growing to its maturity. Appuleia Varilla, a great-niece⁴ of Augustus, was accused of that offence for having spoken slanderously of the Divine Augustus, of Tiberius and his mother; and for having committed⁵ adultery—a high

Accusation
of Appu-
leia;

and void the wills of chief centurions (*primipilares*) who had omitted to leave any legacy to him; as well as those of persons who were asserted to have had that intention, though dying without fulfilling it (Suet. Gaius, 38; Nero, 32). Such bequests became, in fact, a kind of semi-compulsory death-taxes.

¹ Seneca tells us that Marius Nepos had once asked Tiberius to help him to pay his debts. The emperor asked him to send in a list of his creditors,

and paid them in full (De Ben. ii. 7, 2).

² Uncle of the future emperor of that name.

³ This market was situated between the Capitol and the river, outside the Porta Carmentalis. Part of the site is now occupied by the remains of the Theatre of Marcellus.

⁴ The pedigree of this lady is not clearly made out.

⁵ The meaning of the word *teneri* in a context like this is 'to be found guilty'; not merely 'to be implicated

misdemeanour for one related to the Emperor. For the adultery, it was held that the punishment provided under the Julian Law¹ would suffice; as to the treason, Caesar required that a distinction should be drawn between blasphemous remarks about Augustus, and those directed against himself. For the former the accused should be condemned; but he did not wish the latter to be brought under the notice of the court. Being asked by the Consul what he thought of the unseemly remarks which Appuleia was accused of making against his mother, he said nothing; but at the next meeting of Senate,² he begged in her name also that no words against her, whatever their import, should be held as criminal. So he acquitted³ Appuleia on the charge of treason; and deprecating too severe a punishment for the adultery, he recommended that she should be dealt with by her kinsfolk,⁴ in accordance with ancient custom, and removed to a distance of two hundred miles from the city. Her paramour Manlius was interdicted from Italy and from Africa.

A division of opinion then arose as to the appointment of a successor to the Praetor Vipsanius Gallus, who had died in office. Germanicus and Drusus, who

in,' as Furn. explains it. See iii. 13, 2 : 67, 2; and xi. 6, 5. In iv. 19, 5 *haerebant* has a similar meaning.

¹ The Julian Law '*de adulteriis et stupris*' was passed B.C. 17, and is alluded to by Horace in the *Carmen Saeculare* composed in that year. See iv. 42, 3.

² The limits of the criminal jurisdiction of the senate were not strictly defined. We find that all cases of public or political importance, especially charges for treason, came before it; and also ordinary crimes when committed by senators or other important personages. See n. on iii. 10. Novel offences also, unknown to the law, might be tried by the senate, as in vi. 49; and in the present instance two separate charges

(adultery and treason) are mixed up together, in a way not permitted in the ordinary courts of law (Greenidge, p. 387). It is to be noted, however, that the adultery in this case was regarded as a treasonable offence, having been committed with a member of the imperial family. See iii. 24, 3. Tiberius in his judgment refuses to recognise this view.

³ Here the emperor dismisses Appuleia, not by the exercise of any general right of pardon, but by placing his tribunitian veto on the action of the senate. See iii. 70, 2, and xiv. 48, 3.

⁴ The old custom referred to was that whereby the penalty for such offences was inflicted, though not imposed, by the relatives.

she is
acquitted
of treason.

Vacancy
in the
Praetor-
ship;

were still in Rome, supported Haterius Agrippa, who was a relative¹ of Germanicus; but many contended that, as prescribed by law,² the number of a candidate's children should be the determining factor in the nomination. Tiberius was well pleased³ to see the Senate divided in opinion, with his sons on one side and the law on the other. The law, of course, was set aside; but not without long discussion, and only by a narrow majority, just as used to be the case even in the days when law prevailed.

Haterius Agrippa appointed.

2. 1 In the same year war broke out in Africa, under a
2 leader of the name of Tacfarinas. This man was a Numidian by birth, who after serving as an auxiliary in the Roman army had deserted, and gathered round him a roving body of freebooters for purposes of rapine and plunder. These he formed into a regular force, organised in cohorts and squadrons, till at length, from being the captain of an undisciplined horde, he became the recognised leader of the
3 Musulamii,⁴ a powerful nomad tribe on the borders of the African desert. This people now took up arms, and dragged into the war the neighbouring Moors,⁵
4 who had a chief of their own called Mazippa. The whole force was divided into two; Tacfarinas

War in Africa with Tacfarinas.

¹ The mother of Haterius was probably a Marcella, daughter of Agrippa and Marcella, and half-sister to Agrippina the wife of Germanicus.

² For the Papia-Poppaean Law here referred to, see iii. 25, 1, 2, and Furn., appendix to Book iii.

³ This seems a needlessly cruel comment. The suggestion made by Tacitus is twofold: first that Tiberius, jealous of the popularity of his sons, rejoiced to see them at loggerheads with the senate; and secondly, that he was pleased that the occasion of the friction was one in which the youths, who were supposed to have popular leanings, were taking a non-popular view in defiance of the law. We may compare with this the cynical motive attributed

to Augustus in i. 10, 6. Furn. can hardly be right in supposing that Tiberius rejoiced at the infraction of a law telling in favour of autocracy; for during the early part of his reign he showed himself a jealous stickler for law and precedent.

⁴ This important name, corrupt in the text here, is correctly given in iv. 24, 2. Florus (iv. 12, 40), and Ptolemy (iv. 3, 24), both give it under slightly different forms. Ptolemy places the tribe S. of Cirta (Constantine), in Numidia.

⁵ These would be the Mauri, immediately to the W. of the river Ampsagas (El Kibir), which formed the E. boundary of Mauritania.

retaining a picked body of men in camp, armed in Roman fashion, to accustom them to discipline and command; while Mazippa, at the head of a light-armed force, spread the terror of fire and sword far around.

The two leaders having compelled the Cinithii,¹ a 5
 tribe of considerable consequence, to join them, they
 were met by Furius Camillus, the Proconsul of Africa,
 who had united into one body the Roman legion and
 all the allies under our standards. His numbers were
 small in comparison with those of the Numidians and
Moors; yet his only anxiety was lest the enemy
 should take fright and give him the slip. As it turned 6
 out, the hope of victory lured the Africans on to their
 defeat. Camillus placed his legion in the centre; his
 light cohorts and two squadrons of cavalry on the
 wings. Tacfarinas did not shrink from the combat; 7
 but his Numidians were routed, and thus, once again,
 after an interval of many years, the Furian family
 distinguished itself in arms. For never since the 8
 days of the famous Camillus who delivered the city,
 and his son, had that family gained military laurels;
 and this particular member of it was looked upon as
 a soldier without experience. Tiberius was all the 9
 more ready for that reason to make honourable
 mention of his services in the Senate. The Senate
 voted him the Triumphal ornaments; and, as he led a
 quiet, unambitious life, these honours brought no
 punishment in their train.

¹ Ptolemy puts the Cinithians to the W. of the lesser Syrtis, extending as far E. as the Cinyps. It is impossible to fix the localities of the campaigns against Tacfarinas. The Roman province of Africa was of vast extent from E. to W., extending from the Great Syrtis to the boundary of Mauritania. It included most of modern Tripoli, all Tunis, and part of Algeria (see

Furn. Intr. p. 97). The head-quarters of the legions which garrisoned the province were at Thevesta, on the N. slope of the Mons Aurasius, on which were the fastnesses of Tacfarinas. The Musulamii were apparently on the side of that mountain which faced the desert (Rushforth, p. 129), as the words *solitudinibus Africae propinqua* seem to imply.

Success of
 Camillus;

he is
 granted
 Triumphal
 ornaments.

A.D. 18. CONSULS TIBERIUS CAESAR AUGUSTUS III.
AND GERMANICUS CAESAR II.

3. ¹ Tiberius now entered upon his third Consulship, Germanicus upon his second. Germanicus entered upon office in Nicopolis,¹ a town in the Province of Achaia, which he had reached by way of the Illyrian coast after paying a visit to his brother Drusus, then quartered in Delmatia. Having encountered bad weather in the Adriatic, and again in the Ionian Gulf, ² he spent a few days at Nicopolis to refit. From this place he visited the bay famed for the victory of Actium, where he inspected the spoils dedicated by Augustus, and the camp of Antonius. These scenes ³ revived family memories in his mind; for as he was great-nephew of Augustus and grandson of Antonius, they called up before him many visions of triumph and disaster. Thence he passed on to Athens, where out of compliment to our treaty with that ancient and allied city, he contented himself with a single lictor.² ⁴ He was received with extraordinary attentions, the Greeks parading the exploits and sayings of their forefathers to add importance to their flatteries.
4. ¹ He then made for Euboea, crossing thence to Lesbos, where Agrippina gave birth to her youngest ² child Julia.³ Next, skirting the province of Asia, he

Germanicus sets out for the East ;

visits Actium

and Athens ;

crosses to Lesbos and Byzantium ;

¹ This city was founded by Augustus, in commemoration of his great Actian victory, on the N. or Epirote side of the Ambracian gulf, where his camp was situated. Actium was opposite to Nicopolis on the S. side of the bay.

² For a proconsul, the full number would have been twelve. In spite of her defection in the Mithradatic war (see note on chap. 55, 1), Athens had always been treated by Rome with distinguished favour. 'Athens was never placed under the fasces of a Roman governor, and never paid tribute to Rome; she had

always a sworn alliance with Rome, and granted aid to the Romans only in an extraordinary, and, at least as to form, voluntary fashion.' See Mommsen, Roman Provinces, i. p. 258.

³ This Julia (also called Livilla), the youngest child of Germanicus, was married to L. Vinicius A.D. 33 (see vi. 15, 1), and was banished by Caligula, A.D. 39, along with her sister Agrippina, the mother of Nero. She was recalled by Claudius in B.C. 41, was again banished, and finally put to death to please Messalina (Dio, lx. 8, 5).

touched at the Thracian cities of Perinthus and Byzantium, passed through the Bosphorus, and entered the Euxine Sea. He was anxious to become acquainted with places so famed of old; and as he went along he gave relief to the communities which had suffered from domestic factions, or from the misrule of magistrates.¹ On his way back, he endeavoured to visit the sacred places of Samothrace; but he encountered northerly winds and was driven off.

He then visited Ilium, a spot so venerable for its varied fortunes, and as the cradle of our race; coasted again along Asia, and put in at Colophon, to consult the oracle of the Clarian Apollo. There is no priestess at this place, as at Delphi, but a priest, who is selected out of certain families; he is usually a citizen of Miletus. The priest is informed only of the number and the names of those who ask his counsel; he then descends into a cave, drinks a draught of water from a secret spring, and though, as a rule, ignorant both of writing and of metre, he produces an answer in correct verse on the subject thought of by the enquirer. On this occasion it was reported that, in the dark language usual with oracles, he prophesied an early death to Germanicus.

Meanwhile Gnaeus Piso was in haste to enter upon the work before him. He scared the people of Athens by making a noisy entry into their city, and then rated them soundly; indirectly rebuking Germanicus for *having dishonoured the name of Rome by paying extravagant compliments to a populace who were no true Athenians—the real Athenians had all*

¹ Probably the local magistrates are meant—not provincial governors. One beneficent result of imperial administra-

tion was to check the misgovernment of local native magistrates. See next n. but one.

visits Troy, and consults the oracle of Colophon.

Piso rebukes the Athenians;

died out under their calamities—but the mere off-scourings of the earth: a people who had allied themselves with Mithradates against Sulla,¹ and with Antonius against the Divine Augustus. He even raked up old stories against them: their defeats at the hands of Macedon, and their acts of violence to their own countrymen;² for he had reasons of his own for a grudge against the city, since the Athenians had refused his request to give up to him a certain Theophanes, who had been found guilty of forgery by the Areopagus. Sailing swiftly thence by the shortest course through the Cyclades, he caught up Germanicus at the island of Rhodes. Germanicus had not failed to hear how he had been attacked by Piso; but such was his kindness that when Piso's vessel was being driven on to some rocks in a gale, and the death of his enemy might have been put down to accident, he sent some of his own triremes to rescue him from danger.

But this did nothing to allay Piso's rancour. Scarcely allowing a delay of one day, he left Germanicus and went on before him. No sooner had he reached Syria and joined the army, than he began to pay court to the lowest of the common soldiers by means of gifts and favours; removing from command old centurions and Tribunes known for the strictness

reaches Syria, and tampers with the army.

¹ *i.e.* in the first Mithradatic War, B.C. 87, 86. Like most of the Greek states, Athens had taken the side of Mithradates when he crossed to Greece in B.C. 87. Sulla took the city by assault after a siege of some months, and destroyed the long walls and fortifications. 'No Greek city from the standpoint of Roman policy erred so greatly against Rome as this; its demeanour in the Mithradatic war would, had its case been that of any other commonwealth, have inevitably led to its being razed.' Mommsen, *Rom. Provinces*, i. p. 258.

² As Furn. points out, Athens had

been pillaged by Philip, the last king of Macedon, in B.C. 200; by Sulla in B.C. 86; and had lost her last fleet at Actium, B.C. 31. The wrongs here referred to are doubtless those inflicted by the native magistrates upon their fellow townsmen. Cicero found that the native Greek magistrates of Cilicia had been plundering the local revenues for ten years (*ad Att.* vi. 2, 5). It would appear that as much injury was done to the provincials by the carelessness of Roman governors in calling local authorities to account, as by their own exactions. See Greenidge, p. 319.

of their discipline, and replacing them by creatures of his own, or by men of the worst character; permitting idleness in the camp and license in the towns, and allowing the men to roam and riot through the country; and so far did he carry the work of demoralisation, that he came to be called, in the talk of the common soldiers, 'The Father of the Legions.'

Conduct of
Plancina.

Nor did Plancina confine herself to matters that befitted her sex.^① She assisted at reviews of horse and foot, and spoke in insulting terms of Germanicus and Agrippina. Some even of the better soldiers shewed an evil compliance with such courses, a rumour having secretly gained ground that the Emperor approved of them. All this was known to Germanicus; but he felt that his first and more urgent duty was to deal with the Armenians.

Germani-
cus in
Armenia.

This people has borne from early times an equivocal character, both in regard to their own temper, and the limits of their territory,² which borders on our provinces for a long distance, and extends as far as Media. Wedged in between the

^① It is to be noted that the conduct which was approved in Agrippina in i. 69, 2 and 3, is here condemned in the case of Plancina.

² This description of Armenia is not very wide of the mark. That interesting country—on one of whose mountains the Ark of Noah was supposed to have rested—seems to have been originally, like Parthia, inhabited by Turanian tribes, who, from the ninth century B.C., were engaged in constant warfare with the Assyrians (see Rawlinson's 'Sixth Oriental Monarchy,' pp. 125-131). By the time of the Median and Persian empires, a new Armenian race—being in fact the Armenian people as we now know it—seems to have been formed by the admixture of a ruling Arian population with the native Turanian tribes held in subjection. Submitting first to the Medes and Persians, and then to

Alexander, the country became part of the kingdom of the Seleucidae, until the defeat of Antiochus by the Romans, in B.C. 190, enabled the Armenians to achieve a transitory independence, under a native prince called Artaxias. This independence was maintained, with varying fortunes and varying frontiers, first against the reviving authority of Antiochus Epiphanes, then against the aggressive designs of the Parthians, and lastly against Rome: Rome arrogating to herself, and to some extent exercising, the functions of a Protectorate over a country which was responsive to every movement in Parthian politics, which was a continual object of ambition to Parthian monarchs, and, by mingling in whose affairs, Rome could check Parthian aggression more cheaply and securely than by embarking on a war with the formidable monarchy of

great Empires of Rome and Parthia, they are frequently at enmity with both; their hatred of the one
 2 being as great as their jealousy of the other. They had no king at this time, as Vonones had been deposed; and the popular favour inclined to Zeno, son of Polemo king of Pontus, because he had adopted from early childhood the manners and customs of the Armenians, and had won the hearts of high and low alike by his love of sport and revel, and other qualities dear to the hearts of barbarians.

3 With the full consent therefore of the nobles, and in presence of a vast assembly, Germanicus set the sign of royalty¹ upon his head, in the City of Artaxata.² All paid him homage, and bestowing on him a name taken from that of the city, saluted him as Artaxias.

He crowns Artaxias.

4 Cappadocia³ was now reduced to the form of a Province,⁴ with Quintus Veranius as Legate; and in order to raise hopes of kindlier treatment under Roman rule, some deduction was made from the
 5 amount of the royal tribute. Quintus Servius was appointed to Commagene, which was then, for the first time, transferred to the jurisdiction of a Praetor.⁵

Governors appointed for Cappadocia and Commagene.

7. ¹ But though Germanicus had settled thus successfully the affairs of the allies, his satisfaction was marred by the contumacious attitude of Piso. He had ordered Piso to march part of his legions into Armenia, either in person, or under the command of

Insolence of Piso;

the East. The position of Armenia, situated as a buffer state between the two great empires of Rome and Parthia, and inclining now to the one, now to the other, has been well compared to that of Afghanistan between Russia and the British Empire. (See Pelham, 'Outlines of Roman History,' p. 419.)

¹ *i.e.* the tiara and the diadem.

² This city was on the Araxes.

³ Like several other outlying and comparatively unimportant provinces,

Cappadocia was placed under a *procurator Caesaris pro legato*, responsible directly to the emperor. Such was the position of Pontius Pilate, as procurator of Judaea, though the procurator of that province seems to some extent to have been under the *legatus* of the important province of Syria.

⁴ In fulfilment of the arrangement announced chap. 42, 6.

⁵ *i.e.* of the *legatus pro-praetore* who was governor of Syria.

his son: but Piso had done neither the one nor the other. The two met at last at Cyrrus,¹ at the winter 2
 quarters of the 10th Legion. Each shewed a resolute
 face; Piso was resolved to make no sign of fear, and
 Germanicus was equally determined to avoid all
 appearance of using threats. Germanicus, as I have 3
 said, was by nature kind-hearted; but his friends had
 skilfully inflamed his resentment, exaggerating what
 was true, suggesting what was false, and insinuating
 various charges against Piso, Plancina and their sons.
 The meeting took place in the presence of a few 4
 intimates. Caesar spoke first, in a tone of suppressed
 anger; Piso shewed as much insolence as deference
 in his reply. They parted open enemies. After that,
 Piso rarely took his seat on the tribunal beside
 Germanicus; or, if he did, he would behave rudely,
 and openly indicate dissent. On one occasion, at a 5
 banquet given by the king of the Nabataei,² when
 massive golden crowns were presented to Germanicus
 and Agrippina, while lighter ones were given to Piso
 and the others, he was heard to say that *it was not*
the son of a Parthian King that was being feasted, but
of a Roman Emperor. With that, he flung away
 his crown, and launched out in a tirade against ex-
 travagance. Galling as this was, Germanicus put up
 with it nevertheless.

During these occurrences, an embassy arrived 58.
 from Artabanus, King of Parthia, to recall the old
 friendship and alliance between the two peoples, and
 to ask for some fresh assurance of good-will. Out of
 compliment to Germanicus, the King offered to come
 as far as the bank of the Euphrates; meantime he

he meets
 Germani-
 cus: they
 part open
 enemies.

Embassy
 from
 Parthia.

¹ Cyrrus (modern *Choros*) was on the road from Antioch to the Euphrates at Zeugma.

² A powerful tribe in the NW. of Arabia, who had driven the Idumaeans out of their capital Petra.

begged that Vonones should not be permitted to remain in Syria, to carry on treasonable correspondence, from quarters so close at hand, with the princes
 2 of that country. Germanicus, in his reply, referred in dignified terms to the alliance between Rome and Parthia, speaking modestly and becomingly of the proposed royal visit, and of the respect thereby shewn to himself. Vonones was removed to Pompei-
 3 opolis,¹ a city on the coast of Cilicia, not merely because of the request of Artabanus, but also as an affront to Piso. For Vonones stood high in Piso's favour, having ingratiated himself with Plancina by various presents and attentions.

A.D. 19. CONSULS M. JUNIUS SILANUS AND
 L. NORBANUS BALBUS.

9. 1 Germanicus now set out for Egypt, wishing to
 2 become acquainted with its antiquities; though his professed object was to look after the affairs of that province. He there lowered the price of grain by throwing open the public granaries; and did many other things pleasing to the multitude, such as appearing without an escort, wearing sandals,² and adopting a Greek style of dress: in all which he followed the example of Publius Scipio, who is said to have done the same thing in Sicily, though the
 3 Punic War was raging at the time. Tiberius animadverted slightly on the matter of his apparel and behaviour, but rebuked him sharply for having violated the rule of Augustus in entering Alexandria

Germanicus visits Egypt.

Tiberius displeased.

¹ Formerly Soloi (near *Metastu*), re-named after its restorer (Furn.). How Vonones came to his end is related in chap. 68.

² *i.e.* wearing Greek sandals instead

of the Roman *calceus*, and the Greek *pallium* instead of the *toga*. Cicero reproaches Antony for entering the city *cum gallicis* (slippers) *et lacerna* instead of *cum calceis et toga* (Phil. ii. 29, 76).

without the Emperor's leave. For amongst other 4
secret principles of his imperial policy, Augustus
had put Egypt in a position by itself,¹ forbidding all
senators and knights of the highest class to enter
that country without his permission. For Egypt
holds the key, as it were, both of sea and land;² and
he was afraid that anyone occupying that country,
with however small a force, and however great the
opposing armies, might threaten Italy with starvation.³

Before learning, however, that his expedition was 60.
to be thus censured, Germanicus was on his way up
the Nile. He started from Canopus, a city founded 2
by the Spartans to mark the burial place of Canopus,⁴
master of the vessel in which Menelaus, on his way
back to Greece, had been driven out of his course on 3
to the shore of Libya. From that place he embarked
on the nearest of the mouths of the Nile, that dedi-
cated to Hercules; for the natives maintain that the
most ancient hero of that name was born in their
country, his name having been adopted for those

¹ The command of the two legions which formed the garrison of Egypt (iv. 5, 3) was not held by a senatorial legatus, but by an officer called *praefectus exercitus qui est in Aegypto*. Rushforth, p. 132, suggests that this officer can have been none other than the *praefectus castrorum*: see i. 20, 1.

² An excellent description of the position of Egypt, which holds the keys (1) of the waterways to and from the E. to the Mediterranean; (2) of the passage between Africa and Asia. Hirtius, in his *Alex. War*, chap. 26, describes more particularly the island of Pharos as commanding the sea access, Pelusium the land access (*i.e.* from Asia) to Egypt. Liv. xiv. 11, 5 speaks of *claustra Aegypti*, *i.e.* 'Egypt, the key-country'; and in Hist. iii. 8, 3 Tacitus uses the remarkable expression *Aegyptus claustra annonae*, 'the land that holds the key of our granary.' In Hist. iii. 48, 4 and 5 Vespasian hurried to Alexandria *ut urbem fame urgeret clausis annonae subsidiis*.

³ The annexation of Egypt by Augustus (B.C. 29) is thus recorded on the obelisk which now stands in the *Piazza del popolo* at Rome, placed originally by Augustus in the *Spina* of the *Circus Maximus*:—*Aegyptio in potestatem populi Romani redacto*. The reasons why Augustus 'set Egypt apart' are more fully stated Hist. i. 11, 1: *Aegyptum copiasque quibus coerceretur, iam inde a divo Augusto equites Romani obtinent loco regum; ita visum expedire provinciam aditu difficilem, annonae fecundam, superstitione ac lascivia discordem et mobilem, insciam legum, ignaram magistratum, domi retinere*. The government by an *eques*, who was the mere agent and nominee of the emperor, kept the country under his immediate personal control.

⁴ The etymology of this name is still obscure. The city was probably a relatively late foundation. For the Greek legend, see Wiedemann, 'Herodot's Zweites Buch' (1890), p. 91.

Germanicus goes up the Nile and visits Thebes.

who shewed like qualities in after times. He then
 4 visited the mighty remains of ancient Thebes, whose
 stately monuments, graven with Egyptian writing,¹
 attest the former splendour of the country. One
 of the older priests, bidden to act as interpreter,
 related how the country had once borne a population
 of seven hundred thousand warriors; how with that
 army Rameses² had conquered Libya and Aethiopia,
 the Medes and the Persians, the countries of Bactria
 and Scythia; how he had ruled over all the country
 inhabited by the Syrians, the Armenians, and the
 neighbouring Cappadocians, from the Bithynian to
 5 the Lycian sea. They could read the tributes imposed
 on all these nations: the weight of silver and of gold,
 the number of arms and horses, the gifts of ivory and
 incense for the temples, together with the amount
 of corn and other necessaries which each people had
 to furnish: all on as grand a scale as the contribu-
 tions now exacted by the Parthian monarchs or under
 the rule of Rome.³

The monu-
 ments are
 explained
 to him.

1 Germanicus took notice of other wonders besides,
 the chief of which were the marble statue of Memnon,⁴

He sees
 Vocal
 Memnon
 and the
 pyramids.

¹ The writing was doubtless hieroglyphic, such as covers the walls and pillars of most Egyptian temples. This writing could evidently be read by the priests who informed Germanicus; it was used for religious and state purposes down to the middle of the third century A. D. 'Annals' similar to those described by Tacitus are common on temples erected by the Pharaohs of the eighteenth and nineteenth dynasties, who built largely at their capital Thebes.

² The Rameses here referred to is no doubt Rameses II. (B.C. 1324-1258) of the nineteenth dynasty, although the most extensive Egyptian conquests (a better term would be 'sphere of influence') were those of Thothmosis III. (B.C. 1515-1460) of the eighteenth dynasty. The former king, however, became better known to history, as he

built more and inscribed himself more energetically than the latter. The conquests of the Rameside kings extended as far as the Antilibanus and the White Nile; the Aegæan Islands and coasts were under their sovereignty to some degree. Tribute, or rather presents, may have been received from provinces beyond the Euphrates; but these and Armenia were never really subject to Egypt.

³ These words are interesting as showing that, in the opinion of Tacitus, Rome and Parthia might be placed more or less on a level, as the two great powers of the civilised world.

⁴ The so-called Vocal Memnon is one of a pair of colossal statues representing Amenophis III. of the eighteenth Dynasty, set up in front of his temple at Thebes. The Colossus to the north is made in one piece. The one to the

which emits a vocal sound when struck by the rays of the sun; those monuments of kingly opulence and pride, the pyramids, reared mountain-high out of wastes of shifting sand; the basin excavated to receive the overflowing waters of the Nile, and elsewhere again channels so narrow and profound that no sounding-line can reach the bottom. He then passed on to Elephantine¹ and Syene,² which at that time marked the boundaries³ of the Roman Empire—an Empire which now stretches as far as the Persian Gulf.⁴

Drusus foments discord among the Germans.

Whilst Germanicus was thus spending the summer 62.

south, called Memnon, is whole up to the knees; the upper part (broken in the time of Strabo and Pausanias, and repaired probably by Septimius Severus) is made up of thirteen blocks, in five courses, of a marble different from the rest. During the first two centuries of the Roman Empire, this statue, which saluted with its voice the rising sun, was one of the chief objects of attraction to travellers in Egypt; but the Egyptians themselves seem to have attached no importance to it. The feet and legs are covered with inscriptions in Greek or Roman characters by various distinguished personages (the emperor Hadrian among the number) who had heard the phenomenon. None of these are earlier than the reign of Nero, none later than that of Septimius Severus. The latter emperor is supposed to have restored the statue, which was probably broken by an earthquake which ruined Thebes in B.C. 27. Pausanias and Strabo both describe the sound, which is supposed to have arisen from an expansion of some part of the statue under the influence of the early sun. The story was a natural invention of the Greeks. The name Memnon does not seem to have been known to Strabo; but he speaks of a *Memnonium* on the west bank of the Nile, and the mention of *μεμνονεία* in connection with Amenophis shews evidently the Greek form of that monarch's name. Finding these colossi attached to a building bearing a similar name, it was natural for them to identify him with their own Ethiopian Memnon, the son of

Eös, and picture him as saluting his mother on her daily re-appearance. (See Letranne's work; Baedeker, Ed. 5 (1902), p. 307; and Wiedemann, *Aeg. Geschichte*, p. 387, and Supplement, p. 44; also Mommsen on C. I. L. iii. 1, 30-66; and Mayor upon *Juv.* xv. 5.) Elsewhere the Romans discovered marvels unknown to the inhabitants of the country. The Greeks knew nothing of the inspiring qualities of the Castalian spring, so vaunted by the Roman poets.

¹ Elephantine is an island opposite to Syene (Assouan), which marked the Egyptian frontier towards Nubia.

² Syene is on the site of the modern Assuan or Assouan, on the right bank of the Nile, just below the first cataract. Immediately opposite to Assouan is the island of Elephantine—called by the Arabs "the flowery isle"—on which remains of numerous ancient buildings may be traced. It is at Assouan that the great dam of the Nile has now been constructed. Two hundred miles above Assouan is Wadi Halfa, to which point the frontier of Egypt had receded before the successful advance of Lord Kitchener in 1896.

³ *Claustra* is here used in a different sense from that in chap. 59. 4. Here it means simply 'the extreme limit.' So *Cic. Flacc.*, 13, 30; *Liv.* ix. 32, 1. One of the difficulties of Latin consists in the use of the same words in different meanings, often, as here, in close proximity to each other.

⁴ As in *xiv.* 25, 3, the *rubrum mare* of Tacitus is our Persian Gulf.

in moving from one province to another, Drusus had earned for himself no little credit by sowing dissension among the Germans, and inducing them to give a final blow to the already broken power of Maroboduus. There was among the Gotones¹ a young chief called Catualda, who had been expelled the country by Maroboduus, and was now emboldened by that king's difficulties to seek revenge. Entering the territory of the Marcomanni with a large force, and winning over the leading men by bribes, he forced his way into the palace and a fort adjoining it. He there found a quantity of old Suevic plunder, together with a number of camp followers and traders from our provinces, who had been induced by the grant of trading rights and the love of gain to forget their fatherland, leave their homes, and settle in the enemy's country.

Exploit of
Catualda.

3. 1 Maroboduus, now entirely deserted, could only throw himself upon the Emperor's mercy. Crossing the Danube where it forms the frontier of the province of Noricum,² he wrote a letter to Tiberius, not in the tone of a fugitive or a suppliant, but in a style befitting the memory of his former greatness:—*In the days when he was an illustrious monarch—and his aid had been invoked by many nations—he had preferred the* friendship of Rome to all others. Tiberius replied that he should have a safe and honourable residence in Italy, should he choose to remain there; should his interests call him elsewhere, he might depart as freely

Maroboduus
appeals to
Tiberius;

he is
answered
evasively.

¹ The famous 'Goths' of history. They seem to have occupied the extreme E. of Germany, beyond the Vistula.

² The province of Noricum was first formed in B.C. 16. It comprised the square bounded on the N. by the Danube, extending down that river almost as far as Vienna; on the E. by

Pannonia; on the West by the river Inn and the provinces Rætia and Vindelicia; while on the S. it was separated from Italy by the Upper Save and the Carnian Alps. This country now forms the heart of the Austrian Empire, while Pannonia corresponds to that part of Hungary which lies S. and W. of the Danube.

as he had come. To the Senate he spoke in another 3
 tone. *Maroboduus*, he declared, in a speech still extant,
had been a more formidable enemy to Rome than Philip
to the Athenians, or either Pyrrhus or Antiochus to the
Romans. He made much of the great power of the 4
 king, and the savage nature of the tribes under his
 sway; he dwelt on the danger of an enemy so near
 to Italy, and on his own adroitness in accomplishing
 his destruction.

Maroboduus was kept at Ravenna,¹ where his pos- 5
 sible restoration was held as a threat over the Suevi,
 in case they should shew signs of turbulence. For
 eighteen years, however, he never quitted Italy, living
 on to old age, and losing much of his reputation
 because of his undue love of life.² Catualda met a 6
 similar fate, and found a similar retreat. Expelled
 not long afterwards by the forces of the Hermunduri³
 under Vibilius, he was received and sent to Forum
 Julii,⁴ a Colony in Narbonensian Gaul. The barbarian 7
 followers of these two princes were settled beyond
 the Danube, between the Rivers Marus and Cusus,⁵
 under a king Vannius, who belonged to the tribe
 of the Quadi;⁶ for it was feared that they might
 create trouble if introduced into the peaceful pro-
 vinces.

News arriving about the same time that Ger- 64.
 manicus had put Artaxias on the throne of Armenia,
 the Senate decreed that Germanicus and Drusus
 should enter the City in Ovation; arches also were 2

¹ For the treatment of Maroboduus, see n. on chap. 42, 5.

² A truly Stoical touch. To shrink from suicide in face of humiliation was considered a mark of cowardice.

³ This tribe was on the borders of Raetia (Germ. 41, 1).

⁴ The modern *Fréjus*, used by the Romans as a naval station for the

protection of the Gulf of Lyons (iv. 5, 1).

⁵ The Marus is the river *March*, or *Morava*, which joins the Danube at Pressburg; the Cusus perhaps the *Waag*, which falls into the Danube at Komorn (Furn.).

⁶ The Quadi adjoined the Marcomanni, inhabiting Moravia and part of Hungary.

and is
sent to
Ravenna.

Catualda
sent to
Forum
Julii.

Ovation
and arches
voted.

set up, one on each side of the Temple of Mars Ultor,¹ together with statues of the two Cæsars.

As Tiberius felt more satisfaction at having secured peace by policy, than if he had ended a war by victory,² he proceeded to employ the same crafty methods with Rhescuporis, king of Thrace.³ That country had been under the rule of Rhoemetaces; but upon his death, Augustus had given one part to his brother Rhescuporis, the other to his son Cotys: Cotys getting as his share the cultivated land, the towns, and the parts adjoining the Greek states;⁴ Rhescuporis, the wild uncultivated country, close to the enemy's border. The character of the two kings corresponded to their portions; the former being gentle and genial, the latter fierce, ambitious, and unable to brook any partnership in power. At first, a hollow friendship was observed between the two; but before long Rhescuporis began to encroach, to appropriate territory assigned to Cotys, and to use force when resisted. So long as Augustus was alive, he proceeded with caution, being afraid that the Emperor would chastise any infraction of the arrangement which he had made for the two kingdoms; but no sooner had he heard of the change of sovereignty in Rome, than he began to let loose marauding bands, and destroy his brother's forts, thus paving the way for war.

Affairs in Thrace:— quarrel of Cotys and Rhescuporis.

¹ The Temple of *Mars Ultor* is the celebrated temple built by Augustus to commemorate the avenging of the death of Caesar, in the centre of the new *Forum Augusti*, and dedicated B.C. 2. The well-known *Arco dei Pantani*, at the end of the *Via Bonella*, formed one of the entrances to the Forum Augusti; the fragment of wall and the three Corinthian pillars close to it, formed part of the temple itself.

² This preference for astute diplomacy represents a cardinal feature in the foreign policy of Tiberius. It is

deliberately set forth in his letter to Germanicus, chap. 26, 3.

³ The kingdom of Thrace, divided from Macedonia by the river Nestus, had been finally subdued in B.C. 11, after a war lasting for three years (Vell. ii. 98, 1), by L. Piso (vi. 10, 4). It was still governed by native princes, and was not reduced to the form of a province till A.D. 46, under Claudius (Marquardt, *Staatsv.*, vol. i. p. 156).

⁴ *i.e.* the Greek colonies on the coast.

Annoyance
of Tiberius.

Now there was nothing which troubled Tiberius so much as the disturbance of a settlement once made; he therefore despatched a centurion to forbid the two kings to appeal to arms. Cotys at once dismissed the force which he had collected; Rhescuporis, feigning compliance, suggested that he and his nephew should meet and dispose of their differences in a conference. Place, time, and at last conditions, were agreed upon, each conceding the points demanded by the other; the one out of good nature, the other, with intent to deceive. By way of ratifying the treaty, as he termed it, Rhescuporis insisted on a banquet; and when the night had been long drawn out in merry-making, feasting and wine-drinking, he took Cotys unawares, and thrust him into irons. In vain did Cotys appeal, so soon as he discovered the trick played upon him, to his sacred kingly office, to their common family Gods, and to the rights of hospitality.

Rhescu-
poris seizes
Cotys;

he is
ordered to
give him
up.

Rhescuporis having thus possessed himself of all Thrace, he wrote to Tiberius that a plot had been laid against him, but that he had been beforehand with the plotter of it; and at the same time, on the pretext of a war against the Bastarnæ¹ and the Scythians, he collected a strong force both of horse and foot.² Tiberius returned a soft answer:—*If he had acted in good faith, Rhescuporis might trust confidently to his innocence; neither he himself nor the Senate would pronounce upon the merits of the case until they had heard it.*

¹ This people, spoken of by Tacitus (Germ. 46, 1) as Germans, seem to have occupied the country at the mouth of the Danube. Ovid, writing from Tomi, speaks of them as neighbours: *Proxima Bastarnæ Sauromataeque tenent* (Trist. ii. 198). They must therefore have been situated in the imperial province of Moesia.

² It would appear that the Thracian princes were charged with defending the Danube frontier for the last part of its course down to the Euxine Sea. Thus Rhescuporis makes the necessity of chastising the Bastarnæ and the Scythians on the N. side of the Danube an excuse for collecting an armed force.

Let him therefore deliver up Cotys, come to Rome, and pass on to others the odium of preferring an accusation.

66. 1 This letter Latinius Pandusa, the Proprætor of Moesia, sent off to Thrace, with a band of soldiers
 2 into whose hands Cotys was to be delivered. After hesitating for a time between fear and rage, Rhescuporis preferred to be charged with an accomplished rather than an attempted crime: he ordered Cotys to be put to death, pretending that he had made away
 3 with himself. This, however, made no change in the policy resolved on by Tiberius. On the death of Pandusa, whom Rhescuporis had accused of personal hostility to himself, the Emperor appointed a veteran soldier, Pomponius Flaccus, to the province of Moesia; mainly because he was on terms of close intimacy with the king, and was therefore the better fitted to betray him.
67. 1 Flaccus crossed over to Thrace. The king at first wavered, feeling misgivings at the recollection of his crimes; but at last Flaccus, holding out great promises, induced him to come within the Roman
 2 lines. Under name of a guard of honour, a strong force was attached to his person. By dint of warning and coaxing, the Tribunes and centurions led him on; the further they advanced, the more undisguised was the restraint put upon him; till at last, on reaching
 3 Rome, he recognized that he was a prisoner. He was accused before the Senate by the wife of Cotys, and
 4 condemned to exile from his kingdom. Thrace was divided between his son Rhoemetaces, who was known to have opposed his father's projects, and the sons of Cotys; but as these last were not of full age, Trebellenus¹ Rufus, an ex-Praetor, was appointed to

but murders him instead.

New Governor to Moesia.

Rhescuporis brought to Rome and exiled.

Thrace apportioned,

¹ An inscription shows that the correct form of this name was *Trebellenus*, which appears here in the MS. In four

other places in Tacitus it is written *Trebellienus* (C. I. L. v. i. 1878).

manage the kingdom for the present, after the precedent set by our ancestors in Egypt when they sent Marcus Lepidus¹ to be Governor to Ptolemy's children. Rhescuporis was conveyed to Alexandria, and was there put to death on a charge, whether true or false, of attempting flight.²

and Rhescuporis put to death.

Attempted flight of Vonones.

About the same time Vonones, whose removal to Cilicia I have mentioned above, managed to bribe his guards and take flight for Armenia; intending to pass on thence to the country of the Albani³ and Heniochi,⁴ and so to his relative the king of Scythia. Quitting the sea-coast on pretence of a hunting expedition, he made for a trackless forest country; and pushing his horse to the utmost, reached the river Pyramus. Here the natives, having heard of the king's flight, had broken down the bridge; and as the river could not be forded, Vonones was caught on the bank by Vibius Fronto, a cavalry officer, and put into chains. Soon afterwards a veteran of the name of Remmius, who had previously been the king's keeper, ran him through with his sword, in pretended rage: hence the general opinion that Remmius had connived at the king's escape, and had slain him for fear of detection.

Meanwhile Germanicus, returning from Egypt, found that all his dispositions, whether civil or military, had been cancelled or reversed. For this he severely rebuked Piso; Piso retorted with equal acrimony. Piso then resolved to quit the province; but Germanicus taking ill, he waited on. News came that

Germanicus returns to Syria.

He falls ill:

¹ This M. Lepidus was cos. in B.C. 187 and 175; he was sent, on the death of Ptolemaeus Epiphanes (B.C. 181), to be guardian of his sons.

² Rhescuporis meets the usual fate of princes who trusted themselves to the tender mercies of Rome. So with Vonones, chap. 68, 3.

³ The Albani were a tribe living N. of Armenia, and extending as far as the Caspian Sea on the E. The modern province is Daghestan.

⁴ The Heniochi extended from the Caucasus to the Euxine on the W.

Germanicus had recovered : whereupon, as the people of Antioch¹ were paying the vows offered for his restoration to health, Piso made his lictors drive away the victims, break up the sacrificial preparations, and disperse the mob in the midst of its rejoicings.

4 He then went down to Seleucia² to await the issue of the malady, which had come on once more, and

5 was aggravated by a conviction in the mind of Germanicus that he had been poisoned by Piso. Remains of disinterred human bodies had been found beneath the floor and in the walls of the house, together with spells and magical formulæ ; leaden tablets with the name of Germanicus inscribed upon them ; charred and blood-stained human ashes, and other baneful substances by which people believe that souls may be devoted to the Gods below.³ Piso was accused also of sending messengers to spy out unfavourable symptoms in the case.

suspicions
of foul
play.

1 This roused the fears, not less than the indignation,
2 of Germanicus. *If his threshold were to be beset ; if he had to draw his last breath under the eyes of his enemies : what would become of his unhappy wife and his infant children ?*⁴ *Poisoning, it would seem, was too slow a process ; Piso was in hot haste to be in sole command of*
3 *the Province and the legions. But Germanicus had not yet sunk so low ; nor would the murderer reap the recompense of his crime.* With that he wrote a letter
4 renouncing Piso's friendship ;⁵ many add that he

Germani-
cus renoun-
ces Piso's
friendship.

¹ Antiochia or Antiochæa (now *Antakia*), on the Orontes, capital of the Greek kingdom of Syria, founded by Seleucus Nicator in B.C. 301. It rivalled Alexandria, and probably approached Rome, in population. Germanicus was lying in the suburb of Epidaphna, five miles from the town (chap. 83. 3).

² Seleucia Pieria, on the mouth of the Orontes, was the sea-port of Antioch. See Acts, xiii. 4.

³ Tacitus has a half-belief in magic, just as he has in astrology.

⁴ Caligula and Julia (b. at Lesbos the year before, chap. 54. 1) were the two children with Germanicus at this time.

⁵ The repudiation of a friend was a formal act (iii. 24, 5), which Tiberius raises to the rank of a 'national custom' (vi. 29, 3).

ordered him out of the province. Piso set sail without further delay; but he proceeded slowly, that he might have the less distance to return in case the death of Germanicus should open up Syria to him.

For a moment Germanicus rallied, and hope revived; but his strength again failed, and as his end drew nigh, he thus addressed the friends who stood beside him:—

His dying
injunctions
to his
friends;

If I were paying my debt to Nature, I might deem that I had a grievance even against the Gods for snatching me thus, so young, and before my time, from my parents, my children and my country; but now that my days have been cut short by the guilty hands of Piso and Plancina, I leave my last prayers with you. Tell my father and my brother¹ what cruel wrongs I have endured, by what artifices I have been beset: how I have ended a miserable life by a most unhappy death. Those who have shared my hopes—those who are near to me in blood—nay, even those who have envied me in life—will weep that one who had known such high fortunes, and had come safe through so many wars, should have perished by the treachery of a woman. It will be for you to lay complaint before the Senate, and invoke the law: for it is the first duty of a friend, not to follow the dead with idle lamentations to the grave, but to remember what he desired, to execute what he enjoined. Men who knew not Germanicus will lament him; but if it was himself, rather than his fortunes, that you loved, you will avenge him. Shew to the people of Rome my wife, grand-daughter of the Divine Augustus; count over to them our six children. Men's pity will be with the accusers; and, if the accused plead

¹ *i.e.* Drusus. His own brother Claudius (afterwards emperor) was left out of account. See iii. 18, 5-7. The

date of the death was Sept. 26th, A.D. 19.

that they were bidden to do the foul deed, none will believe, or, if they believe, forgive.

7 The friends swore, as they touched the dying man's right hand, that they would give up life sooner than revenge.

2. 1 Germanicus then turned to his wife. He implored her by the love she bore him, and for their children's sake, to tame her high spirit, to bow beneath the stroke of fortune, and when she returned to Rome, not to anger those more powerful than herself by entering
2 into rivalry with them. This he said openly ; he kept more for her private ear, bidding her beware, it was supposed, of Tiberius. Soon after that, he breathed
3 his last, amid the profound sorrow of the Province and the surrounding peoples. Foreign nations also, and their kings, bewailed him ; so genial was he to friends, so courteous to foes. His looks and his speech alike commanded respect ; his manners had no arrogance, and provoked no ill-will ; yet they had all the dignity and distinction which befitted his high estate.

and last words to his wife.

He dies.

3. 1 No procession of images graced his funeral ; but
2 it was signalled by encomiums on his virtues. Some compared him to Alexander the Great, because of his beauty, the age at which he died,¹ the manner, nay, even the place,² of his death, near to that where
3 Alexander died. Both were handsome and high-born ; both died soon after attaining the age of thirty, by the treachery of their own people,³ and in a foreign land. But Germanicus was kindly to his friends, and moderate in his enjoyments ; he had lived with but one wife, and had none but lawful children. And he was as great a warrior as Alexander, without

Character of Germanicus ; comparison with Alexander the Great.

¹ Alexander died in his 33rd year ; Germanicus in his 34th. -

Alexander died at Babylon, B.C. 323.

² The places were not at all near.

³ Thus Tacitus assumes Piso's guilt as a fact.

his rashness: although he had been debarred, after striking down Germany by his victories, from completing the subjection of that country. Had he been the sole arbiter of events, had he held the powers and the title of King, he would have outstripped Alexander in military fame as far as he surpassed him in gentleness, in self-command, and in all other noble qualities.¹

The body
burnt at
Antioch.

The body, before being buried, was exposed to view in the Forum of Antioch, the place appointed for the sepulture; but whether it exhibited signs of poisoning or not, is uncertain.² For according as men were inclined towards Germanicus by compassion and preconceived suspicion, or towards Piso by friendship, they arrived at opposite conclusions.

Consulta-
tions held.
Sentius
appointed
Governor.

A consultation was now held among the Legates and other Senators on the spot as to who should be placed in command of Syria.³ There was long deliberation as between Vibius Marsus and Gnaeus Sentius, the only two who seriously pressed their claims; in the end, as Sentius was the elder and the more insistent of the two, Marsus gave way. At the instance of Vitellius,⁴ Veranius⁵ and the other friends who were getting up the case against Piso

¹ The absurd partiality of this estimate does little credit to the historical judgment of Tacitus. According to his wont, he escapes responsibility by putting his own opinion into the mouths of others (*erant qui adaequarent*), though he gradually passes into a form of speech which adopts the estimate as his own. The reputation of Germanicus has had the good fortune which seldom fails to wait upon heirs-apparent who have never reigned. As to his qualities as a general, see n. on chap. 26, 2.

² Suetonius asserts roundly that his body was covered with black spots; that there was foam at the mouth; and that the heart was found among his ashes unburnt—a sure sign of poisoning (Cal. 1).

³ It would appear from this passage that in such an emergency the senators present could make an *ad interim* appointment. C. Vibius Marsus was cos. suf. in A.D. 17, and was subsequently proconsul of Africa for three years, probably A.D. 27-29. Cn. Sentius seems to have been cos. suf. in A.D. 4.

⁴ This was P. Vitellius, uncle of the future emperor; the same who conducted part of the force back by land in the campaign of A.D. 15 (i. 70).

⁵ This Q. Veranius is mentioned in chap. 56, 4 as the legatus placed in command of Cappadocia when first erected into a province. Both he and Vitellius acted afterwards as accusers of Piso.

and Plancina as though they were already on their trial, Sentius sent to Rome a woman called Martina, a notorious poisoner in that province, and a great favourite with Plancina.

1 Meantime Agrippina, bowed down by grief, and sick in body, yet impatient of everything which might delay her revenge, embarked with her children and the ashes of Germanicus. At the sight of this high-born lady—till yesterday the spouse of an illustrious prince, and who had never appeared but to be courted and complimented—bearing in her bosom the sad remains, with no certainty of vengeance, full of fears for herself, and exposed at so many points to the attacks of fortune by her ill-starred fertility, all hearts were filled with compassion.

Agrippina
embarks
for Rome.

2 The news of the death of Germanicus overtook
Piso at the island of Coos, and filled him with
3 extravagant joy; he sacrificed victims and visited
the temples; there were no limits to his exultation.
His wife Plancina was more triumphant still; she
now for the first time put off the mourning which
she had been wearing for her sister's death.

Joy of
Piso and
Plancina.

1 Centurions now came streaming in, telling Piso that
the legions were favourable and ready to stand by
him, and urging him to return to the province which
had been wrongfully taken from him, and was now
2 without a Governor. He proceeded therefore to take
counsel as to what he should do. His son Marcus
· advised him to go straight to Rome:—*He had as yet
committed no unpardonable offence; unfounded suspicions
3 and empty rumour were not things to be afraid of. His
quarrel with Germanicus might merit odium, but not
punishment; his enemies would be satisfied by his depo-
4 sition from the province. If, on the other hand, he were to*

Piso takes
counsel.

Advice of
his son
Marcus.

return, and be resisted by Sentius, that would be to embark on civil war. In that event, neither men nor centurions would stand by him. The memory of their late Emperor was still fresh in their minds; their affection for the Caesars was deep and strong, and would outweigh all other considerations.

Counter
advice of
Domitius.

Domitius Celer, one of the most intimate friends of Piso, took the opposite view. He urged him to make the most of the opportunity; it was he, and not Sentius, who was Governor of the Province; it was to him that the fasces, the praetorian jurisdiction, and the legions, had been committed. If any act of war were to occur, who had greater right to meet it with force than the man who held the position of Legate, and had received instructions of his own? It would be well too to give rumour time to die away; innocence itself could hardly hold its own against the first outburst of angry feeling. If he only kept his army together, and added to its strength, chance might help him in many unexpected ways. *Are we to hurry, he asked, to land along with the ashes of Germanicus, in order that the tears of Agrippina, and the first rush of ignorant popular fury, may sweep you away unheard and undefended? You have on your side the complicity of Augusta; you have the approval, though unavowed, of Caesar himself: and none so ostentatiously lament the death of Germanicus as those who most rejoice at it.*

Piso re-
solves on
action: he
writes to
Tiberius,

Piso himself, always inclined to daring courses, was easily brought over to this view. He sent a letter to Tiberius, accusing Germanicus of extravagance and high-handed proceedings:—*It was to make room for revolutionary designs that he had been driven from his Province; he was now resuming his command*

in the same spirit of loyalty with which he had held
 2 *it.* At the same time he put Domitius on board a
 trireme, bidding him avoid the shore, and without
 touching at the islands make straight for Syria by
 3 the open sea. As deserters flocked in, he organised
 them in maniples; he armed his camp-followers; then
 passing over with his fleet to the mainland, he inter-
 cepted a body of young soldiers going out as drafts
 to Syria, and sent orders to the princes of Cilicia to
 furnish him with auxiliaries. His son Marcus, though
 he had given his counsel against war, helped vigor-
 ously in these warlike preparations.

and organ-
 izes his
 forces.

1 Coasting thus along Lycia and Pamphylia, he en-
 countered the ships which were conveying Agrippina.
 Both parties at first stood to arms; but each being
 afraid of the other, they did not get beyond angry
 words. Marsus Vibius told Piso that he would have
 2 to come to Rome to stand his trial. Piso mockingly
 replied:—*He would not fail to attend when accusers and*
accused had been duly summoned by the Praetor whose
*business it was to try cases of poisoning.*¹

He passes
 Agrippina
 at sea.

3 Domitius, meantime, landed at Laodicea² in Syria,
 and was proceeding to the winter quarters of the
 6th Legion, believing that legion to be the most likely
 to lend itself to his designs. But he had been fore-
 4 stalled by the Legate Pacuvius;³ a fact which Sentius
 communicated to Piso by letter, warning him against
 any attempt to corrupt the army, or to embroil the
 5 province in war. Sentius gathered together all whom
 he knew to have a regard for the memory of

Sentius
 prepares
 for battle
 in Syria.

¹ What Piso meant was that it would be time for him to go to Rome when duly summoned to appear in the regular court for trying offences of that kind, *i.e.* the *quaestio de sicariis et veneficis*.

² There were two towns of this name in Syria; the one here meant is Laodicea on the coast opposite Crete, now Ladi-

kieh or Latakia, famous for its tobacco, and still more famous for the character of lukewarmness attributed to the Church there, in Rev. iii. 15: 'I know thy works, that thou art neither cold nor hot: I would thou wert cold or hot.'

³ Pacuvius would be the *legatus legionis* in command of the 6th legion.

Germanicus, or to be hostile to his enemies; and impressing upon them that this was an armed attack upon the Emperor's own Majesty, and upon the State itself, he took the field at the head of a strong force ready for battle.

Piso
occupies
Celenderis,

Foiled in his first attempt, Piso adopted the most 80
prudent course open to him, and threw himself into
a well-fortified position in Cilicia, called Celenderis.¹
Mixing up the deserters, the intercepted recruits, and 2
his own and Plancina's slaves, with the auxiliaries
furnished by the Cilician princes, he had raised his
force to the full strength of a legion. He assured
them that he was the Imperial Legate, and that he 3
was being kept out of the Province which the
Emperor had given him, not by the legions—at whose
instance he had come—but by Sentius, who had
trumped up false charges against him to screen his
personal animosity:—*They had only to shew themselves 4*
in the field; the soldiers would never fight if they once
caught sight of that Piso whom they had formerly styled
their 'Father.' His was the better cause, if it were a
question of right; and were it a question of arms, he had
no mean force behind him.

and en-
courages
his men.

He is
defeated
before the
fort;

Piso then drew out his maniples in front of the 5
fortifications on a high steep hill, the other sides of
which were surrounded by the sea. Against him 6
stood the veterans, drawn up in regular order, with
supports behind. The one side had the more for-
midable force: the other the more formidable position.
But the latter had neither hope nor spirit, and their
weapons were mere rustic implements, extemporised
for the occasion. No sooner had the Roman cohorts 7
struggled up to the level ground and come to close

¹ The town Celenderis is known from *Chelendreh* or *Kilindri*. It was part of
coins, and still bears the name of the principality of Cilicia Trachea.

quarters, than all doubt of the issue was at an end. The Cilicians fled, and shut themselves up within the fort.

- I. 1 During the interval that followed, Piso made an idle demonstration against the fleet, which was lying not far off. He then came back, took his stand upon the walls, and now beating upon his breast, now calling on his men by name, attempted to draw them from their allegiance by promises of reward; but with no further success than that a single standard-bearer of the 6th Legion went over to him with
 2 his standard. Sentius now sounded his horns and trumpets,¹ and ordered an attack upon the defences. The best men were to plant their ladders and mount them, the rest were to pour out spears, stones, and
 3 burning brands from the engines. Then at last Piso's obstinacy gave way. He begged that he might be permitted to remain in the fort on surrendering his arms, pending a reference to the Emperor as to
 4 the Governorship of Syria. But this was refused; nothing was granted to him but some ships, with a safe conduct to Rome.

vainly
appeals to
his old
soldiers

and is
forced to
surrender.

2. 1 When the news of the illness of Germanicus arrived in Rome, with all the exaggerations that are bred by distance, there was an outburst of grief and
 2 anger and indignant comments:—*It was for this, was it, that Germanicus had been despatched to the uttermost parts of the earth? for this that Piso had been appointed Governor of Syria? Was this the meaning of Augusta's*
 3 *secret conferences with Plancina? Well and truly had their fathers said of Drusus, that their rulers liked not their sons to love the people: the young princes had been*

Indigna-
tion at
Rome.

¹ The *cornu* was a curved horn, the *tuba* a straight trumpet. Vegetius states that while the *cornu* and the *tuba* were used for different purposes,

the blowing of both together was the signal for battle (ii. 22). See also i. 68, 3.

*cut off for no other crime than this, that they had designed to give back to the people of Rome their liberty, with equal rights to all.*¹

Intense
grief of the
people.

Amid talk like this, came news of the death; which 4
so moved the populace that before the magistrates
could issue an edict, or the Senate a decree, all business
was suspended, the Courts were deserted, and private
houses closed. Everywhere silence, broken only by 5
lamentations; there was no parade of grief, no show;
and although men did not fail to exhibit all the out-
ward marks of mourning, the sorrow in their hearts
was deeper still.

False hopes
are raised

It chanced that some traders who had left Syria 6
when Germanicus was still alive brought better news
of his condition. This was at once believed, and 7
spread abroad; catching up the good tidings on the
slenderest hearsay, men passed them on to every
one they met, and these again to many more, in an
extravagance of joy. They ran through the city and 8
burst open the doors of temples: night fostered men's
credulity, and darkness gave fresh confidence to
assertion. Tiberius did nothing to contradict the
false report, leaving it to die away through time.
And then the people grieved all the more, as though
Germanicus had been taken from them a second time.

and dashed
again.

Every distinction which affection or ingenuity 83
could devise was voted² in honour of Germanicus: 2

Honours
to the
memory of
Germani-
cus.

¹ Popular sentiments have at all times been attributed to the younger members of reigning families—especially such as have never had the chance of giving effect to their opinions. Suetonius asserts that Drusus (the elder) had openly announced that he would restore the Republic (whatever that might mean) if ever he had the opportunity; and that, according to some authorities, Augustus, incensed thereby, had caused him to be poisoned. The facile manner

in which he adds that 'he mentioned this report, not because he thought there was any truth or probability in it, but merely *ne praetermitterem*,' shows how little weight we need attach to the many sinister remarks of a similar kind which he records (Claud. 1 and Tib. 50).

² Some fragments of this decree, as well as of that conferring similar honours on Drusus (iv. 9, 2), have been preserved (C.I.L. vi. 1, 911, 912).

that his name should be inserted in the Salian hymn;¹ that curule chairs, surmounted by chaplets of oak leaves, should be set in the places reserved for the Augustales; that his effigy in ivory should be carried at the head of the procession at the Circensian games; that no Flamen or Augur should be elected in his
 3 room who did not belong to the Julian family. There were to be triumphal arches² in Rome, on the banks of the Rhine, and on the Mons Amanus in Syria, with inscriptions recording his achievements, and how he had died for his country. A sepulchre was raised at Antioch, where he had been burned, and a tribunal at Epidaphna, where he died. The number of his statues, and of the places where they were to be
 4 honoured, can scarcely be enumerated. It was proposed to have an immense shield³ of gold placed amongst those of famous orators; but Tiberius announced that he would dedicate one of the usual size and material. *A man's eloquence, he said, was not to be measured by his rank; it was honour enough for Germanicus to be classed among the great writers of old.*
 5 The knights gave the name of Germanicus to one of the blocks⁴ of seats in the theatre known as 'the benches of the Juniors'; and ordained that his image should be carried at the head of the squadrons in the procession of the 15th of July. Most of these honours are still maintained; but some were omitted

¹ This was the famous ancient hymn sung by the Salii, a college of priests dedicated to Mars by Numa. Horace pronounces the hymn to be unintelligible (Epp. ii. 2, 86). See C.I.L. vi. 1, 2104, and Wilmans, 2879.

² Three *Iani*, or archways, are mentioned in the inscription referred to above.

³ The *clipeus* was a bust or medallion. Such memorials were probably placed along with the busts of poets in the

Palatine Library. A medallion of the orator Hortensius is referred to above, chap. 37, 3.

⁴ *Cuneus*, 'a wedge,' was the name given to the wedge-shaped blocks into which the fourteen front rows allotted to equites at the theatre were divided by the passages. The passages running downwards were called *scalae*; those running round the semicircle of seats were *praecinctiones*.

from the first, or have fallen into disuse with time.

Birth of
twins to
Livia. Joy
of Tiberius.

While the public sorrow was still fresh, Livia, the 84.
wife of Drusus, gave birth to twin sons.¹ An event so
rare—one that would bring joy even to a humble
home—afforded the Emperor such delight that he 2
could not contain himself, boasting to the Senate that
never before had twin sons been born to any Roman
father of equal eminence. Thus would he turn every-
thing, even the merest accidents, into matter for self-
glorification. To the people, however, even this 3
event, occurring at this particular time, was a cause
of sorrow; the birth of children to Drusus seemed
like a fresh blow to the house of Germanicus.

Law
against
female
profligacy.

In this same year the Senate passed severe 85.
measures to repress female profligacy, forbidding the
profession of prostitution to all whose grandfathers,
fathers or husbands, had been Roman knights. For 2
a woman called Vestilia, belonging to a praetorian
family, had given in her name to the Aediles² in
accordance with the rule adopted by our ancestors,
who believed that wanton women would be suffi-
ciently punished by the mere acknowledgment of
their shame. Vestilia's husband, Titidius Labeo, 3
was called upon to explain how it was that, though
the guilt of his wife was notorious, he had failed
to put in force against her the penalties of the
law.³ His excuse was that the sixty days allowed 4

Vestilia
punished.

¹ Drusus had already a daughter, Julia; she was married in the year following to Nero (iii. 29, 4). Drusus thus acquired the *ius trium liberorum*.

² Under the republic, besides the care of public buildings indicated in their title, the aediles had exercised various functions in regard to keeping the streets, policing the city, securing public decency and order, as well as superintending the markets and public

games. Though shorn of much of their power under the empire, they still superintended the cleaning of the city, supervised places of public resort, destroyed books condemned by the senate (iv. 35, 5), and were supposed to enforce the sumptuary laws (iii. 52, 3, and 53, 2).

³ The law referred to is the *Lex Iulia de adulteriis*, passed B.C. 17. By that law the injured husband was bound to separate at once from his wife; and for

him to make up his mind had not expired. It was determined therefore to deal only with Vestilia, and she was secluded in the Island of Seriphos.

5 A debate then took place as to the expulsion of Egyptian and Jewish worship;¹ and a decree was passed² that four thousand freedmen of full age, infected with those superstitions, should be transported to Sardinia, to put down brigandage:—*Should they perish from the pestilential climate, they never would be missed.* The rest were to leave Italy if they did not abjure their profane rites before a certain day.

Foreign
rites
expelled.

36. 1 After this, Tiberius reported that a Vestal Virgin had to be chosen in room of Occia, who had presided over the worship of Vesta with the utmost sanctity for fifty-seven years. Fonteius Agrippa and Domitius Pollio having both made offer of their daughters, (they) were thanked for their zeal in the public service; but the daughter of Pollio was preferred, for no other reason than that her mother had never had but one husband; whereas Agrippa had impaired the honour of his house by a divorce. As a consolation, however, to the daughter for being passed over, Tiberius presented her with a dowry of a million sesterces.

Choice of a
Vestal
Virgin.

37. 1 A popular outcry having been occasioned by the high price of corn, Tiberius fixed a price to be paid by purchasers, undertaking himself to give traders two

Price fixed
for corn.

the next sixty days he had the sole right of taking proceedings against her. See Furn. on chap. 50, 2.

¹ The senate was the authority to which questions of religion, such as the permission of foreign cults, were referred in the first instance. So with the right of asylum in the provinces (iii. 60); petitions for permission to set up a temple to the emperor (iv. 13, 1); or the claim of the Flamen Dialis to

assume the government of a province (iii. 58, 1). Yet in all such cases the emperor, if he chose, had the ultimate deciding voice; partly from his general control over all proceedings of the senate, partly from his special religious prerogative as *Pontifex Maximus* (iii. 59, 2).

² Josephus (Ant. xviii. 3, 4) gives an account of the circumstances which occasioned these decrees.

sesterces per bushel in addition.¹ But he declined to 2
 accept the title of 'Father of his Country' which was
 offered to him on this account, as indeed it had been
 offered to him before; and he sternly rebuked those
 who would speak of his occupations as 'divine,' or of
 himself as 'master.'² So narrow and so slippery were 3
 the paths of speech under a prince who hated flattery
 as much as he dreaded liberty!

I find it recorded by writers who were senators at 88.
 that time that a letter was read from Adgandestrius,
 a chief of the Chatti, in which he offered to bring
 about the death of Arminius if poison were sent to
 him for the purpose. The reply returned was *that it*
was not by treachery and stealth, but openly and by force
of arms, that the Roman people took vengeance on their
enemies. A proud answer this; by which Tiberius 2
 likened himself to those generals of old who had
 forbidden and denounced the poisoning of King
 Pyrrhus.³

Now that the Romans had retired, and Maroboduus 3
 was defeated, Arminius aimed at making himself
 king; but his countrymen's love of freedom barred
 the way, and they rose against him. After fighting
 with varying fortune, he fell at last by the treachery
 of his kinsmen. He was, in real truth, the Liberator of
 Germany. He had measured himself with the Roman
 people, not in the days of their infancy, as other
 kings and generals had done, but in the hey-day of
 their power; and, if his battles were of doubtful

¹ See Marquardt, Staatsv. ii. p. 122
 foll., and the references quoted by Furn.
 as to regulations for the corn-supply of
 Rome.

² Suetonius says that Tiberius made
 one senator substitute *laboriosas* for
sacras in speaking of his occupations;
 and another *suasore* for *auctore* in regard
 to his recommending a question to

the senate (Tib. 27). According to
 Dio, lvii. 8, 2, he described himself thus:
 Δεσπότης μὲν τῶν δουλῶν, αὐτοκράτωρ δὲ τῶν
 στρατιωτῶν, τῶν δὲ ἄλλοι πᾶν πρόκριτος εἰμι.

³ In reference to the well-known story
 about Pyrrhus and C. Fabricius, cos.
 B.C. 278 (Plut. Pyrrhus 21 (p. 397);
 Val. Max. vi. 5, 1).

Noble
 reply of
 Tiberius to
 Adgan-
 destrius.

Arminius,
 the Libe-
 rator of
 Germany,
 slain.

issue, he was never beaten in a campaign. He had lived thirty-seven years; he had ruled for twelve; and his name still lives in the songs of the barbarians. Greek writers, who can admire nothing but what is Greek, know him not; and we Romans honour him not as he deserves. We belaud the past; but we pay no heed to the glories of yesterday.

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BOOK III.

A.D. 20. CONSULS M. VALERIUS MESSALLA AND
M. AURELIUS COTTA.

Agrippina
arrives at
Corcyra.

MEANWHILE Agrippina, continuing her voyage over I. the winter seas without a break, arrived at Corcyra,¹ an island which lies over against the coast of Calabria. Overwhelmed by a tempestuous grief which she knew not how to bear, she tarried there a few days to compose her spirits. During this interval, at the news of 2 her approach, there was a rush of her intimate friends to Brundisium,² which was the nearest and safest port at which to land. Among the number were many officers who had served in various positions under Germanicus; many even who had never known him³ flocked in from the neighbouring towns, some as a matter of duty to the Emperor, some merely doing as others did.

Her recep-
tion at
Brun-
disium.

When the fleet was first sighted in the offing, not 3 only the harbour and the adjoining parts of the beach, but also the city walls, the housetops, and every point which commanded a distant view out to sea, were thronged with a sorrowing crowd, each man asking his neighbour whether they should receive Agrippina in silence when she landed, or with speech of some sort. Before they could agree what best befitted the 4

¹ The modern Corfu.

² The modern *Brindisi*.

³ *Ignoti* is here used in an active sense, as in ii. 71, 6; Agr. 43, 1.

occasion, the fleet came slowly in. There was none of the usual alertness in the rowing; everything was arranged to betoken sorrow. And when Agrippina, with her two children,¹ stepped off the ship, carrying the funeral urn in her hands, and with her eyes fixed upon the ground, one cry of grief burst from the entire multitude, kinsfolk and strangers, men and women, all lamenting alike, save that the grief of Agrippina's attendants was worn out by long continuance, while that of those who had come to meet her was the more fresh and strong.

The Emperor had sent an escort of two Praetorian Cohorts, and had ordered the magistrates of Calabria, Apulia and Campania² to pay the last offices of respect to the memory of his son. And so the ashes were carried on the shoulders of Tribunes and centurions; in front went the standards, undecorated, and the fasces reversed; when they passed through a Colony,³ the populace were clothed in black, while the knights

Funeral procession through Italy.

¹ These children were Gaius, or Caligula as we call him (Suet. Cal. 14), and the infant Julia, born at Lesbos A.D. 18 (ii. 54, 1); she was also called Livilla. She was married to M. Vinicius (vi. 15, 1) in A.D. 33; was banished and recalled with her mother Agrippina; banished again, and put to death in A.D. 41 at the instigation of Messalina (Dio, lx. 8, 5).

² The route followed would be by the *Via Appia*, the great high road from Rome to the East, passing through the towns of Tarentum, Venusia (Horace's birthplace), Beneventum, Capua, Sinuessa, then along the coast by Formiae and Fundi to Terracina; thence straight to Rome by Aricia, over the low land of Latium.

³ The distinction between Coloniae and Municipia was now nominal; and, in fact, every one of the towns above mentioned was a colony. Here and elsewhere, Tacitus uses the phrase *municipia et coloniae* to embrace all the provincial towns of Italy, whether known originally as *coloniae*, *muni-*

cipia, or *praefecturae*. The *coloniae civium Romanorum* stood in the first rank, being the oldest, and having enjoyed from the beginning the full Roman Civitas. The *coloniae Latinae* had probably only private rights; there were *municipia cum suffragio*, and *municipia sine suffragio*; while the term *praefectura* applied to all towns (some of which were *municipia*) governed by a *praefectus* sent from Rome. All these towns enjoyed, under various conditions, certain rights of self-government. The *Lex Julia*, passed in B.C. 90 after the Social War, conferred the full franchise on all towns in Italy which chose to accept it; and from that time, practically all old Latin and allied communities in Italy became *municipia*, in possession of full political rights. The name of *colonia*, however, was still used and cherished as a distinction by the old colonies; but politically all alike were *municipia*. See App. XII. to Watson's Cic.'s Letters.

in their robes of state¹ burned garments and spices and other funeral oblations,² in proportion to the wealth of the community. Even from cities far off³ the line of the procession people came out to meet it, offering victims, setting up altars to the Manes of the deceased, and testifying their grief by tears and wailings for the dead.³

Concourse at Terracina to meet the ashes.

Drusus came out as far as Terracina, accompanied⁴ by Claudius,⁴ the brother of Germanicus, and such of the latter's children as happened to be in Rome at the time. Thither came the newly-installed Consuls,⁵⁵ Marcus Valerius and Marcus Aurelius; the roadway was taken up by a vast concourse of senators, and people from Rome, each man standing apart and weeping as his heart inclined him. For there was no sycophancy in their sorrow: every one knew that Tiberius was well pleased at the death of Germanicus, and could scarce conceal his satisfaction.

Conduct of Tiberius, Livia, and Antonia.

Tiberius and Augusta did not appear in public,³ thinking it beneath their dignity to display their grief; perhaps they feared that if exposed to the public gaze, their faces might betray their insincerity. As² regards his mother Antonia,⁶ I cannot discover either

¹ Clothed in the handsome cloak *trabea*, i.e. in full official dress. The *trabea* was an ancient form of the *toga*, ornamented with stripes of scarlet and a purple border. It is called by Virgil the robe of Romulus; it was worn by consuls when opening the gates of the Temple of Janus in declaring war (Aen. vii. 188 and 612), by the Sallii (Dionys. ii. 70), and by Augurs (Servius ad Aen. vii. 612). Dionysius adds that it was worn by knights, and the passage in the text proves it; but it cannot be identified on monuments (see Dict. Ant. i. p. 849, b).

² These costly stuffs and perfumes would probably be burnt on imitation pyres, as if at an actual funeral.

³ *Conclamatio* was the cry raised immediately after death, as soon as the

eyes of the dying person were closed. The name of the deceased was repeated with loud cries by the friends, together with last farewells (*extremum vale*). Apparently also horns were blown.

⁴ This was the future emperor. The other children of Germanicus here alluded to were Nero (14), Drusus (13), Agrippina (5), and Drusilla (3).

⁵ Contrary to his usual custom, Tacitus mentions the names of the new consuls in the middle of the chapter, as the voyage of Agrippina had begun before the close of the year.

⁶ This was *Antonia minor*, wife of Drusus the elder, and mother of Germanicus. She was the younger of the two daughters of Mark Antony by Octavia, the sister of Augustus. She was celebrated for her beauty and her

in the histories or the journals¹ of the time that she took any prominent part in the proceedings, though besides Agrippina, Drusus and Claudius, the names of all the other relatives are specially mentioned. Perhaps she was kept away by indisposition; perhaps her mind was so overcome by sorrow that she could not bear to look upon the grievous spectacle. For myself, I am inclined to believe that Tiberius and Augusta, who never left the house, compelled her to do as they did, that it might appear that their grief was not less than her own, and that the grandmother and the uncle had but followed the example of the mother.

1 On the day when the remains were borne to the Mausoleum² of Augustus, there was at one moment a silence like that of the desert; at another, cries of grief rent the air. The streets were thronged; the Campus Martius was one blaze of torches. The soldiers were drawn up under arms; the magistrates appeared without their insignia of office; the people, marshalled according to their tribes,⁴ cried aloud that *the commonwealth was lost, and all hope was gone*—so spontaneously, so openly, that they seemed to take no heed of the powers above them. But what made the deepest impression on Tiberius was the storm of enthusiasm for Agrippina. Men called her *the glory*

Popular grief at the funeral;

virtue (Plut. Ant. 87, Val. Max. iv. 3, 3). Her elder sister Antonia married L. Domitius Ahenobarbus, and became mother of Cn. Domitius, the father of the emperor Nero: in iv. 44, 3, Tacitus wrongly calls that lady *Antonia minor*. The two Antoniae seem to have followed their mother Octavia in the self-sacrificing domestic simplicity of their lives. They never mixed themselves up in political intrigues, or took any part in public affairs. Antonia minor appears on the coins of Claudius and Caligula as *Antonia Augusta Sacerdos Divi Augusti*.

¹ These *acta diurna* were a kind of official gazette, instituted by Julius Caesar, in which important daily events, political, legal or other, were recorded. They were also called *acta populi, diurna urbis acta*, and *acta diurna populi Romani* (xiii. 31, 1).

² For the Mausoleum of Augustus, see n. on i. 8, 6.

³ *i.e.* in full uniform. Usually soldiers went about the city in mufti, even when on duty (Hist. i. 38, 3).

⁴ Furn. points out that the rabble of the city at this time were not included in the 35 Tribes (Introd. p. 89).

of her country; the sole remnant of the blood of Augustus; the one remaining model of olden virtue: they looked to heaven and prayed that her offspring might be spared to her, and escape the toils of their enemies.¹

dissatisfac-
tion at its
modest
character.

There were some who missed the pageant² of a 5.
state funeral,³ and drew comparisons with the splendid
obsequies which Augustus had provided in honour of
Drusus,⁴ the father of Germanicus. *On that occasion,* 2
it was remarked, he had himself travelled as far as Tici-
num in the depth of winter; he had never left the body, and
had entered the city with it; the bier had been surrounded
by the images of the Claudii and the Julii; the deceased
had been bewailed in the Forum, and belauded from the
Rostra; every honour devised by ancestral usage or
modern ingenuity had been heaped upon him. But Ger- 3
manicus had not received the ordinary honours due to
every Roman noble. Distance from Rome, no doubt, was 4
good reason why the body should have been burned in a
foreign land, and without ceremony; but if fate had
denied him honours at the beginning, that were all the
more reason why they should have been multiplied upon
*him in the end. His brother*⁵ *had travelled but one day's* 5
*journey to meet him; his uncle*⁶ *had not gone even as far*

¹ It must be confessed that Agrippina's conduct and that of her supporters, on this and other occasions, was in the highest degree calculated to inflame to the utmost the jealousy of a jealous prince. See v. 4, 3.

² The omission of the customary procession of ancestors and of the funeral *laudatio* is very remarkable. It contrasts strongly with the splendour of the funeral of Junia (iii. 76, 4).

³ Also called *ensorium funus*, because held at the public expense under the superintendence of the censors.

⁴ The elder Drusus died in Germany, B.C. 9, by a fall from his horse. Augustus was in Gaul at the time; he at once despatched Tiberius to Germany,

who marched back with the procession the whole way to Rome in mid-winter, Augustus himself joining it at Ticinum (*Pavia*). Both Augustus and Tiberius pronounced *laudationes* in Rome, the latter in the Forum, the former in the Flaminian Circus.

⁵ Claudius, the brother of Germanicus, had also gone with Drusus to meet the body at Terracina (chap. 2, 4); but he was held in no account, and was persistently ignored. See chap. 18, 4-7.

⁶ *Patrum* here refers to Tiberius; but owing to the constant confusion between adoptive and blood relationships, it is not so clear whether *fratrem* refers to his own brother Claudius, or to Drusus, son of Tiberius, his brother

6 *as the city gates. Where were the usages of olden times? Where was the effigy¹ at the head of² the bier? Where the laboured poems³ and panegyrics, to tell of the dead man's virtues? Where were the tears, or at least the semblances of affliction?*

1 All this reached the ears of Tiberius. To put down the public talk, he issued a proclamation to this effect:—*Many illustrious Romans had died for their country; but none had ever been so passionately lamented. That feeling did honour both to himself and to them all, were it only kept within due bounds; but what befitted a modest household, or a petty state, might not be seemly for Princes, or for an Imperial people. While their sorrow was still fresh, it had been natural for them to mourn, and find solace in lamentation: but they should now recover their composure, remembering how the Divine Julius, when he lost his only daughter,⁴ and the Divine Augustus, when his grandchildren were taken from him, had thrust away their sorrow. There was no need of ancient instances, or to tell how often the Roman people had borne with fortitude the loss of armies, the death of generals, the annihilation of entire families. Princes were but mortal: the commonwealth was everlasting. Let them return, therefore, to their wonted occupations, and as the*

Tiberius puts forth a consoling edict.

by adoption. It probably refers to the latter, as during this period Claudius was hardly thought of. Similarly, in the dying speech of Germanicus, *fratri* refers to Drusus (ii. 71, 3). In either case the statement is false; for both Claudius and Drusus went to meet the body at Terracina. This passage, like many others in Tacitus, shows how bitter and unscrupulous was the spirit in which the acts of the Government were judged; and in spite of the vehemently denounced tyranny of Tiberius in the capital, how free and outspoken in its comments was the clever and cynical society of the day.

¹ Nipp. thinks this refers to an *imago* of the deceased, worn by a man, like those of ancestors borne in funerals.

See Appian Bell. Civ. ii. 147; Dio lvi. 34; Herodian iv. 2, 3; Suet. Vesp. 19. Furneaux, reading *præpositam*, and relying on the preposition, supposes the reference to be to a waxen effigy placed upon the couch.

² There seems no reason here for changing the *propositam* of the MS. into *præpositam*, with Halm and other editors. On the contrary, a slight variation of word is quite in the manner of Tacitus.

³ To be chanted at the funeral, like the poem composed by the unfortunate Clutorius Priscus in anticipation of the death of Drusus (chap. 49, 1).

⁴ *i. e.* Julia, the only legitimate child of Caesar, who was married to Pompey B.C. 59, and died in child-bed B.C. 54.

*Megalesian Games*¹ were now near at hand, let them resume their pleasures also.

Drusus returns to Illyricum : hopes of vengeance upon Piso.

And so business began again, and men returned to their usual employments. Drusus set out for the Illyrian army. One thought exercised every mind—the hope of wreaking vengeance upon Piso. It was matter of indignant comment that with cunning and contumacious deliberation he was meandering through the pleasant regions of Asia and Achaia, so as to frustrate investigation into his crimes. For the story had got about that the notorious poisoner Martina, who, as above related,² had been sent off to Rome by Gnaeus Sentius, had died suddenly at Brundisium ; and that although poison had been found concealed in a lock of her hair, there were no signs upon her person that her death had been self-inflicted.³

Piso sends on his son to Rome, going first to see Drusus.

Meanwhile Piso had sent his son⁴ on to Rome before him, furnished with explanations wherewith to appease the Emperor. He himself went first to see Drusus, whom he hoped to find more pleased at the removal of a rival than outraged at his brother's death. Tiberius received the young man kindly, to shew that he had not prejudged the case, and gave him presents, such as are usually given to the sons of noble houses on like occasions.

His reception by Drusus.

The reply of Drusus to the father was that *if the*

¹ The Megalesian games began on April 4th. Suetonius says the public mourning in Rome on news of the death lasted through the whole of the Saturnalia, which began on Dec. 19th. The date of the death was apparently October 10th. Agrippina reached Rome with the ashes in the early days of January, A.D. 20 (chap. 2, 5).

² See ii. 74, 2.

³ The obvious intention of mentioning or inventing these facts was to show that Martina was convicted of being a professional poisoner by having poison concealed upon her person ; while

the absence of any marks of poisoning on her body showed that she had not poisoned herself, but had been made away with in order to suppress the evidence against Piso. Nipp. with over-refinement imagines the object to be to show that Martina, in poisoning herself, shewed herself such a mistress of the art that she used a poison which left no trace after death.

⁴ This was the son Marcus, who advised his father to return at once to Rome, and not run the risk involved in attempting to regain his province by force (ii. 76, 2).

stories going about were true, none would be more grieved than he; but he hoped they would prove false and without foundation, and that the death of Germanicus would bring

4 ruin to none. This he said in public audience; for he declined a private interview. No one doubted but that the answer had been dictated to him by Tiberius; for whereas at other times he was noted for the simplicity and youthful frankness of his demeanour, he exhibited on this occasion all the astuteness of an old man.

1 Crossing the Adriatic, and leaving his ships at Ancona, Piso passed through Picenum, and thence on to the Flaminian Way.¹ He overtook on the road a legion marching from Pannonia to Rome, on its way to join the forces in Africa. It was much remarked upon that he shewed himself frequently to the soldiers
2 throughout the march. At Narnia—either to avoid suspicion, or because fear unsettles all men's plans—he took boat, and descended first the Nar, and then the Tiber. The popular feeling against him was much heightened by his landing in broad daylight, when the river-bank was crowded, close to the Mausoleum of the Caesars; whence he and his wife, with confident faces, proceeded on foot to their house, which overhung the Forum: Piso escorted by a train of clients, Plancina by a company of ladies. The festal decorations of the house, the feastings and banquetings
3

His journey
from
Illyricum
to Rome.

¹ The *Via Flaminia*, made by C. Flaminius when censor, B.C. 220, was the Great North Road from Rome. Running close to the line of the modern Corso, and issuing from the city by the Porta Flaminia (*Porta del Popolo*), it crossed the Tiber two miles further on by the famous Milvian Bridge; returned to the left bank at a point N. of Falerii; crossed the Nar, and then passing through Spoletium (*Spoletto*), Fulginium (*Foligno*) and Nuceria (*Nocera*), crossed the Apennines by a low pass

leading down into the valley of the Metaurus, finally reaching the Adriatic at Fanum Fortunae (*Fano*), a point one hundred and ninety Roman miles due N. from Rome. Ancona was some thirty-five miles S. of Fanum Fortunae. Piso seems to have struck inland through Picenum by a by-road, joining the *Via Flaminia* at Nuceria, near Assisi. From that point to the Nar, where he took to the water, was a distance of fifty-three Roman miles.

which followed, visible to all from the publicity of the spot, added to the general exasperation.

He is im-
peached by
Fulcinus
Trio.

Next day, Fulcinus Trio¹ impeached Piso before 10
the Consuls. To this Vitellius and Veranius and the 2
rest of the following of Germanicus objected, contend-
ing that Trio had no standing in the case:—*They them-*
selves were not there as accusers, but as witnesses, to testify
to facts, and to convey the instructions of Germanicus.
Thereupon Trio, abandoning his right to prosecute on 3
the present charge, made good his claim to denounce
Piso's previous career; and demanded that the
Emperor should try the cause himself. To this the 4
accused offered no objection. He was afraid of the
feeling against him among the people and in the
Senate, whereas Tiberius, he believed, would stand
firm against clamour, and Livia's complicity would tie
his hands.² He thought moreover that a single judge
would separate truth from misrepresentation more
readily than a larger number, among whom feelings
of prejudice or ill-will might prevail. Tiberius him- 5
self was fully alive to the difficulties of the enquiry,
and knew what damaging reports were in circulation
about himself. So having heard the accusations on 6
the one side, and the appeals for mercy on the other,
before a few chosen intimates, he remitted³ the whole
case for trial to the Senate.⁴

Tiberius
remits the
case to the
Senate.

¹ A notorious accuser. See ii. 28, 3.

² The difficult phrase *conscientiæ matris innexum esse* seems to mean that Tiberius would be unable to disentangle himself from, and would feel himself committed by, the secret instructions supposed to have been given by Livia to Piso and Plancina (ii. 43, 4-5). The words *Augustæ conscientia* are used in exactly the same sense by Domitius when urging Piso to re-occupy his province: *Est tibi Augustæ conscientia, est Caesaris favor, sed in occulto* (ii. 77, 6).

³ The phrases *relationem remittere* and *relationem facere* are specially included among the powers conferred upon the emperor by the *Lex de imperio*. The latter was the ordinary power of the presiding magistrate to put a question to the vote; the former enabled the emperor, without attending himself, to refer a question to the senate for decision. See Rushforth, pp. 82 and 85.

⁴ As we have seen elsewhere, a trial of this kind might take one of three forms. It might be tried: (1) By the

1 Drusus meantime returned from Illyricum, and entered the city, postponing the honour of an Ovation voted to him by the Senate for the submission of Maroboduus, and for his successes during the preceding summer.

Return of Drusus.

2 Piso now applied in turn to Lucius Arruntius, Publius Vinicius, Asinius Gallus, Aeserninus Marcellus and Sextus Pompeius,¹ to conduct his defence; but they all on various pleas excused themselves. Thereupon Manius Lepidus,² Lucius Piso,³ and Livineius Regulus⁴ offered their services. The whole town was on the tip-toe of expectation:—*Would the friends of Germanicus prove staunch? On what did the accused rely? Would Tiberius contain himself? Would he suppress all indication of his own opinion?* Never was public feeling more on the stretch, never did the people indulge more freely in secret murmurs against

Piso prepares for his defence.

Excitement in the city.

emperor himself: the emperor might choose assessors from the senate to assist him, but would not be bound to follow their opinion. (2) By the senate as a whole, under the presidency of a consul or a praetor; or (3) in an ordinary court of law. See ii. 28, 5. The case of Piso admirably illustrates these different modes of procedure. When Piso passed the ship bearing Agrippina and her friends off the coast of Lycia in A.D. 19, his retort to Marsus Vibius shews that he expected to be tried by a praetor and a jury in the ordinary court (*quaestio*) for trying cases of poisoning under the *Lex Cornelia de Veneficiis* (ii. 79, 2). The prosecutor, however, in presenting his case to the consuls, petitions that it may be tried by the emperor; and the emperor actually undertakes the preliminary investigation with the assistance of a *consilium* of friends. In the end, feeling how difficult it would be for him to conduct a trial in which the charge was that of murdering his own nephew and adopted son, Tiberius remits the whole case for trial to the senate. See Greenidge, 'Roman Public Life,' p. 388.

all consulars, *i.e.* men who had held the consulship. For Arruntius (cos. A.D. 6), see i. 13, 2; for Asinius Gallus (cos. B.C. 8), i. 12 and 13, 2. P. Vinicius was apparently cos. in A.D. 2; Aeserninus Marcellus was a grandson of Pollio, and cos. *suf.* in some year unknown; Sextus Pompeius was cos. A.D. 44.

² This distinguished man was cos. A.D. 11; and was described by Augustus as *capacem (imperii) sed aspernantem* (i. 13, 2). He defends his sister Lepida in a prosecution, chap. 22, 2. In chap. 35, 1, he is nominated for the province of Africa; he makes a bold speech on behalf of Clutorius Priscus, chap. 50; and is warmly lauded (iv. 20, 3-5) for his rare mixture of firmness and discretion in resisting tyranny. He was appointed proconsul of Asia A.D. 26 (iv. 56, 3); and died a natural death in A.D. 33 (vi. 27, 4).

³ L. Piso is supposed to have been a brother of Cn. Piso. His independent conduct is described in ii. 34, 1-4; his accusation and death in iv. 21, 1-4.

⁴ Livineius Regulus also was a consular.

¹ These were all distinguished men;

the Emperor: if they kept silence, it was the silence of suspicion.

Tiberius
addresses
the Senate

On the day of the trial, Tiberius used language of I
studied moderation. *Piso, he said, had been the Legate 2*
and the friend of his father; he himself had appointed
him, at the instance of the Senate, to be coadjutor to
Germanicus in the management of Eastern affairs.
Whether, in that position, he had exasperated the young 3
man by insolent and contumacious conduct, had exulted at
his death, or even compassed it by crime, it was for them
impartially to determine. For if, he continued, he out- 4
stepped the limits of his position; if he failed in due
obedience to his Imperator; if he shewed exultation at his
death and my affliction, I shall indeed visit him with my
resentment, and close my doors against him;¹ but I will
not use my authority as Emperor to avenge my injuries as
a man. If, however, it shall appear that a crime has been 5
committed, such as would call for punishment had the
death been that of any private individual: then it will be
your duty to afford just satisfaction both to the children of
Germanicus, and to us his parents. You will also con- 6
sider whether Piso encouraged insubordination and dis-
affection among his troops, whether he courted popularity
with them for his own ends, and sought to regain possession
of his province by force; or whether these are false charges,
and made too much of by the accusers. Of these men's
excessive zeal, I have some reason to complain. For what 7
end was served by laying bare the dead body, and exposing
it to the rude gaze of the multitude, thus letting the rumour
go abroad, even in foreign countries, that Germanicus had
been poisoned, if that fact is still in doubt, and still calls
for investigation?

¹ This was done by a formal act, such as that by which Germanicus on his death-bed renounced the friendship

of Piso (ii. 70, 3). See also iii. 24, 5, and vi. 29, 3.

- 8 *Deeply as I lament, and ever shall lament, my son, I shall not prevent the accused from producing any evidence by which his innocence may be established, or by which any fault on the part of Germanicus, if such there were, may be brought home; but I implore you not to accept charges made as if they were charges proved, merely because my own personal grief is bound up in the case.*
- 9 *If ties of blood¹ or friendship have prompted any of you to undertake the defence, use all your eloquence, all your energy, on behalf of the accused. I exhort the accusers*
- 10 *to be no less industrious, no less determined. In one point only can I place Germanicus above the law: that the enquiry into his death shall take place in the Curia rather than in the Forum, before the Senate, rather than in a Court of law.² In all else, let like moderation be observed.*
- 11 *Let none pay regard to the tears of Drusus, or to my own affliction; nor even to any calumnies fabricated against myself.³*

in a speech of studied impartiality.

- 1 It was arranged that two days should be allowed for the prosecution, and that after an interval of six days, three⁴ more should be assigned to the defence.
- 2 Fulcinius began with old and irrelevant charges of intrigues and extortion during Piso's Spanish command—charges which, even if proved, would not tell against the accused, were he to clear himself of those recently

Accusation begun by Fulcinius,

¹ Apparently in allusion to L. Piso (see chap. 11, 2). This confirms the conjecture that this Lucius was brother to the accused.

² The Latin is *apud iudices*, 'before a jury'; the meaning of which phrase is explained in the n. on chap. 10, 4.

³ The tone of this speech, whether delivered by Tiberius or not, gives a high idea of Roman justice and Roman judicial proceedings. No British judge in summing up could put a case before a jury with more admirable precision and impartiality. The attitude of the emperor as exhibited in this speech, in a matter so closely concerning himself, is truly *civilis*. Indeed, it is evident

that Tacitus, a-flame in the interests of Germanicus, regards it as far too impartial, and as indicating coldness on the emperor's part in avenging his son's death. He has little objection to high-handed judicial proceedings when directed against the objects of his aversion.

⁴ Three days was a liberal allowance for the purpose. Pompey's law (B.C. 52) allowed only two hours to the prosecution, three to the defence; the younger Pliny says that in his time the law allowed no more than six hours to the prosecution, nine to the defence (Epp. iv. 9, 9).

and continued by the friends of Germanicus.

brought against him; nor could their refutation help him to an acquittal, should he be found guilty of the more serious offences. After him came Servaeus,³ Veranius and Vitellius,¹ all with equal determination, and Vitellius with much eloquence besides, urging against Piso that out of hatred to Germanicus, and in furtherance of revolutionary designs, he had so corrupted the soldiery by relaxing discipline, and permitting outrages on the allies, that he had won for himself, among the riff-raff of the camp, the title of 'Father of the Legions;' that, on the other hand, he had been severe on all well-behaved men, and especially on the staff and personal friends of Germanicus; and finally, that he had brought about the death of Germanicus by means of poison and incantations. They dwelt upon his own and Plancina's unholy vows and sacrifices, and his armed attack upon the commonwealth: it was not until he had been defeated in battle that he could be brought to justice.

The charge of poisoning breaks down;

On all points but one the defence broke down. I 4
The accused could not deny that he had courted the favour of the soldiers; that he had put the province at the mercy of men of the worst character; nor even that he had treated his Emperor with contumely. The only charge on which he succeeded in clearing 2
himself was that of poisoning; for even his accusers could not make good their story that at a banquet

¹ All three were friends of Germanicus. Q. Servaeus is mentioned in ii. 56, 5 (A.D. 18) as put in command of Com-magene with the *ius praetoris*; when accused and condemned in vi. 7, 2, he is described as *quaestura functus, quondam Germanici comes*. P. Vitellius held command under Germanicus in Germany (i. 70, 1), and was afterwards proconsul of Bithynia; Q. Veranius

was appointed legatus of Cappadocia, when reduced to a province (ii. 56, 4). Pliny says the speech delivered by Vitellius on this occasion was extant in his time; one of his arguments against Piso was that Germanicus must have been poisoned, as his heart resisted cremation. Vitellius was uncle to the future emperor of that name.

given by Germanicus, Piso had, with his own hand, mixed poison with his food when reclining above
 3 him at the table. It seemed absurd to suppose that he could have dared to do this with the slaves of his host all around him, with so many bystanders looking on, and under the very eyes of Germanicus himself.

The accused offered his own slaves for the torture, and demanded that the attendants should be tortured
 4 also. But the hostility of Piso's judges, arising from different reasons, was not to be appeased. Tiberius could not forgive him for having made war upon the province; the Senate could not bring themselves to believe that Germanicus had died a natural death.¹

. . . A demand for the production of certain documents was resisted both by Tiberius and by Piso.
 5 The mob in front of the senate-house was heard shouting that they would not keep their hands off
 6 Piso, if he were acquitted by the Senate. They dragged his statues to the Gemonian Stairs,² and would have broken them in pieces had not the Emperor ordered them to be rescued, and put back in
 7 their places. Piso was thrust into a litter and taken home, under the escort of a Tribune of the Praetorian Guards, men wondering whether that officer were there to ensure his safety or to carry out his execution.

5. 1 The feeling against Plancina was no less strong than that against Piso, but there was stronger

but Tiberius, Senate, and people are all hostile.

Piso taken home.

Feeling against Plancina;

¹ There seems to be a gap in the text here. The trial must have been prolonged beyond the programme laid down in chap. 13, 1, as we find fresh accusations produced in chap. 15, and the defence abandoned. It is supposed that Piso asked leave to bring forward fresh charges against Germanicus, and that these were met by a demand for documents, which was inconvenient both to Piso and Tiberius. There is a similar gap in chap. 16, 3, after the words *quasitam apud senatum*; and

Nipp. with some probability conjectures that part of a leaf in the original MS. had been torn off, so as to affect the pages on both sides.

² The *Scalae Gemoniae*, or 'Stair of sighs,' led down from the Capitol to the Forum, past the so-called Mamertine prison. Hither bodies of criminals were dragged and exposed after execution. The same fate was meted out to the statues of the fallen: *descendunt statuæ restemque sequuntur*, Juv. x. 58.

influence behind her; and people doubted how far Tiberius would be permitted to proceed against her.¹ So long as the fate of Piso was in suspense, she 2 professed herself ready to share all his fortunes, and even, if need be, to die with him; but when she 3 had secured a pardon by the secret entreaties of Augusta, she gradually drew off from her husband, and separated her defence from his. Perceiving that 4 this meant death for him, Piso hesitated whether to give up the case; urged on, however, by his sons, he hardened his heart, and made his appearance in the Senate once more. Once more he had to listen to the same charges, to face the hostile comments of the senators, and to find everything adverse and everybody relentless; but what alarmed him most was to see Tiberius pitiless, passionless, and doggedly resolved to remain impervious to every human feeling. Taken back to his house, Piso made as though he 5 would prepare for his defence on the next day. He wrote out some memoranda, sealed them, and delivered them to a freedman; he then attended to his person as usual. In the dead of night, his wife having left 6 the chamber, he ordered the door to be fastened: at daybreak, he was found with his throat cut right through, his sword lying on the ground beside him.

I remember hearing my elders say that a certain 16 document was often seen in Piso's hands, which he never made public. This document, his friends averred, was a despatch from Tiberius, containing instructions with regard to Germanicus: Piso had intended to produce it before the Senate, and thereby convict the Emperor, but Sejanus put him off with

who is screened by Livia.

Piso appears once more before the Senate;

he goes home, and is found dead in his chamber.

Rumours about an unpublished document, etc.

¹ As though Tiberius was powerless to shake himself free from his mother's ascendancy. Cp. iv. 57, 4, *tradunt*

etiam matris impotentia extrusum.
See n. on i. 14, 3.

empty promises. It was also said that Piso did not die by his own hand, but by that of the executioner.

2 I cannot affirm the truth of either story; but I feel bound not to withhold statements made by persons who were still alive in the days of my own youth.¹

3 Assuming an air of sadness, Tiberius complained before the Senate that such a death was deliberately designed to throw odium on him; and sending for Piso's son,² he questioned him closely as to the manner in which his father had spent his last day and night.

4 Most of these questions the youth answered discreetly enough, others not so wisely; whereupon Tiberius read aloud a memorandum written by Piso in something like the following terms:—

5 *Overwhelmed by a conspiracy among my enemies, and by the odium of a false charge, and seeing that there is no place left for truth or innocence of mine, I call the Immortal Gods to witness that throughout my life I have been loyal to you, O Caesar, and no less dutiful to your mother. I entreat you both to have compassion on my children. One of them, Gnaeus Piso, has had no part or lot in my fortunes, whether for good or evil, since he has passed all this time in Rome. The other, Marcus,*
6 *entreated me not to return to Syria. Would that I had given way to him—the father to the son, the elder to the younger—rather than he to me! I pray therefore the*

Tiberius complains of the suicide,

and reads a memorandum from the deceased.

¹ Tacitus thus avows that he regards it as a duty, living in an atmosphere alive with rumours, to record any tale, however little substantiated, related to him by persons living at the time. The present is a glaring instance. The story that private instructions had been given to Piso, either by Livia or Tiberius, to undermine Germanicus, is a cardinal feature in the case against Tiberius; it rests throughout on mere *ex post facto* rumour, without a tittle of positive evidence to support it; and it is here accredited by the gravest of

historians on the authority of a report that somebody had seen a paper the contents of which, it is acknowledged, were never divulged to any one!

² The words *conquestus M. Pisonem vocari iubet* are supplied here by Halm to fill an obvious lacuna in the text. The lost passage must have contained a verb, together with the name of some person interrogated, who must have been a member of Piso's household: and the words suggested well meet the desideratum.

more earnestly that, being innocent, he may not have to pay the penalty for my errors. By my five-and-forty years¹ of devotion to yourself; by the Consulship which we held in common,² and in which I commended myself to your father, the Divine Augustus: as a friend who will never again ask anything at your hands, I entreat you to spare my unhappy son. He made no mention of Plancina.

He acquits the son and pleads for Plancina.

Tiberius exonerated the young man from the charge of making civil war:—*The father, he said, had given the order, and the son was bound to obey.* He spoke in feeling terms of the nobility of the house, and of the sad fate which had befallen Piso himself, whatever his deserts. He then pleaded for Plancina, not without shame at his own shamelessness, alleging the entreaties of his mother; but this inflamed all the more the secret indignation with which she was regarded by all right-minded people. *So it was right and proper, they said, for a grandmother to look graciously on the murderess of her grandson, to hold converse with her, and to rescue her from justice! Germanicus alone had been denied the rights secured by law to every citizen. He had been lamented by a Vitellius and a Veranius; but Plancina had had the Emperor and Augusta for her protectors. Let Livia now turn against Agrippina and her children the craft and the poison which she had so happily essayed; let this precious grandmother, this egregious uncle, glut themselves to the full with the blood of that unhappy family!*

Indignation of the people.

Enquiry continued.

Two days were wasted in this sham enquiry. Tiberius encouraged the young Pisos to defend

¹ *i.e.* ever since his first entry upon public life.

² Piso was colleague of Tiberius as cos. in B.C. 7, after which he was sent as legatus into Spain, where he exhibited

much cruelty and avarice. He could only have gained the consulship on the *commendatio* of Augustus. See n. on i. 15, 2.

7 their mother. Counsel and witnesses vied with one another in denunciations, to which none made answer; but this, instead of adding to the feeling against
8 her, excited pity in her behalf. The opinion first taken was that of the Consul Aurelius Cotta; for when the Emperor presided in person, the magistrates were called upon to speak first.¹ Cotta moved that Piso's name should be erased from the calendar;² that one half of his property should be confiscated, and the other half given to his son Gnaeus, who should change his praenomen; that Marcus Piso should be stripped of his rank, and banished³ for ten years,

Sentence moved by the Consul Cotta.

¹ This passage implies that the emperor might attend a meeting of senate without actually presiding. When he did preside, as on this occasion, the consuls would take their place as ordinary senators, and be called upon first for their opinion. Under the Republic, the presiding magistrate called first upon the *princeps senatus* (usually the senior consular), using the words *Quid censes?* ('What is your opinion?'); and then upon the other consulars in order of seniority. If, however, the consuls for the next year had been appointed, it was usual to call first upon the consuls designate (see chap. 22, 6), as the magistrates responsible for the policy of the year following. When the emperor presided in person, he would follow the same rule. He was *ex officio princeps senatus*; but it does not appear that he could ever be called upon for his opinion: he could state it whenever he chose. See Greenidge, p. 375. Under the Republic, it would appear that all magistrates (from the rank of quaestor upwards), as well as the tribunes of the plebs, had the right of speaking when they chose, without being called upon by the president.

² Similarly, under the Republic, the praenomen *Marcus* had been forbidden to the Manlii after the so-called treason of the great M. Manlius Capitolinus (Liv. vi. 20, 14). This son is supposed to have taken the name Lucius, and to be the L. Calpurnius mentioned as cos. iv. 62, 1.

³ The punishment here inflicted is

relegatio. The term *exsilium*, to denote a punishment inflicted by law, was unknown to Rome in republican and early imperial times. 'Exile was conceived, not as a punishment, but as a means of escaping punishment, which the Romans left open to the accused up to the moment of his condemnation' (Dict. Ant. i. p. 820, a). See Cic. pro Caec. 34: *Exsilium enim non supplicium est, sed perfugium portusque supplicii . . . confugiunt, quasi ad aram, in exsilium*. This voluntary retirement, on the part of an accused person, being regarded as an admission of guilt, was usually followed by a law or plebiscitum forbidding the use of fire and water (*aquae et ignis interdictio*), in order to prevent the exile's return. In the later Republic, such an *interdictio*, involving loss of *civitas*, became a regular form of punishment inflicted by the judge after conviction; and under the empire a new and severer form of exile, *deportatio in insulam*—of which we hear so much in Tacitus—came into use. Instances of this punishment are to be found in chap. 38, 3: 68, 2: 69, 8; iv. 13, 2: 21, 5: 30, 2 (where the word *reportatur* is used); vi. 30, 1 (*demoti sunt*). *Relegatio* was also known under the Republic, as a slighter punishment; it did not imply loss of *civitas*, or *deminutio capitis*, although, as to Ovid (at Tomi), a definite place of abode might be assigned to the *relegatus*: *Ipse relegati, non exsulis, utitur in me = Nomine* (Ov. Trist. v. 11, 21).

Plancina
pardoned.

receiving a sum of five million sesterces; and that, in deference to the intercession of Augusta, Plancina should be pardoned.

Sentence
mitigated
by
Tiberius.

This sentence was mitigated in several particulars 18.
by the Emperor. He would not permit Piso's name
to be removed from the calendar, as the names of
Marcus Antonius, who had made war on his country,
and his brother Iulus, who had wrought outrage
in the family of Augustus, were still to be found
in it.¹ Nor would he permit degradation, or confisca- 2
tion of his paternal property, to be inflicted on
Marcus; for, as I have often mentioned, avarice was
not one of his foibles, and a feeling of shame at the
acquittal of Plancina made him all the more ready to
be lenient on this occasion. Again, when it was pro- 3
posed by Valerius Messalinus² to set up a golden
statue of the Emperor in the temple of Mars the
Avenger, and by Caecina Severus to erect an altar in
the same place to Vengeance, he refused his consent
to both proposals. *Such monuments, he observed,*
were appropriate for foreign victories; domestic calamities
*should be sorrowfully kept out of sight.*³ Messalinus 4
had added that thanks should be given to Tiberius,
Augusta, Antonia, Agrippina and Drusus for avenging
the death of Germanicus, omitting all mention of the
name of Claudius; nor was his name inserted until 5
Lucius Asprenas asked Messalinus publicly in the

He rejects
proposals
to celebrate
the event.

Omission
of name of
Claudius in
vote of
thanks.

¹ Yet the name of Antony would seem to have been twice erased from the Fasti Capitolini, and twice restored.

² This was probably not the cos. of this year (chap. 2, 5), but his father, Valerius Messalla, whose sycophancy is described in i. 8, 5 as taking the form of an affectation of independence, and who champions the cause of the women in the debate in chap. 34. He was the son of the famous orator Messalla, patron of Horace, Ovid and Tibullus. See chap. 34, 2.

³ One of those noble human sentiments which historical truth, or his own epigrammatic instinct, compel Tacitus to put into the mouth of Tiberius, when the suitable rhetorical occasion occurs. For similar instances, see i. 81, 3; ii. 88, 1; iii. 69, 6. But while recording such utterances, Tacitus usually contrives to insinuate that Tiberius was insincere in giving expression to them.

6 Senate whether the omission was intentional. For myself, the more I muse upon the course of history, ancient or recent, the more am I struck by the irony¹
7 which pervades all human affairs: for the very last man that rumour, expectation, and public esteem were then marking out for sovereignty, was the man whom Fortune was keeping in reserve as future Emperor.

9. 1 Some days after this, Caesar recommended the Senate to bestow priesthoods upon Vitellius, Veranius and Servaeus:² Fulcinus he promised to recommend for public office, but in doing so he took occasion to warn him not to spoil his eloquence by undue vehemence.

Rewards for the accusers.

2 Thus ended the avenging of the death of Germanicus; an event which has been variously canvassed, not only by contemporaries, but by succeeding generations also. So grave are the doubts which encompass all great affairs; for while there are some who hold as proved everything that they chance to hear, there are others who turn truth into its opposite: and time, as it goes on, magnifies either error.

Uncertainty surrounding the death of Germanicus.

4 Drusus now quitted the city to resume³ the

¹ The word *ludibrium*, and the notion that Fate, or its personified form 'Fortune,' loves to make a laughing-stock of human affairs, frequently recur in Tacitus and the Stoics generally. See Hist. ii. 1, 1: iv. 47, 2; and cp. Juv. x. 366, *Te facimus, Fortuna, deam*. The words which follow in § 7 of this chap., *quem futurum principem fortuna in occulto tenebat*, form an exact parallel in their grim humour to the passage in Juv. vi. 605, where Fortune is represented as chuckling to herself as she tosses her gutter-changelings into the houses of the great: *stat Fortuna improba noctu = Arridens nudis infantibus. Hos fovet omnes = Involvitque sinu; domibus tunc porrigit altis, = Secretumque sibi nimum parat*. See the famous passage in vi. 22, where

Tacitus discusses the question of Fate or Necessity and Free Will.

² *i.e.* as rewards for their services in the accusation. They were probably added to the colleges as supernumerary members; so in i. 54, 2. These appointments, formerly elective by the comitia out of selected lists, had now passed to the senate; the emperor exercising here also the right of *commendatio*.

³ Drusus had lost his *imperium* (without which no ovation or triumph could be celebrated) by entering the city; he had therefore to return to his army to re-assume his command. The phrase *repetere auspicia*, as Furn. points out, seems incorrect, as the *auspicia* were properly conferred in Rome itself (Liv. viii. 30, 2; Momm. Staatsr. i. 96).

Ovation of
Drusus;
death of
his mother
Vipsania.

auspices; and soon afterwards entered it in Ovation. Not many days after that, his mother Vipsania died—the only child of Agrippa who died in course of nature.¹ For all the others either perished openly by the sword, or were believed² to have come to their end by poison or starvation.

Renewal of
the war
with Tac-
farinas.

In the same year war was renewed in Africa by Tacfarinas, whose defeat by Camillus in the previous summer³ I have already recorded. Beginning with marauding forays, in which he secured impunity by the rapidity of his movements, he proceeded to pillage and destroy the towns, gathering in this way a vast amount of booty. At last he beleaguered a Roman cohort stationed near the river Pagyda. The commander of the fort was one Detrius, a bold and experienced soldier, who regarding the siege as a disgrace urged his men to offer battle in the open, and drew out his force in front of the camp. At the first charge, the cohort was repulsed. Amidst a storm of missiles, Detrius threw himself in the way of his flying soldiers, and reproached the standard-bearers that Roman soldiers should be running away before irregulars or deserters. Braving all wounds, and with one eye pierced through, he kept his face to the enemy and fought on, until at last, abandoned by his men, he fell.

Defeat of
a Roman
cohort

When news of this disaster came to the ears of Lucius Apronius, the successor of Camillus, he was more concerned at the shameful behaviour of his men

¹ The statement is exaggerated. No notice is taken of Agrippa's children by Marcella, mentioned by Suet. (Oct. 63); and Julia died a natural death in exile (iv. 71, 6).

² Notice the facility with which Tacitus glides from suspicion to assertion. The assertion is made absolutely;

yet it rests upon no better authority than *manifestum—vel creditum*. Any false report, however monstrous, might be quoted among 'things which are *manifesta vel credita*.'

³ This is a mistake; the campaign of Camillus was three years before, in B.C. 17.

than at the success of the enemy.¹ Resorting to an ancient form of punishment which had almost become obsolete, he caused every tenth man of the disgraced cohort to be chosen by lot and beaten to death. And so excellent was the effect of this severity, that when the same force of Tacfarinas attacked a fort called Thala, it was routed by a detachment of veterans not more than five hundred strong. In this engagement a common soldier called Rufus Helvius had the distinction of saving a comrade's life. Apronius presented him with a necklace and a spear, to which the Emperor added a Civic Crown,² affecting rather than feeling annoyance that Apronius had not added that distinction in virtue of his Proconsular command.

punished by decimation.

The defeat is retrieved by Apronius.

The Numidians having thus received a check, and being disinclined for siege operations, Tacfarinas commenced a guerilla warfare, retreating when pressed, and then again turning upon the Roman rear. So long as the barbarians pursued these tactics, the Roman troops were baffled, worn out, and insulted with impunity;³ but, when he turned towards the coast, and being now hampered with booty, remained stationary in a fixed camp, the General sent his son Caesianus against him with a force of cavalry and auxiliaries, and some of the swiftest legionaries. Caesianus gained a victory over the Numidians, and drove them back into the desert.

Tacfarinas pursues a guerilla warfare;

but is chastised by the General's son.

2. 1 At Rome, meanwhile, information was laid against Lepida, who besides sharing in the lustre of the

Prosecution of Lepida.

¹ There were now two legions in Africa. The ordinary garrison of Africa consisted of only one legion, the 3rd (*Augusta*); but in consequence of the troubles created by Tacfarinas, it had been supplemented by a second legion, the 9th (*Hispana*) from Pannonia (iii. 9, 1 and iv. 5, 3). The 9th was prematurely sent back to Pannonia by

order of Tiberius in A.D. 23 or 24 (iv. 23, 2).

² Made of oak-leaves. Such a crown in gold was decreed to Augustus as 'Saviour of the citizens' in B.C. 27.

³ These methods recall the operations of De Wet and other Boer leaders in the late South African War.

Aemilian house, could claim to be the great-granddaughter both of Lucius Sulla and of Gnaeus Pompeius.¹ She was accused of having pretended to bear a son to a wealthy and childless man called Quirinius.² Further charges were added: charges of adultery, of poisoning, and of having enquired of the Chaldaeans concerning members of the Imperial house. She was defended by her brother, Manius Lepidus.³ Nefarious and guilty as she was, the vindictiveness with which she had been pursued by Quirinius,³ even after declaration of divorce, created a feeling in her favour. What was the Emperor's own mind in regard to the case, it was not easy to discover; so strangely did he alternate, or intermingle, signs of severity and clemency. At first he begged the Senate not to take up the charge of treason; yet not long afterwards, he induced Marcus Servilius, a Consular, and other witnesses, to introduce the very matters which he had apparently desired to exclude. Then he handed over Lepida's slaves, who were in military custody, to the Consuls, prohibiting the question to be applied to them in regard to any matter relating to his own family. He also relieved Drusus, who was Consul Designate, of the duty of pronouncing judgment first.⁴ Some people regarded this as a sign of moderation, designed to relieve other speakers from the necessity of agreeing with Drusus. Others argued that it presaged a severe sentence: for the

¹ Lepida's mother Cornelia was daughter of Faustus Sulla and of Pompeia, daughter of Pompey the Great.

² We find two Lepidi in the Annals, one called *Marcus*, and one *Manius*, whose names are confused in the MS. This Manius (whose fore-name is here rightly given) appears to be the man described in i. 13, 2, as *capacem sed aspernantem*, who defended Piso (chap.

ii, 2, where see n.). For Marcus Lepidus, see n. on chap. 32, 2.

³ For this Quirinius, see n. on ii, 30, 4. His full name was P. Sulpicius Quirinius, one of the first examples of a man bearing two gentile names. His death is mentioned and his career described in chap. 48, 1, 2. He seems to be the Cyrenius mentioned in St. Luke ii., 2.

⁴ See n. on chap. 17, 8.

right of speaking first would never have been given up if the judgment was to be other than one of condemnation.

3. 1 The course of the trial was interrupted by the public games,¹ during which Lepida entered the theatre,² accompanied by a number of ladies of high birth. Appealing piteously to her ancestors, and to Pompeius himself, whose memorial and statues were there before their eyes, she aroused such a storm of sympathy that the audience burst into tears and imprecations, denouncing Quirinius as a low-born childless old man who was making a victim of one who had once been destined to be the wife of Lucius Caesar, and the grand-daughter-in-law of Augustus himself.
- 2 When the slaves were put to the torture, scandalous things were brought to light. Rubellius Blandus³ carried a motion that Lepida should be
- 3 interdicted from fire and water; the motion was supported by Drusus, though others had proposed a milder sentence. At the request of Scaurus, to whom she had borne a son, the confiscation of her
- 4 property was remitted. Not till then did Tiberius announce that he had ascertained from the slaves of Publius Quirinius himself that Lepida had attempted to take her husband's life by poison.
4. 1 For these calamities to great families—for there was no long interval between the loss of Piso to the Calpurnii, and that of Lepida to the Aemilii—some consolation was afforded by the restoration of

Lepida raises an excitement in the theatre;

she is condemned and exiled.

Return of Decimus Silanus from exile.

¹ Probably the *Ludi Magni Romani*, which began Sept. 4th. The first four days were scenic.

² This was the great theatre in the Campus Martius dedicated by Pompey B.C. 55; the first permanent stone theatre built in Rome.

³ A son of this Rubellius Blandus

(who was apparently *cos. suf.* for part of this year) married Julia, daughter of Drusus, after the death of her first husband Nero. By this marriage he became father of the Rubellius Plautus apostrophised by Juv. viii. 39 for his insane pride of birth.

Decimus Silanus to the Junian family.¹ His story can be told in a few words. Great as had been the good fortune of the Divine Augustus in public matters, he had been unhappy in his domestic relations in consequence of the profligate conduct of his daughter and his grand-daughter. He had banished both of them from the city, and punished their paramours with death or exile. For he gave the harsh names of 'sacrilege' and 'treason' to offences between the sexes, now of common occurrence; thus at once departing from the tolerant attitude of our ancestors in such matters, and overstepping the provisions of his own laws.² The fate of other delinquents, however, as well as the general history of that period, I shall narrate hereafter,³ if after the accomplishment of my present purpose my life shall be prolonged for further labours.

Decimus Silanus⁴ had been guilty of adultery with the grand-daughter of Augustus. Augustus had passed no sentence on him further than to exclude him from his friendship; but Silanus understood this to be an intimation of exile, and it was not until Tiberius had come to power that he ventured to make an appeal for pardon to him and to the Senate. This he did through his brother, Marcus Silanus, a man of great influence, who enjoyed a conspicuous position from his high birth and eloquence. When, however, Marcus Silanus returned thanks to Tiberius before the Senate for this favour, the latter replied that *he too was pleased that his brother had returned from his*

¹ Tacitus cannot suppress a sigh over the condemnation, however well-deserved, of two such noble personages. The restoration of Silanus affords some compensation for their loss.

² *i.e.* the *Lex Julia de adulteriis*, passed B.C. 17, which prescribed milder

penalties. See ii. 50, 2-4, and n. there.

³ This promise was never fulfilled.

⁴ Claudia, a daughter of this Silanus, was married to Caligula A.D. 33 (vi. 20, 1), who subsequently forced Silanus to commit suicide, A.D. 37.

His
offence;

he is
pardoned
on his
brother's
inter-
cession.

distant wanderings; and he was within his right in so returning, seeing that he had not been banished by a decree of Senate or under any law. For himself, however, the resentment which his father had felt towards Silanus remained unabated: nor would his return undo the arrangements made by Augustus. So Silanus lived on in Rome, but never attained to public office.

5. 1 A motion was now brought forward for the relaxation of the Papia-Poppæan¹ law, passed by Augustus in his old age after the Julian rogations, to increase the penalties on celibacy, as well as to bring in revenue to the Exchequer. That law had done nothing to make marriage, and the rearing of families, more frequent—so great were the privileges of the childless man—and yet the number of persons exposed to prosecution was continually increasing. Not a house but was at the mercy of informers, whose interpretations of the law caused as much mischief as

Trouble caused by the Papia-Poppæan Law.

¹ See Furn.'s Appendix on this law at the end of Book III. Roman law, in spite of the fact that it permitted a father to expose his children, had always encouraged marriage and discouraged celibacy. Horrified at the ravages made in the free population by the civil wars and the proscriptions, both Caesar and Augustus attempted to encourage marriage and child-rearing by an elaborate system of rewards and punishments. The first law on the subject proposed by Augustus (probably in B.C. 28) met with such opposition that he had to withdraw it (Suet. Oct. 34); the confirmed bachelor Horace, in his *Carmen Saeculare*, B.C. 17, implores Diana to prosper the milder law known as *Lex Julia de maritandis ordinibus* passed the year before: *super iugandis = Feminis prolisque novae feraci = Lege marita* (C. S. 18-20). A final law, codifying existing law on the subject, was passed in A.D. 9, and called after the consuls of the year *Lex Julia et Papia Poppæa de maritandis ordinibus*. Besides placing certain restrictions on the marriages of senators and others, the law offered handsome privileges or

exemptions to married men and fathers, in regard to holding public offices, the performing of public duties, the receiving of inheritances, and to women and mothers, in regard to guardianship, inheritances, etc.; while penalties were imposed upon divorce, and upon all men who were celibates between the ages of 25 and 60, or women between 20 and 50 years of age. Yet in spite of all these provisions, never was there an age or city in which the rewards of childlessness were greater (*prævalida orbitate*). Old ladies and gentlemen that were rich and childless were the pampered tyrants of society, to whom every one paid court and toll (Hor. Sat. ii. 5, 28; Epp. i. 1, 78; Juv. xii. 93-98); the accused Silvanus is let off because *valuit pecuniosa orbitate et senecta* (xiii. 52, 3). And as the famous *ius liberorum* could be conferred upon the childless by the senate or by the emperor, it is easy to understand how the law became inoperative, and famous chiefly as affording delators endless opportunities of prying into the private life of wealthy persons, or extorting from them black mail.

the scandals which preceded it. This prompts me to go back to the origin of law, and recount from the beginning the steps by which our statute book has attained its present bulk and complexity.

In the earliest times, when men had as yet no evil passions, they led blameless, guiltless lives, without either punishment or restraint. Led by their own nature to pursue none but virtuous ends, they required no rewards; and as they desired nothing contrary to right, there was no need for pains and penalties. But when equality ceased to be the rule; when self-seeking and violence drove out simplicity and modest living, great monarchies came into being, which in many countries have survived unto this day. Among some nations, a demand for law sprang up at once;¹ among others, not until the rule of kings had been found intolerable. Such codes were at first simple, befitting simple folk; the most famous being those drawn up by Minos for the Cretans, by Lycurgus for the Spartans, and the larger and more elaborate system drawn up somewhat later by Solon for the Athenians. In Rome, Romulus ruled according to his pleasure; his successor, Numa, brought the people under a system of ceremonial and sacred ordinances; and a few new measures were devised by Tullus and Ancus.² But the greatest of our law-makers was Servius Tullius, to whose laws even kings were to yield obedience.

Origin of
law

among
other
nations,

and in
Rome.

¹ The word *statim* is here used to cover the case of Rome. Tacitus implies that as a rule—he probably has the East in his eye—kings ruled despotically, without law; for such was the idea attached to the name of ‘King’ by the Roman mind. Rome was an exception, as explained below; Romulus is represented as the only arbitrary ruler of Rome, the reign of law, though as

yet confined to religious matters, beginning with Numa. Tacitus thus takes no notice of the legendary account which attributes to Romulus the fundamental social, political, and military institutions of Rome.

² A collection of so-called *leges regiae* or *commentarii regum* had been early made under the name of *ius Papirianum*.

7. 1 When Tarquinius had been expelled, the people got many measures passed during their contests with the patricians, to protect their liberties, and to establish concord. Then the Decemviri were appointed, who collecting what was best from every source¹ drew up the Twelve Tables—the last embodiment of equitable legislation.² For although subsequently to them laws were sometimes devised to check new offences as they arose, these owed their origin, as a rule, to class dissensions, and were passed by violent methods, for the conferring of unconstitutional powers, the banishment of illustrious citizens, and for other evil purposes.³ Then arose popular agitators like the Gracchi and Saturninus, or Drusus, who offered bribes no less lavish than theirs in the name of the Senate: first seducing the allies with the hope of obtaining the franchise, and then frustrating that hope by the exercise of the tribunitian veto.
- 4 Not even during the Social War, and the Civil War after that, was there any pause in the flow of conflicting enactments; until at last the Dictator

Legislation at Rome in early

and in later times;

by the Gracchi,

¹ That any part of Roman law had its origin elsewhere than in Roman usage is a fiction of the historians (Liv. iii. 33. 5). But the Decemvirs may well have sent envoys to learn something from Greek examples as to how to set about the work, and as to the form which a code should take. See Arnold's Rome, chap. 14, and Maine's Ancient Law, pp. 14, 15.

² The difficult phrase *finis æqui iuris* has by some been held to mean that the Laws of the XII. Tables constituted 'a complete embodiment of equitable legislation.' But the words which follow, *Nam secutæ leges*, etc., show that the view of Tacitus is very different. According to his view, Law was an evil thing, necessitated by the evil passions of mankind, which it was its object to restrain. That function it performed satisfactorily up to a certain point; and that point was reached in Rome by the legislation of the XII. Tables. After

that, new laws, though occasionally aimed at checking new offences as they arose, were in the main the product of evil ambitions, proposed for the purpose either of obtaining personal advancement, or of gratifying personal animosity. Such a view entirely ignores the facts of early Roman history, and discredits the claims of Tacitus to be regarded, in any large sense, as a political philosopher. Livy, more justly, takes an entirely opposite view; he describes the XII. Tables as *fontes omnis publici privatique iuris* (iii. 34. 6).

³ It would seem that these words, being coupled with *dissensione ordinum*, and relating to the period before the Gracchi, must refer to the agitation of the plebeians for admission to the higher magistracies. The language of Tacitus recalls the unbending Toryism of the early patrician leaders.

by Sulla,

Sulla,¹ repealing or amending all former laws, and adding many of his own, procured a temporary respite from legislation. But this respite was not to last; for the unsettling proposals of Lepidus quickly followed, and soon afterwards the tribunes had free license restored to them to agitate as they pleased.² And ⁵ now proposals were carried not only for the public good, but for the ruin of individuals also:³ for the more corrupt the State, the greater the number of its laws.⁴

and by
Lepidus:always
from bad
to worse.Pompey's
3rd con-
sulship,

The task of stemming this tide of corruption was ^{28.} committed to Pompeius in his third consulship;⁵ but his remedies proved worse than the disease. He was at once a law-maker, and a breaker of his own laws;⁶ he held his power by the sword, and by the sword he lost it.

followed by
20 years of
anarchy.

Then followed twenty years of ceaseless dis- ² order, during which neither law nor morality were regarded; when the basest actions went unpunished, and the most honourable brought men to destruction.⁷

¹ Sulla's dictatorship ended in B.C. 79; and Lepidus, as consul in the year following, proposed to rescind many of his laws.

² In B.C. 70 the consuls M. Crassus and Cn. Pompeius passed a law restoring the tribuneship of the plebs, which Sulla had abolished.

³ Such as the law passed by Clodius for the banishment of Cicero, B.C. 58. The XII. Tables had forbidden all *privilegia*, i.e. enactments specially directed against individuals.

⁴ The perverted view of the course of Roman legislation presented in this chapter would almost seem to have been designed for the purpose of leading up to this notable paradox. The phrase tempts one to say of Tacitus that the more false his view, the more brilliant he is in the expression of it.

⁵ Referring to B.C. 52, when Pompey was sole consul for seven months, having been created *absens et solus quod nulli alii umquam contigit* (Liv. Épit. 107). The special object for which extraordinary powers were conferred on

Pompey in that year was to check the intolerable violence under which recent elections had been conducted.

⁶ Two remarkable instances are (1) when he secured for himself the government of Africa for a *fresh quinquennium* on vacating his consulship, instead of waiting, as the law then required, for five years; and (2) when he consented to allow Caesar to stand for the consulship *in absentia* in B.C. 60.

⁷ This sweeping condemnation is here applied to the period from the battle of Pharsalus, B.C. 48, to B.C. 28. It thus includes the whole government and legislation of Caesar, the most splendid period of administrative and legislative reconstruction—destined to be permanent in its results—that the Roman world ever knew. To deny or overlook the lasting work which Caesar did for Rome were as vain as—indeed, far more vain than—to deny the great results which Napoleon, with all his destructiveness, left behind him in the reconstitution of France.

3 At last, in his sixth consulship, feeling his power firmly established, Caesar Augustus repealed all the acts of the Triumvirate; and establishing a new order of things,¹ gave us peace with empire.

Augustus established Peace with Empire.

4 Thenceforward, the laws were more strictly enforced. Men were appointed to watch their operation, and enticed by rewards to make sure that under the Papia-Poppaeian act,² the property of men indifferent to the privileges of paternity should pass into the hands of the People, the common parent of all.

Informers encouraged by the Papia-Poppaeian Law.

5 But the inquisitors did not stop there; the capital, Italy, and Roman citizens all over the world, fell into their clutches; ruin was brought into many house-

6 holds,³ and terror hung over every head. At last Tiberius appointed a Commission to devise a remedy, consisting of five Consulars, five men of praetorian rank, and a like number from the rest of the Senate, all chosen by lot. This body unravelled many of the complications of the statute, and thus produced a partial and temporary relief.

Tiberius appoints a Commission.

9. 1 About this same time Tiberius commended Nero, one of the children of Germanicus, who had just arrived at man's estate,⁴ to the favour of the Senate; and created some amusement by requesting that he might be relieved from the obligation of serving upon the Board of Twenty,⁵ and be allowed to stand for

Nero, son of Germanicus, introduced to public life.

¹ See nn. on i. 1, 3, and 2, 1.

² Tacitus passes abruptly from a discussion on law in general to an account of the working of the Papia-Poppaeian Law, the operation of which suggested this digression in chap. 25, 1.

³ *i.e.* through the loss of inheritances and the confiscations of property. The animosity of Tacitus to this particular law is to be explained by the fact that it greatly fostered, if it did not create, the terrible system of delation. Its minute provisions affected the most private relations of life; and infringements of

the law could only be discovered by prying into the secret circumstances of every home. Hence the necessity of offering rewards to professional informers, whose interest it became to entangle every family in one or other of the complicated meshes of the statute.

⁴ Nero was born probably in A.D. 6.

⁵ The name of *vigintiviratus* was given to the group of lesser magistracies tenable by an aspirant for public office before the quaestorship. The group consisted of four separate boards, the

the Quaestorship five years before the legal age.¹ He 2
 quoted indeed the authority of Augustus, who had
 made a similar request on behalf of his brother and
 himself; but I should imagine that even in those days,
 when the power of the Caesars was yet in its infancy,
 and ancient customs were more before men's eyes,
 there were those who secretly ridiculed petitions of
 this kind; and the relationship of step-father to step-
 children is less close than that of a grandfather to
 his grandson.

Nero was advanced also to the priesthood; and on 3
 the day of his first public appearance in the Forum, a
 largess was made to the populace. The people rejoiced
 to see a son of Germanicus grown to manhood; and
 their satisfaction was still further increased by the 4
 marriage of Nero to Julia, the daughter of Drusus.
 But in proportion to their joy at these events was 5
 their displeasure on learning that the son² of Claudius
 was to take in marriage the daughter of Sejanus. Men 6
 felt that such a marriage would be a blot on the noble
 Claudian house, and would raise still higher the
 ambitions already attributed to Sejanus.

Two remarkable men died at the close of this year 30.
 —Lucius Volusius and Sallustius Crispus. Volusius 2
 belonged to an ancient family, though it had never
 risen above praetorian rank until he introduced into
 it the Consulship.³ He had also held the office of

He marries
 Julia,
 daughter
 of Drusus.

Deaths of
 Volusius
 and
 Sallustius
 Crispus.

collective membership of which amounted in all to twenty—hence the name. These boards were the *Tresviri Capitales*, the *Tresviri Monetales*, the *Quatuorviri viis purgandis*, and the *Decemviri stlitibus iudicandis*.

¹ The legal age for the quaestorship at this time was apparently the twenty-fifth year.

² The name of this son was Drusus, by Plautia Urgulanilla (Suet. Claud. 27). This projected marriage caused

great heart-burnings (iv. 7, 3 and 39, 4), but was never carried out. Suetonius says the lad died young, only a few days after the betrothal. The only known daughter of Sejanus was still a child in A.D. 31 (v. 9, 2). Either, therefore, Sejanus had an older daughter, or else the project, if anything more than a surmise, must be referred to a later period.

³ Apparently as cos. suf. B.C. 12.

Censor for selecting the Decuries¹ of knights ; and it was he who was the founder of the immense wealth of that family.

3 Crispus was of equestrian rank ; he had been adopted by the famous historian Sallustius,² and bore
4 his name, being the grandson of his sister. But although the career of public office was thus open to him, he had preferred to follow the example of Maecenas ; and without ever reaching the rank of senator, he had wielded an influence far exceeding that of many men who held Consulships and carried off Triumphs. In elegance and refinement, his style of living contrasted strongly with the simple ways of our ancestors ; his opulence and profusion were almost those of a voluptuary. But beneath this exterior there was a masculine mind fit to grapple with great affairs, and indeed all the more active for its outward show of apathy
5 and indolence.³ Second only to Maecenas, so long as Maecenas lived, he became afterwards the chief confidant of imperial secrets ; he had been privy to the murder of Agrippa Postumus. In his latter days, his hold upon the Emperor's friendship was apparent
6 rather than real. It had been the same with Maecenas. For there is a fatality which forbids an influence of this kind to last for ever ; or perhaps a feeling of satiety comes on when the one side has given all that it has to give, or the other has nothing left to ask.

Career and character of Sallustius ;

his great influence

not maintained to the end.

¹ The *Decuriae* were the three (in the time of Augustus four) bodies or panels into which the equites were divided for the purpose of acting as jurymen. Caligula added a 5th Decuria : see Dict. Ant. i. p. 1028, a. For cavalry purposes the *equites equo publico* were divided into *turmae*, six in number.

² As Furn. here observes, though

Tacitus mentions the historian Sallust nowhere but in this passage, he has throughout shown his appreciation of him by frequent imitation. See his *Intro.*, p. 61.

³ In this also Crispus was the counterpart of Maecenas (*Vell. Pat.* ii. 88, 2).

A.D. 21. CONSULS TIBERIUS CAESAR AUGUSTUS IV.
AND DRUSUS CAESAR II.

This year was notable for the partnership of father and son in the Consulship, Tiberius holding that office for the fourth time, and Drusus for the second. Three years before, Tiberius had shared the same honour with Germanicus; but in that case the relationship between the colleagues had been less close, and the uncle had felt but little pleasure in the association.

Early in the year the Emperor retired to Campania, on the plea of health; whether it was that he was paving the way for a prolonged absence from the city, or that he desired by his departure to leave Drusus in sole occupation of the Consulship. A trifling occurrence, ending in a serious dispute, gave the young man an opportunity of acquiring popularity. Domitius Corbulo, an ex-Praetor, complained to the Senate that a young noble of the name of Lucius Sulla had refused to give up his seat to him at a gladiatorial show. Corbulo had on his side age, ancestral usage,¹ and the sympathies of older men; Sulla's cause was espoused by Mamercus Scaurus, Lucius Arruntius, and others of his relatives. The matter was hotly argued; and precedents were quoted from ancient times of decrees severely censuring insolence on the part of young men. In the end, Drusus made a conciliatory speech; and Mamercus, who was both uncle and step-father to Corbulo, and was also one of the most fluent speakers of the day, offered an apology on behalf of Sulla.

¹ See Furn's n. and the instances quoted by Mayor on Juv. xiii. 55.

Partnership of Tiberius and Drusus as Consuls.

Tiberius retires to Campania.

Dispute between Corbulo and Sulla.

adroitly composed by Drusus.

7 This same Corbulo, having called attention to the bad and even impassable condition of many of the roads in Italy, which he ascribed to the frauds of contractors and the negligence of magistrates, undertook the charge of the matter¹ himself with much alacrity; in performing which duty, by means of prosecutions and confiscations, he managed to ruin many persons both in fame and fortune, but without securing thereby any corresponding benefit to the public.

Corbulo takes charge of roads in Italy.

1 Not long after this, Tiberius sent a message to the Senate, informing them that the peace of Africa had been again disturbed by an inroad of Tacfarinas, and committing it to them to select² for the office of Proconsul an experienced general, robust enough to bear the fatigues of a campaign. Sextus Pompeius took this opportunity of venting his animosity towards Marcus³ Lepidus, denouncing him for his indolence and poverty, and calling him *a disgrace to his ancestors*; he should not be permitted, so he declared, to ballot even for the province of Asia. This attack, however, met with no support in the Senate, where

Tacfarinas again in arms.

Marcus Lepidus appointed to Asia.

¹ Each of the main roads of Italy had a *curator viarum*, an office of much dignity. This service was reorganised by Augustus, who created special offices or boards to deal with roads, water-supply, the Tiber channel, the distribution of corn, the government of the city, the revising the lists of senators and equites, etc. (Suet. Oct. 37). Corbulo apparently was given a commission over the heads of all the *curatores*. That he feathered his own nest well out of the job appears from Dio. Caligula used him and his office as an instrument of exaction; under Claudius he was brought to trial and forced to refund (Dio. lix. 15, 5).

² That is, the appointment was to be *extra sortem*; by selection, not by lot. The emperor could prohibit a consular from casting his lot for a

province, as he did Galba (vi. 40, 3). Africa, as we have seen, was a senatorial province, and the appointment would naturally be made by lot, out of the eligible consulars, in the ordinary way. But in Africa, contrary to the rule in senatorial provinces, the governor had command of the legion (see n. on i. 76, 4). Hence, in the case before us, when a war was afoot, the senate left the choice with the emperor. See chap. 35, 1.

³ The MS. gives the full praenomen *Marcus*. He is described here as *inops*; in ii. 48, 1, Tiberius passes over to him the inheritance of Aemilia Musa; and he is again spoken of as *pecuniae modicus* in chap. 72, 3. His poverty is here regarded as an offence; it is not clear whether Tacitus (here and elsewhere) sympathises with this view or not.

Lepidus was regarded as good-natured rather than poor-spirited; and it was reckoned to be to his credit rather than otherwise that, in spite of the smallness of his patrimony, he should have supported his illustrious name without reproach. He was appointed therefore to Asia; but in regard to Africa, it was resolved to beg the Emperor to make the appointment himself.

Caecina proposes that governors of provinces should not take their wives with them.

In the course of this discussion, Severus Caecina¹ moved that no magistrate who had been appointed to a Province should be permitted to take his wife along with him. In a long preamble, he recounted on what excellent terms he lived with his own wife, how she had borne him six children, and how he had practised himself what he preached for others: seeing that, during a period of forty² years' service in various Provinces, he had never permitted his wife to leave Italy.

His speech

It was a good old rule, he remarked, which forbade women to be taken to foreign countries, or to those of our allies. The train of attendants which women carried with them was a source of extravagance in time of peace, of panic and delay in time of war, converting the march of a Roman army into the semblance of a barbaric progress. It was not only that women-kind were weak in body, and unfit to undergo fatigue; but if free from control, they could be cruel, scheming and ambitious; they would move about among the soldiers, and have the centurions at their beck and call. It was not long since a woman³ had presided over the exercises of the cohorts, and the manœuvres of the legions. Let them call to mind that in all prosecutions for misgovernment, it was against the wives that most of the

¹ The commander of the army of Lower Germany during the mutiny (i. 31, 2.)

² The same number of years' service

is attributed to him in i. 64, 6; and that was not his last campaign.

³ Referring to Plancina (ii. 55, 5).

charges were laid;¹ it was the wives who gathered round them all the worst spirits in a province; it was they who took jobs in hand, and carried them through. Two persons had to be courted when they walked abroad instead of one; there were two sets of headquarters; and the orders issuing from those of the women were always the more peremptory and outrageous of the two. In olden days, women had been kept in order by the Oppian² and other laws; but they had now burst through all bonds and were masters everywhere—in their homes, in the Courts of Law, and even in the³ Army.

4. 1 These remarks were listened to with little favour. The majority made interruptions, objecting that the question was not before the House, and that Caecina was no fit person to be censor in a subject of such
2 importance. After an interval, Valerius Messalinus thus replied: he was the son of Messalla, and preserved some semblance of his father's³ eloquence.

meets with little favour.

- In many respects the harsh usages of our ancestors had been wisely softened. The city had no longer war always at its gates, as in the days of old; the provinces
3 were no longer hostile. Certain concessions, no doubt,*

Messalinus argues on the other side,

¹ An apparent exaggeration, perhaps taken from later experience. The only cases we hear of in the Annals are those of Plancina and Sosia (iv. 19, 4). According to Dio (lviii. 24, 3), Paxaea, whose voluntary death along with her husband, M. Pomponius Labeo, is recorded in vi. 29, 1, was implicated in the charges brought against her husband. On the other hand, we all remember what excellent advice Pilate received from his wife: 'Have thou nothing to do with that just man' (St. Matt. xxvii. 19).

² The *Lex Oppia*, passed in B.C. 215, in the crisis of the second Punic war, forbade women to wear more than half an ounce of gold, or to dress in many-coloured dresses, or to drive in carriages within the city or for one mile round. It was repealed when the war was over. The horror which high-minded Romans

of this period felt at women taking a part in politics, and influencing the course of events, had probably been much intensified by their indignation against Cleopatra and her influence over Antony. The poets of the Augustan periods say little against Antony; their wrath culminates upon Cleopatra, and the indignity put upon Rome when she was made to tremble for the safety of the Capitol by the power and insane ambition of a woman. See Hor. Od. i. 37, 5-12. The Roman ideal of the true mission of a noble woman finds its highest expression in the Cornelia of Propertius (El. iv. 11).

³ The father was the celebrated orator, M. Valerius Messalla Corvinus, the friend and patron of Horace, Ovid, and Tibullus; he was consul with Augustus in B.C. 31.

had been made to meet the needs of women ; but these were not such as to be burdensome to their husbands, still less to the provincials. In all other matters, man and wife shared alike ; and that caused no difficulty in time of peace. In time of war, no doubt, the husband must take 4 the field without incumbrance ; but on his return from a campaign, what comfort more excellent than that afforded by a wife ? Some wives, it was said, had given way to ambition or love of money. Well ? were not many 5 of the magistrates themselves given over to all sorts of evil passions ? Yet that would be no reason for leaving the Provinces without governors. Granted that husbands were 6 often led astray by vicious wives : were the unmarried all immaculate ? The Oppian laws had commended themselves to our forefathers because public needs so required ; in later days, relaxations and mitigations had been admitted, as expediency suggested. It was idle for men 7 to shift on to others the blame of their own remissness ; if the wife broke all bounds, the husband was at fault. And 8 if one or two husbands had shown weakness of mind, it would be a sorry thing to deprive all husbands of the joys of partnership, whether in success or failure. That would 9 be to desert the weaker vessel ; to leave her a prey to her own self-indulgence, or to the evil passions of others. It 10 was no easy thing as it was, with the natural guardian on the spot, to preserve the marriage bond inviolate : what would happen if it were kept out of sight, for several years at a time, by a species of divorce ? Let them check, by all means, such vices as prevailed abroad ; but let them not shut their eyes to the scandals of the metropolis.

Drusus added a few words on the subject of his 11 own married life. Members of the Imperial family, he observed, had often occasion to visit the outlying parts of the Empire. The Divine Augustus, on his frequent 12

13 *journeys to the East and West, had always been accom-*
panied by Livia; he himself had journeyed to Illyricum,
and he would be ready to go to other countries also, if the
public interest so required: but he could hardly do so
without a qualm if he were to be torn from a wife
whom he dearly loved, the mother of his many children.¹

Thus was the go-by given to the motion of Caecina.²

5. 1 At the next meeting of Senate, a letter was read
 from Tiberius in which, after rebuking the fathers
 indirectly for heaping every responsibility upon his
 shoulders, he suggested two names—those of Manius
 Lepidus³ and Junius Blaesus—one of whom should
 2 be selected for the Proconsulship of Africa. Both
 candidates addressed the Senate. Lepidus begged
 earnestly to be excused, pleading ill-health and the
 tender age of his children, one of them a daughter of
 marriageable age, but making no reference to what
 was in all men's minds—that Blaesus was the uncle
 of Sejanus, and his interest, therefore, all-powerful.
 3 Blaesus, in his remarks, made a show of declining,
 but only in a half-hearted way; and his refusal met
 with no support from the chorus of flatterers.

5. 1 Next, an abuse was brought to light which had
 become the subject of much secret animadversion.
 A practice was becoming prevalent by which men
 of the lowest character were suffered to vilify
 respectable people in the most scandalous and
 offensive manner, and then to secure impunity by

The motion
rejected.

Tiberius
suggests
two names
for Africa;
Blaesus is
appointed.

Abuse of
the right of
shelter
afforded by
the
Emperor's
statue.

¹ There were only three in all: Julia, married first to Nero (chap. 29, 4 and n.), and the twins born in A.D. 19 (ii. 84, 1).

² M. Gaston Boissier (Rev. des deux Mondes, July, 1901), doubts whether it can be discovered on which side of this controversy the sympathies of Tacitus lay. But apart altogether from his attitude towards women in general (and he seldom uses the word *muliebris*

except in a depreciatory sense), the closing words of this chapter, *sic Caecinae sententia elusa*; the words *paucorum haec assensu audita*, in chap. 34, 1, as well as the evident gusto with which he states the case against the women in chap. 33, make it abundantly clear that he sided with Caecina.

³ For this Lepidus see n. on chap. 22, 2.

laying hold of the Emperor's statue.¹ Even freedmen and slaves would thus terrorise their own patrons and masters by insulting language and threats of violence. The question was taken up by Gaius Cestius, a private senator. *The Emperors were indeed as Gods*, he said, *but even the Gods listened to none but worthy suppliants; no one could take refuge in the Capitoline or other temples in the city for the purpose of turning the protection so afforded to scandalous uses. It was a subversion and nullification of all law that Annia Rufilla—a woman whom he had himself convicted of fraud before a judge—should assail him in the Forum, at the very threshold of the Senate-house, with insults and even with threats, while he himself dared not bring her into Court because she had taken refuge behind a statue of the Emperor.* A chorus of voices quoted similar and more glaring instances, and implored Drusus to make an example. He accordingly summoned Annia Rufilla, convicted her, and ordered her to be detained in the common prison.

Two Roman knights, Considius Aequus and Caelius Cursor, were then punished by the Senate at the instance of the Emperor for bringing a false charge of treason against the Praetor Magius Caecilianus. Both of these decisions redounded to the credit of Drusus. *Living as he did in the city, people said, mixing and conversing with men, he was*

¹ Thus by degrees the sanctity attaching to the statues of deified emperors was being extended to those of the living. See iii. 70, 2, and iv. 67, 6, where Agrippina is advised to seek protection by embracing the image of Tiberius in the forum at mid-day. In regard to deified emperors, we have seen how a charge of treason was founded on the mutilation of a statue of Augustus (i. 74, 4); the triumvirs gave a right of asylum to the temple of Divus Iulius (Dio, xlvii. 19, 2); and the

Cretans claimed a similar right for a statue of Augustus (chap. 63, 6). If we may believe Suetonius, the following acts were regarded as 'capitalia': *circa Augusti simulacrum servum cecidisse, vestimenta mutasse, nummo vel anulo effigiem impressam latrinae aut lupanari intulisse* (Tib. 58). To swear falsely by the emperor's name became the worst form of perjury: Tertullian says people would more readily forswear themselves by all the gods in heaven than by the genius of Caesar (Apol. 28).

Annia
Rufilla
punished.

Two
knights
punished
for bring-
ing false
charges.

Credit
given to
Drusus.

able to mitigate the harshness of his father's secret
 3 counsels. Even the extravagance of the young man
 met with little censure:—*Better for him to turn his
 mind that way, and to pass his days in building, his
 nights in banqueting, than to devote gloomy vigils to
 hatching sinister designs in solitary and pleasureless
 retirement.*

1 For neither Tiberius nor the accusers showed any
 symptoms of exhaustion. Ancharius Priscus had im-
 peached Cordus, Proconsul of Crete, for extortion,
 throwing in a charge of treason, without which in
 2 those days no accusation was complete. Antistius
 Vetus, a leading man in Macedonia, was accused of
 adultery; but when he was acquitted on that charge,
 Tiberius rebuked the jury, and had him dragged back
 to stand his trial for treason, on the ground that he
 had been mixed up in the treasonable designs of Rhes-
 cuporis, at the time when that prince had murdered
 his brother Cotys, and was meditating war against us.
 3 He was interdicted therefore from fire and water; in
 addition, he was to be confined in some island not
 easily accessible either from Thrace or Macedonia.
 4 For at this time Thrace, being unused to our rule,
 was in a state of disaffection. The government had
 been divided between Rhoemetalces and the children
 of Cotys, who not being of full age, had been placed
 under the guardianship of Trebellenus Rufus; and
 the people found as much fault with Rhoemetalces as
 with Trebellenus, complaining that he left the wrongs
 of his own fellow-countrymen unavenged.

5 Three powerful tribes — the Coelaetae, the
 Odrusae, and the Dii—took up arms, each under
 leaders of its own, all equally undistinguished.
 The result was that no formidable combination was

Accusa-
 tions
 against
 Cordus and
 Antistius
 Vetus.

Disaffec-
 tion in
 Thrace.

Three
 tribes take
 up arms,

effected. One party brought about a rising in their own country; a second crossed Mount Haemus to raise the outlying tribes; the largest and best organised of the three forces besieged the king in Philippopolis,¹ a city founded by the Macedonian monarch of that name.

When news of these movements reached Publius Vellaeus,² who was in command of the nearest Roman army, he despatched a force of auxiliary cavalry and light-armed infantry³ against the plundering and recruiting parties, while he himself, at the head of the main body of foot, marched to raise the siege of Philippopolis. These operations were all successful at once. The marauding party was cut to pieces; dissensions broke out in the besieging force; and the king made an opportune sortie just as the legion came up. But there was no regular fighting, nor anything that deserved the name of a battle; nothing but a butchery of half-armed stragglers, with no loss to us.

In the same year some of the states of Gaul,⁴ overwhelmed with debt,⁵ broke out into revolt. The most active fomenters of the movement were Julius Florus

¹ A town on the Upper Hebrus, in modern Roumelia, still called *Filibe*.

² Vellaeus was governor of Moesia.

³ The *alarii equites* and *leves cohortium* are the auxiliary forces; the *robur peditum* below are the Roman legions.

⁴ Gaul was divided into four separate provinces: (1) *Gallia Narbonensis* in the South (senatorial); (2) *Aquitania*, in the South-West; (3) *Gallia Lugdunensis* in the centre; and (4) *Belgica*, between the Seine and the Rhine: the three last were imperial. The Aedui, Andecavi, and Turoni were in Lugdunensis; the Treviri in Belgica.

⁵ Besides the exactions of the governors, and of the publicans acting in concert with the governors, the provinces were preyed upon by Roman

money-lenders. The Roman *negotiatores* who flooded the provinces used their capital in usury, not in productive industry. Hence they were the first victims of an outbreak against Rome. When Mithradates, in B.C. 88, ordered a general massacre of Roman citizens in Asia, it was not from mere vindictiveness, but to show the provincials that he wished to relieve them of the most obnoxious incident of the Roman occupation. No less than 80,000 were butchered on that occasion. See iii. 42, 1. The ubiquity of the Roman money-lender in Gaul is thus testified to by Cic., pro Fonteio, I, II: *Nemo Gallorum sine cive Romano quidquam negotiigerit: nummus in Gallia nullus sine civium Romanorum tabulis commovetur.*

amongst the Treveri,¹ and Julius² Sacrovir among the Aedui.³ Both were men of noble family; both came of ancestors who had done good service to Rome, and had in consequence been made Roman citizens⁴ at a time when that privilege was rare, and only granted as a reward for merit. Gathering in secret conclave the boldest spirits, or those who had in their poverty the strongest motives for disaffection, or because they dreaded punishment for their crimes, Florus undertook to raise the Belgae, Sacrovir the nearer tribes of Gaul. Appearing at public gatherings, or in private meetings, they delivered seditious harangues denouncing the ceaseless exaction of tribute, the exorbitant rates of usury, the cruelty and insolence of the governors. *The news of the death of Germanicus, they urged, had shaken the allegiance of the army; now was the time to recover their freedom. Let them reflect how great were their own resources, how impoverished was Italy, how unwarlike the populace of the city: the strength of the Roman armies lay in their foreign element.*

- I. 1 The seeds of sedition were thus scattered over almost every State in Gaul; but the Andecavi and the Turoni were the first to break out in open rebellion. 2 The former were put down by the Legate⁵ Acilius Aviola, who called up for the purpose a cohort which was then doing garrison duty at Lyons; the Turoni he crushed with a legionary force supplied

The Andecavi and Turoni crushed.

¹ The Treveri or Treviri were on the Moselle. Their chief town, *Augusta Treverorum*, is the modern *Trier* or *Trèves*.

² The name *Iulius* indicates a family which had received the citizenship from Caesar; or perhaps from Augustus.

³ The Aedui or Haedui, the most powerful of the Gallic tribes in Caesar's time (B.G. vi. 12), occupied the country between the Saone and the Loire. Their capital was Augustodunum

(*Autun*); probably the Bibracte of Caesar.

⁴ The Roman legions themselves were now composed mainly of provincials who had received the *civitas*. Probably only the Praetorians and household troops were of pure Italian blood. Tacitus ascribes the beginning of the mutiny in the German army to the ill-conditioned city riff-raff levied in Rome after the disaster of Varus (i. 31, 4).

⁵ *i.e.* legatus of Lugdunensis.

by Visellius Varro,¹ the Legate of Lower Germany, aided by some Gallic Chiefs, who sent help with a view to disguise their disaffection and bring it forth at a more convenient season. Sacrovir himself ⁴ might be seen doing battle in the front Roman line, bareheaded; this, he pretended, was to let his bravery be seen. Prisoners, however, declared that he had exposed himself to ensure recognition, and thus save himself from being attacked. This was reported to Tiberius; but he declined to act on the information, and by his irresolution fanned the war.

Next the
Treveri are
put down,

Meanwhile Florus, in pursuance of his design, ^{42.} tried to induce a division of cavalry which had been raised among the Treveri, and was serving as part of our army and under our discipline,² to commence hostilities by a massacre of Roman traders. A few of the troopers were gained over; the majority remained loyal. In addition, a mob of debtors or ² clients took up arms and made for the forest of Arduenna; but these were cut off by the legionary troops which Visellius and Gaius Silius³ had sent against them by opposite routes from their respective armies. Julius Indus, who belonged to the same State ³ as Florus, and was all the more eager to proffer his services because he was on bad terms with him, was sent on with a picked force; he dispersed the multitude before it could be brought into order. Florus ⁴ eluded the conquerors for a while by changing his hiding-places; but at last, on seeing his retreat beset by soldiers, he put an end to himself. Thus ended the rising of the Treveri.

and Florus
puts an end
to himself.

¹ Successor to A. Caecina Severus, (i. 37, 2).

² The auxiliary forces were being more and more raised and disciplined

by the Romans as regular troops. This caused the Thracian revolt (iv. 46, 2-3).

³ Still legatus of Upper Germany (i. 31, 2).

3. 1 The outbreak among the Aedui was more formidable in proportion to the greater resources of that people, and the distance from which forces had to be brought¹ for its repression. Sacrovir held Augustodunum, the chief city of the tribe, with a well-armed force. In this town was collected the flower of the young Gallic nobility, engaged in the prosecution of their studies. These youths Sacrovir retained as pledges for the adhesion of their parents
- 2 and relations, and at the same time distributed among them some arms that had been manufactured in secret. His force amounted to forty thousand men, a fifth part of whom were armed as legionaries,² the remainder being provided with spears, knives
- 3 and other weapons of the chase. In addition, there was a body of slaves called Crupellarii, destined for the gladiatorial arena. These were clad after the fashion of their tribe in complete suits of iron
- 4 armour, which, though unhandy for purposes of offence, render their wearers invulnerable. The force was swelled by volunteers from the neighbouring states; for though the communities did not as yet venture to join the movement openly, individual citizens came forward very readily. And there was a dispute between the rival Roman Generals, each of whom claimed for himself the conduct of the war; but in the end Varro, who was infirm and old, gave way to Silius, a man in the prime of life.
4. 1 In Rome it was believed that not only the Treveri and the Aedui, but all the sixty-four³ states of

Formidable rising of the Aedui; Sacrovir holds Augustodunum.

He has an army of 40,000 men; and a body of Crupellarii.

Panic in Rome.

¹ *i.e.* far from the great armies on the Rhine.

² These would belong to the troops mentioned above, n. to chap. 42, 1.

³ So Ptolemy (ii. 7, 9), in his enumeration of the tribes in Aquitania, Lugdunensis and Belgica. Strabo (iv. 3, 2) says that sixty was the number of states named on an altar to Augustus at Lyons.

Gaul¹ were in revolt; that Germany had made common cause with Gaul, and that the two Spains were wavering in their allegiance: rumour, as is her wont, exaggerating everything. All good citizens were 2
 distressed for their country's sake; but many were so indignant at the existing state of affairs, and so anxious for a change, that they rejoiced at the very dangers with which they were threatened, and denounced Tiberius for occupying himself with the informations of accusers in the midst of so formidable a rebellion. *Would Sacrovir also, they asked, 3
 have to appear before the Senate on a charge of treason? Men had at last been found to reply to murderous messages with the sword: better war itself than a state of peace with infamy!*

Tiberius
 uncon-
 cerned.

Talk like this only made Tiberius assume a more 4
 studied air of unconcern. He never changed his domicile or his demeanour; his days passed as usual. Possibly this was strength of mind; perhaps he knew that the trouble was not so serious as was reported.

Meanwhile Silius was advancing with two legions. 45
 He had sent on a body of allies to lay waste the

¹ A Roman province was formed on the principle of aggregating together a definite number of states (*civitates*), which were usually cities in the East, tribes or cantons in the West. Pliny gives sixty-eight as the number of such states in Sicily (H. N. iii. 8, 88); we hear of forty-four in Asia under Sulla, and in this passage of sixty-four states in Gaul. These sixty-four states or cantons represent the original Celtic tribes of the three Gallic provinces, Aquitania, Lugdunensis and Belgica. With their genius for government and empire, the Romans, like the British, did not seek to set up everywhere a rigidly uniform system of administration, but permitted a wise elasticity in their arrangements, suiting them to the peculiar circumstances of the population or the locality. Thus in the Narbonensis, the administration was purely Roman, all the inhabitants being

under the authority of Roman colonies; in the three northern Gauls, the tribes or cantons had a considerable amount of self-government, having their own local magistrates and local worship. In other cases, as in the Alpine valleys of North Italy, the native communities were attached as subjects to Roman towns in their neighbourhood, under a system called *attributio*, in order that they might be placed under rigorous military rule until they were fit for a greater degree of independence. See Rushforth, pp. 14, 15 and 38-39. This plan of differentiation according to circumstances, and the gradually progressive character thereby given to the process of Romanisation, account for the firm and enduring hold which Rome took of her Western empire, and for the few and slight attempts made to shake off her rule.

villages of the Sequani,¹ a people whose territory lies on the furthest border of the Aedui, and who had
 2 taken up arms along with them. He now made a rapid march to Augustodunum, the standard-bearers vying with one another for the lead, and even the private soldiers imploring him not to halt for the usual rests, either by day or night:—*Let them but see the enemy before them, and be seen; that alone would*
 3 *give them victory.* At the twelfth milestone from the town, Sacrovir was discovered with his forces drawn up on open ground. He had placed his iron-clad men in front, his cohorts on the wings, the half-
 4 armed troops in the rear. He himself, mounted on a conspicuous charger, and with his chiefs around him, bade his men remember the past glories of their countrymen, and the defeats which they had inflicted on the Romans:—*How glorious to conquer and be free! If vanquished once again, their slavery would be more intolerable than ever.*

Silius meets Sacrovir near Augustodunum.

Sacrovir harangues his tribesmen without much effect.

6. 1 This harangue roused but little enthusiasm, and was soon cut short; for the legions were upon them, and the town-bred levies, without discipline or experience of war, had neither eyes to see nor ears
 2 to hear. On the other side Silius, though the confidence of his men made exhortation unnecessary, proclaimed that it was a disgrace for them, the conquerors of Germany, to be led against Gauls, as
 3 against an enemy. *One cohort of yours, he cried, lately put down the Turoni, a single wing the Treveri; a few*
 4 *of your squadrons crushed the Sequani. Prove the Aedui to be as unwarlike as they are wealthy and voluptuous; and give a good account of them when they run!*²

Confidence of Silius and the army.

¹ The Sequani were to the E. of the Saone, between the province of Germany and the Aedui.

² Common sense has here deserted

the commentators, even Mr. Furneaux. They interpret the words *fugientibus consulite* literally, as if it were a recommendation to spare the enemy. This

These words were greeted with loud huzzahs. 5
 The cavalry threw themselves round the enemy's
 flanks at the same moment that the foot charged in
 front. The flanks made no resistance. A momentary 6
 check was caused in front by the iron-clad battalions,
 whose plates of armour stood out against blow of
 sword or pike; but at last our men got hold of axes
 and mattocks, and hewed through armour, bodies and
 all, just as if they were breaking through a wall;
 some pushed over their helpless frames with poles
 and forks, and left them lying for dead, unable to
 make the effort to rise. Sacrovir fled first towards 7
 Augustodunum; then, fearing betrayal, made for a
 country house close by, with his most trusty com-
 panions. Here he perished by his own hand; the
 rest by each other's swords. The house was set on
 fire over their heads, and all were burnt with it.

Not till then did Tiberius write to apprise the 47.
 Senate of the outbreak and conclusion of the war.
 He told them what had happened without a word of
 exaggeration or extenuation:—*The loyalty and valour*
of his Legates, acting under his own counsels, had carried
the day. He explained at the same time why neither 2
 Drusus nor himself had gone to the seat of war.
In so vast an Empire, he wrote, it was not seemly that
the members of the Imperial family, if a disturbance
arose in one State or another, should leave the seat of
government. But now that his departure could not be put 3
down to fear, he would go and see for himself, and settle
*matters on the spot.*¹

in the mouth of a Roman general, addressing a Roman army, in the crisis of a rebellion! More Roman is the exhortation of the humane Germanicus (ii. 21, 3), *nil opus captivis, solam internecionem gentis finem belli fore.*

¹ On three separate occasions Tiberius made believe that he was about to under-

take a journey into the provinces: (1) after the mutiny, A.D. 14 (i. 47, 5); (2) on the present occasion, A.D. 21; and again in A.D. 23 (iv. 4, 3). Each time he disappointed expectation. Suetonius says that Augustus visited every province in the empire in the course of his reign except Africa and Sardinia.

Complete
 defeat of
 the
 insurgents;

Sacrovir
 falls by his
 own hand.

Tiberius
 announces
 the result
 to the
 Senate.

The Senate offered prayers for his safe return, 4 thanksgivings and other compliments. Dolabella Cornelius, in his desire to outdo every one else in flattery, went to the ridiculous length of proposing that the Emperor should enter the City from Campania 5 in Ovation. But soon came a letter from Tiberius, in which he observed that *he was not so destitute of all claim to glory, that after subduing the fiercest tribes, after celebrating or declining so many¹ Triumphs in his youth, he should now, in his old age, be coveting an empty distinction for undertaking a suburban promenade.*

Complimentary proposals by the Senate.

48. 1 Shortly after this, Tiberius asked the Senate to bestow the honour of a public funeral on Sulpicius 2 Quirinius.² This Sulpicius had nothing to do with the patrician family of the Sulpicii; he came from the municipal town of Lanuvium. But he was an intrepid soldier; and in return for his zealous services he had been rewarded by Augustus with the Consulship. Later, he received the Triumphal insignia for storming the strongholds of the Homonadenses³ in Cilicia; he had been appointed guardian to Gaius Caesar when in charge of Armenian affairs, and had paid due 3 court to Tiberius, then residing in Rhodes.⁴ All this the Emperor recounted in the Senate, praising Sulpicius for his devotion to himself, and throwing upon Marcus Lollius the blame for the perverse and unfriendly attitude of the young prince. Others, 4 however, did not hold the memory of Quirinius in

Public funeral granted to Sulpicius Quirinius;

his origin and career.

¹ Velleius asserts that, though content with three triumphs, Tiberius could without any doubt have claimed seven (ii. 122, 1). But it is not easy to make out what the seven could have been.

² See on chap. 22, 3.

³ One of the wild hill tribes, untouched by Greek civilisation, which inhabited the hill ranges on the borders of Pisidia and Cilicia. The existence of these tribes explains why Augustus established

a number of colonies in that neighbourhood; elsewhere Rome made little attempt to Latinise her Eastern empire, content to preserve and protect the existing Hellenic civilisation. See Rushforth, p. 23. For the probable date of these successes see Furn.'s note.

⁴ Tiberius never forgave those who had treated him with coldness or incivility when living in retirement at Rhodes. See i. 4, 4; ii. 42, 2.

so much favour, because of his persecution of Lepida, related above, as well as for the meanness which he displayed, and the inordinate influence which he exercised, in his old age.

Accusation
of
Clutorius
Priscus.

At the close of this year, an informer attacked 49.
Clutorius Priscus, a Roman knight, to whom Tiberius had given a sum of money for a poem of some distinction upon the death of Germanicus. This man was now accused of having written a poem during the illness of Drusus, in the hope that, if Drusus died, its publication would bring him a still larger recompense.¹ This poem he had been vain enough to read 2
aloud at the house of Publius Petronius, in the presence of Vitellia, the mother-in-law of Petronius, and several ladies of high rank. When the case came 3
on, all of them except Vitellia were intimidated into giving evidence against Clutorius: she affirmed that she had heard nothing.² But the inculpatory evidence was believed rather than hers, and upon the motion of Haterius Agrippa, Consul elect, Clutorius was 4
condemned to death. Against this proposal Manius Lepidus spoke as follows:—

Manius
Lepidus
speaks in
mitigation,

*If, Conscript Fathers, he said, we were to regard only 50.
the shameful utterance with which Clutorius has defiled his own mind, and the ears of his audience, neither the prison nor the halter—nay, not even the tortures applied to slaves—would be punishment enough for him. But 2
though scandalous and outrageous conduct may have no limit, some limit has ever been set to measures of punishment and redress, both by the clemency of the Emperor, and by the precedents of your own and former times; and*

¹ This expectation recalls the famous instance of Octavia's munificence to Virgil on his reciting the lines about Marcellus, Aen. vi. 869-886. See n. on i. 3, 1. Cp. Juv. vii. 1: *Et spes*

et ratio studiorum in Caesare tantum.

² Tacitus evidently regards this as an admirable (and rare) instance of female discretion.

if a distinction may be drawn between crime and folly—between evil deeds and evil words—there is perhaps room for a sentence by which this man's offence shall not go unpunished, and yet no cause be left for us to regret either
 3 *our leniency or our severity. I have many a time heard our Prince complain when men have come in the way of*
 4 *his clemency by taking their own lives. Clutorius still lives; his life will be no danger to the State; his death*
 5 *will teach no lesson. Insensate as his productions are, they are of no importance, and will not survive: what of serious import can be feared from one who betrays his own shame, and looks not to men, but to a parcel of*
 6 *women, for applause? Nevertheless, let him leave the city, and be interdicted from fire and water, with loss of all his property. In proposing which sentence, I hold him guilty under the law of treason.*¹

1 A single Consular, Rubellius Blandus,² supported this proposal. The rest voted with Agrippa; and Priscus was carried off to prison, and straightway put
 2 to death. For this, Tiberius reproved the Senate in his usual two-edged fashion, commending the dutiful feeling which led them to punish severely any outrage upon their Prince, however slight, but censuring their undue haste in visiting words with punishment; giving credit to Lepidus, yet finding no fault with
 3 Agrippa. So it was resolved that, in future, decrees of the Senate should not be reported to the Treasury till the tenth day after they were passed; and that the execution of condemned persons should be delayed
 4 for a similar period. Yet even so the Senate were not free to reconsider their judgments; nor did the interval thus granted ever move Tiberius to mercy.

but Clutorius is put to death.

Affected displeasure of Tiberius.

¹ See n. on chap. 22, 2. This speech is an excellent example of the independence tempered by discretion

which is attributed to Lepidus in iv. 20, 4.

² See n. on chap. 23, 2.

A.D. 22. CONSULS C. SULPICIUS GALBA¹ AND
D. HATERIUS AGRIPPA.

Discussion
on the
luxury of
the times.

During this year there were no disturbances 52
abroad; but there was a fear at home that severe
measures would be taken to check extravagance,
which had become excessive in every branch of ex-
penditure. The prices paid for other objects of 2
luxury, immense though they were, were kept secret,
or not truly stated; but the sums lavished on
gluttony had become subject of common talk, and
people were afraid that the Emperor, himself a man
of primitive frugality, might take severe notice of the
matter. The question was raised by Gaius Bibulus, 3
and the discussion was continued by the other
Aediles,² who complained that the sumptuary laws³
were being disregarded; that the prices paid for
articles of diet⁴ were higher than the law allowed, and
were rising every day; and that no ordinary remedies
could check the mischief. On being thus consulted,
the Senate passed the question on to the Emperor
without any expression of opinion.

The matter
referred to
the
Emperor.

Tiberius
perplexed.

Now Tiberius had often pondered in his own 4
mind whether it were possible to restrain extrava-
gance, when it had gone so far; whether an attempt
to check it might not do more harm than good;

¹ This C. Sulpicius Galba was elder brother of the future emperor. His suicide is mentioned vi. 40, 3.

² For the duties of the aediles, see n. on ii. 85, 2.

³ The *Lex Iulia*, passed by Augustus in B.C. 22, and described by Gell. ii. 24, 14, permitted only 200 sesterces (less than £2) to be spent in feasts on ordinary days; 300 on the Kalends, Ides, Nones, etc.; at marriages and funeral festivals, 1000. A subsequent edict by Augustus or Tiberius raised the sum to 2000

sesterces, or £16. Such absurd regulations in an age of great sensual luxury can only have defeated their own end. They give some justification to the famous epigram *corruptissima re publica plurimae leges* (chap. 27, 5). Their only effect seems to have been to put a vexatious weapon into the hands of malicious prosecutors.

⁴ The word *utensilia* is here used for necessary articles of food, as in i. 70, 6; ii. 60, 5; and xv. 39, 2 (*subvectaque utensilia ab Ostia*).

whether it would not be unbecoming to take in hand measures which he could not enforce, or enforce only at the expense of dishonour and disgrace to illustrious personages. In the end, he wrote a letter to the Senate to the following effect:—

53. 1 *In all other matters, Conscript Fathers, it were perhaps better that I should be interrogated in your presence, and tell you what I think the public interest demands. But in regard to this question, it is well that my eyes should be elsewhere; lest if you were to mark out those whose fears or faces betrayed a consciousness of shameful extravagance, I might perceive them myself,*
 2 *and as it were detect them. If, indeed, our excellent Aediles had taken counsel first with me, I might perhaps have advised them to take no notice of failings which have come to a head, and are overmastering us, rather than proclaim the fact that there are scandals with which we are*
 3 *unable to cope. They, however, have done their duty, as I should wish to see all magistrates do theirs; but for me, it is neither seemly to keep silence, nor yet easy to speak out, seeing that I do not hold the office either of Aedile, of*
 4 *Praetor, or of Consul. Some greater and grander utterance is expected from the Princeps;¹ and whereas every one takes credit to himself for his own well-doing, the odium*
 5 *of all men's sins falls upon me alone. And where am I to begin? Which form of extravagance am I to prohibit first, or cut down to the standard of olden times? Is it the vast dimensions of our country houses?² the number*

He lays the whole difficulties of the subject before the Senate,

¹ An open assertion on the part of Tiberius that the old magistrates had become mere subordinate officers, all under his control, and responsible to him, as he was responsible to the public for their failures or successes.

² For Roman extravagance in building and planting, see Hor. Od. ii. 15 and 18, etc.; also Mayor's n. on Juv. xiv. 86-95, and Fried. iii. pp. 58-79.

Tiberius himself, though praised for his economy in building, had no less than 12 villas embraced in his residence in Capri (iv. 67, 5); recalling the phrase of Sallust, *villas in urbium modum exaedificatas*. The phenomenal villa of Hadrian near Tivoli with its appurtenances occupied a space of some 10 to 12 miles in circuit, and was more like a city than a villa.

and varied nationality of our slaves?¹ the weight of our gold and silver plate? our art-marvels, in bronze or painting? the wearing of the same textures by men and women alike?² Or that specially feminine form of luxury which transports our treasure to foreign and even hostile lands for the purchase of precious stones?

he shows that the evil cannot be met by legislation,

I know that these things are denounced at dinner tables and other gatherings, and that some restriction is called for. But if a law were passed, and penalties proclaimed, these same gentlemen would cry out that everything was being turned upside down; that all outstanding citizens were being threatened with ruin, all citizens alike with prosecution. But just as in the body there are ailments of long standing, come to a head through time, which cannot be arrested but by severe and violent remedies; so when the mind has become corrupt and the breeder of corruption, its distempered and fevered condition can only be assuaged by remedies as potent as the passions which have inflamed it. The many laws devised by our forefathers,³ and those passed by the Divine Augustus, have but given immunity to extravagance; the former have passed into oblivion: the latter—what is more shameful still—have been contemptuously disregarded. For if a man desires what has not been forbidden, he may be afraid of prohibition; but if he may with impunity do what has been prohibited, neither fear nor shame can restrain him longer. Why, then, was economy the rule of old? Because every one exercised self-restraint; because we were citizens of a single city; our very temptations were not the same so long as our

¹ Pliny mentions a man who in B.C. 8 left 4116 slaves (H. N. xxxiii. 10, 135). Seneca (de Ben. vii. 10, 4) speaks of 'slaves in one household being more numerous than a fighting nation: private mansions covering more ground than mighty cities.'

² See the similar discussion in chap. 2, 33, when a decree was passed for-

bidding the use of gold plate, and of silken apparel for men.

³ Between the *Lex Oppia*, B.C. 215 (see n. on chap. 33, 4), and the *Lex Julia*, at least seven sumptuary laws were passed, all equally futile. The phrase *tot quas divus Augustus tulit* is an obvious exaggeration: see n. on chap. 52, 3.

rule was confined to Italy. Foreign conquest has taught us to squander what belongs to others; civil war to be wasteful even of our own.

6 *And how paltry are the matters of which the Aediles warn us! How insignificant, if the whole field be taken into view! Not one of you recalls the fact that Italy cannot live without foreign aid; that the sustenance of the Roman people is day by day being tossed about at the caprice*
 7 *of wave and storm!*¹ *For were it not that the provinces came to the help of masters, slaves, and lands, with their resources, would our pleasures-groves and country palaces*
 8 *support us? And yet, Conscript Fathers, this is the charge which the Princeps has to undertake; to neglect it*
 9 *would bring the State to ruin. For all else, we must seek a remedy within ourselves. We senators may be*
 10 *turned to better things by shame; the poor by necessity; the wealthy by satiety. Nevertheless, if any of the magistrates will proffer their services to grapple strenuously and strictly with this evil, I will not only commend them, but will acknowledge that they are relieving me of part of my*
 11 *burdens. But if they propose to denounce men's failings, and then, having gained credit for that performance, to leave with me the animosities which they provoke: believe me, Conscript Fathers, I am no more anxious to rouse ill-will than they are. I am ready to face fierce resentments, unjust as they often are, incurred in the public service; but I decline, and rightly decline, to face such as are purposeless and fruitless, and present no prospect of usefulness either to you or to me.*

but rather
by
individual
example.

55. 1 Upon hearing this letter, the Senate remitted the

The matter
is referred
to the
Aediles.

¹ Rome was as much dependent on foreign countries for her supplies of food as Great Britain is to-day. See the passage about Egypt in ii. 59, 4, *ne fame urgeret Italiam quisquis eam provinciam . . . insedisset*, etc. The maintaining a supply of corn for the populace at Rome was a constant

anxiety to the Emperors; Tiberius carefully attended to it, as Tacitus admits (iv. 6, 6). In the year A.D. 51 the stock of corn in the city was reduced to 15 days' supply. See xii. 43, 5: *Africam potius (i.e. quam Italiam) et Aegyptum exercemus, navibusque et casibus vita populi Romani permissa est.*

Luxurious living gradually grew out of vogue.

matter to the Aediles; and by degrees, the excessive expenditure upon the pleasures of the table, which had been in vogue for a hundred years, from the end of the Actian war down to that which placed Galba upon the throne, fell out of fashion. We may here 2 discuss the causes of this change.

Reasons for this change.

In former times, noble or distinguished families that had wealth were often ruined by the passion for display; for in those days men might still pay court 3 to the populace, or to allied peoples and princes, and be courted in return. The greater a man's show of riches, the more splendid his house and equipments, the higher stood his name, the larger was the number of his clients. But after the proscriptions, when a great reputation became a fatal possession, people adopted a more prudent style of living. About 4 the same period, many self-made men from municipal towns, from colonies, and even from the provinces, were admitted into the Senate; these brought with them the simple manners of their own homes: and though many of them, through good fortune or their own exertions, became rich in their old age, they still retained their former ideas.¹

Vespasian the great promoter of economy.

But the great promoter of economy was Ves- 5 pasian, who was himself a man of the olden type, both in his person and manner of life; thenceforth a

¹ This is the solitary passage in which Tacitus acknowledges that Rome owed anything to that influx of provincials into the city which came in with the empire; he never even alludes to the fact that the best intellectual and literary circles of Rome in the first century were recruited mainly from the provinces. What a loss to history that his old Roman pride should lead him to ignore so completely this new and recuperative element in Roman life! It is the same with Juvenal; he can appreciate the simple virtues of Italian country life;

but when he deals with the foreigner, we hear only of the *Graeculus esuriens*, of households corrupted by incomers, of the Orontes pouring all its foul waters into the Tiber. Persons from Italian towns are said to have been admitted into the senate by Tiberius; Claudius and Vespasian did the same thing on a large scale, and from the provinces also. Suetonius says of Vespasian *amplissimos ordines . . . purgavit supplevitque, recenso senatu et equite, summotis indignissimis, et honestissimo quoque Italicorum ac provincialium allecto* (Vesp. 9).

feeling of deference towards the Emperor, and the desire to follow his example, proved more powerful for good than all the penalties and terrors of the law.

6 And perhaps there is a kind of cycle in human affairs, whereby manners have their revolutions like the seasons; it may be, too, that all things were not so much better in the past, and that our own times also have produced many examples of virtuous and cultured lives which deserve the imitation of posterity. Long may such noble rivalry between our ancestors and ourselves continue!

6. 1 Having thus gained credit for moderation by checking the aggression of informers, Tiberius wrote a letter to the Senate requesting them to confer upon Drusus the Tribunitian Power.¹ This phrase Augustus had invented² to indicate the possession of supreme power; for, while avoiding the title of King or Dictator, he desired some designation which should place him on a pinnacle above every other authority.

3 In this power he associated with himself, first Marcus Agrippa, and after his death, Tiberius Nero: thus

4 clearly indicating his successor.³ Confident in his

Tribunitian power conferred on Drusus,

¹ See notes on i. 2, 1 and 3, 3. Caesar assumed the powers and the inviolability of the tribunitian office without actually bearing the title (Dio, xlii. 20, 3; Appian, B.C. ii. 106). Such an assumption was, in fact, inevitable; for the immense powers of the tribunate, in any hands but those of the sovereign, were incompatible with sovereignty.

² The reference here is to the year B.C. 23, when the principate was finally established in the form in which it remained for over three centuries. The essence of the change then made, as we have seen, was that Augustus gave up the continuous holding of the consulship, which had been granted for ten years in B.C. 27, and received in its place the *imperium proconsulare*: any inferiority of that power as compared with the *imperium consulare* being at once made good to him by special decree of the

senate (Dio, liii. 32, 5). To make up for the loss of civil dignity implied in the relinquishment of the consulship, and to prevent his government having too military an appearance, Augustus enhanced at the same time the importance of the *Tribunitia Potestas* in the manner here indicated. The name fitted itself exactly to his persistent policy, enabling him to exercise vast powers under a modest constitutional title. See n. on i. 2, 1.

³ As Furn. points out, Tacitus is thinking of later usage, not yet crystallised under Tiberius. Augustus admitted both Tiberius and Agrippa to the *Tribunitia Potestas* at a time when his own grandsons were still alive. The motive of Augustus is given more truly in the words *quo pluribus munimentis insisteret*, i. 3, 5.

who is now
practically
marked
out as
successor.

own position,¹ and having nothing to fear from Tiberius, he considered that this step would check treasonable hopes in other quarters. Following this example, Tiberius now advanced Drusus to the first place, though as long as Germanicus was alive, he left open the decision between the two. Beginning his letter with a prayer that the Gods might prosper his counsels for the public good, he went on to speak of the young man in moderate terms, without falsehood or exaggeration :—

Letter of
Tiberius
commend-
ing
Drusus.

His son was married, and had three children ; he was of the same age² as he himself had been when first called upon to fill the same place by the Divine Augustus. There was nothing premature in assuming as a colleague, in labours already familiar to him, one who had been tried for a period of eight³ years, during which he had quelled mutinies, concluded wars, won a Triumph, and twice filled the Consulship.

Flatteries
of the
Senate.

The Senate was prepared for the tenor of this message ; and was all the more studied in its adulation. And yet they could devise nothing more novel than to vote temples, arches, and such like usual compliments ; save that Silanus sought to add honour to the Caesars by belittling the Consulship, and proposed that the dates on all monuments, public or private, should be fixed by inscribing on them, not the names of the Consuls, but of those who held the Tribunitian Power.⁴ And Quintus

¹ An essential characteristic of Augustus : if Tiberius had possessed a similar confidence in himself, he might never have become a tyrant.

² In his thirty-fifth year, which would put the birth of Drusus in B.C. 13.

³ The eight years cover the time from the accession of Tiberius. *Seditionibus* refers to the Pannonian mutiny (i. 24-30). The war is the Illyrian war, ending in the fall of Maroboduus and Catualda (ii. 44 and 62). Drusus celebrated an

ovation (not a triumph) in A.D. 19 (iii. 19, 4) ; his consulships were in A.D. 14 (i. 55, 1) and A.D. 21 (iii. 31, 1).

⁴ The proposal may have been premature ; but as a matter of fact the emperors before long regularly dated the years of their reign from their tenure of the tribunitian power. The words *Trib. Pot.* with a numeral after them, to denote the year of tenure, occupy a prominent place on all imperial inscriptions.

Haterius¹ covered himself with ridicule by moving that the resolutions passed that day should be put up in the Senate-house in letters of gold. He could reap nothing, at his age, but infamy from so loathsome a piece of sycophancy.

8. 1 About this time, the command of Junius Blaesus in Africa was extended; and Servius Maluginensis, who was Flamen Dialis, claimed to have the Province of Asia allotted to him. *It was a common error, he maintained, to suppose that the Flamen of Jupiter could not leave Italy. His rights were the same as those of the Flamens of Mars and Quirinus; if provinces had been allotted to them, why should they be refused to the Flamen of Jupiter?*² *There was no law against it; there was*
 2 *nothing in the priestly books against it. The sacred duties of the office had often been performed by ordinary priests, when the Flamen was kept away by illness or public duty. The office itself had been in abeyance for seventy-five*³ *years after the suicide of Cornelius Merula;*
 3 *yet the religious services had never been intermitted. If a vacancy could remain so long unfilled without detriment to the rites, how much more easy for the occupant to absent*
 4 *himself for one year*⁴ *of Proconsular command? The rule by which in olden times the Chief Pontiff forbade the Flamen to assume the command of provinces, had been due to personal animosities; but now, by the grace of the Gods, they had a Chief Priest who was Chief of the State*

Claim of the Flamen Dialis to have a Province assigned to him.

¹ For Q. Haterius, see i. 13, 4; ii. 33, 1, and iv. 61, 1, where Tacitus comments on his brilliant but ephemeral rhetoric. He is to be distinguished from D. Haterius Agrippa, mentioned iii. 49, 4.

² The old republican custom was that all three flamens had to remain in Rome to attend to their respective *sacra*. But in chap. 66, 2 we find C. Silanus, who was flamen Martialis, in command of Asia.

³ The MS. says seventy-two years; but Cornelius Messala committed suicide B.C. 87, on the return of Marius to Rome, and the post was not filled up by Augustus till B.C. 11.

⁴ Thus the term of office in the senatorial provinces was limited to one year; in the imperial provinces, as we have seen, Tiberius kept his legati in office indefinitely, if once approved (i. 80, 2).

also, inaccessible to jealousy, ill-will, and all personal considerations.

The claim opposed, and referred to Tiberius.

This view being opposed on various grounds by 59. the Augur Lentulus¹ and others, it was agreed in the end to await the opinion of the Pontifex Maximus. Postponing, however, for a time, an examination into 2 the rights of the Flamen, Tiberius modified some of the honours bestowed on Drusus in connection with the Tribunitian Power. He objected specially to the resolution as to the golden letters, as unprecedented and un-Roman.

A letter of thanks from Drusus is ill received.

A letter was also read from Drusus; but though 3 couched in modest terms, it was regarded as an act of insolence: ²—*What? had things come to this, that a mere stripling, on receiving so great an honour, was not to present himself before the Gods of the City, or appear in the Senate, or even assume the auspices on his native soil? It was a case of war, was it? or of detention in 4 distant lands? when he was, in fact, dallying by the shores and lakes of Campania! Was this the way in 5 which the future ruler of the human race was being trained? were these the first lessons that he was drawing from his father's counsels? An aged Emperor might, 6 perhaps, shrink from the gaze of his fellow citizens; he might plead fatigue, old age, and a life spent in labour; but in the case of Drusus, what impediment could there be but arrogance?*

Abuse of the right of sanctuary referred by Tiberius to the Senate.

Yet³ while Tiberius was thus strengthening for 60. himself the powers of the Principate, he still left to

¹ His full name was Cn. Cornelius Lentulus. Seneca describes him as a rich and avaricious dullard; so slow of speech that, miserly as he was, he parted with his words even less readily than with his money (de Ben. ii. 27).

² Drusus was on the whole a favourite (chap. 37, 2): but Roman society did not spare its criticisms.

³ The force of *sed* here is that, although the granting of the *Trib. Pot.* to Drusus was a strengthening of imperial authority, leading Drusus to an act of arrogance, Tiberius nevertheless still entrusted the senate with important affairs.

the Senate some shadow of its ancient rights, referring petitions from the provinces for their consideration.

2 Thus an abuse was becoming rampant in the cities of Greece from the unchecked license of setting up sanctuaries. These sanctuaries were filled with slaves of the lowest class; they extended protection to debtors flying from their creditors, and to persons suspected

3 of capital crimes; and the populace, screening the offences of men under cover of doing service to the Gods, broke out in riots which the authorities

4 were powerless to repress. Accordingly these cities were ordered to send envoys to Rome to make good

5 their claims. Some of them which had assumed the right without authority, relinquished it of their own accord; others relied on traditions, or on services rendered to the Roman people. And a fine sight it was

6 that day to see the Senate inquiring into privileges granted by our forefathers, or into treaties with our allies, or edicts issued by kings who had reigned before the days of Roman rule—nay, even into the worship of the Gods themselves—free, as in the days of old, to cancel or confirm.¹

Investigation of claims ordered.

I 1 First came the people of Ephesus. They affirmed that Diana and Apollo had been born, not in Delos, according to the popular belief, but beside their own river Cenchreus, in the Ortygian grove. It was there that Latona, being big with child, had given birth to those two Divinities, leaning upon an olive-tree which was still standing; the grove had been held

2 sacred ever since by divine command, and Apollo himself had found shelter there, after slaying the Cyclops, from the wrath of Jupiter. At a later period,

Claims of Ephesus,

¹ Tacitus cannot contain his pride and satisfaction at the idea of the senate

exercising its high imperial functions as of old.

Father Liber, when victorious over the Amazons,¹ had spared those who placed themselves as suppliants upon the altar; Hercules had added to the sanctity³ of the shrine when conquering Lydia;² its privileges had been respected under Persian rule, by the Macedonians, and lastly by ourselves.³

Next came the people of Magnesia. They relied^{62.} upon the dispositions made by Lucius Scipio and Lucius Sulla. The former, after defeating Antiochus, the latter, after his victory over Mithradates, had rewarded the loyalty and valour of the Magnesians⁴ by granting an inviolable right of asylum to the temple of Diana Leucophryna.⁵ Then the people of² Aphrodisias⁶ and Stratoniceia produced two proclamations, one by the Dictator Cæsar, lauding their long devotion to his party; and one, more recent, by the Divine Augustus, in which they were commended for having withstood an invasion⁷ of the Parthians, without faltering in their allegiance to Rome. The worship³ maintained by the Aphrodisians was that of Venus, by the Stratoniceans that of Jupiter and Diana of the Crossways.

A claim of still higher antiquity was advanced⁴ by the people of Hierocaesarea,⁸ on behalf of the

¹ For the various legends about the Amazons, see Furn. and Smith, Biog. Dict. The foundation of Ephesus, as well as of other cities, was ascribed to them.

² The usual form of the legend is that the Lydian lady Omphale had captivated Hercules.

³ An inscription has been found giving the boundaries of this asylum as recognised by Augustus, and fixing the date at B.C. 5. See Furn.

⁴ The town indicated is *Magnesia ad Maeandrum*, now *Manissa*, in the SW. of Lydia; to be distinguished from the *Magnesia ad Sipylum* (or a *Sipylus*, ii. 47, 4) in the NW. It was at the foot of the hill Sipylus (a spur of Mt.

Tmolus) that the Scipios, in B.C. 170, gained their great victory over Antiochus the Great, which opened up the East to the Roman arms.

⁵ The epithet is said to be derived from an older town, *Leucophrys*, on the site of Magnesia. Remains of the temple still exist.

⁶ *Aphrodisias* was on the borders of Caria and Phrygia. *Stratoniceia*, in Caria, was called after the wife of Antiochus Soter (282 to 262 B.C.).

⁷ Alluding to the time when the Parthians, under Pacorus and the renegade Q. Labienus, overran the whole province of Asia, B.C. 40. See n. on ii. 1.

⁸ *Hierocaesarea* was in Lydia, between Sardis and Smyrna.

of
Magnesia,

of Hiero-
caesarea,
and
Cyprus,

Temple of the Persian Diana,¹ dedicated in the reign of Cyrus. They quoted Perpenna,² Isauricus,³ and other Roman generals as having recognised the sanctity not of the temple only, but of the ground for
 5 two miles round it. Then followed the Cyprians, claiming for three shrines, the oldest of which was in honour of the Paphian Venus,⁴ founded by Aërias; next, one built by his son Amathus to the Amathusian Venus; and lastly, one in honour of Jupiter of Salamis, founded by Teucer when he fled from the wrath of his father Telamon.

3. 1 Embassies were heard from other cities also. and of other cities.
- 2 Wearied by their number, and finding that there was a contest between rival interests, the Senate remitted it to the Consuls to examine into the rights of each case, to search out any instances of fraud, and to
 3 report to them upon the whole subject. In addition to the claims above mentioned, the Consuls reported that they had discovered a right of asylum appertaining to the temple of Aesculapius at Pergamum;⁵ the origin of the others they held to be lost in antiquity.
- 4 Thus the people of Smyrna quoted an oracle of Apollo, bidding them found a temple to Venus Stratoniceis;⁶ the Tenians,⁷ an utterance by the same God, ordering them to dedicate a temple and a statue

The Consuls report on the whole question,

¹ The Artemis worshipped at Ephesus, Magnesia, and Hierocaesarea was the same goddess: Pausanias calls her *Anaëitis* (iii. 16, 8). She was called *Persica* because of her supposed origin.

² M. Perpenna or Perperna, cos. B.C. 130, victor and captor of Aristonicus of Pergamum.

³ Probably P. Servilius Isauricus, procos. of Asia B.C. 46.

⁴ The Venus of Cyprus was probably Astarte.

⁵ The city of Pergamum, which was situated on the Caicus, in Teuthrania, is described by Pliny as *oppidum longe clarissimum Asiae*. It was the capital of an independent kingdom of great

splendour, carved originally out of the Thracian kingdom of Lysimachus, from B.C. 280 to B.C. 133; in which year the last king, Attalus III., bequeathed it to the Romans. It thenceforth became the capital of the Roman province of Asia.

⁶ The antiquity of this temple shows that the name can have no connection with the *Stratoniceia* mentioned in the n. to chap. 62, 2. The goddess is supposed to be the Aphrodite *Νικηφόρος* of the Greeks, the *Venus Victrix* of the Romans.

⁷ Tenos, one of the Cyclades, now *Tino*.

to Neptune. The Sardians¹ referred to more recent 5
times, naming Alexander the Great as the founder of
their asylum, while the Milesians² relied on King
Darius: in these two cases the worship was that of 6
Diana and Apollo respectively. And the Cretans
demanded the right for a statue of the Divine
Augustus.

The Senate issued decrees in terms full of respect, 7
but imposing certain restrictions. Brazen tablets were
to be set up inside the temples as a record of the
rights granted, but such religious privileges were not
to be turned into an excuse for rivalries with other
cities.³

About this time the severe illness of Julia Augusta 64.
compelled the Emperor to return hurriedly to Rome ;
for if mother and son were no longer in complete
accord, their hatred was at least well concealed. For
not long before, when dedicating a statue to the 2
Divine Augustus near the theatre of Marcellus,⁴ Livia
had inscribed on it the name of Tiberius beneath her
own. Tiberius, it was believed, had taken offence at
this, regarding it as a slight upon his Imperial
Majesty, though he had disguised and suppressed
his resentment. On the occasion of this illness the 3
Senate voted a public supplication, with an exhibi-
tion of Great Games to be held by the Pontiffs, the
Augurs, and the three Sacred Colleges—the *Quinde-*
cimviri sacris faciundis,⁵ the *Septemviri Epulones*, and the

¹ Sardis, the ancient capital of the Lydian kings and Persian Satraps.

² Miletus, in Caria, at the mouth of the Maeander, was the most southerly city of the Ionian confederation. Within its territory lay the temple of Apollo at Branchidae, the sculptures of which are among the most valued treasures of the British Museum.

³ *i.e.* they were not to attempt to

extend the rights of asylum beyond their original limits, in rivalry with other cities.

⁴ This theatre was dedicated by Augustus B.C. 11, between the Capitol and the Tiber. Its picturesque ruins, partly turned to modern uses, still exist, close to the Portico of Octavia.

⁵ The *Quindecimviri sacris faciundis*, whose chief charge was that of the

and the Senate decrees accordingly.

Illness of Livia.

Supplication and games voted.

4 *Sodales Augustales*.¹ Lucius Apronius proposed that the Fetials should be added to the list of presiding corporations; but this was opposed by Tiberius, who explained from ancient precedents the privileges of
5 the several priestly bodies:—*The Fetials*, he said, *had never enjoyed such a distinction as was proposed; the only reason for including the Augustan Brotherhood was that their sacred office was attached to the family on whose behalf the vows were to be paid.*

55. 1 It is no part of my purpose to set forth every motion that was made in the Senate, but only such as were either very honourable or specially disgraceful in their character. For I deem it to be the chief function of history to rescue merit from oblivion, and to hold up before evil words and evil deeds the terror
2 of the reprobation of posterity.² And in those days, so deep, so foul, was the taint of flattery, that not only men of leading in the state—men who could only maintain their illustrious position by subserviency³—but also the whole body of Consulars, many of praetorian rank, and even many ordinary⁴ senators, would rise in the Senate and outbid one other in
3 making fulsome and extravagant proposals. Tradition tells how Tiberius, every time that he left the Senate-house, would exclaim in Greek, *O men*

Fulsome
sycophancy of
the Senate;

even
Tiberius
disgusted
at it.

Sibylline Books; the *Septemviri Epulones* (now ten in number) who supervised sacred banquets; the *Augures*; and the *Pontifices*, formed the four great priestly colleges.

¹ The institution of this priesthood is recorded i. 54, 1.

² A noble, but somewhat dangerous principle, even in worthy hands. It tends to make history a chronicle of the opinions and prejudices of the historian. Tacitus is, in fact, as much, if not more, a moralist than a historian; and it is mainly his brilliance in that character which has won for him the admiration of posterity.

³ *i.e.* there might be some excuse for flattery on the part of leading statesmen, who had positions to lose; there was none in the case of ordinary senators. Not a very exalted sentiment.

⁴ Originally denoting senators who voted without speaking, the phrase *pedarii* came to denote ordinary senators who had held no office higher than that of quaestor, or perhaps aedile. The present passage shows that they had liberty to speak if they desired. Perhaps the difference was that they were not called upon for their opinion, as were consulars and senators of higher rank.

meet for slavery! For even he, enemy of public freedom as he was, felt disgust at such abject and all-enduring servility.

And from servility they passed by degrees to persecution. Gaius Silanus,¹ Proconsul of Asia, had been accused by the provincials of extortion. Mamercus Scaurus, a Consular, Junius Otho, a Praetor, and Bruttedius Niger, an Aedile, all set upon him at once, charging him with having outraged the Divinity of Augustus, and insulted the Majesty of Tiberius. Mamercus quoted precedents from antiquity: how Lucius Cotta had been accused by Scipio Africanus, Servius Galba by Cato the Censor, and Publius Rutilius by Marcus Scaurus;² as if Scipio or Cato ever attacked offences such as these!³ or that famous Scaurus⁴ either, the great-grandfather of this same Mamercus who was now dishonouring his ancestors, and all his house besides, by these degrading services.⁵ Junius Otho had long been a schoolmaster; raised to the Senate by the patronage of Sejanus, his unblushing effronteries added a still deeper stain⁶

¹ Silanus had been procos. of Asia in A. D. 20 and 21.

² These were all famous trials. The prosecution of Cotta was between B. C. 132 and 129; but Cicero tells us that the high position of the accuser actually told in favour of the accused (pro Mur. 28, 58). Servius Sulpicius Galba, a great orator, was accused by Cato the elder, B. C. 149, for gross cruelty in Spain; his eloquence and appeals ad misericordiam secured him an acquittal (Cic. Brut. 23, 89). P. Rutilius Rufus and M. Aemilius Scaurus were opposing candidates for the consulship in B. C. 116: each accused the other of bribery (Brut. 30, 113).

³ As a matter of fact, the accusations brought by Scipio and Cato were exactly similar to those brought against Silanus now; except that in his case charges of majestas were added. Tacitus ignores all but the latter; though

he has to confess (chap. 67, 2) that Silanus was guilty both of cruelty and bribery.

⁴ Tacitus here names Scaurus, the chosen champion of the Optimates, as a name above all reproach; but Sallust describes him as *factiosus, avidus potentiae honoris divitiarum, ceterum vitia sua callide occultans* (Jug. 15, 3).

⁵ The crime of Mamercus consists in his prosecuting Silanus. Nothing else discreditable is recorded of him in the Annals (see i. 13, 4; iii. 31, 5); and when himself accused, he met his fate *ut dignum veteribus Aemiliis* (vi. 29, 7). Tacitus describes him in that passage as *insignis nobilitate et orandis causis, vita probrosus*; the last words may have no further meaning than *infami opera* in the present passage.

⁶ Reading *propolluebat* with the MS.

Prosecution of Gaius Silanus for treason and extortion.

His accusers.

5 to the meanness of his origin.¹ Brutedius was a man of high and varied culture;² had he followed a straight path, he would have attained to the very highest eminence. But a spirit of impatience goaded him on to outstrip first his equals, then his superiors, and at last his own ambition also: a spirit which has been the ruin of many a worthy man who, despising the safe and sure way, has hurried to be great before his time.

7. 1 The host of accusers was now reinforced by Gellius Publicola and Marcus Paconius; the former had been the Quaestor,³ the latter the Legate, of 2 Silanus. That Silanus had been guilty of cruelty and venality was not questioned; but he had to face a combination of circumstances which would have been formidable even to an innocent man. Besides a host of senators, he had against him the most eloquent orators of Asia, selected for that very reason; and though himself inexperienced in speaking, he had to conduct his own defence unaided—a task trying to the most practised orators. Then Tiberius never ceased brow-beating him with voice and look, putting to him a multitude of questions, which he was not allowed either to repel or to evade: he had sometimes even to make admissions, lest Tiberius should have asked a question to no purpose.⁴ 3 Even his slaves were bought by the agent of the Treasury that they might be examined under torture;⁵ and to prevent his friends from helping him in his

Unfairness
of the trial:

Silanus,
brow-
beaten
by
Tiberius,

¹ Though treated here so contemptuously, this Otho is spoken of with respect by Seneca both as a speaker and as an author (Contr. ii. 1, 33).

² Brutedius also was an orator and a writer (Sen. Suas. vi. 21). See Juv. x. 83 and Mayor's n.

³ It was considered particularly disgraceful for a quaestor to accuse his

governor, as he stood in confidential relations towards him. See n. on i. 74, 1.

⁴ As said above, Tacitus treats the main charge lightly, and regards the whole trial as one for majestas. Tiberius' method of personal cross-examination, as here described, must have been highly disconcerting.

⁵ See n. on ii. 30, 3.

peril, charges of treason were trumped up against them also, so as to secure and compel their silence. He therefore craved an adjournment for a few days; 4 and abandoning his defence, ventured to write to the Emperor, in a tone of mingled entreaty and expostulation.

makes a
vain appeal
to him.

He is
condemned
to be
relegated
to Gyarus.

Anxious to justify by some precedent the punishment which he was preparing for Silanus, Tiberius ordered to be read aloud a letter written by the Divine Augustus in the case of Volesus Messalla, who had been Proconsul of the same province, as well as the sentence passed on him by the Senate.¹ He then asked Lucius Piso for his opinion. After a 2 long preamble upon the Emperor's clemency, Piso proposed that Silanus should be interdicted from fire and water, and relegated to the island of Gyarus.² The others concurred; but Gneaus Lentulus suggested 3 that the property which had come to Silanus through his mother—she belonged to the family of the Atii³—should be set apart from the rest, and allowed to pass to his son. To this Tiberius assented.

Adulatory
proposal of
Dolabella,

Cornelius Dolabella⁴ carried his flattery to a point 69 further still. After denouncing Silanus, he proposed that no person of notoriously evil life and reputation, of which the Emperor should be sole judge, should be eligible for the command of a province. *The law*, he 2 remarked, *punished offences after they were committed; but how much more merciful would it be to the offender*

¹ The comparison with Messalla Volesus is peculiarly odious. Volesus was proconsul of Asia in B.C. 12 or 11. Seneca tells how, after behcading 300 men in one day, he walked gloatingly among the corpses, exclaiming in Greek, *O rem regiam!* (De ira, ii. 5, 5).

² *Gyarum* or *Gyaros*, one of the lesser Cyclades, between Andros and Keos, now *Giura* (Juv. 1, 73).

³ No satisfactory interpretation of

this passage has been offered. I read *Atia* here, with much doubt, after Halm, instead of the MS. *alia*. *Atia* was the name of the mother of Augustus; if this *Atia* were of the same family, it might be a reason for treating her property with consideration. Some think *alia* might mean 'of a different character from her son.'

⁴ It was this Dolabella who proposed the *absurda adulatio* in chap. 47, 4.

—how much better for the allies—to provide against their being committed! But this was opposed by

3 Tiberius :—

He had been aware of the reports current about Silanus; but decisions should not be based on rumour. There were many men who in the command of provinces had disappointed the hopes, or the fears, which had been
4 formed in regard to them. Some were stimulated to higher things by having great things to do; others were paralyzed by it. The Princeps could not embrace every-thing within his own knowledge; and it was not expedient that he should be led by the interested views of others.
5 The law was appointed to deal with accomplished facts, because the future was uncertain; hence our forefathers had laid it down that when misdeeds had gone before,
6 punishment should follow after. Let them not upset arrangements wisely devised and approved by experience. Princes had burdens enough as it was; enough of power also. Every increase of prerogative was a weakening of the law; the Imperial authority should not be invoked so long as recourse to the laws was open.¹

opposed by Tiberius.

7 Popular sentiments like these were all the more acceptable that they were seldom heard from
8 Tiberius. And knowing well, as he did, how to be merciful when not moved by personal resentment, he added that Gyarus was a desert and uninhabited island; out of consideration for the Junian family, and for one who had been a member of their own order, let them permit Silanus to retire to Cythnus² instead.³
9 A request to that effect, he added, had been preferred by

Cythus substituted for Gyarus.

¹ These excellent constitutional sentiments seem scarcely appropriate in the mouth of Tiberius. Tacitus appears to be unable to resist the temptation of ventilating his own ideas.

² Cythnos, now *Thermia*: a larger island, near Gyaros.

³ Tiberius shows a similar leniency in ii. 50, 4; iii. 18, 1; and in iv. 31, 1, where Tacitus admits that he was *gnarum meliorum, et quae fama clementiam sequeretur*.

Torquata, the sister of Silanus, a Vestal of truly primitive purity. The proposal was assented to without discussion.

Charges
against
Cordus and
Ennius.

A hearing was then given to the people of Cyrene, 70
who charged Caesius Cordus with extortion.¹ Ancharius
Priscus was prosecutor, and Cordus was found guilty.
Next, Lucius Ennius, a Roman knight, was accused of 2
high treason because he had used a statue of the
Emperor as ordinary silver. Tiberius forbade the
prosecution; but Ateius Capito, by way of shewing
his independence, protested openly. *The right to* 3
decide on such a case, he argued, ought not to be taken
out of the hands of the Senate; an offence so serious
should not be allowed to go unpunished. Forbearing as
the Emperor might be in regard to his own private
wrongs, he should not be indulgent to an offence com-
mitted against the State. But Tiberius saw through 4
the real meaning of such language, and persisted in
his veto.² The infamy of Capito was all the more
notable, that being himself a jurist, skilled in all law
human and divine, he had brought disgrace upon his
own personal accomplishments³ as well as on his high
position in the State.

Show of
independ-
ence by
Ateius
Capito.

Difficulty
as to the
temple of
Fortuna
Equestris.

A religious difficulty now presented itself: in what 71
temple was to be placed the offering for the recovery
of Augusta which the Knights of Rome had vowed to
Fortuna Equestris? There were many temples of
Fortuna in Rome; but none with that particular

¹ This prosecution has been already mentioned under the previous year (chap. 38, 1). It would appear that a whole year had been spent in getting up the case.

² This passage makes it clear that by the exercise of his right of tribunitian veto the princeps could extend pardon to accused persons. See the case of Appuleia, ii. 50, 4.

³ As in duty bound, Tacitus has the

greatest veneration for juridical science, in spite of his wholesale theoretical denunciation of Roman laws and law in general (chaps. 26-27). Noble birth, coupled with eminence as a jurist, constitute in his eyes the highest title to fame, and add an additional discredit to any departure from virtue; yet in many passages he mentions a man's high birth as a set-off against moral delinquencies.

2 designation.¹ It was discovered, however, that there was one with that title at Antium;² and as it was held that all divine services, temples, and images of Gods in Italian towns were under the jurisdiction and headship of Rome, the offering was set up in that city.

3 Religious questions having thus been mooted, Tiberius produced his decision in the case of the Flamen Dialis, postponed some time before. The decision was adverse to the claims of Servius Maluginensis, the Emperor quoting a priestly ordinance to the effect that if at any time the Flamen should fall sick, the Pontifex Maximus might give him leave of absence for a period exceeding two nights, provided always it was not on days of public sacrifice, or oftener than twice in any one year. These regulations, laid down in the Principate of Augustus, clearly showed that absence for a whole year, with the command of
4 a Province, could not be granted. The precedent also of the Pontifex Maximus Lucius Metellus was adduced, who had refused leave of absence to the
5 Flamen Aulus Postumius.³ The government of Asia was therefore assigned to the Consular who came next after Maluginensis.

Tiberius disallows the claim of the Flamen Dialis.

1 About this same time Lepidus⁴ asked permission of the Senate to repair and beautify at his own expense the Basilica of Paulus,⁵ the monument of the Aemilian

Restoration of public buildings.

¹ Tacitus speaks as if such a title had never existed; but a temple under that name had been dedicated at Rome, B.C. 173, by Q. Fulvius Flaccus (Liv. xl. 40, 10). It was still in existence in B.C. 92, and apparently in the time of Vitruvius also, B.C. 16 (Vit. iii. 3, 2). It must have been destroyed subsequently.

² Antium was the great seat of the worship of Fortune: *O Diva gratum quae regis Antium* (Hor. Od. i. 35, 1).

³ The occurrence was in B.C. 242; but Aulus Postumius was Flamen Martialis, not Flamen Dialis.

⁴ Doubtless *Marcus* Lepidus; see chap. 32, 2.

⁵ The *Basilica Pauli* was a splendid building on the E. side of the Forum, built or rather founded by L. Aemilius Paulus, cos. B.C. 50, grandfather of the Marcus Lepidus of this chapter. It was dedicated B.C. 34, and had already been restored after a fire by Augustus,

house. For public munificence was still the fashion ; 2
 and Augustus had offered no objection¹ when Taurus,²
 Philippus and Balbus used the spoils they had won in
 war, or their own superabundant means, to beautify
 the city, and so commend themselves to posterity.
 Following that example, though possessed of but 3
 slender means,³ Lepidus now restored the great
 memorial of his family. And when the theatre of 4
 Pompeius⁴ was accidentally burned down,⁵ the Em-
 peror undertook to rebuild it himself, preserving,
 however, the name of Pompeius ; for though the Pom-
 peian family was not extinct, there was no member
 of it wealthy enough to carry out the work. He took 5
 occasion at the same time to commend Sejanus, to
 whose vigilance and exertions, he affirmed, it was due
 that the loss from this great fire had been confined to
 a single building. So the Senate voted him a statue,⁶
 to be set up in the theatre ; and when not long after- 6
 wards the Emperor bestowed triumphal ornaments
 on his uncle Junius Blaesus,⁷ Proconsul of Africa, he

Honours to
 Sejanus.

B.C. 14 (Dio, liv. 24. 3). It has recently been excavated through the generosity of Mr. Lionel Phillips.

¹ This is an under-statement : Suetonius says of Augustus *principes viros saepe hortatus est ut pro facultate quisque monumentis vel novis vel relictis et excultis urbem adornarent* (Oct. 29).

² Statilius Taurus (see vi. 11, 5) built in the Campus Martius the first amphitheatre of stone, B.C. 30 ; L. Marcus Philippus (cos. suf. B.C. 38) built or restored an *aedes Herculis Musarum* (Ov. Fast. vi. 801) ; and L. Cornelius Balbus a theatre in the Campus Martius near the river, B.C. 13.

³ Both the father and grandfather of Lepidus had been proscribed by the triumvirs ; hence the loss of the family fortunes.

⁴ The theatre of Pompey, built in B.C. 55 to the W. of the Circus Flaminius in the Campus Martius, was the first theatre in Rome built of stone. A few fragments of the theatre have

been discovered in the cellars of the Palazzo Pio. Attached to the theatre was the *Porticus Pompei*, built to shelter the spectators in bad weather ; and the celebrated *Curia Pompei*, in which the senate met, and which was the scene of Caesar's assassination. The restoration of this theatre, and the building of the temple to Augustus, are mentioned by Tacitus as the only two public works executed by Tiberius (vi. 45. 3).

⁵ Only the stage was destroyed, the rest being of stone.

⁶ When this statue was set up, Crematius Cordus remarked that 'Now indeed the theatre was destroyed,' *Nunc vere theatrum perire* (Sen. Cons. ad Marciam, 22, 4). The cultivated society of Rome knew how to temper despotism by epigram, and we cannot marvel if they occasionally suffered for it. See iv. 34, 1.

⁷ For the career of Junius Blaesus, see Nipp. on i. 16.

declared that he did this out of compliment to the nephew. Nevertheless the services of Blaesus had well earned the distinction.

1 For though Tacfarinas had often been repulsed, he had always recruited his forces from the interior; and he at last reached such a pitch of insolence as to send envoys to Tiberius, demanding a settlement for himself and his army, and threatening an interminable
2 war as the alternative. Never, they say, was Tiberius more incensed: what an insult to himself and to the Roman people that a freebooter and deserter should
3 conduct himself as a belligerent! Even Spartacus,¹ when he had destroyed consular armies, and was spreading fire through Italy with impunity, had never been granted a surrender on conditions; though the wars with Sertorius² and Mithradates³ were at that time shaking the State to its foundations. How much less should a robber like Tacfarinas, at the moment of Rome's highest splendour, be bought off by a
4 treaty of peace and a grant of territory! He therefore instructed Blaesus to induce the followers of Tacfarinas to lay down their arms by promises of pardon, and to use every possible means to secure
5 the person of their leader. The hope of pardon brought in many; and before long, Tacfarinas was encountered by tactics similar to his own.

Insolence
of
Tacfarinas.

1 For having a force inferior in point of numbers, but better fitted for plundering, his system was to send out several parties at a time, to avoid

The tactics
of Blaesus

¹ Spartacus, a Thracian and ex-gladuator, devastated Italy at the head of a servile insurrection B.C. 73-71.

² Q. Sertorius, the famous Marian captain, took command of Spain as an ex-praetor in B.C. 82, and declaring against the optimates, defied the whole power of Rome in that pro-

vince until he was assassinated in B.C. 72.

³ The first Mithradatic War, under Sulla, lasted from B.C. 88 to 84. The second was in B.C. 82. The third and longest lasted from B.C. 74 to 67 under Lucullus, and from B.C. 66 to the death of the king in 63 under Pompey.

engagements, and seek opportunity for ambuscades. To meet these tactics, Blaesus organised three columns, advancing on three different lines. The Legate, 2 Cornelius Scipio,¹ was in command at a point where a plundering party was to attack the people of Leptis,² having the Garamantes³ behind them as a refuge; on the other side, a separate force, under the younger Blaesus, was to save the townships of Cirta⁴ from being raided with impunity. Midway between the 3 two was the General himself, at the head of a picked body of troops. Establishing forts and block-houses in suitable spots, he hemmed in the enemy, and was ready to meet them everywhere: whatever the direction in which they turned, they found part of the Roman forces, in front, in flank, and not unfrequently in rear also. By these tactics many were slain or taken prisoners.

meet with
consider-
able
success.

Then Blaesus divided his three columns into a 4 number of smaller bodies, putting each under the command of a centurion of tried valour; and instead 5 of withdrawing his troops when the summer season was over, as had been the custom heretofore, or laying them up in the winter quarters of the old province, he set up a chain of forts along the frontier of the disturbed country, garrisoning them with light-armed troops familiar with the desert. He thus drove Tacfarinas before him from one village to another, till at last he captured his brother. Thereupon he retired: too soon, however, for the interests

¹ Cornelius Scipio was legatus of the 9th legion (*Hispana*), which had marched from Pannonia to reinforce Africa (chap. 9, 1). He was cos. A.D. 24 or 29.

² The town of Leptis Minor, between Thapsus and Hadrumetum.

³ Supposed to have occupied the modern Fezzan, further to the E.

⁴ Cirta, now *Constantine*, capital of the French province of Algiers, about fifty miles from the sea. The province of Africa at this time comprised the whole of the modern Tunis, and a great part of Tripoli and Algeria. Mauretania, to the W., was at this time independent, but was constituted a separate province in A.D. 40.

of the allies, since enough of the enemy were left to renew the war.

Tiberius, nevertheless, regarding the campaign as ended, granted to Blaesus the honour of being saluted as 'Imperator'¹ by his troops, in accordance with the old custom whereby that title was conferred by acclamation upon a successful general in the joy and enthusiasm of victory. The appellation might be borne by several persons at one time, no one of them

He is hailed as 'Imperator.'

⁷ enjoying any precedence over the others; it had been granted on several occasions by Augustus: and now, for the last time, it was bestowed on Blaesus by Tiberius.

5. ¹ Two men of note died in this year—Asinius Saloninus² and Capito Ateius. The former was distinguished as the grandson of Marcus Agrippa and Asinius Pollio, as the brother of Drusus, and as the intended husband of one of the Emperor's grand-daughters.³ Of Capito,⁴ I have already spoken. Though his grandfather was only one of Sulla's centurions, and his father of no more than praetorian rank,⁵ he attained to a leading position in the State in consequence of his acquirements as a jurist. Augustus had advanced him to the Consulship before the normal age, that the holding of that dignity might give him precedence over Labeo Antistius, a distinguished lawyer like himself. For those two ornaments of the law were both of them products of that generation.⁶

Deaths of Asinius Saloninus and Ateius Capito.

Capito and Labeo, two great jurists.

¹ See n. on i. 9, 2. With the exception of this case, no instance is recorded after B.C. 27 of the title being granted to any but members of the imperial family.

² Son of Asinius Gallus (i. 12, 6) and Vipsania, the first wife of Tiberius. He was thus half-brother to Drusus.

³ *i.e.* of one of the daughters of Germanicus.

⁴ See chap. 70, 2; also i. 76, 3; 79, 1.

⁵ His humble birth is mentioned as a set-off against his high qualifications as a lawyer.

⁶ Both were great lawyers, founders of two schools of jurisprudence, which under the name of *Sabiniani* and *Proculiani* opposed each other all through the imperial epoch; the former

Labeo was the more famous of the two, because of his uncompromising independence; while Capito's deferential demeanour¹ secured for him the favour of our rulers. The former, never rising above the Praetorship, gained in reputation from the slight; the latter, having attained the Consulship, excited envy and the hatred which attends it.

In this year—the sixty-fourth after the battle of Philippi—Junia,² the niece of Cato, the wife of Gaius Cassius, the sister of Marcus Brutus, breathed her last. Her will was the subject of much popular talk; for though she died wealthy, and made honourable mention of nearly all the nobility, she never named the Emperor. Tiberius took this in good part; nor did he forbid the delivery of a funeral oration from the Rostra, or the performance of other funeral ceremonies in her honour. The images of twenty illustrious families³ were borne before her; those of the Manlii,⁴ the Quinctii, and other names as noble: but conspicuous above them all were those of Cassius and Brutus, because they were nowhere to be seen.

holding more to tradition, the latter more to scientific development (Dig. i. 2, 2, 47).

¹ An instance of his flattery in the guise of independence is given in chap. 70, 2.

² The mother of this Junia (also called Tertia or Tertulla) was Servilla, half-sister of Cato of Utica, and mother of M. Brutus, the assassin of Caesar, by her first marriage. She was mother of Junia by her second marriage, with D. Junius Silanus, cos. B. C. 62, of whom

we hear so much in Cicero's speech *pro Murena*.

³ The word *familia* is here used for *gens*, as in ii. 52, 8.

⁴ A Manlius had been adopted into the family of the Junii Silani in the second century B.C. Strict ancestry was not demanded in such cases; thus we hear that the images of the Julii followed in the funeral of the elder Drusus (chap. 5, 2), though he could claim no relationship with that house.

Death of Junia.

Her will

and distinguished funeral.

BOOK IV.

A.D. 23. CONSULS C. ASINIUS POLLIO AND C. ANTISTIUS VETUS.

I. 1 AND now for more than eight years Tiberius had ruled over a tranquil State and a prosperous household—for he counted the death of Germanicus as part of his prosperity—when Fortune suddenly began to work confusion, and Tiberius took to cruel courses, 2 or lent himself to the cruelties of others. This change had its cause and origin in Aelius Sejanus,¹ Commander of the Praetorian Cohorts, of whose overweening influence I have already spoken; I will now set forth the character and extraction of the man, and relate the daring scheme by which he sought to seize the sovereignty.

Deterioration in the government of Tiberius.

due to Sejanus.

3 Born at Vulturni,² son of a Roman knight³ called Scius Strabo,⁴ Sejanus had attached himself in early

Character of Sejanus.

¹ Sejanus has already been mentioned by Tacitus in four passages. He accompanied Drusus as an adviser in his mission to the mutinied army in Pannonia (i. 24, 3), being then *magna apud Tiberium auctoritate*. In i. 69, 7 we find him poisoning the mind of Tiberius against Agrippina, *peritiam morum Tiberii odium in longum iaciens*. In iii. 29, 5 a reported marriage of a son of Claudius to a daughter of Sejanus disturbs the mind of Rome; and in iii. 35, 2 the influence of Sejanus secures the governorship of Africa to his uncle Junius Blaesus.

² Hence Juvenal calls him 'a Tuscan' (x. 74).

³ Velleius calls Sejanus *princeps equestris ordinis* (ii. 127, 3), and ascribes to him consular brothers, cousins, and

uncles. One of his brothers, *Scius Tubero*, was a legatus in the German campaign (ii. 20, 1), and cos. suf. A.D. 18. Thus Sejanus was by no means the upstart that Tacitus would make him out to be; his position was not unlike that of Maecenas, very different from that of the freedmen favourites of later emperors.

⁴ *Scius Strabo*, as commander of the Praetorian Guards, took the oath of allegiance to Tiberius next after the consuls (i. 7, 3). The termination of the name *Seianus* shows that he had been adopted from the gens *Aelia* into the gens *Seia*—perhaps by Aelius Gallus, prefect of Egypt B.C. 24. The son of Sejanus apparently bore the same name *Aelius* (v. 8, 1).

youth to Gaius Caesar, the grandson of Augustus; rumour had it that he had sold his person to the wealthy voluptuary Apicius. In course of time, he acquired an ascendancy over Tiberius so complete, that he brought that monarch, impenetrable as he was to all the world beside, to be open and unguarded to him alone: not so much through any cunning of his own—for in that quality he was himself outmatched—as from the Divine wrath against the Roman Commonwealth, on which he brought disaster alike in his triumph and in his fall. Daring in spirit, incapable of fatigue, as ready to incriminate others as to screen himself, as obsequious as he was insolent, beneath an exterior of studied modesty he concealed a boundless ambition, to which he would minister sometimes by extravagance and debauch, more often by energy and vigilance—qualities that are no less baneful when simulated to pave the way to power.

Sejanus enhanced the importance of the Praetorian Command, which had been of no great account before his time, by concentrating the cohorts, scattered hitherto throughout the city, into a single camp; they would thus receive their orders as one body, while the sight of their own strength and numbers would give confidence to the soldiers, and over-awe the rest of the citizens.¹ His professed reasons were, that the men were apt to get out of hand when not kept together; they would act with more effect

¹ In accordance with his usual tactical policy, Augustus had kept the military basis of his rule as much out of sight as possible, quartering most of the praetorian cohorts outside Rome in neighbouring towns. The momentous step taken by Tiberius in quartering the guards within the city is thus characterized by Gibbon, vol. i. p. 169: 'But after fifty years of peace and servi-

tude, Tiberius ventured on a decisive measure, which for ever rivetted the fetters of his country. Under the fair pretences of relieving Italy from the heavy burden of military quarters, and of introducing a stricter discipline among the guards, he assembled them at Rome, in a permanent camp, which was fortified with skilful care, and placed on a commanding situation.'

Concentration of the Praetorian Guards into one camp.

in an emergency if they acted together; and stricter discipline could be maintained in a camp at some distance from the temptations of the city. No sooner was the camp finished, than Sejanus began gradually to insinuate himself into the good graces of the soldiers, mixing with them, and addressing them by name. He chose his own Tribunes and centurions.¹ He intrigued also for influence with the Senate, obtaining distinctions and provincial commands for his own creatures;² while Tiberius looked so indulgently on his proceedings that he would often commend him as his partner in toil, not only in private talk, but also in the Senate, and before the people, and permitted his statues to be honoured in the theatres, in the public squares, and at the head quarters of the legions.

3. 1 But there were obstacles in the way of his ambition. There was no lack of heirs in the Imperial family; there was a young son,³ and grown-up grandsons. To use violence against so many all at once, was hazardous; were subtler methods employed, there must needs be intervals between one crime and another. In the end, he chose the more occult way, and determined to begin with Drusus, with whom he had a special reason for being incensed at that moment. For in the course of an altercation between the two, Drusus, who was hot-tempered,⁴ and could

Sejanus resolves to put Drusus out of the way.

¹ Apparently these appointments had hitherto been made by the emperor himself.

² *i.e.* he sought to establish his influence in the senate by making it felt that he was the channel to promotion. The servile court paid to him by senators is finely described below (chap. 74, 6 and 7). See the case of Blaesus (iii. 35, 3).

³ Drusus, son of Tiberius, who had twin sons of his own. Of the sons of

Germanicus, Nero and Drusus were now seventeen and ten years old respectively; Gaius, the future emperor, was in his eleventh year.

⁴ Other passages describing Drusus are as follows: *Promptum ad asperiora ingenium Druso erat* (i. 29, 4); *Drusus praesedit (edendis gladiatoribus) quamquam vili sanguine nimis gaudens* (i. 76, 5); *incallidus alioqui et facilis iuventa* (iii. 8, 4). A taste for building and conviviality is attributed to him

brook no equal, had lifted his hand against Sejanus. Sejanus had resisted: whereupon Drusus struck him in the face.

He seduces Livia as a preliminary.

After weighing every plan, the best seemed to be to have recourse to Livia,¹ the wife of Drusus and sister of Germanicus, who although ungainly in early life had grown up to be a very beautiful woman. Professing an ardent passion for her person, Sejanus won her over to be his mistress; and having thus succeeded in the first guilty step—for the woman who has lost her honour can refuse nothing—he incited her to the murder of her husband, holding out the prospect of marriage with himself, and of sharing with him the Imperial power. And so this lady—the niece² of Augustus, the daughter-in-law of Tiberius, who had borne children to Drusus himself—was ready to besmirch herself, her ancestors, and her descendants, for the sake of a provincial paramour, and to exchange an honourable and assured present for a shameful and uncertain future.

The pair took into their confidence Eudemus, the friend and physician of Livia, who under cover of his profession assisted often at their private interviews; and then, lest his mistress should mistrust him, Sejanus divorced his wife Apicata, who had borne three children to him. But the very greatness of the enterprise bred doubts and delays, and at times conflicting counsels also.

Drusus, son of Germanicus, assumes the manly gown.

Meanwhile, at the beginning of the year, Drusus, one of the children of Germanicus, assumed the manly

(iii. 37, 3). But he behaved kindly to his nephews (chap. 4, 3); and showed admirable loyalty to Germanicus, whose position might most naturally have excited his jealousy (ii. 43, 7). Dio describes him as ἀσελγεστάτην καὶ ἄμορτάτην, and says that the sharpest sword-blades

were called 'Drusian' after him (lvii. 13, 1).

¹ Suetonius and Dio call her *Livilla*.
² Great-niece; this Livia's mother, Antonia, was daughter of Octavia, the sister of Augustus.

gown; and the Senate repeated for him the honours
 2 which they had voted to his brother Nero. The
 Emperor added some words of his own, commending
 his son warmly for the fatherly kindness he had
 3 shewn to his brother's children. For though it be
 hard to find love in high places, Drusus was reputed
 to be kindly, or at least not ill-disposed, to the young
 men.

Tiberius now revived the project, so often and so
 insincerely professed, of making an expedition into the
 4 provinces; giving as his reasons the large number of
 time-expired soldiers, and the necessity of filling their
 places by levies. *Volunteers*, he declared, *were not*
forthcoming; nor were such as offered themselves men of
the same stamp, or so well behaved, as formerly, being for
the most part men without means, and with no settled
 5 *place of abode.* He then rapidly ran over the number
 of the legions, and the Provinces which they guarded;
 6 an example which I think it well to follow, so as to
 show what were the Roman forces in arms at that
 time; what kings were allied to us; and how much
 narrower the limits of the Empire then were than
 they are now.¹

Tiberius
 professes
 an inten-
 tion to
 visit the
 Provinces.

5. 1 Italy was guarded by two fleets, one on either sea; Number
 the one stationed at Misenum, the other at Ravenna.² and dis-
 The near coast of Gaul was defended by war-ships position of
 captured at the battle of Actium, and sent by the forces
 2 Augustus, fully manned, to Forum Julii.³ But the through-
 out the
 Empire.

Number
 and dis-
 position of
 the forces
 through-
 out the
 Empire.

¹ In the time of Trajan, when Tacitus wrote, the empire extended to the head of the Persian gulf (ii. 61, 2), and included the vast province of Dacia, north of the Danube.

² On this chapter, which is the *locus classicus* on the distribution of the military and naval forces of Rome during the early empire, see *Furn.* Introd. vii. pp. 103, foll. The chapter affords a

remarkable instance of the care with which Tacitus varies his expressions. It contains a mere catalogue of the provinces, and of the armies by which they were occupied; yet in detailing these similar facts he so varies his language as never to use the same form of expression twice over.

³ The modern *Fréjus*.

B

main strength of the Empire was on the Rhine, where lay an army of eight legions, a common bulwark against Gaul and Germany.¹ The two Provinces of Spain,² but recently subdued,³ were held by three legions. Mauretania had been given to King Juba⁴ by the Roman people; the rest of Africa was garrisoned by two legions, and Egypt by a like number.⁵ From that point onwards, the vast sweep of country from the borders of Syria to the River Euphrates was kept down by four legions; while the Iberian, Albanian and other Princes on the frontier⁶ were protected against foreign aggression by our name. Thrace was under Rhoemetalces and the sons of Cotys. The banks of the Danube were occupied by four legions, two stationed in Pannonia,⁷ two in Moesia;⁸ a like number were in

¹ As we have already seen, there were two so-called provinces of Germany, the Upper and the Lower, including territory on each side of the Rhine. Each consisted largely of German tribes moved to the left bank of the river. Each was held by an army of four legions. The headquarters of Lower Germany were at Colonia Agrippinensis (*Cologne*): of Upper Germany at Moguntiacum (*Mayence*). The boundary between them was the river Nava (*Nahe*); or perhaps the Moselle. The boundary between the Upper Rhine and Upper Danube was marked by a *limes*, built at a later period, from the *Main* near Oldenburg to Ratisbon on the Danube. For the course of this *limes*, see the elaborate reports in the *Limes-Blatt*, and the *Berichten des Reichs-Limes Commission*, now being published at Trèves (German *Trier*).

² Spain was divided into three provinces: *Baetica*, or Further Spain (senatorial), with Corduba for capital; *Lusitania* (imperial) to the West, including most of Portugal, with the seat of government at Emerita (*Merida*); and *Tarracensis* or Hither Spain (imperial), with Tarragona as its capital.

³ In reference to the final reduction of the Cantabrians by Agrippa, B.C. 19 (Hor. Od. iii. 8, 21). Livy speaks of Spain as *prima provinciarum inita, postremo omnium perdomita* (xxviii. 12). Yet Southern Spain had been organised

on a Latin model long before Gaul. See Mommsen, 'Roman Provinces,' Vol. i. p. 86.

⁴ This was a son of the king Juba defeated by Caesar at Thapsus B.C. 46. He had been restored to Numidia after B.C. 31, and was transferred by Augustus to Mauritania, with part of Numidia added, in B.C. 25.

⁵ These two legions were stationed at Alexandria. Under Augustus there had been three legions in Africa (Strabo, xvii. 1, 12).

⁶ The three territories of Colchis, Iberia, and Albania formed a belt extending from the Euxine Sea to the Caspian, between the main chain of the Caucasus to the N. and Armenia to the S., a district corresponding more or less to modern *Georgia* and *Daghestan*.

⁷ Pannonia was reduced to a province after the victories of Tiberius, A.D. 7-9. It was bounded on the E. and N. by the Danube, on the S. by the Save, on the W. by Noricum and the Mons Cetius. It thus included all the eastern states of Austria and almost the whole of Hungary. The occupying force was probably stationed, not on the Danube, but on the Drave—near the scene of the national rising A.D. 6-9. In A.D. 50 the Governor of Pannonia is specially ordered to place his legion and auxiliary forces on the Danube (xii. 29, 2), as if it were a new thing.

⁸ Moesia extended from Pannonia

Delmatia,¹ whence they could not only act in support of the latter army, but were also within easy reach of Italy, in case of a sudden call for help from that quarter. Yet the City had a garrison of its own, consisting of three Urban Cohorts and the ten Cohorts of Prætorian Guards; a force recruited mainly from Etruria and Umbria, or from old Latium and the original Roman Colonies.² At suitable points throughout the Provinces were stationed the allied fleets, as well as the auxiliary horse and foot, making up a total strength little inferior to our own,³ but of these no certain details can be given, as they moved from place to place according to the necessities of the moment, and were now increased, now reduced, in number.

5. 1 It may be convenient that I should here review the other parts of the administration, and explain on what methods it was conducted up to that time; since it

General tenour of the administration of Tiberius up to this time.

eastwards to the Black Sea, having the Danube for its northern, Mt. Haemus for its southern, boundary. It corresponded to modern Servia and Bulgaria. Delmatia (or Dalmatia) corresponded pretty nearly to the modern Dalmatia, Bosnia, Herzegovina, and Montenegro.

¹ Though not a frontier province, Delmatia had been garrisoned by two legions since the general rising of Illyricum (of which Delmatia was the southern province) in A.D. 6-9: these were the 7th and the 11th. According to Josephus, the garrison had been reduced to one legion in A.D. 66; under Vespasian it was withdrawn altogether. The capital of Delmatia was Salonae.

² This restriction as to recruiting was not long maintained. An inscription of the year A.D. 46 mentions natives of Tridentum as serving in the force (Rushforth, p. 103); and even provincials were admitted from the time of the reign of Domitian. The nine Prætorian Cohorts and the three Urban Cohorts were so far treated as one force that they were numbered consecutively, the Prætorian Cohorts being numbered from 1 to 9, the Urban from 10 to 12. The number of Prætorian

Cohorts was raised by Vitellius to 16 in A.D. 69; and we hear of a 12th as early as the reign of Nero (Rushforth, p. 94). It was Augustus who first put the Prætorians on a separate footing, separately recruited. Under the Triumvirate they had been chosen from the legions.

³ The list here given makes up a total of twenty-five legions. Augustus at one time had as many as twenty-six legions under arms; but three were destroyed with Varus, and only two (the 21st and 22nd) were raised in their place. Reckoning the whole legion with its complement of allied forces at ten thousand men, this would make a standing force of two hundred and fifty thousand men. Furn. calculates that we may add one hundred thousand more for the home troops, the naval and other detached forces, bringing out three hundred and fifty thousand men as the 'total naval and military force of the civilised world' under the early empire (Introd. p. 109). We are accustomed to think of Rome as a great military power; but these numbers are insignificant in comparison with modern armaments.

was in this year that the change for the worse in the government of Tiberius set in. First, then, all public business, and the most important private business also, was transacted in the Senate. Its leaders had liberty of debate, and the Emperor himself checked any lapses into sycophancy. In bestowing public offices, he paid regard to a man's birth, his distinction in war, or his eminence in civil pursuits, making it plain that no better person could have been appointed. The Consuls, the Praetors, enjoyed the dignity of their offices; the authority of the lesser magistrates was sustained; and the laws, except in cases of High Treason, were well administered. The public taxes, both in corn¹ and money, as well as the rest of the public revenue, were managed by companies of Roman knights:² his own affairs³ Tiberius entrusted to persons of the most approved character, some of them known to him only by reputation; once appointed, they would be kept on in office indefinitely, most of them continuing in the same employments till old age.⁴ The populace, no doubt, suffered from the high price of food, but for this the Emperor was not to blame; he did everything that money and

¹ The *frumenta* here mentioned were the supplies of grain exacted from the provinces for the support of the army and state officials. This was sometimes exacted as a tax, sometimes paid for by the State. The *pecuniae vectigales* included all ordinary sources of revenue as distinct from the *tributum* (see n. on § 7), such as tithe-rent for public lands (*decumae*), products of mines, forests, etc., customs, transit dues, bridge tolls (*portoria*), etc.

² These were the 'companies' of Roman knights, each under a manager or director called *manceps*, who farmed certain of the taxes and other sources of Roman revenue in the provinces. The price to be paid was fixed by auction; according to Festus, p. 151, the *manceps* was so called because he held

up his hand in making a bid. See Rushforth, p. 109.

³ The words *res suas* seem to refer not to the imperial *fiscus*, of which the emperor was practically the trustee for imperial purposes, not the owner; but to private property, analogous to crown lands, belonging to the emperor for his own private use. Cp. chap. 15, 3, *non se ius nisi in servitia et pecunias familiares dedisse*. The agent who looked after such private estate was called *procurator patrimonii*.

⁴ This refers to the officer in each province called *procurator fisci*, who managed the public revenues of the emperor. In imperial provinces he was a very important officer; in smaller provinces he had almost the powers of a governor. Pontius Pilate was procurator of Judaea.

forethought could do to provide against bad seasons and stormy seas. He took care that the provincials should not be disturbed by new imposts, and that the avarice and cruelty of magistrates should not add to the burden of the old ones.¹ Corporal punishment and confiscations were unknown. The Emperor's own estates in Italy were few, his slaves modest in demeanour, his retinue of freed-men small;² if he had disputes with private citizens, they were decided in the Courts of Law.³

Such was the government of Tiberius, not tempered indeed with any graciousness—for his manner was always rough, and often terrifying—but such it continued to be till all was changed by the death of Drusus.⁴ For in the early days of his ascendancy, and

Murmurs
of Drusus
against
Sejanus.

¹ Under the empire, the system of farming out the public revenues to companies of *equites* (the capitalist class), which lent itself so readily to extortion under the republic, was much modified, and subjected to central supervision. The grossest abuses had arisen in the collection of the *decumae*, or tithes of the produce of the land: a form of taxation which the Romans had found existing, and continued, in Sicily, Sardinia, and Asia (Greenidge, p. 320). This system was abolished by Caesar in Asia, and probably elsewhere, in B.C. 48. Under the empire the main portion of the revenue was drawn from direct taxes, either a land-tax (*tributum soli*) or a personal tax (*tributum capitis*). These direct taxes were collected by the quaestor in senatorial provinces, in imperial provinces by the procurator. The indirect taxes (*vectigalia*) were still leased to companies of knights; hence these are called *societates vectigalium* (xiii. 50, 3).

² Under Tiberius and the early emperors, the members of the imperial household, even the imperial procurators, whose duties were so important, were mainly freedmen; the emperors, no doubt, found that it was necessary for them to select for their own personal service men outside the class whose ambitions lay in a public career. The freedman Licinus was procurator of

Gaul under Augustus, and amassed great wealth; Pallas (the brother of Felix, procurator of Judaea) and Narcissus, who made immense fortunes, were both freedmen of Claudius, in whose reign the power of the freedmen reached its height. Tacitus says of the influence of Pallas, *velut arbitrium regni agebat* (Ann. xiii. 14, 1). But this system was gradually changed for one under which a sort of civil service was instituted, the higher ranks of which were filled by equites. Juvenal pours forth all his wrath upon these upstart freedmen (Sat. i. 109; xiv. 91, 329).

³ A fairer picture of just paternal government could scarcely be drawn than that given in this chapter. That Tiberius knew so well what good government meant adds to the bitterness of the indictment against him; he was sinning against the light. See chap. 31, 2: *Neque enim socordia peccabat*. Dio lvii. 7, and 13 gives a similar picture of the good period of the reign of Tiberius.

⁴ The turning-point in the reign of Tiberius was undoubtedly, as here stated, the death of Drusus, the circumstances of which were such as to embitter beyond remedy a naturally proud and distrustful nature like that of Tiberius. Tacitus hardly does justice to the terrible revulsion of feeling which must have been caused in that solitary

so long as Drusus was alive,¹ Sejanus wished to gain a character for good counsels; he had to fear also the vengeance of one who made no secret of his hatred, and was for ever complaining that the Emperor should be calling in another to assist in the government when he had a son of his own:—*How long, he asked, would it be before Sejanus were styled a colleague? The path of ambition was perilous at the outset; once entered upon, parties and instruments were never wanting. A camp had been built at the prefect's bidding; the troops had been given into his hand; his statue was to be seen in the monument of Gnaeus Pompeius. He and the Drusi would soon be having grandsons in common:*² *they would then have to appeal to his moderation, and entreat him not to ask for more.* Drusus would often talk thus, and before many listeners; and all his secrets were betrayed through his corrupted wife.

Sejanus murders Drusus by a slow poison.

Perceiving that no time was to be lost, Sejanus selected a slow-working poison which should produce the symptoms of an ordinary illness. It was administered to Drusus by the hand of the eunuch *Lepido*, as came out eight years afterwards. During all the duration of the illness, and even in the interval between the death and the burial, Tiberius appeared in the Senate as usual; whether because he was not alarmed, or that he desired to make show of his strength of mind. When the Consuls, in sign of mourning, took their seats upon the ordinary benches,

Fortitude of Tiberius.

breast by the discovery that his only son had been foully and treacherously murdered, and that the arch-traitor and murderer was the one man whom he had made his confidant—to whom alone he was *incautus intectusque*—and whom he had selected as his chosen instrument of government.

¹ All that Tacitus seems to see in the death of Drusus, as affecting the life and government of Tiberius, is that

it removed a watchful enemy out of the path of Sejanus, and enabled him to prosecute his further schemes undisturbed. See above on chap. 6, 1. It must be confessed, however, that there is no evidence that Tiberius treated his son with any confidence (see Dio lvii. 13, 1 and 2).

² Referring to the project of marriage mentioned iii. 29, 5, where see n.

he bade them not forget their office and their rank; and when the assembly burst into tears, he mastered his emotion, and delivered a set speech to restore their fortitude.

He was well aware, he said, that he might be censured for presenting himself to the gaze of the Senate in the first moments of his affliction. Most men, in times of grief, could scarcely endure the consoling words of kinsmen, or look upon the light of day. Such men were not to be condemned for weakness; but for his own part, he had sought solace of a robuster sort by throwing himself into public affairs.

His speech
to the
Senate.

After that, he referred, in feeling terms, to the great age¹ of Augusta, to the youth of his grandsons, and to his own declining years; and then asked that the children of Germanicus—his one comfort in his present trouble—should be brought in. The Consuls went out, encouraged the lads with kind words, and placed them before Tiberius. Taking them by the hand, he thus addressed the Senate:—

His grand-
sons are
brought in.

When these youths lost their father, I committed them to their uncle's charge; and I implored him, although he had off-spring of his own, to rear and cherish them as his own blood, and to fashion them for himself and for posterity. And now that Drusus has been taken away, I turn my prayers to you, Conscript Fathers; and I beseech you, before our country and our country's Gods, to take under your charge and guidance these great-grandchildren of Augustus, sprung from ancestors so illustrious, and to fulfil towards them my part as well as yours. To you, Nero and Drusus, these Senators will take the place of fathers. Born as you have been born, your good and your ill alike are matters which concern the State.

¹ According to Dio, she was now eighty years old; eighty-six at her death (lviii. 2, 1).

This speech moved the audience to tears ; words 9.
of kindly import followed : and if Tiberius had only
stopped there, he would have filled the minds of
his hearers with feelings of pity and exaltation.
But when he reverted to the idle and oft-ridiculed
idea of restoring the Republic, and of asking the Con-
suls or some one else to undertake the government,
he lost all credit even for his true and honourable
feelings. The honours voted in memory of Ger- 2
manicus were repeated in the case of Drusus, with
such additions as flattery loves to make as time goes
on. The funeral was notable for the splendid array 3
of busts : the show including Aeneas, the progenitor
of the Julian House, and all the kings of Alba ;
Romulus, the founder of the city ; the Sabine nobility,
with Attus Clausus,¹ and the other images of the
Claudii, all following in one long procession.

Honours
to the
memory of
Drusus.

Another
version of
the death
of Drusus

In narrating the death of Drusus, I have fol- 10.
lowed the most numerous and most trustworthy
authorities ; but I must not omit to mention a rumour
which obtained much currency at the time, and which
has not yet died out. The story is that Sejanus, after 2
corrupting Livia, acquired influence by foul means
over the eunuch ^{Spado} Spado—a lad endeared to his master
Drusus by his youth and beauty, and one of his
principal attendants. The confederates had agreed
upon a time and place for administering the poison,
when Sejanus had the hardihood to change his tactics.
Conveying a covered hint to Tiberius that Drusus
designed to poison him, he warned him to avoid the
first cup that should be offered to him when dining in
his son's house. The old man fell into the trap. On 3

¹ The tradition was that the Claudii
were descended from the Sabine noble
Attus Clausus, who migrated to Rome

from Regillum in B.C. 504 (Liv. ii. 16).
See xi. 24, 1.

entering the dining-room, he took the proffered cup, and handed it on to Drusus. Drusus, in all innocence, and with youthful eagerness, drank it off, and thus confirmed his father's suspicions; as if, in very fear and shame, he were inflicting upon himself the death which he had plotted for his father.

1 This story was commonly bruited about; but
2 apart from the fact that it has no good authority to
3 support it, it can be refuted without difficulty. For
what man with the most ordinary knowledge of the
world—much less one experienced in great affairs
like Tiberius—would offer a deadly potion to his
own son, with his own hand, without giving him
a hearing, or leaving any opening for retreat and
reconsideration? Would he not rather have applied
torture to the attendant who administered the poison?
have enquired who had prompted him to the deed?
and in fine, have exhibited towards his only son—a son
never before found guilty of misconduct—that vacilla-
tion and procrastination which were natural to him
4 even in his intercourse with strangers? The truth is
that Sejanus was thought capable of devising any
villainy; and such was the extravagant affection of
Tiberius for him, and the hatred of every one to-
wards them both, that any tale against them, however
fabulous or monstrous it might be, found ready
credence: for Rumour is ever charged with horrors
when dealing with the deaths of princes.

4 Moreover, the whole history of the plot was dis-
closed by Apicata, the wife of Sejanus, and confirmed
by Eudemus and Lygdus under torture. No histo-
rian, however hostile to Tiberius, has ever laid
this crime at his door, although every other charge
against him has been raked up and made the most

is not to be
believed.

All the
evidence is
against it.

of;¹) and my sole object in recording and refuting the story is that I may reject, once for all, in an instance so notable, all lying hearsay rumours; and implore the reader into whose hands this work may fall not to accept incredible tales, however eagerly caught up and widely spread, in preference to sober truth untainted with the marvellous.²)

When Tiberius delivered his son's funeral laudation from the rostra, the Senate and the people assumed the demeanour, and used the language, of grief; but it was in semblance rather than from the heart, for they secretly rejoiced at the reviving prospects of the family of Germanicus. But these beginnings of popular favour, together with the ill-disguised exultation of their mother Agrippina,³ only hastened

¹ The reasoning of this chapter presents Tacitus at his best. Nowhere does he show more brilliantly his power of analysing human motive, and of seizing with convincing clearness the essential elements of a situation. The epigram *atrociore semper fama erga dominantium exitus* flashes a light over all history. It is applicable to many other horrors insinuated by Tacitus himself; notably to the death of Germanicus; and it is as true of the lives as it is of the deaths of princes. It is finely illustrated by Macaulay, in his account of the popular rumours current as to the death of Charles II. : 'At that time the common people throughout Europe, and nowhere more than in England, were in the habit of attributing the deaths of princes, especially when the prince was popular and the death unexpected, to the foulest and darkest kind of assassination. . . . We cannot, therefore, wonder that wild stories without number were repeated and believed by the common people. His Majesty's tongue had swelled to the size of a neat's tongue. A cake of deleterious powder had been found in his brain. There were blue spots on his breast. There were black spots on his shoulder. Something had been put into his snuff-box. Something had been put into his broth. Something had been put into his favourite dish of eggs and amber-grease. The Duchess of Portsmouth

had poisoned him in a cup of chocolate. The Queen had poisoned him in a jar of dried pears. Such tales ought to be preserved; for they furnish us with a measure of the intelligence and virtue of the generation which eagerly devoured them' (Vol. I., chap. iv., p. 442).

² In this passage Tacitus shows a true sense of the responsibility resting on an historian. He recognizes it as his supreme duty to get at the truth, to sift his evidence carefully, and to discard mere popular rumour. How far Tacitus himself obeyed these canons—whether he always selected and followed the best authorities—will ever remain a subject of dispute. He seldom names his authorities; ancient writers rarely thought it necessary to do so. His frequent comments and innuendoes—often palpably unjust—have led many to disbelieve in the accuracy of his narrative as a whole. But they may fairly lead to an opposite conclusion. The care with which, as a rule, he separates a fact from his own or the public comments on the fact, tends to shew that if the colouring is his own, the facts—and they often tell against himself—have been carefully inquired into and truly stated. I am unable to agree with Mr. Tarver's sweeping condemnation of the manner in which Tacitus selected and used his authorities.

³ It must be confessed that the friends of Germanicus and his family, as well

The popular favour shewn to Agrippina and her children

3 on their ruin. For when Sejanus saw that the murder of Drusus brought no punishment on the murderers, and excited no grief among the people, he grew bold in crime: having succeeded in his first move, he turned over in his mind how he might get rid of the sons of Germanicus, whose succession was

4 now assured. To administer poison to all three was impossible; so staunch was the loyalty of their guardians, so impregnable the virtue of their mother.

5 He therefore denounced the insolent bearing of Agrippina, and worked upon the long-standing hatred of Augusta, and on Livia's new and guilty know-

6 ledge,¹ urging them to insinuate into the mind of the Emperor the idea that she was presuming on the number of her children, and that, relying on popular support, she was aiming at the sovereignty. These suspicions he instilled through the medium of skilled slanderers, especially one chosen emissary, Julius Postumus by name, who was well fitted for the purpose as he had become intimate with Augusta through an intrigue which he carried on with Mutilia Prisca. Mutilia stood high in Livia's favour; and by playing on the old lady's naturally jealous temperament, she succeeded in effecting a complete estrangement

7 between her and her grand-daughter-in-law. Even Agrippina's intimate friends were tampered with, and encouraged to urge on her swelling ambition by treasonable talk.

8. 1 Meanwhile Tiberius, finding consolation in employment, remained engrossed in public affairs. He attended in the Law Courts, and heard petitions from

gives
Sejanus a
handle
against
them.

as Agrippina herself, did everything that it was possible to do on every possible occasion to arouse the suspicions of a jealous nature like that of Tiberius.

¹ *i.e.* Augusta had always hated

Agrippina and her family; whilst Livia's consciousness of her recent guilt made it impossible for her to shrink from any suggestion that might be made for realising the fruits of her crime.

Tiberius
engrossed
in public
business.

allied states. He caused the Senate to pass a decree granting exemption from tribute for three years to the cities of Cibyra¹ in Asia, and Aegium in Achaia,² which had been thrown into ruins by an earthquake. Then Vibius Serenus, Pro-consul of Further Spain,³ was convicted of Public Violence, and in consequence of his savage temper was condemned to be deported to the island of Amorgos. Carsidius Sacerdos and Gaius Gracchus⁴ were accused of having supplied our enemy Tacfarinas with corn; but they were both acquitted. The latter, in his early childhood, had accompanied his father into exile in the island of Cercina.⁵ Brought up there among foreigners and persons of no education, he had afterwards gained a living by petty trading in Sicily and Africa; but for all that, he could not escape the perils of high rank. All innocent as he was, had not his cause been espoused by Aelius Lamia⁶ and Lucius Apronius, both former Governors of Africa, his illustrious and ill-starred name, coupled with his father's misfortunes, would have brought him to ruin.

In the course of this year embassies were received from two Greek States, Samos and Cos, asking that ancient rights of sanctuary should be confirmed; the former for the temple of Juno, the latter for that of Aesculapius. The Samians based their claim upon a decree of the Amphyctionic Council, which was the supreme Court of the Greeks at the time when, having planted their colonies in Asia, they had command of

¹ Cibyra was a town in the south-west corner of Phrygia (Hor. Epp. i. 6, 33; Cic. Verr. ii. 4, 13, 30).

² Aegium was the chief city of Achaia, in the Corinthian gulf.

³ See n. on chap. 5, 2.

⁴ For Sempronius Gracchus, see i. 53, 4.

⁵ Cercina was a small island (or

rather two islands) in the Lesser Syrtis, off the N. coast of Africa.

⁶ Hor. addresses this Lamia in Od. i. 26 and iii. 17. He was cos. A.D. 3; the date of his tenure of Africa is uncertain. L. Apronius was under Germanicus in Germany (i. 56, 1), and was governor of Africa A.D. 20 (iii. 21, 1).

Cases of
Vibius,
Carsidius,
and
Gracchus.

Claims of
Samos and
Cos for
rights of
sanctuary.

3 the seaboard of that country. The Coans had equal antiquity on their side; and they could point to a special service rendered by the locality. For when Mithradates had ordered a massacre of Roman citizens throughout the islands and towns of Asia,¹ the Coans had opened to them the temple of Aesculapius.

4 After repeated and fruitless complaints from the Praetors, Tiberius at last took up the subject of the shameful conduct of stage-players. *They had caused, he declared, much public disturbance and many private scandals; that most frivolous of popular entertainments, the Oscan drama,² had become so outrageous,³ and its influence so formidable,⁴ that the Senate ought to use its authority to put it down.* The actors were accordingly expelled from Italy.⁵

Actors expelled from Italy.

5. 1 In the course of the same year, two new sorrows befell the Emperor: the death of one of the twin sons⁶ of Drusus, and that of his intimate friend Lucilius
2 Longus. Lucilius had been his constant companion in all his fortunes, good and bad; he was the only senator who had accompanied him in his retirement
3 to Rhodes. For this reason, though he was a man of no family, the Senate voted him a censorial funeral, and a statue to be set up at the public expense in the Forum of Augustus. For all kinds of business were still transacted in the Senate; so much so that they

Deaths of Lucilius Longus and an infant son of Drusus.

Lucil us Capito accused

¹ This was in B.C. 88: no less than eighty thousand Romans are said to have been massacred on that occasion (Vell. ii. 18, 1). The massacre was the immediate cause of the first Mithradatic war; see n. on iii. 73, 3.

² The reference is to the *Fabulae Atellanæ*, a form of genteel comedy originally reserved for amateurs (Liv. vii. 2, 12), but now invaded by the *pantomimi*: see Furn. on i. 54, 3. Cicero alludes to these plays with great contempt, ad Fam. vii. 1: *Non enim te puto Graecos aut Oscos ludos desiderare: praesertim cum Oscos ludos vel*

in senatu nostro spectare possis.

³ Stories related by Suetonius (Tib. 45, Cal. 27, Nero 39) show that these plays often contained foul jests, even against the emperor himself.

⁴ On the *immodestia* and *discordia* of actors see i. 54, 3: 77, 1.

⁵ The account given by Suet. Tib. 37 is *Caede in theatro per discordiam admissa, capita factionum et histriones, propter quos dissidebatur, relegavit; nec ut revocaret unquam ullis populi precibus potuit evinci.*

⁶ Born in A.D. 19 (ii. 84, 1).

even tried Lucilius Capito, Procurator¹ of Asia, on a charge advanced by the provincials. Tiberius asserted, in the most positive manner, that *he had given Capito no authority except over his own slaves and revenues. If he had taken upon himself the authority of a Governor,*² and made use of the services of the soldiery, he had done so in violation of his own instructions; they should grant the allies a hearing.

The case was accordingly taken to trial, and Capito was condemned. On account of which sentence, as well as for the punishment inflicted upon Gaius Silanus the year before, the cities of Asia voted a temple to Tiberius, his mother, and the Senate; and when the request was granted, Nero returned thanks³ to the Senate and his grandfather on their behalf. His audience listened to him with delight; for having the memory of Germanicus still fresh in their hearts, they felt as if it was his form they saw, his voice they heard. The young man, too, had a modest bearing, and a person befitting his princely rank, which touched them all the more that they knew to what dangers he was exposed from the hatred of Sejanus.

Soon after this, Tiberius addressed the Senate upon the choice of a Flamen Dialis in room of Servius Maluginensis deceased, suggesting an amendment of the law. The old custom, he explained, was that three patricians, born of parents united by the ceremony of *Confarreatio*,⁴ should be named, and one selected

¹ See n. on chap. 6, 5. The emperor might be expected specially to screen his own procurator.

² In a senatorial province like Asia the procurators were only entitled to prosecute the emperor's claims in the regular courts. Later they became independent: Cp. Juv. iv. 53-55.

³ Nero must have been chosen by

the Asians as their *patronus* for the occasion.

⁴ *Confarreatio* was a religious form of marriage, peculiar to the patricians, taking its name from the offering of a wheaten cake (*panis farreus*) to Jupiter before certain witnesses, which was an essential part of the ceremony. See Dict. Ant. s.v. *Matrimonium*.

and con-
demned.

Gratitude
of the
provincials.

Speech of
Nero.

Speech of
Tiberius
as to
appoint-
ment of
a Flamen
Dialis.

for the office; but as that form of marriage had fallen into disuse, or was only practised by a few, a sufficient number of persons thus qualified was no longer to
 3 be found. There were several reasons for this; the principal one being an indifference to the rite on the part of both men and women, added to a desire to shirk the cumbrous ceremonies by which it was accompanied.¹ A further objection was the fact that when a person assumed the Flamenship, both he and his wife passed out of the paternal authority, the wife
 4 falling under that of her husband.² This, he thought, should be remedied, either by law or by a decree of Senate; just as Augustus had modified some of the grim usages of antiquity to meet the requirements of
 5 modern times. After a discussion on the religious question, it was resolved to make no change in regard to the office itself; but a law was passed³ that the Flamen's wife should be under her husband's authority in regard to his sacred duties, but that in all other matters she should have the same rights as other women. The son of Maluginensis was then appointed
 6 to fill his father's place. And to add to the dignity of priestly offices, and so induce persons to undertake such duties more readily, the Senate voted a sum of two million sesterces⁴ to the Vestal Cornelia, who had

Son of the late Flamen appointed.

¹ There was a further drawback: a marriage by *confarreatio* could only be dissolved by the equally complicated form *diffarreatio*; the marriage of a Flamen could not be dissolved at all. Roman divorce was very free at this time, and any hindrance to it was regarded as a grievance.

² The father objected because he lost the *patria potestas* over his daughter; the daughter objected because she came under the *patria potestas* of her husband. Originally, by Roman law, a woman was never *sui iuris*; she passed out of the power of her father into that of her

husband. But modern fashion had introduced laxity in these respects, and by means of legal fictions women had obtained practical independence, both as to property and otherwise.

³ It thus appears that legislation by the comitia did still occasionally take place. So in xi. 13. 2. But it must have been a pure formality.

⁴ On a previous occasion (ii. 86, 2) Tiberius gave a million sesterces as a consolation to that one of the two candidates suggested for the office who was not selected.

been chosen to take the place of Scantia; and ordained that Augusta, when she went to the theatre, should take her seat among the Vestal Virgins.

A.D. 24. CONSULS SERVIUS CORNELIUS CETHEGUS
AND L. VISELLIUS VARRO.

AT the beginning of this year, when the Pontiffs, 17.
and other priests after them, offered up prayers for
the health of the Emperor, they included the names
of Nero and of Drusus along with his, not so much
out of affection for the young men, but rather by
way of flattery. But in evil times, too much flattery
may be as perilous as too little; and Tiberius, who 2
was at no time too well disposed to the family of
Germanicus, was incensed beyond endurance that, at
his age, the two young lads should be put on an equality
with himself. He therefore sent for the Pontiffs, and
enquired:—*Was this compliment due to the cajoleries*
*or the threats of Agrippina?*¹ They denied the imputation; 3
but they were reprimanded nevertheless, though not
very severely, for they were for the most part relatives
of his own, or men of high distinction. And in the
Senate he uttered a warning that *no one should in*
future excite ambitious ideas in the impressionable minds
of the young men by conferring distinctions on them before
their time. For Sejanus was for ever dropping insinu- 4
ations like these into his ear:—*The State was divided into*
two factions, as if in civil war; there were some who styled
themselves the party of Agrippina; if this were allowed

¹ This is the first occasion on which Tiberius shows any overt sign of jealousy towards Agrippina and her family. It was the natural result of the death of Drusus. She could now claim, or be represented as claiming, the succession for her children as their

inherited right; and she could always boast, as against the Claudian line, that she and her children were descended from Augustus himself. How indiscreetly Agrippina obtruded this point appears in chaps. 52, 4, and 53, 1.

Pontiffs rebuked for naming Nero and Drusus in their prayers.

Insinuations of Sejanus.

to go on, their numbers would increase: there was but one mode of curbing the rising spirit of disaffection—to put one or two of its most active promoters out of the way.

1 With this object, he attacked Gaius Silius¹ and Titius Sabinus. The fatal offence of both was that they had been friends of Germanicus; but there were further reasons against Silius. He had been in command of great armies for seven years; he had gained Triumphal honours in Germany; he had been a conqueror in the war with Sacrovir. The greater his fall, the greater the terror which it would spread
2 abroad. Many thought that Silius had aggravated his offence by his own intemperate conduct. He had boasted over-much of the loyalty of his own troops when other armies broke out in mutiny:—*If the spirit of mutiny had spread to his own legions*—so he had declared—*it would have been all over with the government of Tiberius*. Such pretensions Tiberius deemed destructive of his own position; such services too great to
3 be requited. For benefactions are welcome, so long as it seems possible to repay them; when they go far beyond that limit, hatred takes the place of gratitude.²

0. 1 Sosia Galla, the wife of Silius, was odious to the Emperor because of her attachment to Agrippina. It was determined to impeach both Silius and Sabinus,³ but to postpone the prosecution of Sabinus for

Impeachment of Silius and Sabinus.

The Consul Varro accuses Silius;

¹ C. Silius was cos. A.D. 13. We find him in i. 31,¹ in command of the army of Upper Germany as *legatus pro praetore*, A.D. 14, and he remained in the same post until he conquered Sacrovir, A.D. 21 (iii. 45-6). He received the *triumphalia insignia* for his German services in A.D. 15 (i. 72, 1). Furn. thinks he may have been related to Silius Italicus, the poet.

² This pungent and too truthful epigram is illustrated by Furn. from Seneca (Ep. 19, 11): *Quidam quo plus debent, magis oderunt; leve aes alienum debitorem facit, grave inimicum*. Cp. Shakespeare, 'For loan oft loses both himself and friend,' Ham., Act i. Sc. 3.

³ How Titius Sabinus was entrapped and put to death is told with much detail in chaps. 68 to 70.

a season. The Consul Varro was set on¹ to prosecute, who on the pretence of having some quarrel of his father's to avenge, was ready to sacrifice his own honour to abet the animosities of Sejanus. The accused craved a short delay, until his accuser should vacate his office; but Tiberius refused the request. *It was customary, he said, for magistrates to prosecute private persons: there must be no curtailment of a Consul's rights, seeing that it depended on his vigilance that the State took no harm.*² It was a speciality this of Tiberius, to make use of ancient formulæ³ as a cloak for new-fangled villanies. And so, with all due solemnity, the Senate was convened; just as if Silius were being dealt with by law, or as if Varro were truly Consul, or Rome a Commonwealth at all. Silius himself said nothing; or in such defence as he attempted he made it plain whose anger was bearing him down. He was charged with having connived at the movement of Sacrovir, and with sullying his victory by rapacity. The conduct of his wife Sosia was also brought up against him. The charge of extortion, certainly, was brought home to them both; but the whole trial was conducted as one for treason,⁴ and Silius anticipated the inevitable condemnation by a voluntary death.

Yet⁵ his property was severely dealt with. Not that

he is condemned, and commits suicide.

His property not spared; his wife Sosia exiled.

¹ As if he were a hound let loose upon his quarry.

² Tiberius is here quoting the words of the old *decretum ultimum* or *supremum*, by which (as in the case of Cicero against Catiline) the senate conferred dictatorial power upon the consuls in the formula *ne quid detrimenti res publica caperet*.

³ The use of this ancient constitutional formula, so resented by Tacitus, was indeed a mockery in the mouth of Tiberius. The great departments of administration had one by one been

handed over to the emperor, and the responsibility of the consuls had become purely nominal.

⁴ Here again, as in the case of C. Silanus (iii. 67, 2), Tacitus admits that the accused was guilty of the main charge, but insists on regarding the whole trial as one for *maiestas*.

⁵ *i.e.* in spite of his suicide. In cases of *maiestas* we are informed in vi. 29, 2 that confiscation was usually avoided by suicide, except so far as the informers had to be rewarded. See chap. 30, 3-4, and n.

any restitution was made to the tribute-payers ; indeed none was asked for : but the sums which had come as gifts from Augustus¹ were abstracted, and an account was asked of every item due to the Imperial Treasury. Never before had Tiberius exhibited any solicitude for money not his own. On the motion of Asinius Gallus, Sosia was sentenced to exile ; he had also proposed that one half of the property should be confiscated, the other half being left for the children. But this Manius Lepidus had opposed, moving that all should go to the children except the fourth part allowed by law to the accusers. This Lepidus, I find, bore himself with dignity and wisdom also throughout all those evil days ; for on many occasions he tempered the severities proposed by flatterers. And yet he was not wanting in discretion ; for he enjoyed, without a break, the esteem and favour of Tiberius. Hence I am compelled² to doubt whether the favour of Princes towards some men, and their dislike of others, depend, like all other things, upon Fate, and on the lot assigned to us at our birth ; or whether our own prudence also may not go for something, so as to make it possible to steer a course that shall be safe without scheming, midway between abrupt defiance on the one hand and degrading complaisance on the other.

After that Messalinus Cotta, a man of a very different character from Lepidus, though no less nobly born, proposed a decree that magistrates should be punished for offences committed in the Provinces by their wives, however innocent and ignorant of them

Courage and discretion of Manius Lepidus.

Motion by Messalinus Cotta.

¹ Augustus had probably made some special grants of money to Silanus, such as he made to Hortalus, and as Tiberius himself made to others (ii. 37, 1 and 2).

² Tacitus gives up his favourite fatalistic doctrine very charingly and grudgingly. See vi. 22, 5-6.

they might be, just as if they had been committed by themselves.¹

Calpurnius
Piso
accused,

Next came the case of Calpurnius Piso. I have 21.
already recorded² how this high-spirited nobleman had
proclaimed in the Senate that he would quit the city
on account of the machinations of accusers; how he
had defied Augusta, and dared to drag Urgulania
before the courts, out of the very palace of the Em-
peror. All this Tiberius had borne patiently at the 2
time; but in a mind like his that brooded over its
wrongs, even if the first access of anger might die
away, the memory remained behind.³ And so Piso 3
was accused by Quintus Granius of having spoken
disrespectfully of the Emperor's Majesty in private;
to which was added that he kept poison in his house,
and that he wore a sword when attending in the
Senate. This last point was passed over as too 4
monstrous to be true. He was indicted on the
remaining charges, piled up against him in great
number; but his opportune death prevented the trial
from going on.

but oppor-
tunely dies.

Then Cassius Severus⁴ was dealt with. This Cas- 5
sius was a pestilent person of mean origin, but a
forcible forensic speaker; and in consequence of the
bitter animosities which he provoked, he had been
banished by the Senate, acting under oath,⁵ to the
island of Crete. But as he pursued a similar course
there, and brought down upon himself enmities both

Condem-
nation of
Cassius
Severus.

¹ All strict administration—especially if it affected the nobility—is distasteful to Tacitus. He is outraged that a man of high birth like Cotta should propose to hold a provincial governor responsible for the misdoings of his wife.

² *i.e.* in ii. 34, 1-2, eight years before. Tiberius had with difficulty soothed him on that occasion.

³ For this trait in the character of Tiberius see i. 7, 11; iii. 64, 3; iv. 71, 5.

⁴ Cassius was a rhetorician of some note, of the new school (*Dial.* 19, 1). Quintilian says of him, *plus bilis habet quam sanguinis* (x. 1, 117); and Seneca, *plus stomacho quam consilio dedit* (*Exc. Contr.* iii. *præf.*).

⁵ See nn. on i. 14, 6; 74, 5.

new and old, he was interdicted from fire and water, stripped of his property, and condemned to pass his old age on the rocks of Seriphus.¹

1 About this same time the Praetor Plautius Silvanus, for some unknown reason, threw his wife Apronia out of the window. Summoned before the Emperor by his father-in-law Lucius Apronius, he replied, with much confusion, that he had been fast asleep at the time; that he knew nothing of what had happened; and that his wife had made away with
2 herself. Without delaying for one instant, Tiberius proceeded to the house, and examined the bed-chamber, where he saw with his own eyes the signs
3 of a struggle and an ejection. He reported the matter to the Senate, and a trial was appointed;² whereupon Urgulania, the grandmother of Silvanus, sent Plautius a dagger. Urgulania being intimate with Augusta, the receipt of this dagger was taken as
4 equivalent to a hint from the Emperor himself;³ and after a vain attempt to use the weapon himself, the accused caused his veins to be opened. Shortly after this, his first wife Numantina was accused of having driven him mad by means of potions and incantations; but she was acquitted.

Plautius Silvanus throws his wife out of the window.

1 In this year, at last, the Romans saw the end of their long war with the Numidian Tacfarinas. All

End of the war with Tacfarinas.

¹ One of the smaller Cyclades, now *Serpho*. It was a common place of banishment (Juv. x. 170).

² The phrase *dare indices* simply means 'to permit a case to go to trial.' It denotes the act of the praetor or other judge before whom a plaintiff lodged a claim. The judge was said *dare actionem et indices* (i.e. to permit the case to go on and name the court); *dicere ius* (to indicate the law, or principle of law, under which it had to be tried); and lastly, *addicere bona* (to adjudge the property under dispute). Hence the three words *do, dico, addico* summed

up the whole judicial function (Ov. Fast. i. 1. 47).

³ This story well illustrates the painstaking anxiety to get at the truth, and to probe questions for himself, which was so long a characteristic of Tiberius (see i. 75, 2 and n.). Such attention to details was out of place in the governor of an empire; it doubtless contributed, as Merivale points out, to the ultimate break-down of Tiberius. Unequal to the task of entering into every detail of government himself, and losing all confidence in those near him, he gave up the task in despair.

former generals had relaxed their efforts as soon as they thought they had done enough to earn Triumphal honours; for though no less than three¹ laurelled statues had been set up, Tacfarinas was still devastating the Province. He had been reinforced by a body of Moors, who under the negligent rule of Juba's young son Ptolemy had chosen war, rather than submit to be ordered about like slaves by the King's freedmen. The king of the Garamantes² acted as receiver of 2 plunder for Tacfarinas, and took part in his depredations; and though not taking the field in person, he supplied him with a light-armed force, to whose numbers distance lent exaggeration. From the Province itself, the needy and the restless flocked to his standard; and that all the more eagerly because the Emperor, after the successes of Blaesus, had recalled the 9th legion, as though the African war were over. The new Proconsul, Publius Dolabella, had not ventured to detain this legion; for he was more afraid of the Emperor's orders than of the chances of war.

Dolabella
raises the
siege of
Thubus-
cum;

Tacfarinas accordingly spread abroad the rumour 24 that other nations were breaking in upon the Roman Empire; that the Romans were, in consequence, withdrawing gradually from the Province; and that such of them as were left might be cut off, if only a vigorous effort were made by all who preferred freedom to slavery. His forces thus augmented, he established a camp and laid siege to the town of Thubuscum. Dolabella meanwhile collected all his regular troops, 2 and with his first advance raised the siege: partly through the terror of the Roman name, partly because

¹ The three commanders were Furius Camillus (ii. 52, 8, A.D. 17); L. Apronius (iii. 21, 1, A.D. 20); and

Junius Blaesus (iii. 72, 6, A.D. 22).

² See iii. 74, 2.

Numidians cannot stand up against a charge of infantry. He then set up block-houses in suitable positions, executed the Musulamian chiefs who were wavering in their allegiance, and having learned from his various expeditions against Tacfarinas that it was of no use to attempt to follow up so mobile an enemy with a single heavily-equipped force, he called out King Ptolemy and his people, organised four separate columns, each under the command of a Legate or a Tribune, and sent out Moorish plundering parties under picked leaders of their own. He himself directed the operations as a whole.

organises
four flying
columns,

5. 1 Before long, news arrived that the Numidians had put up their huts and established themselves in a half-ruined fort called Auzea, which they had burned some time before,¹ the position of which, in the midst of 2 vast forests, they thought secure. A light column of our horse and foot was at once hurried off, without knowing its destination. The Romans fell upon the barbarians at daybreak, with fierce cries and blowing of trumpets, before they were well awake, and when their horses were either hobbled or feeding far away. 3 The Roman infantry was in one compact body, their cavalry was posted at proper intervals, and all was ready for battle. The enemy, on the other hand, were taken unawares; they had neither arms, nor order, nor plan of battle; they were dragged off like sheep, 4 and butchered or taken prisoners. The infuriated soldiery, remembering all they had gone through, how often they had longed for battle, and how often they had been foiled, glutted their vengeance to the

and completely
defeats the
Africans at
Auzea.

¹ It is not possible to make out with any approach to exactness the topography of these campaigns. We have seen that even in the case of Germany, a country which Tacitus had specially studied and described, his geographical

indications are of the vaguest kind. Of the geography of Africa, we may be sure that he knew even less than an average Englishman knew of that of South Africa before the late war.

Tacfarinas
killed.

full. Word was passed round the maniples that every man was to make for Tacfarinas, whose face, after so many conflicts, was familiar to them all. And so, at last, after his guards had been struck down round him, and his son taken prisoner, seeing the Romans close in on him from every side, he rushed upon their blades, and by a dearly bought death escaped captivity. So ended the war.

Dolabella
refused a
Triumph.

Dolabella asked for Triumphal honours ; but Tiberius refused, out of compliment to Sejanus, not wishing to dim the glory of his uncle Blaesus. But while this refusal added nothing to the distinction of Blaesus, it added much to that of Dolabella ; seeing that the latter, with a smaller force,¹ had slain the king and brought back notable captives, and had all the credit of bringing the war to an end. He was accompanied by an embassy from the Garamantes—a spectacle strange to Rome. Dismayed by the death of Tacfarinas, and conscious of their own innocence, that people had sent envoys to make submission to the Roman people. In recognition of King Ptolemy's loyal attitude throughout the war, an ancient custom was revived in his honour. A senator was despatched to present to him, as in olden times, an ivory staff and an embroidered toga,² and to bestow on him the titles of King, Ally, and Friend.

Embassy
of the
Gara-
mantes.

A servile
rising
nipped in
the bud.

During the same summer, the beginnings of a servile war were crushed³ by a happy chance. The movement originated with a certain Titus Curtisius, once a soldier of the Praetorian Guard. Beginning in Brundisium and the towns round it with secret

¹ He had only one legion, the 3rd ; the 9th having been withdrawn (chap. 23, 2). Camillus also in his campaign had but one legion, supplemented by local levies (ii. 52, 5).

² The garment worn in triumphs.

³ The phrase *semina oppressit* seems to contain a mixed metaphor.

meetings, after a time he openly issued proclamations, calling on the rustic and half-savage slaves of the remoter districts to strike for freedom. As if by special providence, three war-galleys, kept on that coast for the protection of traders, put into the port.

- 2 The Quaestor Cutius Lupus, who by old custom had charge of the hill districts,¹ happened to be on the spot at the time; making a judicious disposition of
3 his seamen, he crushed the rising at the outset. The Emperor sent off at once a strong force under the Tribune Staius, who seized Curtisius and his most daring associates, and carried them off to Rome. The city was already in a panic; for the number of slaves was increasing beyond all measure, while that of the free-born population was dwindling day by day.

8. 1 The same year witnessed a most lamentable and monstrous prosecution: a son appeared before the Senate as accuser of his own father. Both bore the
2 name of Vibius Serenus.² Dragged back from exile, his person a mass of filth and rags, and loaded with chains, the father had to face the accusations of his son; while the youth, in elegant attire, and beaming with self-complacency, acted as informer and witness in one. He asserted that his father had plotted against the Emperor, and had sent persons to foment the war in Gaul; he also accused Caecilius Cornutus, a man of praetorian rank, of having supplied him

Accusation of Vibius Serenus by his own son.

Cornutus implicated.

¹ It would appear that from an early time there were four quaestors with 'provinces' in different parts of Italy. One was stationed at Ostia, one in Cisalpine Gaul. Their duties were connected with the superintendence of foreign trade; each probably had a port or ports under his charge, and would for that purpose have the disposal of the local coast-guard force. Brundisium would be the natural station for one of these officers; who would seem, if *calles* be read here (Mommsen

supports the conj. *Calles*), to have had the rough pasture-land of the interior under his charge also. If so, his duty would probably be that of collecting the rents due for state pastures. Suetonius speaks of a provincial post of no great importance known by the name of *silvae callesque* (Iul. 19).

² C. Vibius Serenus was one of the accusers of Libo (ii. 30, 1); he had been condemned for *vis publica*, and banished to Amorgus *ob atrocitatem morum* (chap. 13, 2).

with funds for the purpose. Unable to endure the suspense, and believing that to be accused was to be condemned, Cornutus hastened to put an end to himself; whereas Serenus, undaunted, shook his chains³ in his son's face, and called on the Gods for vengeance: imploring them to take him back into exile, where he might live far from fashions like to these, and to send down punishment, sooner or later, upon his son. *Cornutus*, he protested, *was innocent, and had been*⁴ *alarmed without reason. If the facts alleged were true, let them produce other names besides his;*¹ *for he could never have plotted against the Emperor's life and government with one single confederate.*

The accusation breaks down,

Thus challenged, the accuser named Gnaeus Lentulus² and Seius Tubero,³ to the great confusion of the Emperor; for here were two of the first men in the State, both intimate friends of his own—one in extreme old age, the other in feeble health—accused of planning an insurrection, and endangering the public peace. Both were at once acquitted; and when the father's slaves were put to the torture to give evidence against their master, the result was unfavourable to the prosecution. In a guilty frenzy, and alarmed by the² murmurs of the crowd who threatened him with the Tullianum,⁴ the Tarpeian Rock,⁵ or the death of a parricide,⁶ the accuser fled from the city; but he was³

¹ The Latin is not quite logical or complete. It reads as if Serenus meant that his innocence would be proved by the production of accomplices: he meant, of course, the opposite. It was the lack of accomplices that would prove his innocence.

² Cn. Cornelius Lentulus had accompanied Drusus in his mission to the mutinous army of Pannonia, when he narrowly escaped death at the hands of the soldiers (*ante alios aetate et gloria belli*, i. 27, 1). He had been consul B.C. 18, and had gained victories over

the Getae. His death and character are recorded in chap. 44, 1.

³ Seius Tubero was a legatus under Germanicus (ii. 20, 2), and was cos. suf. A.D. 18.

⁴ The famous *Carcer* or *Tullianum*, at the foot of the Capitol.

⁵ The Tarpeian Rock, on the W. face of the Capitol, from which state criminals (as Manlius) were hurled.

⁶ The ancient punishment of the parricide was to be beaten with rods to the effusion of blood, then to be tied up in a sack along with a dog, a cock, a

How simply delightful!

dragged back from Ravenna and compelled to carry on the prosecution, Tiberius making no secret of the hatred which he had long entertained against the exiled Serenus. For after the condemnation of Libo, Serenus had written a letter to Tiberius reproaching him with having left his own great services unrewarded, and containing some expressions too insolent to be safely addressed to ears so haughty, so ready to take offence. Tiberius brought all this up again, after an interval of eight years, adding divers charges relating to the intervening period, though he was now balked by the obstinacy of the slaves under torture.

but Tiberius rakes up other charges,

It was proposed that Serenus should be punished after the ancient fashion;¹ but on this Tiberius, anxious to conciliate public opinion, interposed his veto. Gallus Asinius moved that he should be confined in Gyarus or Donusa; but Tiberius objected to that also, on the ground that there was a lack of water in both islands, and that *if a man's life were spared, he should at least be granted the means of living*. Serenus was accordingly taken back to Amorgus. And as Cornutus had died by his own hand, it was proposed that if a person accused of treason should commit suicide before the trial was over, the prosecutors should forfeit their rewards. This motion was on the point of being carried, when Tiberius, with unusual openness, pronounced in favour of the informers; protesting, with much asperity, that such a rule would nullify all law and be a serious danger to the state:—*Better upset the laws, said he, than remove their guardians*. Thus was it that baits were

and Serenus is sent back to Amorgus.

Tiberius openly abets the informers.

monkey and a snake, and so cast into the sea (Dig. xlvi. 9. 9; Juv. viii. 214).

¹ *i.e.* by scourging to death. See ii. 32, 5.

dangled before informers—a tribe of miscreants called into being for the public ruin, whom neither pains nor penalties have ever been able to repress.

Pardon of
Gaius
Cominius.

Amid this series of distressing events, some slight relief was afforded by the pardon of Gaius Cominius, a Roman knight, convicted of writing a scurrilous poem against the Emperor. This favour Tiberius granted on the intercession of a senator, brother of the accused. Men marvelled all the more that a prince capable of better things, who had knowledge of the esteem which waits on acts of clemency, should prefer a policy of severity. It was not from any want of perception that he went wrong; nor does it need a diviner to tell whether the applause which greets the acts of sovereigns be true or counterfeit. Nay, Tiberius himself, who on other occasions would employ set phrases, and appear to struggle with his words, spoke with ease and freedom whenever he spoke words of mercy.

Punish-
ment of
P. Suillius,

Yet when Publius Suillius,¹ once Quaestor under Germanicus, was convicted of receiving a judicial bribe, and it was proposed to banish him from Italy, Tiberius moved, with much warmth, that he should be deported to an island; declaring, on solemn oath, that he did so in the public interest. This sentence raised much indignation at the time; but it redounded to the Emperor's credit in after days, when Suillius returned to Rome. For he became known to the next generation as a powerful and corrupt favourite of the Emperor Claudius, whose friendship he enjoyed long and profitably, but never used for good. A like

¹ Tacitus quotes the case of Suillius, in contrast to that of C. Cominius, as if to shew how sometimes Tiberius seemed to revel in pronouncing harsh sentences. Yet he has to confess that Tiberius was

right in his judgment of Suillius. In the third case (that of Catus Firmius) Tiberius punished the false traducer; but not severely enough to please Tacitus.

penalty was inflicted upon the senator Catus Firmius, for having brought a false charge of treason against his own sister. It was this Catus who, as above recorded,¹ first entrapped Libo, and then brought him

and Catus Firmius.

8 to ruin by turning informer. Bearing this service in mind, but alleging some other reason, Tiberius deprecated a sentence of banishment, though he offered no objection to his expulsion from the Senate.

2. 1 I am well aware that much of what I have related, and still have to relate, may seem of little moment, and too trifling to be recorded. But none can compare my subject with that of those who wrote the

2 early history of Rome. They had great wars to describe, the storming of cities, the rout and capture of kings; or if they turned to affairs at home, they could enlarge freely on the conflicts of Consuls with Tribunes, on land laws and corn laws, on struggles

3 between patricians and plebeians. My theme is narrow and inglorious: a peace unbroken, or disturbed only by petty wars; a distressful course of events in Rome; a prince with no interest in the

4 expansion of the Empire.² It may serve some good purpose, nevertheless, to look closely into these things, at first sight so unimportant; since it is often from such beginnings that mighty movements take their rise.

I know well how poor and barren is my theme, compared with that of earlier writers.

3. 1 For every country and city must be ruled either by the populace, or by the few, or by one man; a form of government selected and compounded out of

What of interest is there to tell under a one-man rule?

¹ *i.e.* in ii. 27, 2.

² Tacitus does not appeal here to a high conception of history. He takes the popular view that it reaches its highest interest in telling of wars and conquests: even the interest of such subjects as the conflict between the orders, and the battles over agrarian

and other laws, does not consist in the fact that they raise great constitutional questions, but that they give scope for picturesque and stirring narrative. His own task is inglorious, because he has no wars to tell of; and the climax in its dulness is that Tiberius was what we should now call 'a little Englander.'

these elements, may be commended more easily than brought into being; nor could it endure were it set up.¹ And just as in former times, when the people held all power, men had to study the temper of the multitude, and learn how to control and guide it: or again, when the patricians were all-powerful, those who had learnt best to understand the mind of the Senate and of the aristocracy were deemed wise men, and cunning in the times: so now, when things are changed, and Rome is, in fact, under the rule of a single man, it may prove useful to enquire into and record such things as I have to tell. For but few have wisdom enough of their own to distinguish what is honourable from what is base, the expedient from the hurtful; most men have to learn these things from the experience of others.² And yet such enquiries, however profitable they may be, afford but little entertainment. Descriptions of new countries: the varied incidents of battle: the deaths of famous leaders: these are topics which interest and refresh the reader's mind.

¹ Here again Tacitus is disappointing. He propounds one of the most interesting problems of constitutional philosophy; decides it summarily in one way; and dismisses curtly, almost contemptuously, the idea of a mixed constitution. Yet that was a favourite idea with political philosophers from Plato to Cicero, as well as of practical historians like Polybius; and Tacitus might have pointed to the Roman constitution in its best days as a successful example of it. See Polybius, vi. 11, 6. He makes no attempt to discuss the question raised; but taking it for granted that there is always one dominant power in a State, and one only, his point is to shew that the centre of interest in history, as in politics, will be in the doings and purposes of that one power. Thus under the Republic, at different periods, interest centred round the patricians and the plebeians respectively; in his own time, all interest, all history, centre round one man (*neque alia re Romana quam si*

unus imperitet). With more than his usual perverseness, and blind to the great problems of government which Rome was working out in her vast empire, Tacitus pretends that her destinies are summed up in the person of the emperor, and that the history of the times is a mere record of state prosecutions. For the exaggerated importance given to these trials by Tacitus, see Freytag, 'Tiberius and Tacitus,' and Tarver's 'Tiberius the Tyrant,' *passim*.

² The application is not very clearly brought out. The idea seems to be that it is the business of the historian to teach the principles of private morality and political expediency, at one and the same time, by selecting proper instances as examples or as warnings. The majority of mankind having no power to draw their own conclusions, the historian has so to marshal his facts that his readers may draw the proper conclusions from them (*aliorum eventis doceri*).

It may profit perhaps, if it do not entertain, to tell such things;

My task is to record a succession of cruel edicts, of prosecutions heaped on prosecutions; to tell of friends betrayed, of innocent men brought to ruin, of trials all ending in one way, with a uniformity as monotonous as it is revolting.

- 4 Then again, the writer of ancient history finds few to criticise him; it concerns no one if he praise too warmly the armies of Carthage or of Rome. But there are many living now whose ancestors suffered punishment, or incurred disgrace, under Tiberius;
- 5 and even if the families concerned have died out, there are those who deem an attack upon vices akin to their own to be an attack upon themselves.
- 6 Even glory and virtue have their enemies; for when placed too close to their opposites they wear an aspect of rebuke.¹ But I must return from this digression.

but it brings trouble upon the writer.

A.D. 25. CONSULS COSSUS CORNELIUS LENTULUS
AND M. ASINIUS AGRIPPA.²

34. 1 In this year Cremutius Cordus³ was impeached upon a novel charge, now heard of for the first time⁴— that he had commended Marcus Brutus in his History, and called Gaius Cassius 'The last of the Romans.'⁵
- 2 The accusers, Satrius Secundus and Pinarius Natta, were both clients of Sejanus; which fact, as well as the evident displeasure with which Tiberius

Impeachment of Cremutius Cordus.

¹ How admirable is Tacitus when he leaves the field of great political movements, and sums up in a perfect phrase some painful human characteristic!

² Cossus Cornelius Lentulus was a brother of Lentulus Gaetulicus; Asinius Agrippa was a son of Asinius Gallus and Vipsania.

³ Cremutius Cordus had a sharp tongue, which did not spare Sejanus. When the statue of Sejanus was put up

in the restored theatre of Pompey (see iii. 72, 5), he exclaimed, 'Now indeed is Pompey's theatre destroyed!' (Sen. Cons. ad Marc. xxii. 4).

⁴ Domitian encouraged prosecutions for similar offences (Agr. 2, 2).

⁵ The book was a history of his own times, probably embracing only the reign of Augustus. Quintilian praises the *libertas* of the book, even after excision of the noxious passages (x. 1, 104).

listened to the defence, proved fatal to the accused. Having made up his mind to die, Cremutius spoke as follows:—

His speech
to the
Senate.

My words, Conscript Fathers, are arraigned; so innocent am I of any evil deed. Yet these words were not uttered against the Emperor, or his father, the persons to whom the law of Majesty applies: my offence is that I have praised Brutus and Cassius, men whose deeds have been recorded by many, whom none have named without respect. Titus Livius, a writer pre- eminent for eloquence and candour,¹ eulogised Gnaeus Pompeius so warmly that Augustus called him 'a Pompeian': but this caused no interruption in their friendship. He speaks of Scipio² and Afranius,³ of this same Cassius, this Brutus, never as raiders and parricides—the names men give them now—but often as distinguished men. Asinius Pollio gives a noble account of them in his history;⁴ Messalla Corvinus⁵ used to call Cassius 'his own Imperator'; and yet both lived on wealthy and honoured to the end. When Marcus Cicero wrote a book in which he lauded Cato to the skies, what else did the Dictator Caesar do but write a speech in answer, as though he were pleading before a judge? The letters of Antonius, the speeches of Brutus, contain the most bitter abuse of Augustus, as false as it is foul; men read the poems of Bibaculus⁶ and Catullus,⁷ which are full of insults

¹ Seneca says of Livy, *ut est natura candidissimus omnium magnorum ingeniorum aestimator* (Suas. vi. 22).

² Caecilius Metellus Pius Scipio, the father-in-law of Pompey, and consul along with him in B.C. 52. He slew himself after the battle of Thapsus, B.C. 46.

³ Consul B.C. 60, legate of Pompey in Spain, B.C. 49, killed after the battle of Thapsus.

⁴ This is the history of the Civil Wars alluded to by Hor. Od. ii. 1, 1 as beginning from the consulship of Metellus, B.C. 60. Suidas says it contained 17 books.

⁵ He commanded under Brutus at Philippi. His history of the Civil Wars is quoted by Suet. Oct. 74.

⁶ M. Furius Bibaculus, of Cremona, whose turgid verses are ridiculed by Hor. Sat. i. 10, 36; ii. 5, 41.

⁷ *i.e.* in poems 29, 54, 57, 95. In regard to the gross language used by Catullus in these poems, which should be discounted as part of the ordinary fashion of the time, see the excellent remarks in H. A. J. Munro's 'Elucidations of Catullus.'

to the Caesars ; yet the Divine Julius, the Divine Augustus, bore these things and passed them by. Whether in this more to praise their forbearance, or their wisdom, I know not : for the insult which goes unnoticed dies ; to resent it, is to accord to it recognition.

35. 1 *I say nothing of the Greeks, who tolerated not liberty only, but license, or at the most, paid back words with*
 2 *words ; and men have always been free to speak un-*
 3 *censured of those whom Death has placed beyond the reach*
 4 *of hate or favour. Am I, forsooth, in arms, with Cassius and Brutus, upon the plains of Philippi, or inflaming the people to civil war by my harangues ? Is the case not rather this : that just as these men are known to us by their statues—statues respected even by their conqueror—so in like manner, though dead for more than seventy years, they still hold their place upon the page of history ?*
 5 *For posterity awards to every man the honour that is his due ; and if I be now condemned, men will remember not Cassius and Brutus only, but me also.*

6 Cremutius then left the Senate-house, and put an end to himself by starvation. His books, by order of the Senate, were burned by the Aediles. And yet they were saved ; hidden away for a time,¹ they were again put forth. Hence one cannot but smile at the dulness of those who believe that the authority of to-day can extinguish men's memories to-morrow. Nay rather, they who penalise genius do but extend its power : whether they be foreign tyrants, or imitators of foreign tyranny, they do but reap dishonour for themselves, and glory for their victims.

Cremutius starves himself ; his books burnt, yet preserved.

6. 1 So unbroken was the flow of prosecutions throughout this year, that on the day of the Latin Festival,

Sectus Marius accused.

¹ They were hidden away by his daughter Marcia, to whom Seneca addressed his well-known *Consolatio ad*

Marciam. Caligula permitted these and other proscribed works to be circulated (Suet. Cal. 16).

when Drusus ascended the tribunal to take the auspices as Prefect¹ of the city, Calpurnius Salvianus approached him with an accusation against Sextus Marius. For this he was publicly rebuked by Tiberius, and had to go into exile. Next, the people of Cyzicus were accused of neglecting the worship of the Divine Augustus;² to which were added certain charges of violence towards Roman citizens. For this they lost the franchise, which they had earned during the Mithradatic siege, when the king was forced to retire by the gallantry of the citizens, no less than by the succour of Lucullus. On the other hand, Fonteius Capito,³ once Governor of Asia, was acquitted, on its being discovered that there was no foundation for the charges trumped up against him by Vibius Serenus.⁴ Yet Serenus came to no harm thereby: he was protected by the public execration. For the more aggressive accusers enjoyed a kind of inviolability; it was the insignificant and ignoble that were punished.

About this time an embassy arrived from Further Spain, craving permission from the Senate to set up a temple⁵ to Tiberius and his mother, as had been done in Asia. Now Tiberius had no weakness for distinctions of any sort; and thinking it well to take this opportunity of contradicting rumours which attributed to him vain-glorious leanings, he addressed the Senate in this fashion:—

¹ An ancient but honorary office, held only during the absence of the consuls at the *Feriae Latinae*. It had nothing to do with the permanent office instituted by Augustus, vi. 11, where see n.

² This shews that the worship of a deified emperor, usually a voluntary homage on the part of the city undertaking it, could not be intermitted with impunity.

³ C. Fonteius Capito was consul A.D. 12; he seems to have been appointed to Asia on the disqualifica-

tion of the Flamen Maluginensis in A.D. 22 (iii. 71, 3).

⁴ No doubt the son; see chap. 28, 1.

⁵ This request from Spain was probably in gratitude for the condemnation of Vibius Serenus (the father) on a charge of *vis publica* during his Spanish command (chap. 13, 2); just as the Asian cities decreed a temple to Tiberius and Augusta (chap. 15, 4) in consequence of the condemnation of C. Silanus and Lucilius Capito for misgovernment.

Cyzicus
punished.

Fonteius
Capito
acquitted.

Further
Spain pro-
poses to
set up a
temple to
Tiberius;

3 *I am aware, Conscript Fathers, that my consistency is challenged by some, in that lately I did not refuse a like request from the cities of Asia. I will explain, therefore, my acquiescence upon that occasion, and announce, at the same time, my purpose for the future.*

4 *The Divine Augustus did not forbid the erection of a temple¹ to himself and to the Roman people at Pergamum. Observing, as I do, everything that he said or did as a law unto myself, I followed the example thus approved,² and with all the greater readiness that veneration*
 5 *of the Senate was conjoined with worship of myself. To have accepted such an honour once, may be excused; but to permit my statue to be worshipped as divine in all the provinces, would be arrogant and vain-glorious. And the homage to Augustus will be gone, if it be made common by indiscriminating adulation.*

8. 1 *I call you to witness, Conscript Fathers, and I desire posterity to remember, that I am but a mortal, discharging the duties of a man: content if I may fill the highest place worthily. Enough, and more than enough, will men render to my memory, if they shall believe me worthy of my ancestors, thoughtful for your interests, unflinching in danger, undaunted by the enmities which I encounter in*
 2 *the public service. These shall be my temples in your hearts, my fairest and most enduring images.³ For*

Tiberius repudiates all claim to Divine honours.

¹ This temple to Augustus was built in B.C. 29: see chap. 55, 6, and i. 10, 5. It is figured on coins. Other temples were dedicated to him at Nicomedia and Ancyra. Suetonius and Dio both assert that Augustus would allow no temples to be set up to himself except in the provinces, and then only in conjunction with Rome. Yet inscriptions shew that even in Italy some forms of private worship of Augustus were permitted during his lifetime. The building of a temple to him in Tarraco in A.D. 15 (i. 78, 1) is spoken of as an *exemplum*, because it was dedicated to Augustus alone. For

Pergamum, see chap. 55, 6, and iii. 63, 3.

² Tacitus here suggests that the temple to Augustus at Pergamum was a solitary instance of the divine worship of that emperor; and that Tiberius never accepted it but in the case of the cities of Asia. But see, n. to i. 57, 2. The historian nowhere expresses disgust at such worship; in the present instance he seems rather to side with those who thought Tiberius guilty of pusillanimity in declining the proffered honour (chap. 38, 5 and 6).

³ The sober mind of Tiberius took a higher and juster view of the opinion of

stone-built monuments, if posterity turn her judgment into hate, are but dishonoured sepulchres. I pray therefore to our allies and fellow citizens, I pray the Gods themselves : these last, to grant me unto the end a tranquil spirit, alive to the rights of Gods and men ; the former, that when I pass away, they may honour my life and name with praise and kindly recollection.¹

Some cavilled at this decision.

To this attitude he held fast thereafter, repudiating, even in conversation, any such worship of himself. Some put this down to modesty ; some to want of self-confidence ; others called it poverty of spirit. *The noblest of mankind*, these said, *had ever the loftiest hopes ; it was thus that Hercules and Liber among the Greeks, Quirinus among ourselves, had been ranked among the Gods. Augustus had done better in not putting the hope away. All else Princes had ready to their hand ; but there was one end which they should pursue unfalteringly : to leave a fair name behind them. For to despise Fame is to despise Virtue.*

Sejanus indites a memorial to the Emperor,

Meanwhile Sejanus, goaded on by a woman's passion — for Livia kept on clamouring for the promised marriage — indited a memorial to the Emperor ; since it was the custom in those days to approach him by writing, even when he was present in the city. The letter ran as follows :—

posterity than did his critics, as recorded below in section 6. It was not those emperors who were most anxious to assume divine honours during their lifetime that were most honoured after their death.

¹ If this speech, or anything like it, was indeed delivered by Tiberius, it must rank as one of the noblest and most dignified utterances ever made by a great sovereign ; if its sentiments were his own, they would suffice to cover a multitude of sins. Though its perfect and balanced rhetoric has a savour of artificiality about it, the ideas it expresses are entirely in accordance with the character of Tiberius. Suetonius

tells us : *Ex plurimis' maximisque honoribus praeter paucos et minimos non recepit . . . Templâ, flamines, sacerdotés decerni sibi prohibuit* (Tib. 26). Tacitus does not insinuate that the speech was insincere ; but he is anxious to shew that it made little or no impression, and to suggest that Tiberius, even in his virtues, was un-human. The allusion to Hercules, Liber, and Quirinus is borrowed almost literally from Horace (Odes iii. 3, 9-16), and doubtless represents the current feeling of the day, which sympathised with these divine claims as testifying to the greatness of the empire.

The indulgence of the Emperor's father Augustus, the many marks of favour which he had received from Tiberius himself, had accustomed him to address his hopes and prayers not sooner to the ears of the Gods themselves, than to those of the Princeps. He had never craved the glitter of distinctions; he had preferred to watch and toil, like any common soldier, for the Emperor's safety; and yet he had attained the highest honour of all—to be deemed worthy to be allied with Caesar. Hence his present hope. He had heard it said that Augustus, in marrying his daughter, had bethought him of a Roman knight;¹ in like manner, if a husband were now sought for Livia, might not account be taken of a friend who could reap nothing from the alliance save its glory? He had no wish to put off the burdens laid upon him: sufficient for him to be protected in his home against the bitter enmity of Agrippina, and that for his children's sake; for himself, to have lived under such a Prince was enough, and more than enough.

craving
leave to
espouse
Livia.

Tiberius, in his reply, commended the loyalty of Sejanus; and recounting briefly the favours he had himself conferred on him, asked for time, as though the question were still open. He then added:—

Others had but their own interests to consider; it was not so with an Emperor, who in matters of state must shape his course in view of public opinion. He would not, therefore, resort to the obvious answer that Livia could decide for herself whether she should marry again, now that Drusus was dead, or live on in his home; or that she had a mother and a grandmother² to advise her, counsellors nearer than himself. He would use greater frankness. First then, there was the hostility of Agrippina to be considered. The marriage of Livia would but add fresh fuel

Guarded
reply of
Tiberius.

¹ This is confirmed by Suet. Oct. 63: see chap. 40, 8.

² Antonia and Augusta.

to that hostility; it would, so to say, rend in two the family of the Caesars. Even as it was, the rivalry between the women could not be kept under; his own grandsons were torn asunder by it. What if the proposed marriage were to aggravate these dissensions?

For you are mistaken, Sejanus, he proceeded, if you think you could remain in your present station; or that Livia—once the wife of Gaius Caesar, and again of Drusus—will be minded to grow old as the consort of a Roman knight. And even were I to allow it, do you suppose that it would be tolerated by those who have seen her brother, her father, and our common ancestors, filling the highest offices of state? Your desire, doubtless, is to remain what you are; but these magistrates and nobles who break in upon you against your will, and seek counsel from you on every matter, complain, in no secret fashion, that you have long ago risen above the position of a knight, and far above any of my father's friends: and out of ill-will towards you, they cast reflections on me also. Augustus, you say, thought of giving his daughter to a Roman knight. But is it so very wonderful if, when he was distracted by divers cares, and foresaw to what a pinnacle that man would be lifted whom he should exalt by such an alliance, he talked of Gaius Proculeius¹ and others noted for their quiet lives, and for having taken no part in public affairs? But if we are to be moved by the doubts of Augustus, how much more weighty is the fact that he gave his daughter first to Marcus Agrippa,² and then to me?

¹ Proculeius is well known from Hor. Od. ii. 2, 5.

*Vivet extento Proculeius aevo
Notus in fratres animi paterni.*

One of his brothers was Varro Murena, who conspired against Augustus, B.C. 22; Terentia, wife of Maecenas, was his sister.

² According to Dio 54, 6, 5, Maecenas gave Augustus a sinister reason for determining his choice of a new husband for Julia. Agrippa, he declared, had reached such a pitch of power that he must either make him his son-in-law or put him to death. Whatever the truth about the relations between Augustus and Agrippa may

10 *All this I say to you frankly, as your friend; but*
I will not oppose your purposes, or those of Livia.
 11 *What projects I have turned over in my own mind; by*
what further ties I am preparing to bind you to myself, I
 12 *will forbear for the present to disclose. This only will*
I permit myself to say, that there is no place too high for
your merits, and your devotion to myself; and when the
proper time shall come, whether in the Senate, or before
the public, I shall not fail to speak.

1 This letter alarmed Sejanus, suggesting, as it did,
 some graver peril than the failure of his marriage
 project; and in his reply he implored the Emperor to
 disregard the secret suspicions, the popular rumours
 and the ill-will, that were ever gathering against him-
 2 self. Then as he was afraid either to close his doors
 to the daily stream of visitors, lest he should lose
 influence thereby, or to keep them open, lest he should
 afford a handle to accusers, he conceived the idea of
 inducing Tiberius to take up his abode in some
 3 pleasant spot at a distance from the city. This plan,
 he foresaw, would have many advantages. Access to
 the Emperor's person would be in his own control;
 he would have command, to a large extent, of his
 correspondence, which had to be conveyed by soldiers;
 as the Emperor grew old and indolent in retirement,
 he would be more inclined to delegate the business of
 government. The feeling against himself would die
 down with the cessation of his crowded receptions;
 and some sacrifice of the empty signs of power would
 4 strengthen his hold upon the reality. He began
 therefore to deliver diatribes against town-life,
 with its business, its crowds, its hosts of persons
 seeking interviews, and to sing the praises of a life

Sejanus,
 alarmed,
 advises
 Tiberius to
 live away
 from the
 city.

have been, it is certain that Tiberius found himself in an exactly similar position in relation to Sejanus.

of peace and solitude, free from weariness and offence, in which chief attention might be given to the most important affairs.

Sensitive-
ness of
Tiberius to
personal
attacks.

It so happened that just at the time when Tiberius 4
was hesitating, a trial took place which convinced him
that he would do well to avoid attending meetings of
Senate, where remarks that had been made about him, as
offensive as they were true, might be flung in his face.¹
For when Votienus Montanus, a man of distinguished 2
ability, was accused of vilifying the Emperor, one of
the witnesses, a soldier called Aemilius, in his anxiety
to prove his case, recounted every detail; sticking firmly
to his assertions in spite of the murmurs of the
audience. Tiberius was so disturbed to hear how he
was abused behind his back, that he cried out he must
vindicate his character at once, or at any rate during
the course of the proceedings; and all the entreaties
of his friends, added to the adulation of the whole
assembly, scarce restored him to composure. Votienus 3
suffered the penalty for his treason. But this only
seemed to make Tiberius the more determined to
exercise that vindictiveness towards accused persons
which was attributed to him; for he inflicted banish-
ment² on Aquilia, accused of adultery with Varius
Ligur, although the Consul Designate, Lentulus
Gaetulicus, had only convicted her under the Julian
Law;³ and he caused the name of Apidius Merula to
be struck off the roll of senators, because he had not
sworn obedience to the acts⁴ of Augustus.

Punish-
ment of
Votienus,
Aquilia,
and
Apidius
Merula.

¹ This passage, if compared with the original (from *ac forte* to *ingerebantur*), affords a good instance of the changes both in order and construction which a translator is often compelled to make in rendering a Latin sentence into English. The order and the construction which come easily and naturally in the Latin periodic style

would be outrageously clumsy and complicated in English.

² Thus reversing his action in ii. 50, 4, where he would not allow the harsher law to be enforced. Exile involved loss of citizenship; *relegatio* did not.

³ On the milder penalties of the Julian Law, see ii. 50, 2.

⁴ See n. on i. 72, 2.

3. 1 Audience was now given to embassies from the Lacedaemonians and the Messenians with regard to their claims to the temple of Diana of the Marshes.¹ The Lacedaemonian contention, supported by historical records and ancient poems, was that the temple had been dedicated by their ancestors, and in their territory; that it had been forcibly taken from them by Philip of Macedon, in the course of war,² but had afterwards been restored by a judgment of Julius 2 Caesar and Marcus Antonius. The Messenians, on their side, pleaded the original division of the Peloponnesus among the descendants of Hercules, when the territory of Denthalia, in which the temple lay, had been assigned to them. *This, they maintained, was proved by inscriptions still extant, both in stone and 3 bronze; if the testimony^{es} of poets and historians were appealed to on the other side, there were more of such witnesses, with more trustworthy testimony, upon theirs;* 4 *Philip's decision had been no arbitrary judgment, but one founded on the merits of the case; it had been confirmed by the King Antigonus,³ by the Roman Imperator 5 Mummius,⁴ by the Milesians, to whom the matter was publicly submitted for arbitration;⁵ and lastly by*

Contest between the Lacedaemonians and the Messenians as to the temple of Diana of the Marshes.

¹ This famous temple took its name from the town of Limnae, situated on the right bank of the Nedon, to the W. of Mount Taygetus. The town marked the confines between Laconia and Messenia; sacrifices were offered there by both peoples in common; and the first Messenian War (B.C. 743 to 728) was caused by the murder at this place of the Spartan king Teleclus. The *ager Denthelites*, named below, was on the left bank of the river Nedon, opposite to Limnae.

² In B.C. 337, after the battle of Chaeronea, Philip invaded the Peloponnese. He received the submission of the Messenians and of almost all the other inhabitants except the Spartans, who sullenly held out. His natural policy therefore would be to enrich

the Messenians at the expense of Sparta.

³ Antigonus Doseon, king of Macedon, B.C. 229 to 221. He supported the Achaeans in a war against Cleomenes, king of Sparta, defeated Cleomenes, and captured Sparta. He also would naturally take an anti-Spartan line about the temple.

⁴ L. Mummius established the province of Achaia after the capture of Corinth, B.C. 146, and settled its affairs on a permanent basis.

⁵ This reference to a public arbitration entrusted to the city of Miletus has been most happily confirmed by the discovery of an inscription on the base of the famous statue of Victory by Paeonius at Olympia, which records the whole transaction. The case was

Decision in favour of the Messenians. Restoration of the temple of Mount Eryx.

Atidius Geminus,¹ the Roman governor of Achaia. Judgment was accordingly given in favour of the Messenians.

The people of Segesta petitioned for the restoration of the temple of Venus on Mount Eryx,² now fallen into ruins; repeating the well-known story of its origin. This pleased Tiberius, who gladly undertook the work on the ground of kinship.

Petition of the Massilians.

Next came a petition from the people of Massilia in regard to the will of a certain exile, Vulcatius Moschus, who had been admitted to citizenship by the Massilians, and had left his property to that state as his own country. In support of this claim of Publius Rutilius was quoted, who after being sentenced to exile, had been admitted to citizenship by the Smyrnaeans. The precedent was admitted and the petition granted.

Deaths of Lentulus and Domitius.

Two men of noble birth died in this year—Gnaeus Lentulus³ and Lucius Domitius.⁴ Besides having held

decided by a body of 600 jurors, who voted in favour of the Messenian claim by a majority of 586 to 14. See Hicks, *Greek Inscriptions*, p. 200 (Edn. 1882).

¹ Nothing is known of this officer or of his governorship.

² This was the famous Temple of Aphrodite on Mt. Eryx (*Monte S. Giuliano*), near Drepanum (*Trapani*), on the extreme W. point of Sicily. It was one of the many temples dedicated to the goddess on high promontories overlooking the sea (as at Ancona) which were connected with the legend of Aeneas and the tale of the Trojan origin of Rome. See Seely on Livy, i. p. 20. Virgil ascribes the foundation of the temple to Aeneas himself (*Aen.* v. 759); and the Segestans, in whose territory it stood, claimed a Trojan origin. Hence Tiberius deems himself *consanguineus*. Thucydides says the temple was rich in gold and silver plate; which the Segestans, however, had borrowed to deceive the Athenian envoys (*vi.* 46, 3). It was held in high honour by Roman governors; but is not men-

tioned by any historian after Tacitus. Substructions of the old temple can still be seen under the modern castle.

³ See n. on chap. 29, 1.

⁴ Three generations of the distinguished family of Domitii Ahenobarbi are here mentioned: (1) The grandfather, L. Domitius Ahenobarbus, consul B.C. 54, was a champion of the Optimates, and a bitter opponent of Caesar throughout his life. He fell at Pharsalus in command of the left wing. (2) His son Gnaeus was taken with his father at Corfinium, B.C. 49, was pardoned by Caesar, joined the Liberators, and held the sea with a fleet in their interests. He made peace with Antony in B.C. 40, was consul in B.C. 32, and went over to Octavianus, in disgust, shortly before Actium. Suetonius describes him as *omnibus gentis suae procul dubio praeferendum* (Nero 3). (3) Lucius, son of No. 2, whose death is here recorded. He was betrothed to Antonia (daughter of Antony by Octavia) at the meeting between Antony and Octavianus at Tarentum, B.C. 36. Suetonius calls

the Consulship and gained Triumphal honours over the Gaetae, Lentulus was honourably known for having borne poverty with patience, and for having afterwards honestly acquired, and modestly enjoyed, a large² fortune. Domitius was distinguished on various grounds. His father had kept command of the seas during the civil war, until he went over first to Antonius, and afterwards to Augustus. His grandfather had fallen for the senatorial cause on the field³ of Pharsalus. He himself had been chosen to be the husband of the younger Antonia,¹ daughter of Octavia; after that, he had conducted an expedition across the Elbe; and having penetrated into Germany further than any of those before him,² had gained for that success the honours of a Triumph.

Another death was that of Lucius Antonius, a man⁴ of illustrious birth, but unfortunate in his career. His father, Iulus Antonius,³ had suffered death for adultery with Julia; and though he was a mere lad at the time, and great-nephew to Augustus, that Emperor sent him into retirement at Massilia, where he was to conceal, under the name of study, the fact of exile. All⁶ honour, however, was paid to his remains; and his ashes, by decree of the Senate, were laid in the sepulchre of the Octavii.

In this same year an atrocious crime was committed¹ in Further⁴ Spain, by a rustic belonging to the tribe

Also
of I.
Antonius.

Assassination
of the
Praetor L.
Piso by a
Spaniard.

him *arrogans, profusus, immitis*, and especially cruel in his gladiatorial exhibitions (Nero, 5). He was the father by Antonia of Cn. Domitius, who married Agrippina, the daughter of Germanicus, and so became father of the Emperor Nero (chap. 75, 1).

¹ Tacitus seems to make a mistake in calling her *minor*, both here and in xii. 64, 4. Suetonius correctly calls her *Antonia maior*, making *Antonia minor* the wife of Drusus (Cal. 1, Nero, 5).

² Dio mentions this exploit, lv. 10, 2. Domitius was in command on the Danube at the time, and set up an altar to Augustus on the Upper Elbe.

³ Son of Mark Antony by Fulvia. He was married to Marcella (daughter of Octavia), who had previously been married to Agrippa, and was divorced by him B.C. 21, to enable him to marry Julia.

⁴ *i.e.* Tarraconensis. See n. on chap. 5, 2.

of the Termestini. Lucius Piso,¹ the Praetor of the Province, was travelling in time of peace, and without thought of danger, when he was suddenly attacked on the road, and killed by a single blow. The assassin, being well mounted, made off; on reaching the hills, he turned his horse loose, and taking to some precipitous impracticable country, eluded his pursuers. But it was not for long; for the horse ² being caught and taken round the adjoining villages, the discovery of the owner followed. On being put ³ to the torture to reveal his associates, the man cried out in his native tongue that it was idle to interrogate him:—*his comrades might stand by and look on: no amount of pain would wring the truth from him.* Next ⁴ day, as he was being dragged back to be tortured a second time, he broke loose from his guards, and dashed his head with such violence against a rock that he was killed on the spot. The general belief was ⁵ that Piso had been the victim of a plot laid by the Termestini, as he had been exacting repayment of certain moneys embezzled from the public treasury with a strictness intolerable to barbarians.²

¹ This Piso was the elder of the two young Pisos to whom, along with their father, Horace addressed the *Ars Poetica*; and therefore son of the *praefectus urbis* spoken of so handsomely by Tacitus (vi. 10, 3). The authority for this identification is the Scholiast Porphyrius, who, on line 24 of the *A. P.* (*pater et iuvenes patre digni*) has this note: *L. Piso custos, id est praefectus urbis, nam et ipse Piso poeta fuit et studiorum liberalium antistes.* The elder of the two sons is thus addressed by Hor. *A.P.* 366:

*O maior iuvenum, quamvis et voce
paterna
Fingeris ad rectum et per te sapis.*

The younger, according to Nipp., is probably to be identified with M. Licinius, mentioned as cos. A.D. 27 (see chap. 62, 1), who changed his name on being adopted by M. Licinius Crassus, cos. B.C. 14.

² This seems to refer not to Piso's own exactions, but to his interfering to prevent illegal appropriations of local funds by the local authorities. Germanicus interfered in a similar way in Bithynia (ii. 54, 2).

A.D. 26. CONSULS CN. CORNELIUS LENTULUS
GAETULICUS¹ AND C. CALVISIUS SABINUS.²

5. 1 Triumphal ornaments were voted in this year to Poppaeus Sabinus³ for crushing some Thracian tribes who, inhabiting a hill-country, were specially wild and intractable. The cause of the rising, besides their own turbulent temper, was that they could not endure the system of conscription,⁴ under which their best men were drafted into our armies. Even to their own kings they only rendered such obedience as they chose; and if they did furnish them with contingents, they would appoint their own officers, and fight only against their neighbours. A report had gained ground that they were to be scattered, mixed up with men of other nationalities, and sent off to distant countries. Before taking up arms, they sent envoys to give assurances of their friendliness and loyalty:—*In these they would stand firm, they said, if no new burdens were laid upon them; but if they were to be enslaved as a conquered people, they had their swords, and their brave young hearts determined to be free or die.* With this they pointed to their strong-holds, perched on rocks, into which

Successes of Poppaeus Sabinus in Thrace.

Revolt of certain tribes.

¹ This Cn. Cornelius Lentulus Gaetulicus (see chap. 42, 3) and his elder brother Cossus Cornelius (chap. 34, 1), were both sons of Cn. Cornelius Lentulus, cos. B.C. 1, who gained the name *Gaetulicus* for subsequent victories in Africa. Velleius notices that he passed on the title to his son, *adulescentis in omnium virtutum exempla geniti* (ii. 116, 2); and Juvenal picks out the father, along with D. Silanus (Ann. iii. 24, 1) as examples of men of noble birth whom he was proud to salute for their virtues (viii. 26).

² C. Calvisius Sabinus, accused, and apparently acquitted, of *maiestas*, A.D. 26 (vi. 9, 5), was legatus of Pannonia under Caligula; was again accused, and committed suicide.

³ Poppaeus Sabinus was grandfather of the celebrated Poppaea, wife of Nero. He was cos. A.D. 9; was appointed to the great imperial province of Moesia by Augustus, probably in A.D. 11; and was continued in that post by Tiberius, with the addition of Achaia and Macedonia. Tacitus quotes him as an example of Tiberius' preference for competent mediocrities: he kept Poppaeus in command of great provinces for 24 years *quod par negotiis neque supra erat* (vi. 39, 3). On the difficulties in the way of supposing that Poppaeus was in command of Moesia for so long as 24 years, see Furn.'s note on the above passage.

⁴ See n. on iii. 42, 1.

they had gathered their parents and their wives ; and threatened a harassing, arduous and sanguinary war.

Sabinus takes the field, and besieges their stronghold.

To this message Sabinus, waiting to collect his 47
forces, returned a gentle answer ; but no sooner was he joined by Pomponius Labeo with a legion from Moesia, and by King Rhoemetalces with his native auxiliaries, who had remained true to Rome, than he marched with these and his own troops against the enemy, who had taken up a position in a narrow mountain pass. Some of their number ven- 2
turing to show themselves openly on the hill-side, Sabinus attacked them in force, and dislodged them without difficulty ; but as their place of retreat was close at hand, he could inflict but little loss upon them. He then established a fortified camp upon the 3
spot, and occupied strongly a long even ridge running right up to an adjacent fort, which was defended by a strong body of the enemy, part of them fully armed, part irregulars. In the front of their lines could be seen 4
some bolder than the rest, singing and dancing after the manner of their tribe. Against these Sabinus sent a picked body of bowmen, who wounded many of the enemy without loss to themselves, so long as they 5
kept at a distance ; but advancing too close, they were routed by a sudden sally from the fort, and had to fall back upon a Sigambrian¹ cohort, placed so as to be ready in case of need, which met the barbarians with cries and clashing of arms as savage as their own.

Attack upon Roman camp by Thracians.

The camp was then moved close up to the enemy, 48
the former works² being left in charge of the Thracians whom I have mentioned³ as fighting on our side.

¹ See n. on ii. 26, 3. As in other mixed empires, it would be part of Roman policy to garrison one country with troops raised in another. Cp. the present practice of Austria ; also of

Italy, where the southern provinces are mostly garrisoned by troops from the north.

² *i.e.* the camp mentioned chap. 47, 3.

³ *i.e.* in chap. 47, 1.

2 These were permitted to ravage, burn, and plunder, provided only that their ravaging was done during the day, and that they kept careful watch over the
3 camp by night. This order at first they obeyed; but before long, giving themselves up to enjoyment, and enriched by plunder, they took to revelling and feasting, neglected to guard their outposts, and stretched themselves on the ground overcome by sleep and wine.
4 Discovering their carelessness, the enemy got ready two detachments, one of which was to attack the plundering party, while the other was to assail the camp; not indeed with any expectation of capturing it, but in the hope that the shouting and the din of arms, and care for their own safety, might so take up every man's attention, that none would hear the noise of the other engagement. To add to the terror of the
5 attack, it was to be made by night. The assault on the Roman lines was repelled with ease; but the Thracian auxiliaries, some of whom were lying along the ramparts, while many were wandering about outside, were terrified by the suddenness of the onset, and were cut down without mercy: the enemy taunting them with being renegades and deserters, who had taken up arms for their own and their country's enslavement.

1 Next day Sabinus drew up his army in the open, hoping that the success of the night attack might
2 tempt the barbarians to accept battle. But when they declined to come down from the fort and the adjacent heights, he began a regular siege, establishing fortified posts in suitable positions, and connecting these by a ditch and palisade embracing a circuit of four miles. Drawing his lines gradually closer and closer in, so as to cut off the enemy's supplies of water and

Siege of
Thracian
fort.

forage, he built up also a high mound, from which stones, spears, and firebrands might be hurled against the enemy, now within easy reach. What distressed the garrison most was want of water; the whole multitude of fighting men and non-combatants had but one spring left. The horses and cattle, according to barbarian fashion,¹ had been shut up along with them, and were dying for want of fodder; alongside lay the bodies of those who had died of their wounds, or for want of water; all was foul with stench, rottenness, and contagion.

Dissen-
sions
among the
besieged.

To crown their misfortunes, dissension broke out in their ranks. One party was for surrender; another proposed that they should die by each other's hands; others again that they should make a dash for it, and sell their lives dearly. This last proposal was opposed, not only by the common sort, but also by an aged chief of the name of Dinis, who had learned from long experience the power and the generosity of Rome. *In their present plight, he said, there was no help for it but to lay down their arms.* He set the example himself by surrendering with his wife and children to the conquerors; all who were of feeble age or sex, or who preferred life to honour, did the same.

The younger men were divided between the counsels of Tarsa and Turesis. Both were resolved not to survive their liberty; but Tarsa wished to make short work of it, and crying out that they should be done with hope and fear alike, showed the way by plunging a sword into his own breast. Many followed his example. Turesis, with his followers,

¹ Professor Lanciani shows how in early Italian towns, such as Antemnae, and the first settlement on the Palatine, space was included inside the walls for the cattle, which were driven in from

their pastures at night. Each family was provided with an *agellus* and a sheepfold ('Ruins and Excavations,' pp. 112, 113).

waited for the fall of night. Aware of his designs, the
 6 Roman General strengthened his pickets. The night
 came on black and stormy : raising wild cries at one
 moment, keeping absolute silence at another, the enemy
 threw the besiegers into perplexity. Sabinus went
 round warning his men not to allow confused noises,
 or a craftily preserved silence,¹ to afford opportunity
 for a surprise :—*Every man was to stand unflinchingly
 to his post, and abstain from aimless discharge of missiles.*

1 By this time the barbarians were trooping down
 the slope. They assailed the entrenchments with such
 stones as they could lift, with stakes burnt at the tip,
 and with trunks of trees. Some filled up the fosse
 with faggots, hurdles, and dead bodies ; others, bring-
 ing up gangways and ladders which they had ready,
 laid them against the breastwork, clutched hold of it,
 tore it down, and engaged in a hand-to-hand fight
 2 with the defenders. Our men drove the enemy off
 with missiles, shoved them back with their shields,
 and hurled down upon them ponderous siege javelins,
 or showers of heavy stones. The one side were
 spurred on by victory already won, or by shame
 at the thought of yielding ; the other drew fresh
 courage from the extremity of their peril, and the
 3 cries of wives and mothers standing by. The dark-
 ness which emboldened the one party was a terror
 to the other ; blows fell at random, wounds came none
 knew whence, none could tell friend from foe : and such
 was the confusion wrought by an echo which carried
 what seemed to be the sound of voices from behind,
 that the Romans abandoned one part of their defences,
 4 believing that they had been forced. But only a very

Desperate
 night
 attack
 upon the
 Roman
 entrench-
 ments :

¹ The words *simulationem quietis* are untranslatable, because the idea is strained and false. The 'silence' could

not be 'simulated,' though the attacking force might keep silence to conceal its numbers or its presence.

It is
repelled,
and the
Thracian
fort
captured.

few of the enemy found their way in, after all. The boldest were all killed or wounded; the remainder were driven back at daybreak into their hill-fort, and compelled at last to surrender. The inhabitants of the neighbouring districts submitted voluntarily; but the severe and early winter which set in upon Mount Haemus made it impossible to reduce the remainder either by assault or siege.

Accusation
of Claudia
Pulchra.

Meantime at Rome, in the disturbed condition of the Imperial house, the way was prepared for the future ruin of Agrippina by the prosecution of her cousin¹ Claudia Pulchra. Her accuser was Domitius Afer, who had been Praetor not long before, a man held in little esteem, and ready to commit any kind of crime in his hurry for distinction. The charge was that of adultery with Furnius, and of having attempted the Emperor's life by poison and incantations. Always hot-headed, Agrippina was infuriated by the peril of her kinswoman, and went straight to Tiberius. She found him in the act of sacrificing to his father; and making this the text for her reproaches, she proceeded in this wise:—

Indigna-
tion of
Agrippina.

It was not of a piece, she said, to be slaughtering victims to the Divine Augustus, and to be at the same time persecuting his descendants. That divine spirit had not passed into dumb images; she was his true image, born of his divine blood: and yet she now found herself menaced, and had to take to herself the garb of a suppliant. It was idle to make a pretext of Pulchra; Pulchra's one and only crime was that she had attached herself, poor fool! to Agrippina, forgetting how Sosia² had been struck down for a like offence.

¹ This relationship is not clearly made out; but Claudia Pulchra is supposed to have been daughter of Marcella

major, daughter of Octavia.

² See chap. 19, 1.

6 These words had the rare effect of drawing a retort from that close-locked breast. Interrupting her with a Greek quotation, Tiberius reminded her that *it was no grievance that she did not reign*.¹ Pulchra
7 and Furnius were condemned. The ability displayed by Afer in this persecution, followed by the remark of Tiberius that *Afer was a born orator*, placed him in
8 the front rank of public speakers; and from that time forward he enjoyed a high reputation as an advocate, whether in accusation or defence. For his character, he was less esteemed; and in extreme old age, he lost much of his eloquence also. For though his powers failed him, he was unable to resign himself to silence.²

Pulchra
con-
demned.

Distinction
of her
accuser
Domitius
Afer.

3. 1 But Agrippina abated nothing of her resentment. When Tiberius came to see her, on the occasion of some illness,³ she received him with an outburst of tears, and for a time said nothing; then beginning in a tone of mixed entreaty and reproach, she implored him to take pity on her lonely state, and find a husband for her. *She was still young and active*, she said, *and an honest woman could find no comfort save in marriage. There were plenty of men in Rome who would deem it an honour to take to their homes the wife and children of*
2 *Germanicus*. Tiberius saw all the significance of such a demand; but not wishing to evince either resentment

Agrippina
implores
Tiberius to
let her
marry.

¹ Suetonius tells this same story, Tib. 53. The words he puts into the emperor's mouth are *Si non dominaris, filiola, iniuriam te accipere existimas*.

² Whatever use Domitius Afer may have made of his talents, he was regarded as one of the first orators of his time. Quintilian says of him, *Eorum (sc. oratorum) quos viderim, Domitius Afer et Iulius Africanus longe praestantissimi: verborum arte ille et toto genere dicendi praeferendus, et quem in numero veterum habere non timeas* (Inst. x. 1, 118). Like Tacitus, Quint. also attributes to him the foible of the Arch-

bishop of Toledo: *vidi — summum oratorem Domitium Afrum valde senem quotidie aliquid ex ea quam meruerat auctoritate perdentem*; the man who had been once without dispute *princeps fori*, came to be laughed at and blushed for: people said of him *malle eum deficere quam desinere* (Inst. xii. 11, 3).

³ The phrase here used—*morbo corporis implicata*—is one of the few distinctly pedantic phrases used by Tacitus. It merely means that she was unwell; or perhaps confined to the house. Cp. *lento veneno illigaret* (vi. 32, 3).

or apprehension, he left her without an answer, in spite of her importunity. This anecdote, which is not related by the historians, I have found in the memoirs¹ of Agrippina the younger, the mother of Nero, who left behind her a record of her own life and of the fortunes of her family.

Taking advantage of Agrippina's distress, and her unsuspecting nature, Sejanus now dealt her a more deadly blow, by sending emissaries to warn her, as if in friendship, to beware of poison; and to avoid eating in her father-in-law's house. Incapable of dissimulation, she put on a face of stone as she reclined next to the Emperor at table: saying nothing, and tasting nothing. Tiberius at last noticed it; perhaps his attention was directed to it. To bring the matter to a point, he commended some apples which happened to be on the table; and with his own hand offered them to his daughter-in-law. This confirmed her suspicions; she passed on the apples untasted to the attendants.² Tiberius said nothing before the company; but turning to his mother, he remarked that *no one could wonder if he were to take strong measures against one who insinuated that he was a*

Sejanus craftily bids her beware of poison:

she shows her suspicious at Tiberius' own table.

¹ This reference is of great importance. It is one of the two sources of information specifically named by Tacitus in Ann. i.-vi.: the other being C. Plinius, historian of the German wars (i. 69, 3). It would be impossible to imagine a more prejudiced and poisoned source of information than the memoirs of such a woman as Nero's mother, compiled for publication (*suorum posteris*). They would probably contain every piece of foul court scandal, exaggerated and twisted to suit the temporary purposes of perhaps the most ambitious and conscienceless woman of the early imperial times. See Furn. Introd. p. 10, foll. Plin. quotes these same memoirs (H. N. vii. 8, 6). Mr. Tarver, in 'Tiberius the Tyrant,' makes too much of this reference.

He founds upon it the theory that diaries like that of Agrippina, compiled by malignant enemies of Tiberius, were the main authorities used by Tacitus for Annals i.-vi. A different view may be taken. The pointed and exceptional reference to Agrippina's memoirs may be regarded as a proof that Tacitus did not as a rule use evidence of that kind. The incident strikes him as natural and probable, and he therefore mentions it; but as it is not recorded by the annalists whom he usually follows, he gives us his authority, that we may take the story for what it is worth.

² Suetonius tells the same story, adding that Tiberius never invited Agrippina to his table again.

4 *poisoner*. Hence a rumour got afloat that her death was resolved upon; but that Tiberius, not venturing to do the deed openly, was casting about for some secret mode of accomplishing it.

5. 1 Meanwhile, to divert public talk, Tiberius attended regularly in the Senate, and listened for several days to deputations from Asia disputing in which city the temple vowed to him should be built. The contest lay between eleven cities of various degrees of importance, all equally anxious for the distinction. The claims were all of a similar kind, based on the antiquity of the cities, or on the services which they had rendered to the Roman people during the wars with Perseus,¹ 2 Aristonicus² and other kings. The towns of Hypaepa,³ Tralles, Laodiceia, and Magnesia,⁴ were at once passed over as too insignificant; even the people of Ilium,⁵ though they could point to Troy as the mother-city of Rome, had nothing to show beyond their illustrious 3 antiquity. Some attention was given to the Halicarnassians,⁶ because they asserted that their city had not

Contest between various Asian cities for the honour of building the temple to Tiberius.

¹ Perses or Perseus, the last king of Macedon, B.C. 178 to 168, was finally defeated at Pydna in the latter year by L. Aemilius Paulus. He ended his days in captivity at Alba.

² Aristonicus, brother of Attalus III. of Pergamum who left his kingdom to the Romans B.C. 133, was a natural son of Eumenes II.; Aristonicus disputed the gift, but after some successes he was defeated and taken prisoner by M. Perperna, B.C. 130, and put to death in Rome in the year following.

³ Hypaepa was in Lydia, on the S. slope of Mt. Tmolus, near the N. bank of the Cayster. Tralles was in Lydia also, on a plateau at the foot of Mt. Messogis, on the Endon, a tributary of the Maeander. Laodicea ad Lycum was one of six Greek cities of the same name in Asia—four of them founded by Seleucus I. (*Nicator*) and called after his mother Laodice. It stood on the river Lycus, a tributary of the Maeander, on the borders of Lydia, Caria, and Phrygia. It was founded by Antiochus

II. (*Theos*). Though often destroyed by earthquakes, its situation on the main trade route from Smyrna and Ephesus to the East made it an important commercial centre.

⁴ Magnesia ad Maeandrum is probably meant, not M. ad Sipylum: see ii. 47, 4, and iii. 62, 1.

⁵ The Ilium here mentioned was the Greek Novum Ilium, an Aetolian foundation at Hissarlik, the last of the several cities built (according to Dr. Schliemann and modern archaeologists) upon the site of ancient Troy. Almost destroyed by Fimbria, B.C. 85, it had been restored by Sulla, and was made a free city, exempt from taxes.

⁶ In the SW. of Caria, opposite to the island Cos; famed as the birth-place of Herodotus and Dionysius the historian, and for its magnificent tomb to King Mausolus—whence the word *mausoleum*. Some fragments of the sculptures are in the British Museum. The city had been destroyed by Alexander.

been shaken by an earthquake for 1200¹ years, and that the foundations of the temple would be laid on the live rock. The people of Pergamum,² it was thought, were favoured enough already in having the temple of Augustus in their city; though that was the very ground on which they based their claim. The Ephesians³ and Milesians⁴ were held to be sufficiently occupied with the worship of Diana and Apollo respectively.

In the end, the discussion lay between the cities of Sardis⁵ and Smyrna. The Sardians quoted an Etruscan document⁶ as a proof of kinship: their story being that Tyrrhenus and Lydus, the sons of Atys, had divided the nation into two, because of its great numbers; that Lydus had remained with one part in his father's country, while Tyrrhenus had been sent forth to found a new settlement with the other.⁷ The two nations, one in Asia, the other in Italy, had been

The con-
test lies
finally
between
Sardis and
Smyrna:

¹ *i.e.* since the supposed date of its foundation by the Dorians. The city originally was one of the Dorian Hexapolis.

² See n. on iii. 63, 3.

³ Ephesus, on the S. of the Cayster, was chief of the original twelve cities founded by the Ionian migration. Under the Romans it became the main seat of government of the province of Asia, and its most important city, though Pergamum was nominally the capital. All are familiar with the worship of 'Diana of the Ephesians.'

⁴ Miletus in Caria, on the Maeander, the most southerly of the twelve Ionian cities; it was famous as the birthplace of the early philosophers Thales, Anaximander and Anaximenes.

⁵ Sardis, or Sardes, the famous capital of the Lydian monarchy which ended with Croesus, was on the Pactolus, to the N. of Mt. Tmolus. Herodotus relates how it was at last taken by surprise by Cyrus.

⁶ This account of the origin of that mysterious people the Etruscans, first found in Herod. i. 94, repeated here, and referred to by other ancient histo-

rians (Dion. Hal. i. 27; Strab. v. 2, 2), has given rise to much speculation. The remains of Etruscan art suggest for them an Oriental origin; but their language has never been satisfactorily deciphered, and the problem still awaits solution. Some facts—especially the existence of an Etruscan dominion in the valley of the Po—point to the governing clan *Rasena* having come down from Rhaetia in the N.; on which view it has been conjectured that the conquering *Rasena* may have found a Graeco-Oriental population more civilised than themselves in occupation of Middle Italy, amongst whom they settled as conquerors, adopting their language and religion. The mythical dynasty of the Atyadae ended, according to tradition, about B.C. 1221. In any case, it is recognised that the remains of Etruscan art point to an Eastern origin: see Deecke's edition of C. Karl Olfried Müller's *Die Etrusken*, vol. i. p. 73.

⁷ *i.e.* no doubt the old league of the twelve cities of Etruria before they were conquered by Rome.

called after these two leaders; and the Lydians had still further extended their power by sending out settlers to that part of Greece which soon afterwards took its name from Pelops.¹ They referred also to charters given them by our generals, to treaties made with us during the Macedonian war, and dwelt upon the richness of their rivers,² the mildness of their climate, and the fertility of the land around their city.

On the other side, the Smyrnaean³ envoys, after recounting the antiquity of their origin—whether their founder were Tantalus son of Jupiter, or Theseus, also of divine origin, or one of the Amazons—passed on to the point on which they placed most reliance, the services which they had rendered to the Roman people by furnishing them with naval help, not only for wars abroad,⁴ but in Italy also.⁵ They had been the first also to erect a temple to the Roman people, in the Consulship of Marcus Porcius,⁶ at a time when the power of Rome, though no doubt already great, had not yet reached its height; when Carthage was yet standing, and there were still powerful kings in Asia. They produced also the testimony of Lucius Sulla, to the effect that when his army was in the greatest distress from cold and want of clothing,⁷ no

¹ The Sardians thus claimed Pelops as a Lydian, as does Pindar, *Ol. i.* 37. Others make him a Phrygian.

² *i.e.* the Pactolus and the Hermus, which two rivers unite thirty stadia N. of the city.

³ Smyrna occupied the most favoured site in Asia Minor; halfway up the W. coast, in the centre of the Greek cities, at the mouth of the rich valley of the Hermus, and with a spacious and safe harbour under its walls. Sole survivor of the Greek cities on that coast, it remains to-day, as it was in ancient times, the great emporium for the trade between East and West, while Ephesus, its ancient rival, has fallen into total decay.

⁴ Livy specially mentions the services

of Smyrna in the war with Antiochus, B.C. 191-188, xxxvii. 16, 1; xxxviii. 39, 11.

⁵ *i.e.* in the social war, B.C. 91, 90. Among the preparations made by Rome to resist the Italians was the collecting of a fleet from cities in Greece and Asia Minor. A decree of the senate of B.C. 78 is still extant bestowing rewards on sea-captains from Asia Minor for services in this war (*Momm.*, vol. iii. p. 507).

⁶ M. Porcius Cato the Censor, Cos. B.C. 195.

⁷ *i.e.* in the first Mithradatic War: probably in B.C. 84, when Sulla, having driven Mithradates out of Greece, was crossing over into Asia, and when the

sooner had this fact been made known at a public meeting in Smyrna, than all present stripped the clothes off their backs, and sent them to our legions.

Smyrna preferred.

So when the question was put to the vote, the Senate gave the preference to the Smyrneans. Vibius Marsus moved that a supernumerary Legate¹ should be attached to Manius Lepidus,² the Governor of the province,³ to take charge of the work; ⁴ and as Lepidus, ⁴ out of modesty, declined to make the choice himself, an ex-Praetor of the name of Valerius Naso⁵ was chosen by lot, and sent out.

Tiberius retires into Campania.

And now, at last, Tiberius carried out the project so long entertained, so continually deferred, of retiring into Campania. He made a pretext of dedicating a temple to Jupiter at Capua, and another to Augustus at Nola; ⁶ but, in reality, he had made up his mind to live away from Rome. Now although following the authority of most writers, I have asserted⁷ that his retirement was brought about by the machinations of Sejanus, yet seeing that he continued to live in equal seclusion for six years after Sejanus was put to death, I am more inclined to believe that the idea was his own: his object being to find some place in which he might carry on his cruelties and debaucheries unobserved.⁸ Some thought that he had become ashamed

Probable motives for this step.

The idea was his own.

cruelties of that monarch were turning the Greek cities of Asia against him.

¹ The proconsuls of Asia and Africa were entitled to have three legates each (Dio, liii. 14, 7).

² See n. on iii. 32, 2.

³ *i.e.* the province of Asia, which it will be remembered included only the countries on the W. seaboard of what we call Asia Minor.

⁴ The temple is figured on one of the coins of Smyrna, with Tiberius inside, and the inscription *Σεβαστὸς Τιβέριος* on the obverse.

⁵ Valerius Naso would be sent out as *praefectus fabrum*, or 'master of

works' to Lepidus. In earlier times that office was purely military, the *praefectus* being commander of the section of engineers attached to the legion.

⁶ This temple was built on the site of the house in Nola in which Augustus had died.

⁷ See chap. 41, 2 and 3.

⁸ This, perhaps, is the most cruel and least-vouched-for of all the insinuations of Tacitus. That Tiberius was accustomed *recondere voluptates*, *i.e.* to practise debauch in secret, is probably nothing more than a malignant inference from the fact of his retired and secluded life. The scandal-mongers of

of his personal appearance in his old age. For his figure, though tall, was stooping and ungainly; he was bald on the top of his head; his face was covered with blotches, and usually patched with medicaments.¹

4 He had led a similar life at Rhodes, avoiding company, and keeping his pleasures out of sight. Others said that he had been driven away by his mother's imperious temper: he could neither shake her off, nor endure to share his power with her, though that power
5 had come to him as her gift. For when Augustus had thought of bestowing the Empire on Germanicus, who was his own grandson, and universally beloved, he was won over by his wife's entreaties to adopt Tiberius himself, and make Tiberius adopt Germanicus. Augusta was for ever casting this in his teeth, and demanding of him repayment.²

3. 1 He set out with a meagre train of attendants. There was one senator of consular rank among them, Cocceius Nerva,³ well versed in the law; and besides

His
retinue.

the day, unable either to lift the veil which screened Tiberius' private life, or to penetrate into the causes of his retirement, revenged themselves by asserting as a fact their foulest imaginings. Suetonius revels in detailing the worst stories in regard to the life of Tiberius at Capri, but he makes no such charges in regard to his life at Rhodes; indeed, the account he gives of his mode of living there is inconsistent with their truth. Yet both here, and in i. 4, 4, Tacitus assumes that his life was equally evil in both places. If this were so, why do we hear nothing, from either historian, of similar foul living during the long intervening period in Rome? The fact, doubtless, is that the seclusion of Tiberius during his later years was un-Roman, hateful and unintelligible to the Roman mind; and his contemporaries put the worst possible construction upon it.

¹ The well-known statue of Tiberius in the Vatican has every mark of personal beauty and dignity about it; and it would appear to have been a faithful likeness. Suetonius gives a

similar account (Tib. 68). He tells us that Tiberius was tall, broad in the chest, and well-proportioned in all his limbs; he stooped in walking, and carried his neck stiffly; he was fair, with hair long behind—a family characteristic; and his face was handsome, subject however to occasional eruptions. But there is an unmistakable look of evil temper upon the coin figured on the outside of this volume, as well as in the bust of Tiberius in the British Museum, No 5 among the portraits of Roman emperors.

² So Suet. Tib. 50, *matrem Liviam gravatus, velut partes sibi aequas potentiae vindicantem*; and Dio lvii. 12: *καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὐκ ἴσον ἐξ ἴσου οἱ ἄρχειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρῶσβεύειν αὐτοῦ ἠθέλε.* Both Furn.³ and Tarver suspect that the stories of the quarrels and jealousy between Livia and Tiberius may have been largely taken from the memoirs of Agrippina (see chap. 53, 3).

³ Grandfather of the emperor Nerva. He had been consul some years before, in 24 A.D., and from that time onwards was *curator aquarum*, a post of high

Sejanus, there was one knight of distinction, Curtius Atticus.¹ The rest were men of letters, mostly Greeks, who were to entertain Tiberius with their conversation.² Those learned in the stars reported that he had left Rome under a conjunction of the heavenly bodies which precluded his return : a prophecy which proved fatal to many who took up and spread abroad the inference that the Emperor's end was near at hand. For how could they foresee anything so incredible as that he should of his own free will absent himself from his country for eleven whole years? Time shewed how narrow is the dividing line between science and imposture : how obscure the veil which envelopes truth. That Tiberius would never return to Rome, was no random pronouncement ;³ but the rest they knew not—that he would live on, till extreme old age, in country or seaside places close at hand, sometimes even sojourning under the very walls of the city.

About this time an accident happened to Tiberius which added strength to idle rumours, and gave him cause for increased confidence in the loyalty and staunchness of Sejanus. They were dining at a villa called Spelunca, situated between the sea at Amyncloe and the hills of Fundi, inside a natural cave. All of a sudden, the mouth of the cave fell in ; stones poured down and crushed some of the attendants ;⁴ a general panic ensued, and the guests fled. Throwing himself

importance. His death is described in vi. 26.

¹ Put to death on the accusation of Sejanus, as we learn vi. 10, 2.

² Suetonius says of Tiberius *artes liberales utriusque generis (i.e. both in Latin and Greek) studiosissime coluit* (Tib. 70) ; that he wrote Greek poems, and amused himself by putting recondite mythological questions to the learned men about him.

³ Thus Tacitus believed in the prophecy ; all that was wrong was the

interpretation of it. See vi. 22, 5 and 6.

⁴ See Suet. Tib. 39 : *multisque convivarum et ministrorum elisis praeter spem evasit*. The fact that Suetonius mentions, in close connection with one another, the three circumstances, (1) the retreat into Campania ; (2) the mistaken expectation that Tiberius' end was near ; and (3) the accident recorded in this chap., just as Tacitus does, is an indication that both borrowed from a common source.

Prognostications from the stars.

Accident to Tiberius averted by Sejanus.

above the Emperor's person on his knees, hands, and face, Sejanus warded off the falling stones; and in this position he was found by the soldiers who came to the rescue. This incident increased his importance; however sinister the advice he gave, he was now listened to with confidence, as one who took
 5 no thought for himself. He affected also a judicial attitude towards the children of Germanicus, suborning persons to play the part of accusers, especially of Nero, who stood next in the succession. The youth was well enough behaved, yet he too often forgot the prudence which circumstances demanded; while his freedmen and clients, hurrying to get power into their hands, kept urging him to show a bold and confident front. *That was what the people wanted, they would say, and what the army desired; Sejanus would not dare to move a hand against him, though he could now play alike upon the long-suffering of the old man, and the supineness of the young one.*

Increased importance of Sejanus: he schemes against Nero.

1 In answer to remarks like these, though not meaning any harm, Nero would let fall petulant and thoughtless remarks, which were caught up by men set to watch him, and reported with exaggerations to Tiberius. The young man was given no opportunity of defence; and he was subjected to various dis-
 2 quieting mortifications. One man would avoid meeting him; another would return his salute, and then turn his back on him; others would begin a conversation with him, and then break it off, while any supporters of Sejanus who might be present would stand by and
 3 sneer. And Tiberius would look grimly on, or with a false smile upon his face: for whether the young man spoke or held his peace, his silence and his
 4 speech alike were construed into an offence. Night

Nero subjected to humiliations;

itself brought him no security; for his waking, his sleeping, his very sighs, were reported by his wife¹ to her mother Livia, and by her communicated to Sejanus. Sejanus even drew Drusus, the brother of Nero, into his plans; holding out to him hopes of the first place if his elder brother, already so much out of favour, were put out of the way. For Drusus had an ugly temper; it was not only a longing for power that incited him, and the hatred usual between brothers, but also jealousy at his mother's partiality for Nero. Yet even in encouraging Drusus, Sejanus plotted how to sow the seeds of his future ruin; for he knew how hot-tempered he was, how fit a subject for treacherous designs.

Two men of distinction died at the close of the year, Asinius Agrippa² and Quintus³ Haterius. The former came of an illustrious, rather than an ancient, family, of which his life was not unworthy; the latter belonged to a senatorial house, and had a high repute for eloquence during his life-time. His reputation, however, has not been sustained by the works which he left behind him. For his successes were due to natural impetuosity,⁴ rather than to careful study; and whereas other orators, by dint of thought and labour, have held their own with posterity, the sonorous and fluent eloquence of Haterius perished with him.

¹ Julia, daughter of Drusus and Livia (iii. 29, 4). She married afterwards C. Rubellius Blandus (vi. 27, 1). Tacitus evidently means to insinuate that she acted as an accomplice to her mother.

² Asinius Agrippa was cos. A.D. 25 (chap. 34, 1). He was one of the sons of Asinius Gallus and Vipsania.

³ For Q. Haterius see i. 13, 4; ii. 33, 1; iii. 57, 3.

⁴ Seneca says his rapidity was such that Augustus used to say, *Haterius noster sufflaminandus est* — 'should have the drag put on him' (Exc. Contr., B. 4, pref. § 7).

even his brother Drusus is lured to league against him.

Deaths of Asinius Agrippa and Q. Haterius.

A.D. 27. CONSULS M. LICINIUS CRASSUS¹ FRUGI AND
L. CALPURNIUS PISO.

1 In this year a sudden accident caused a loss of life
equal to that of some great battle. The calamity
2 began and ended in a moment. A certain Atilius, a
freedman, had put up an amphitheatre at Fidena² for
the purpose of a gladiatorial exhibition; but he had
neither made the foundations sure, nor firmly knitted
together the wooden superstructure, being a man who
had undertaken the business, not from abundance of
means, or to win favour among his townsmen, but
3 merely for sordid gain. Lovers of such shows, of
both sexes and of every age, poured in: debarred from
such pleasures under Tiberius,³ they flocked thither in
all the greater numbers that the place was so near to
Rome. Hence the magnitude of the disaster that
followed. For when the huge fabric was densely
packed, it suddenly collapsed, part falling inwards,
part outwards, carrying headlong with it, or over-
whelming, a vast number of persons who were
absorbed in watching the games, or were standing
4 around. Those killed outright at the first, bad as
5 their case was, escaped further suffering; more pitiable
was the lot of those who, with limbs torn off, were still
alive, recognising wife or children by their faces, so

Accident
to the
amphi-
theatre at
Fidena.

¹ Nipp. supposes M. Licinius to have been the younger of the two Pisos addressed in the *Ars Poetica* (see n. on chap. 45, 1), adopted by a Licinius; L. Calpurnius to have been the son of the Cn. Piso who was compelled to change his praenomen (iii. 17, 8).

² Fidena, more usually in the plural form *Fidenaë*, was an ancient Sabine town five miles from Rome, on the *Via Salaria*, close to the fine hill on the left bank of the Tiber which forms such a landmark in the scenery near

Rome, and on which the modern *Castel Giubileo* stands.

³ Tiberius hated games of all kinds (i. 54, 3: 76, 6); so did Cicero, who speaks of the necessity of having to attend such shows, for popularity's sake, as one of the greatest bores of life. See *ad Fam.* vii. 1, where he heartily congratulates his friend Marius on his good fortune in escaping from the weariness, the triviality, and the cruelty of the great games exhibited by Pompey, B.C. 55.

long as daylight lasted, by their cries and lamentations when night came on. The news brought many to the spot, to find brother, or neighbour, or parents, to lament. Even those whose friends and relatives had left their homes for other reasons, were in terror all the same; and so long as the victims remained unidentified, doubt doubled the alarm.

Terrible
loss of life.

As soon as the removal of the *débris* began, people rushed upon the dead bodies, kissing and embracing them; and many a dispute took place over some unrecognisable face, if similarity of age or form suggested a mistaken identification. No less than fifty thousand¹ people were either maimed or crushed to death in this disaster. The Senate passed a decree providing that in future no one should be allowed to exhibit gladiatorial games unless he were possessed of at least 400,000 sesterces, or to erect an amphitheatre except on ground of certified solidity. Atilius was sentenced to exile. Immediately after the accident, nobles threw open their houses, providing the injured with medical help and appliances. Plunged in mourning as it was, the appearance of the city during those days recalled the good old times of our forefathers, who after some great battle would give bountiful and kindly aid to the wounded.²

Measures
passed by
the Senate.

Relief
afforded by
the nobles.

Fire on the
Caelian
Hill.

Scarcely had this calamity passed out of mind, when the city was visited by a fire of extraordinary fury, which destroyed the whole Caelian quarter.³

¹ An absurd exaggeration, which warns us not to trust much in such cases to numbers as given by Roman historians. Suet. Tib. 40 puts the number at 20,000. That a temporary structure in a country village could have held 50,000 spectators, or even 20,000, is incredible. The Coliseum itself, formerly believed capable of holding 98,000, is now calculated to have had room for only half that number. The exaggeration of numbers in Livy's early books is

notorious. For similar exaggerations of numbers in mediæval times, see Sir J.H. Ramsay's 'Angevin Empire,' Pref. p. vi.

² See Liv. ii. 47, 12.

³ Rome was continually suffering from fires, and the great temples were being continually rebuilt in consequence. See Fried. i. p. 25, foll. In vi. 45, 1 we hear of a fire destroying the whole Aventine; on which occasion the emperor showed a generosity as great as on the present occasion.

Men called it an ill-fated year; and the multitude, with their usual habit of finding some one to blame for every chance occurrence, pretended that the Emperor's design of living away from the city had been entered upon against the auspices—a feeling which Tiberius counteracted by distributing money among the sufferers, in proportion to each man's loss.

Generosity
of the
Emperor.

2 For this he was thanked in the Senate by its most distinguished members; he gained much popular good-will also by distributing his bounty without respect of persons, not waiting for petitions from relatives, but even inviting applications from persons unknown to himself.

3 It was further proposed that the Caelian hill should in future be called 'Mons Augustus,' because a statue of Tiberius in the house of a senator Junius had remained uninjured when everything around it was
4 in flames. *The same thing, it was said, had happened to Claudia Quinta,¹ whose statue, dedicated by our fathers in the temple of the Mother of the Gods, had twice escaped*
5 *the flames. The Claudii must be a holy race, well-pleasing to the Gods; some special mark of sanctity should be attached to a spot in which they had shewn to the Emperor so signal a mark of favour.*

1 It may not be out of place to mention here that originally the Caelian hill was known by the name of Querquetulanus, because of the number of oak trees which flourished there; and that it was called Caelian after Caeles Vibenna,² an Etruscan Prince, who, having

Origin of
the name
'Caelian.'

¹ In the year B.C. 204, the vessel conveying the image of Cybele from Pessinus in Phrygia to Rome stuck fast on a shoal in the Tiber. The matron Claudia proved her purity by hauling it off by a rope (Liv. xxix. 14; Ov. Fast. iv. 305 foll.). Hence her statue was set up in the temple of the *Mater Deum* (Cybele).

² The legend here followed agrees with that given in the speech of Claudius (Tab. Lug. i. 17), who makes Servius Tullius (or Mastarna) a follower of Caeles, or Caelius, who migrated to Rome, and called the hill after his old chief. According to another version, Caeles helped Romulus against Tatius (Varro. L.L. v. 46; Dion. Hal. ii. 36).

come to the aid of Rome, was allowed to settle on that hill by Tarquinius Priscus, or one of the other kings; for on that point historians are at issue. It is beyond doubt, however, that the strangers settled there in large numbers, occupying also the level ground adjacent to the Forum, whence the Vicus Tuscus took its name.

Accusation of Varus Quintilius by Domitius Afer and Dolabella.

But while public calamities were thus alleviated by the kindness of the nobles and the munificence of the Emperor, the host of accusers, increasing in numbers and hardihood day by day, relentlessly pursued their way. Varus Quintilius,¹ a man of wealth, and related to the Emperor, was laid hold of by Domitius Afer—the same who had procured the condemnation of Claudia Pulchra, the mother of Varus, not long before. None wondered that one who had been long in want, and had mis-spent his recently-gotten gains, should be girding himself for fresh infamies; but that Dolabella should have associated himself with the prosecution was deemed a marvel. For Dolabella came of a noble house, and was himself connected with Varus; so that he was compassing the ruin of his own caste, and of his own flesh and blood. The Senate, however, stayed proceedings till the Emperor's return—sole mode of escape for the moment from impending calamities.

Tiberius takes up his abode at Capri.

Tiberius, meanwhile, had dedicated the temples in Campania; but though he had issued an edict prohibiting any intrusion on his privacy, and had soldiers

Varro adds that the Etruscan settlers were brought down to the Vicus Tuscus, in the depression between the Palatine and the Capitol, because their position on the Caelian was too menacing.

¹ This Varus Quintilius was a friend of the house of Germanicus. Seneca speaks of his being betrothed to one of the daughters of Germanicus (Cont. iii. 10). The relationship to Tiberius was probably through his mother (see chap.

52, 1). Tacitus mentions the fact in order to heighten the odium of the accusation.

² See n. on iii. 47, 4. Other instances of Dolabella's sycophancy are given in that passage, in iii. 69, 1; see also xi. 22, 3 and 10. His relationship to Varus is not known: probably it was through Claudia Pulchra (chap. 52, 1).

³ See chap. 57, 1.

posted to prevent gatherings of townfolk, he took such an aversion¹ to all towns, municipal or colonial, and indeed to all places on the mainland, that he buried himself in Capreae, an island separated from the promontory of Surrentum by a strait three miles
 2 in width. The solitude of the island, I believe, was its main attraction for him; it possesses no harbours, and few places of refuge even for small vessels; no
 3 one could land there unobserved by sentinels. Under shelter of a mountain which keeps off cold winds, the climate is mild in winter; in summer, its western exposure, with open sea all round, makes it a charming residence.² In front lies what was the most beautiful of all bays, before the burning of Mount Vesuvius
 4 changed the aspect of the scene. Tradition has it that those parts were occupied by Greeks, Capreae being
 5 inhabited by the Teleboi. It was here that Tiberius now took up his abode, establishing himself in twelve spacious villas,³ each with a name of its own, and abandoning himself to a life of secret debauch and vicious leisure⁴ as entirely as he had hitherto devoted himself to public affairs. His temper⁵ was as suspicious as ever, ready to believe anything: a temper which Sejanus used to encourage even before

Description
of the
island.

¹ These words imply a morbid shrinking from public view which would account for the retirement to Capri without calling for the grosser insinuations made in chap. 57. 3.

² Tacitus' description of the island is excellent. It lies E. and W.; it is cut in two by a depression in the middle, and rises into high bluffs at either end. The higher of the two is at the E. end, towards Sorrento: here are the so-called remains of the villa of Tiberius.

³ One was called *Villa Iovis* (Suet. 65). Tiberius had no taste for extravagant building (vi. 45, 2); and the meaning probably is that he united in some way and adapted to his use twelve previously existing villas.

⁴ After his wont, Tacitus assumes as a fact a charge which has been made more or less conjecturally before (chap. 57, 2 and i. 4, 4).

⁵ The use of *quippe*, introduced at the beginning of this sentence, betrays animus on the part of Tacitus. What follows (*suspicionum et credendi temeritas*) in no way justifies the preceding charges of *occultiores luxus* and *malum otium*. Nor can the word, as Furn. suggests, apply only to *malum*: the exercise of a suspicious vindictive spirit would be inconsistent with *otium* of any kind, good or bad. The known cruelty of Tiberius would seem to be enough to make Tacitus believe him guilty of all other vices.

Agrippina
and Nero
watched.

he left Rome, and on which he now worked more sedulously than ever. He now made no secret¹ of his designs against Agrippina and Nero; soldiers were put over them to keep a regular record of their correspondence, of their visitors, of everything, open or secret, that they did; persons were even set on to advise them to fly for refuge to the German armies, or to lay hold of the statue of Augustus² in the Forum at the most crowded hour of the day, and call the people and Senate to their aid. Such counsels they treated with contempt; but they were charged with entertaining them none the less.

A.D. 28. CONSULS APP. JUNIUS SILANUS³ AND P.
SILIUS NERVA.

Accusation
of Titius
Sabinus.

This year had a bad beginning, Titius Sabinus,⁴ an illustrious Roman knight, being dragged off to prison for his devotion to Germanicus. For he had omitted no mark of respect towards his widow and children, visiting them in their home, and attending upon them in public: the one still faithful of all their former following. Having thus earned the hatred of their enemies, no less than the respect of all honest men, he was set upon by four men of praetorian rank—Latinus Latiaris, Porcius Cato, Petitus Rufus, and Marcus Opsius. All four were ambitious of the Consulship⁵

¹ In contrast to the judicial attitude which he had previously affected (chap. 59, 5).

² See n. on iii. 36, 1.

³ This Appius Junius Silanus is probably the son who was allowed to keep his maternal property when his father, C. Silanus, was condemned (iii. 68, 3). He was himself accused, A.D. 32 (vi. 9, 5); he escaped then, but was put to death under Claudius (xi. 29, 1).

⁴ Sabinus was first accused as a friend of Germanicus, A.D. 24 (chap. 18, 1); but his trial was put off for a more convenient season (chap. 19, 1). Furn. suggests that the incidents about to be related may have been spread over the four years.

⁵ The motive here assigned gives the key to many of the prosecutions of this time. Apart from any special desire to curry favour with Sejanus, every

there was no access to that office save through Sejanus : and the good-will of Sejanus was only to be gained by crime. It was arranged among them that Latiaris, who had some slight acquaintance with Sabinus, should prepare a trap for him ; that the others should be present as witnesses ; whereupon a prosecution should be undertaken. Accordingly Latiaris, after letting fall some casual observations, proceeded to commend Sabinus for his loyalty in not deserting the family in its misfortunes, as others had done, after having been their friend in prosperity ; speaking in high terms of Germanicus, with compassion of Agrippina. And when Sabinus—for men's hearts are soft in time of trouble—burst into tears and joined in his lamentations, Latiaris launched out openly against Sejanus, denouncing his cruelty, his arrogance and ambition, and not sparing Tiberius himself in his vituperation. Such conversations, dealing as they did with forbidden topics, created the semblance of a close friendship between the two ; Sabinus would now seek out Latiaris ; he became a constant visitor in his house, and confided to him all his wrongs, as to a most trusty friend.

A trap is laid for him.

The confederates named above then consulted how this sort of talk could be brought within the hearing of several persons. The place of meeting must have an appearance of secrecy : if the listeners placed themselves behind doors, there would be the risk of their being seen or heard, or of some chance suspicion being aroused. Choosing therefore a hiding-place as

and carried out by confederates.

ex-prætor was burning to gain the consulship ; as in days of yore, the necessary distinction could only be gained by oratory ; and the only field for oratory, as well as the only avenue to imperial favour, lay through conducting prosecutions in the law courts. The detest-

able story which follows shows how devoid even the noblest Romans seem to have been of the principle of personal honour as we understand it. See the case of Hortalus, ii. 37 and 38, and nn. there.

dirty as the trick itself was detestable, they hid themselves between the roof and ceiling, and applied their ears to the chinks and crevices. This done, Latiaris 4 finds Sabinus in the street; hurries him off to his house, and to his own room, as if he had some fresh news to tell; and there expatiates on the endless topic of wrongs past and present, piling on the agony with horrors yet to come. Sabinus takes up the tale, and at still greater length; for when once a grievance finds a vent, there is no keeping the torrent back.

Terror in Rome.

The conspirators delayed no longer. They wrote 5 a letter to Tiberius, telling the whole story of the stratagem, and recording their own infamy. Never 6 was Rome so agitated, so terror-stricken. Men kept their counsel even from their nearest; they avoided meeting, or speaking to, their neighbours; they turned from the ear alike of acquaintance and of stranger: they looked round suspiciously on dumb and lifeless things, on the very roofs and walls of houses.

Sabinus is condemned.

In his message of the 1st of January,¹ after the 70 customary good wishes for the opening year, Tiberius turned upon Sabinus. He accused him of tampering with some of his own freedmen, and of plotting against his life; and in no equivocal terms demanded his punishment.² Sabinus was condemned forthwith, and 2 hurried off to execution, muffled in a cloak, and shouting as loudly as a tight grip upon his throat would permit:—*See how the New Year comes in! Behold the victims of Sejanus!* Wherever his eye fell, 3 or his words carried, men fled and left a solitude: the

¹ The first of January was a day of joy and congratulation, when vows were offered up for the safety of the emperor and the State.

² The account of Dio (lviii. 1, 3), compared with Pliny (H. N. viii. 40, 61), would suggest that the charge

against Sabinus was more serious than appears from Tacitus; and that evidence was offered of a conspiracy, in which the name of Nero was mixed up. This may be an anticipation of the charge against Nero in A.D. 29 (v. 3, 2).

4 streets, the fora, were deserted. Some came back again to show themselves: afraid because they had appeared to be afraid.

5 *What day would be free from executions, men asked, if in the hour of prayer and sacrifice—at the moment when men are wont to abstain even from words of ill omen—the halter and the hangman were to be brought upon the*
6 *scene? It was not without intent that Tiberius had thus courted public odium; he had done it deliberately and of set purpose, to let people understand that nothing was to prevent newly elected magistrates from opening the doors of prisons as freely as those of shrines and altars.*

7 A letter followed from the Emperor, thanking the Senate for having punished a public enemy. He added that he trembled for his life; that he apprehended plots among his enemies; and though he mentioned no name, none doubted that he referred to Nero and Agrippina.

Thanks
from the
Emperor.

I. 1 Had it not been my plan to record every incident in its own year, I should have liked to anticipate events, and to relate at once how Latinus¹ and Opsius, and the other authors of this infamous plot, came to their end. Some of them perished after Gaius Caesar came to power; some even in the lifetime of Tiberius. For though Tiberius would not permit any one else to subvert the instruments of his crimes, he frequently grew tired of them himself; when new agents offered themselves for the work, and the old
2 became burdensome, he would throw them over. But how these and other miscreants were punished, I shall relate in due time.

3 Then Asinius Gallus, though Agrippina was the aunt² of his own children, proposed that the Emperor

Officious-
ness of
Asinius
Gallus.

¹ The accusation of Latinus is recorded vi. 4, i. When the others met their end is unknown.

² Agrippina was half-sister to Vipsania, the divorced wife of Tiberius, both being daughters of Agrippa by

should be asked to communicate his fears to the Senate, and allow them to be removed. Now there was no one of what Tiberius deemed his virtues which he prized so highly as his dissimulation; he took it very ill therefore that anything should be disclosed which he desired to keep concealed. Sejanus, however, smoothed him down; not from love of Asinius, but because he desired to wait upon the Emperor's hesitations: well knowing that, though he was slow to resolve, yet, when once he broke out, the cruel deed would follow quickly on the angry word.¹

About this time Julia,² the granddaughter of Augustus, died. On her conviction for adultery, she had been banished by Augustus to the island of Trimerum, off the coast of Apulia. There she had lived for twenty years in exile, supported by Augusta;³ who, after secretly bringing about the ruin of her step-children when in prosperity, made a display of her compassion to them in adversity.⁴

Death of the younger Julia.

different wives. The children, therefore, of Asinius Gallus, who married Vipsania after her divorce (i. 12, 6), were the nephews and nieces of Agrippina.

¹ *i.e.* the longer the resentment of Tiberius could be kept smouldering, the more rapid and terrible would be the outburst when it came.

² This was the younger Julia, full sister of Agrippina. Daughter of the elder Julia and Agrippa, she was thus grand-daughter of Augustus. She was married to L. Aemilius Paulus, one of the two sons of Cornelia, so touchingly introduced by Propertius in his famous elegy on that noble matron (iv. 11, 63, 64); their son M. Aemilius Lepidus, as profligate as his mother, married Drusilla, daughter of Germanicus; Caligula at one time designed him as his successor (Dio lix. 22, 6), but afterwards put him to death. Julia herself was banished by Augustus to the island of Tremerus, off Apulia, in A.D. 9, on account of her scandalous conduct:

some have supposed that it was to an intrigue with her that Ovid owed his banishment.

³ This is the first occasion on which Tacitus permits himself to say a kindly word of Livia. Hitherto he has insinuated her guiltiness in regard to every tragedy in the house of the Caesars, and stigmatised her as *gravis in rem publicam mater, gravis domui Caesarum noverca* (i. 10, 4). But now that the cruelty of Tiberius has to be painted in darker colours, she appears as humane to her disgraced grandchild; and in v. 3, 1 her death is described as removing the sole protection to the younger members of the family: *nam incolumi Augusta erat adhuc perfugium.*

⁴ A drop of poison let fall to save the historian's consistency, and to rob Livia's one virtue of its merit. There is no other evidence that she made a parade of her *miseritordia erga afflictos*. The facts might perhaps as truthfully be put thus: 'She was accused of scheming for the ruin of her step-

2. 1 In the same year the Frisii,¹ a people beyond the Rhine, took up arms; more in consequence of the rapacity of our magistrates than from impatience of
 2 our rule. Having regard to their poverty, Drusus had imposed on them a moderate tribute, requiring only a supply of ox-hides² for the use of the army. No rule, however, had been laid down as to the size or quality of these hides until the governorship³ of Olennius, a centurion⁴ of the first rank; he prescribed buffalo-hides⁵ as the standard according to which the tribute was to be
 3 delivered.⁶ Such a demand would have been hard on any people, but was particularly hard upon the Germans;

Revolt of the Frisii: its causes.

children during the days of their prosperity; but none told of her kindly compassion to them after their fall.'

¹ This people occupied the low flat lands between the mouth of the Rhine and the Ems, surrounding the great Zayder Zee; corresponding more or less to the modern Netherlands (Tac. Germ. 34). Though the frontier of the empire in this quarter was now being withdrawn gradually to its permanent limit—the left bank of the Rhine—with nothing but a few military outposts on the right bank, the Frisii still remained subject to Rome. Their descendants took part in the great invasion of England by the Saxons and the Angles in the 5th century.

² Such imposts in kind were at this time only levied in outlying districts. Thus Cyrene paid a contribution in silphium, the Sanni of Pontus in wax.

³ The Frisii would appear to have been in a semi-independent position since the time of Drusus, B.C. 12 (Dio, liv. 32, 2); the only signs of subjection being that they had to submit to the military government of a *praefectus* under the governor of the adjoining province, and had to furnish the tribute of hides. Their territory was beyond the proper Roman frontier; and after their successful revolt in this year they remained independent until reduced by Corbulo in A.D. 47 (xi. 19, 2). Only one Roman inscription has been discovered in this part of Holland: see Rushforth, p. 109.

⁴ It thus appears that the governorship of a subordinate province was one

of the appointments to which a *centurio primi pili* might aspire: see Furn., Intr. pp. 105 and 108. To such a governor the epigram of Tacitus, i. 20, 2 would apply: *eo immittor quia toleraverat*.

⁵ Probably the aurochs, the wild ox of Germany, now extinct. Caesar speaks of this animal as being almost of the size of an elephant, and untamable. He says it afforded to the Germans of the Hercynian forest their principal means of displaying prowess in hunting (B.G. vi. 98). Some have identified it with the bison, and some with the buffalo. See Virg. Geo. ii. 374; iii. 532.

⁶ Improved as was the government of the provinces under the uniform system of administration introduced by Augustus, and especially in the provinces directly governed by the emperor, this chapter shows to what cruel exactions the inhabitants might still be subject at the hands of governors, and still more of subordinate officers, when playing into the hands of the *negotiatores* and *publicani*. Compare the account of the rising in Gaul under Florus and Sacrovir, iii. 40-47. Still more analogous to the present case is the rising in Britain in A.D. 79. Tacitus tells how the natives were there ordered to carry the corn which they had to provide for the support of the legions to distant and inaccessible places, so as to raise artificially its price, or the sums to be paid in lieu of it, while all the time full granaries on the spot were closed to them (Agr. 19, 4 and 5).

for though their forests produce wild animals of a great size, their domestic cattle are small. So they had first to give up their oxen, next their lands, and lastly, the persons of their wives and children to be sold as slaves.¹ Indignation and remonstrance followed; and when these proved of no avail, they sought relief in arms. They seized and gibbeted the soldiers engaged in collecting the tribute; Olennius himself only escaped their fury by taking refuge in a fort called Flevum,² in which was stationed a considerable force of legionaries and allies, for the protection of the northern sea-board.

Disaster to
the Roman
arms.

When this news reached Lucius Apronius,³ the Pro-praetor of Lower Germany, he called up the veteran detachments from the Upper Province, with a picked body of auxiliary horse and foot, and, conveying both forces down the Rhine, threw them upon the Frisii. By this time the siege of Fort Flevum had been raised, and the rebels had retired to defend their own homes. Apronius accordingly laid down causeways and bridges across the neighbouring estuaries, strong enough for the passage of a regular army. Meantime, having found a ford, he ordered the cavalry of the Canninefates,⁴ with all the German foot serving

¹ Thus cruelly and disastrously did Rome still preserve in the provinces the old principle of law which first raised the plebeians against the patricians—that a debtor borrowed ultimately on the security of his person. Cp. St. Matt. xviii. 25: 'But forasmuch as he had not to pay, his lord commanded him to be sold, and his wife and children, and all that he had, and payment to be made.' This harsh law was abolished in Rome, according to Livy (viii. 28), by the Lex Poetelia, in B.C. 326: *ut pecuniae creditae bona creditoris, non corpus obnoxium esset. Ita nexi soluti, cautumque in posterum ne necerentur.* Mommsen would fain attribute to Caesar the credit of finally

establishing this principle of law (Vol. v. p. 401), but does not give his authority. See n. on vi. 16.

² The name also of a lake, now forming part of the Zuyder Zee, and of an island at the mouth of the lake (Mela, iii. 2, 8). The name is still preserved in the modern *Vlieland* and *Vlietrom*.

³ We have already heard of Apronius as legatus of Germanicus (i. 56, 1), and as proconsul in Africa in A.D. 20, where he succeeded Camillus (iii. 21, 1). In i. 31, 2 we find A. Caecina Severus as legatus of Lower Germany, A.D. 14; in A.D. 21, Caecina had been succeeded by C. Visellius Varro (iii. 41, 1); and Apronius probably succeeded Caecina.

⁴ This people inhabited the 'insula'

in our ranks, to go round and take the enemy in the rear. By the time these arrived, the enemy, in regular formation, were driving back the allied horse, together with the legionary cavalry which had been sent up in support. First three light cohorts of infantry, then two more, and after an interval, the allied cavalry, were advanced to the attack: a sufficient force if it had come on all at once. But advancing, as it did, in detachments, it failed to rally the men who were giving way, and was itself borne back by the panic of the flying troops. Apronius now entrusted the rest of the auxiliaries to Cethegus Labeo, Legate¹ of the 5th legion; but he too found himself in difficulties. His men wavered; and he had to send back a message asking for the whole strength of the legions. The men of the 5th sprang forward before the rest; after a stout fight they drove back the enemy, and rescued our cavalry and cohorts, both having suffered heavily. The Roman General made no attempt to avenge his losses; he did not even bury his dead, though there were many Tribunes, Prefects, and centurions of high standing among the slain. Soon afterwards, deserters brought word that a body of nine hundred Romans, after keeping up the fight till next day, had been cut to pieces in a wood called Baduhenna;² and that another body of four hundred, who had occupied the house of a man called Cruptorix, formerly a soldier in our pay, fearing treachery, had perished by each others' hands.

1 This campaign gave the Frisii a great name among the Germans.³ Tiberius made no mention of the

Silence of Tiberius; indifference of the Senate.

formed between two mouths of the Rhine. We hear of their leader Gannascus serving in the auxiliary forces (xi. 18, 1).

the commander of a legion, see i. 44, 3.

² Apparently the name of a goddess.

³ The defeat of Apronius is said by Tacitus to have remained unrepaired

¹ On *legatus legionis* as the title of

disaster; not wishing to entrust any one with the prosecution of the war. As for the Senate, they 2 cared nothing for loss of honour upon distant frontiers. Their thoughts were taken up by the reign of terror at home; and from that they sought relief in sycophancy. Thus, when assembled to consider some 3 business of a different kind, they voted altars to Friendship and to Clemency, with statues to Tiberius and Sejanus on either side; entreating earnestly that they would deign to allow themselves to be waited on.

Abasement
of Romans
of every
degree
before
Sejanus.

Yet neither of them came to Rome, or near it; 4 they thought it enough to leave the island, and to show themselves on the adjacent coast of Campania. Thither flocked Senators, knights, and crowds of the 5 commoner sort, all looking anxiously to Sejanus, who was difficult of access, and could only be reached by means of intrigue, or by taking part in his designs. His arrogance increased openly at the sight of this 6 shameful and undisguised servility. In Rome, hurry- 7 ing crowds are a common spectacle; no one knows, in so vast a city, on what errand each man is bent. But here, men of all ranks, without distinction, were to be seen day and night, lying out in the fields, or along the shore; courting the favour, or having to submit to the insolence, of door-keepers. At last, even that was denied them; and those to whom he had not deigned to throw a word or a glance, went back to Rome in terror: others returned triumphant. Ill-fated triumph! How tragic was to be the issue of that unhallowed friendship!¹

until Corbulo brought the Frisii to terms in A.D. 47 (xi. 19, 2). Yet in A.D. 58 they again appear as independent (xiii. 54, 2). Mommsen suggests that there may have been a distinction between the Eastern and Western Frisii, corresponding to the

Maiores and *Minores* of Tacitus (Germ. 34, 1).

¹ This passage has a truly tragic ring about it, and is a fine specimen of the pictorial power of Tacitus. Nowhere does he arrange more strikingly his lights and shades, nowhere does he

1 Tiberius had betrothed his grand-daughter Agrippina,¹ the daughter of Germanicus, to Cnaeus Domitius;² and he now ordered the marriage to be
 2 celebrated in Rome. He had chosen Domitius not only for the antiquity of his family, but also because of his relationship to the Caesars; for as Octavia was his grandmother, he could claim Augustus as his great-uncle.³

Marriage of Agrippina the younger to Cn. Domitius.

bring out so forcibly his favourite doctrine of the irony of Fate. The chapter forms the climax of what may be called the Epic of Sejanus: the story of the rise and crimes of the hated favourite, which are the main theme of Book IV. We here see the insolent upstart at the zenith of his power. The altar voted by the senate is to have the statues of Tiberius and Sejanus on either side; the plurals *facient* and *digressi sunt* couple the emperor and his minister as partners in imperial authority, as conjoint dispensers of imperial favour. The self-abasement of Romans of every rank before the all-powerful Sejanus marks the apex of his fortunes; as the despairing or triumphant courtiers troop back to Rome, we see the grim spectre of Nemesis behind, and are prepared for the tragic catastrophe which was to be the crowning topic of Book V.

¹ Agrippina was the youngest but two of the children of Germanicus. She was barely thirteen years of age at this time, having been born when her father was in his German command, on the 16th Nov., A.D. 15 (see Mommsen, *Hermes* XIII., pp. 245-265), at *Oppidum Ubiorum*. That town was called *Colonia Agrippinensis* in her honour; whence comes the modern name *Cologne*.

² Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, who became by this marriage the father of the emperor Nero, born at Antium in

A.D. 39, was the son of the Lucius Domitius whose death is mentioned in chap. 44, 1, and Antonia minor, the daughter of Antony and Octavia. For the career of the father and grandfather, see n. on 44, 1. Suetonius describes Gnaeus himself as *omni parte vitae detestabilis*; and ascribes to him infamous acts of cruelty, fraud, and debauchery (Nero 5). He was cos. A.D. 32 (vi. 1, 1), and died during Nero's infancy.

³ Note the rhetorical skill with which Tacitus brings the book to a close. Just as Horace, when he works up to an unusually high pitch of feeling, loves to end an Ode in a lower and gentler key (Od. i. 2, 51-2; ii. 1, 37-40; and iii. 3, 69-72), so Tacitus closes Book IV., after the passion of chap. 74, with the record of a quiet and happy domestic event—though one pregnant with future results. Sometimes he finishes with an epigram; and at the end of the six books, which we may call his Epic on Tiberius, he pours the whole vials of his wrath into the concluding words. See the closing sentences of Books I., II., III. The rhetorical and epigrammatic phrases with which Tacitus so frequently closes a chapter or a topic are doubtless due to the practice of recitation. We cannot doubt that it was in the form of recitation to sympathetic audiences that the works of Tacitus were first given to the world.

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BOOK V. A FRAGMENT.

A.D. 29. CONSULS C. FUFIVS GEMINUS AND
L. RUBELLIUS GEMINUS.

Death of
Livia
Augusta.
Her career
and
character.

IN this year, the Consuls of which were both sur- I.
named Geminus, Julia Augusta died, in extreme old
age.¹ A member of the Claudian house by birth, of the
Livian and the Julian by adoption, she was in the first
rank of the nobility.² Her first husband, the father 2
of her children, was Tiberius Nero.³ Having fled the
country at the time of the Perusian War, he returned to
Rome when peace was concluded between Sextus
Pompeius and the Triumvirs. Enamoured of Livia's 3
beauty, Caesar Augustus forced her husband to give
her up to him, with or without her consent; and that
in such haste, that though she was with child at the

¹ Dio gives her age as eighty-six (lviii. 2, 1); and, as Tiberius was born in B.C. 42, she cannot have been less. The true reading in Plin. H.N. (xiv. 6, 8, 60) is no doubt lxxxvi., not lxxxii., as in the MSS.

² By birth, Livia Drusilla belonged to the noble plebeian gens of the Livii. Her father, Livius Drusus Claudianus, was by birth, as his name implies, a member of the patrician gens Claudia, and was adopted into the Livian house, probably by the famous aristocratic democrat M. Livius Drusus (*nec minor largitor nomine senatus Drusus*, iii. 27, 3), who was murdered by the senatorial party during his tribunate, B.C. 91. Claudianus had espoused the cause of Brutus and Cassius; and being proscribed by the triumvirs, committed suicide after the battle of Philippi. Bearing thus in her own right the

nobility both of the Livii and of the Claudii, Livia was adopted by the will of Augustus into the family of the Julii, and into the name Augusta (i. 8, 2); she appears in inscriptions as *Iulia Augusta Divi Aug. f.*

³ Tiberius Claudius Nero, the first husband of Livia and father of the emperor, served as quaestor to Caesar in the Alexandrine war; was praetor in B.C. 40 or 41; joined in the futile outbreak of L. Antony known as the Perusian War; escaped to Sextus Pompey in Sicily, and finally went over to Antony in Achaia. No sooner had he returned to Rome in B.C. 42, than he was forced by Augustus to divorce his wife, as here recorded. She had already borne him Tiberius, and soon afterwards gave birth to Drusus (Suet. Tib. 4).

time, he took her into his house without even waiting
 4 for her to be brought to bed. She bore no children
 afterwards; but the marriage of Germanicus with
 Agrippina connected her with the family of Augustus,
 5 so that his great-grandchildren were hers also. Strict
 in her private life after the fashion of former days,¹
 though more gracious in her manners than would
 have been approved by ladies of the old school, an
 imperious mother,² and a complaisant wife, she was a
 match for her husband in finesse,³ for her son in dis-
 simulation.⁴

6 Her funeral was simple; her will remained long

Her
 funeral.

¹ The correctness of her own life, and her *facilitas* towards the irregularities of her husband, are confirmed by the accounts of Dio (lviii. 2, 5) and Suet. (Aug. 71).

² For the phrase *mater impotens* applied to Livia, cp. *accedere matrem muliebri impotentia* (i. 4, 5); *traditur etiam . . . matris impotentia extrusum* (iv. 57, 4); *matrem Liviam gravatus, quasi partes sibi aequas vindicantem* (Suet. Tib. 50).

³ Whether due to nature or to training, Livia's talents as a diplomatist eminently fitted her to be the partner of Augustus, and the confidante of his policy. No woman ever steered through so many shoals so craftily. Though the trusted wife of Augustus, she had a Court around her honeycombed with jealousies through her whole life, and her feelings as a mother must have been sorely tried. First she sees her two sons, of ripe age and tried capacity, brought forward as props of the new sovereignty (i. 3, 1), yet exposed to the formidable rivalry of Marcellus and Agrippa. As the young Caesars grow to manhood, the claims and services of her surviving son Tiberius are forgotten or set aside; she has to see him flouted, and practically exiled in Rhodes. The road once more made clear by the death of the young princes, she has to smooth down the antipathy of Augustus, soften the resentment of her high-spirited son at the injurious treatment he has received, and lead him, sorely against the grain, to practise the arts of a courtier. Her triumph in securing

the succession to her son brought her face to face with new difficulties; and if foiled in her main ambition, that of becoming the actual ruler of the empire, by his firmness or intractable temper, her mixed tenacity and pliancy succeeded at least in maintaining for her a place as the most powerful personage next to him. For a woman to play such a rôle as this was a new thing in Rome. The words *comis ultra quam antiquis feminis probatum* would seem to imply that she kept a kind of political *salon* in Rome, like that of Madame de Staël at Paris; and one not to be put down so peremptorily as hers was by Napoleon. The reserve which her position imposed on her laid her open, like Tiberius himself, to every suspicion; her grandson Caligula, to whom she had shown especial kindness, called her 'a Ulysses in petticoats'—*Ulixes stolatus* (Suet. Cal. 23).

⁴ It is characteristic of Tacitus that though he has not hesitated to record the rumours which attributed to Livia the deaths of Gaius and Lucius Caesar (i. 3, 3), the banishment of Agrippa Postumus (i. 3, 4), even the death of Augustus himself (i. 5, 1), and the intrigues of Piso and Plancina against Germanicus (ii. 43, 5), yet when he has to pourtray her character on his own authority, he can find nothing worse to say of her than that she was a marvel of finesse and masterfulness. And truth compels him to admit that her death deprived the family of Germanicus of their last surviving protector (chap. 3, 1).

unexecuted.¹ Her funeral oration was pronounced from the Rostra by her great-grandson Gaius Caesar,² the future Emperor.

Tiberius limits the honours to be paid to her memory.

Having failed to pay the last tribute to his mother, 2. and interrupting none of his pleasures on her account,³ Tiberius wrote a letter of excuse, pleading important public affairs; and, as if out of modesty, he cut down the long list of distinctions which the Senate had voted to her memory,⁴ accepting only a few of them, and prohibiting any attribution of divine honours:⁵ in accordance—so he asserted—with her own express desire. In one passage of this letter he denounced 2 friendships with women; ⁶ rebuking thereby indirectly the consul Fufius, who had owed his advancement to Augusta's patronage. For Fufius ⁷ had all the qualities 3 which attract women; he had a sharp tongue too, and would deliver himself of stinging raileries against Tiberius, such as live long in the memory of the all-powerful.

Fresh outburst of tyranny.

And now set in a period of sheer and unrelenting 3. tyranny. For so long as Augusta was alive, there was still a refuge open; Tiberius had an ingrained feeling of deference for his mother, nor did even Sejanus venture to come in the way of her authority. But now the two dashed headlong on, like horses 2 freed from the rein. A letter was produced attacking

¹ Caligula repaired this wrong. *Legata ex testamento Iuliae Augustae, quod Tiberius suppresserat, cum fide et sine calumnia repraesentata persolvit* (Suet. Cal. 16).

² Gaius was aged sixteen at this time.

³ Suetonius states that Tiberius had only once visited his mother during her last three years; and that after her death the funeral was unduly deferred in waiting for him.

⁴ Similarly after the death of Augustus he would allow no honours to be paid to her, *moderandos feminarum honores dictitans* (i. 14, 3).

⁵ She was ultimately deified by Claudius (Dio, lx. 5, 2), who set up her image in the temple of Augustus on the Palatine. Yet such titles as *Livia Augusti dea, mater patriae, genetrix orbis*, were given her on provincial coins or inscriptions during her lifetime.

⁶ Tiberius hated female influence, and smarted under it. Suetonius adds *omnes amicitias (sc. Liviae) et familiaritates . . . intra breve tempus afflixit* (Tib. 51).

⁷ The death of this Fufius seems to be referred to in vi. 10, 1 and Dio, lviii. 4, 5; his wife *Prisca* is perhaps the *Mutilia Prisca* of iv. 12, 6.

Agrippina and Nero in language of studied harshness ; and as it was read shortly after the death of Augusta, it was popularly supposed to have come to hand previously, and to have been kept back by her.

Tiberius denounces Agrippina and Nero :

3 Tiberius did not upbraid his grandson for meditating an armed revolt, or seeking to upset the government, but for unnatural and indecent practices.

4 Against Agrippina, he did not venture so far ; he complained only of her insolent language and her refractory temper. The Senate listened in terror and in silence ; till at last a few who had nothing to hope for through honourable means—and there are always some who turn public calamities into an occasion for winning favour for themselves—demanded that the question should be put. Cotta Messalinus was at
5 once ready with a motion for condemnation,¹ but other leading senators, and especially the magistrates, hesitated ; for notwithstanding the bitterness of his attack, Tiberius had left his ultimate purpose in doubt.

hesitation of the Senate.

4. 1 Now there was in the Senate a man of the name of Junius Rusticus, who had been appointed by the Emperor to keep the record² of its proceedings, and was therefore supposed to be acquainted with his
2 inmost sentiments.³ Moved either by some fate-sent impulse⁴—for the man had never given any sign of

Presumption of Junius Rusticus.

¹ Similarly vi. 5, 1 : *Cotta Messalinus saevissimae cuiusque sententiae auctor eoque inveteratae invidiae*. See also iv. 20, 6.

² We thus learn that in the time of Tiberius there was a regular record kept of senate proceedings, here called *acta patrum*, elsewhere *acta* or *commentarii senatus*, by an officer specially appointed by the emperor. How far these records were open to senators or to the public is not known. Tacitus quotes them as an authority in xv. 74, 3 ; and the minuteness of his accounts of doings in the senate suggests that he had official records before him. On the

other hand, he is ignorant of (i. 81, 1), or quotes other authorities for (ii. 88, 1), certain facts which must have been included in such records. Suetonius tells us that Julius Caesar *primus omnium instituit ut tam senatus quam populi diurna acta confierent et publicarentur* (Jul. 20) ; but that Augustus *auctor fuit ne acta senatus publicarentur* (Oct. 36).

³ It thus appears that the office was a confidential one. The records were sent to the emperor for his perusal (Suet. Tib. 73).

⁴ When in doubt for a cause, Tacitus recurs to the agency of Fate : *fato potentiae raro sempiternae* (iii. 30, 7) ;

independence before—or by a misguided cunning, which in vague alarm for the future overlooked the peril of the moment, this person thrust himself in among those who were hesitating, and advised the Consuls not to take up the question. *The most important issues, he urged, turned on trifling causes; the day might yet come when the aged Emperor would repent the destruction of the offspring of Germanicus.*

Meanwhile the populace surrounded the Senate-³ house, parading effigies¹ of Agrippina and Nero; and amid expressions of loyalty towards Tiberius, cried that *the letter must be a forgery: the Emperor could never have consented to the annihilation of his own family.* Accordingly no harsh action was taken on that day. Copies also of pretended resolutions, pur-⁴ porting to have been proposed by Consulars against Sejanus, were handed about; the writers exercising their imagination all the more freely that they wrote anonymously. This inflamed the wrath of Sejanus,⁵ and gave him material for accusations:—*The Senate, he said, had treated the complaints of the Princeps with contempt; the people were in revolt, reading and listening to seditious speeches, and fictitious decrees of Senate: what remained for them but to draw the sword, and choose for their leaders and Imperators those whose images they had followed as their standards?*

And so Tiberius repeated his denunciations of his^{5. 1} grandson and his daughter-in-law, rebuked the people in an edict, and having complained to the Senate that a manœuvre of one of their number should have

nisi forte rebus cunctis inest quidam velut orbis (iii. 55, 6); *Varus fato et vi Arminii cecidit* (i. 55, 4): the favour of princes may perhaps, he thinks, afford some exception to the general rule which arranges all things *fato et sorte nascendi* (iv. 20, 5).

¹ So when Octavia was in danger, the people *Octaviae imagines gestant umeris* (xiv. 61, 1). The supporters of Agrippina and her family showed, as usual, but little tact in their mode of befriending her cause.

The indignation of the populace

gives a fresh handle to Sejanus.

Sinister letter from Tiberius.

exposed the Majesty of the Princeps to a public rebuff, demanded that the whole case should be left in his hands. The Senate hesitated no longer. They did not indeed vote a death sentence; that was not permitted to them: but they signified their acquiescence in extreme measures, and protested that nothing but the Emperor's express command was holding them back.¹

* * * * *

¹ The MS. breaks off abruptly in the middle of chap. 5, the rest of Book V. being unfortunately lost. The chapter which follows belongs to Book VI., the first few chapters of which are also missing. The loss of this portion of the Annals, from A.D. 29 to 31, containing the history of the final conspiracy and fall of Sejanus, is one of the most

grievous in all Latin literature. We can imagine no subject more absolutely fitted to call out all the powers, and all the antipathies, of the historian. Although the chapters which follow, numbered 6 to 11, recording events in A.D. 31, no doubt belonged to Book VI., the usual numbering is retained in this edition in order to facilitate reference.

Narrative of Events A.D. 29–31.

Book V. a
fragment.

[The loss of the principal portion of Book V., embracing the period from the middle of the year A.D. 29 to near the close of the year A.D. 31, has deprived us of a description by the master hand of Tacitus of one of the most dramatic scenes and thrilling situations in the history of the Empire; but the incidents of the sudden fall of the hated favourite, at the supreme moment of his fortunes, had so burnt themselves into the memories of the Roman people, that we may accept with more than usual confidence the traditional account of the mode in which that fall was brought about.

The lost
portion
may be
supplied
from Dio.

The narrative of Dio, in all its main features, tallies with the various references to the event that are to be found in Roman literature; and though prejudice and suspicion did their worst, as in the pages of Tacitus himself, to blacken the character and exaggerate the crimes of Sejanus, we cannot doubt that the story as told by Dio is substantially true. And if that story bears hardly on Sejanus, it carries with it an indictment infinitely more severe against the populace and the nobility of Rome.

Position of
affairs in
A.D. 29.

The 5th chapter of the 5th Book breaks off amid omens of impending disaster to the family of Germanicus. Their last defence against the machinations of Sejanus has been removed by the death of Livia. Sejanus is at the height of his power; his influence in the counsels of Tiberius is as yet unbroken. He has been using all that influence, and all his knowledge of the old man's character, to bring about the ruin of Agrippina and her children. Tiberius is in his secluded sea-girt fastness; accessible to none save through Sejanus. From that solitary rock issue the mandates by which the civilised world is ruled; and the hand through which they pass, the hand which carries them into effect, is the hand of Sejanus.

Reassured
by
Tiberius,

In refusing or evading the petition of Sejanus to be united with Livia, Tiberius had hinted an intention to raise him to some new pinnacle of greatness: "there was no position," he had assured him, "which

was too high for his merits, or for his devotion to himself."¹

Comforted by such assurances, confident in the supreme influence which he still exercised over the mind of Tiberius, Sejanus pushed on boldly towards the destruction of the one family which stood between himself and his highest hopes. Aided by the petulance and indiscretions of Agrippina, by the reckless counsels of her friends, and by the ungovernable temper which was a characteristic of every member of her family, he had succeeded in persuading Tiberius that the pretensions of Agrippina and her sons, backed by a devoted party among the nobility, and strong in the consciousness of popular favour, were a source of danger to himself and to the State. He had sown the seeds of dissension within the family itself, trafficking with the younger brother against the elder, and with the wives of both against their husbands;² ready to drop each in turn so soon as they should have served his purpose.

Sejanus aims at the destruction of Agrippina and her family.

The death of Livia, as we have already seen, had given the opportunity for a forward move. That event was immediately succeeded by a severe despatch from Tiberius attacking Agrippina and her eldest son Nero by name; it was believed that the letter had been for some time in hand, and that it was only Livia's influence that had kept it back.³ The Senate was staggered for the time, unable to bring itself to act; the populace outside the Senate-house clamoured that it must be against the Emperor's will that his house was being threatened with destruction.⁴ But the proceedings of Agrippina's friends added fresh fuel to the accusations of Sejanus; and a stern rebuke from the Emperor soon followed, repeating the charges against his daughter-in-law and grandson, and clearly shewing that extreme measures had been resolved upon against them.

Tiberius denounces them to the Senate.

At this point the narrative of Tacitus breaks off.

The Senate hesitated no longer. Agrippina and Nero were condemned; the latter was declared a public enemy.⁵ Both were hurried into banishment;

Agrippina and Nero condemned.

¹ Ann. iv. 40, 12.

² Ann. iv. 60, 4, and Dio, lviii. 318.

³ Ann. v. 3, 3.

⁴ Ann. v. 5, 3.

⁵ Suet. Tib. 54.

the son to the Island of Pontia, the mother to that of Pandateria, where she was treated with the utmost barbarity by her gaolers. Nero was put to death, or suffered to die, in prison, at some date prior to the fall of Sejanus; how miserably Agrippina came to her end, how cruelly her memory was insulted by Tiberius, will be recorded in Ann. vi. 25.

Drusus is spared for a time,

The younger brother Drusus, fed by Sejanus with hopes of the succession, was spared for the present; but his turn was soon to come. Not long after the arrest of his mother and his brother, he married Aemilia Lepida, a woman pronounced 'intestabilis' by Tacitus;¹ and it is asserted by Dio that Sejanus lost no time in exercising upon her also his unrivalled powers of corruption, estranging her from her husband, and dazzling her with the same ambitious hopes with which he had lured Livilla, and secured her co-operation in his designs. Through Lepida's instrumentality, he succeeded once more in poisoning the mind of Tiberius against his nearest of kin. Drusus was dismissed from Capri, and ordered back to Rome. An accuser was found in Cassius Severus; Drusus was declared a public enemy, and thrust into a dungeon in the Palatine, there to linger until the time should be ripe for his removal. And though there was one moment, in the crisis of the conspiracy of Sejanus, when Tiberius thought of bringing Drusus out of his dungeon to confront the upstart with a scion of the imperial house, the necessity passed away with that emergency.² Tiberius acted on the principle that a man who has been outraged beyond a certain point cannot with safety be permitted to live; so he left Drusus to his fate, and suffered him to perish, three years afterwards, amid circumstances of indescribable horror.³

but ultimately murdered.

A.D. 30. CONSULS M. VINICIUS AND L. CASSIUS LONGINUS.

Sejanus at the height of his power.

Throughout this year the fortunes of Sejanus were still in the ascendant, and at its close he seemed to be more powerful than ever. His career, thus far, had

¹ Ann. vi. 40, 4.

² Ann. vi. 23, 5.

³ Dio, lviii. 3, 7, and Ann. vi. 24.

been one of unbroken success. Just as the chosen heirs of Augustus had been cut off, one after the other, leaving the way open for Tiberius, so had Sejanus seen, one by one, the probable successors of Tiberius disappear. Germanicus, Drusus, Agrippina and her two grown-up sons, had no longer to be reckoned with. There remained only the stripling Gaius, who was scarcely out of his teens, and the child Tiberius Gemellus, son of Drusus, who had scarcely entered them : their natural protectors gone, it would seem a light matter for the minister firmly entrenched in power, with the troops of the capital under his command, to sweep them also out of his path.

But there were two elements in the situation which had not entered into the calculations of Sejanus. The youthful Gaius was kept out of his grasp and influence; and the withdrawal of Tiberius from the capital to his island home had a very different effect upon his attitude and temper from that which had been anticipated.

The young Gaius had been under the protection of his great-grandmother Livia, and had lived in her house until she died; it was he who pronounced her funeral oration. He was then taken into the house of his grandmother Antonia, the wisest and most discreet of all the women of the early Empire. Thence he was summoned to Capri, where he assumed the manly gown in private, without any of the dangerous honours which had been bestowed upon his brothers on a similar occasion.¹ From that time onwards he lived quietly with Tiberius; and his character seems to have fitted him for that hazardous companionship. Not less wild and reckless by nature than the other members of his family, and with a tinge of madness which was to develop so disastrously afterwards in the 'furious Caligula,'² he exhibited, under his present circumstances, a faculty of self-control, a power of adapting himself to circumstances, which enabled him to hold his ground. He had no fiery mother, no injudicious advisers, to goad him on to indiscretions; and under his great-uncle's tutelage, he learnt to practise the arts of dissimulation.³ Tiberius was capable of strong family

But two points had escaped his calculations :

(1) The rise of the young Gaius into favour; and

¹ Suet. Cal. 10.

² Gibbon, chap. 3.

³ Ann. vi. 45, 46.

affection; he may have taken kindly to the young man; and Tacitus tells us that from a feeling of *ambitio in posteros* he shrank from the idea of seeking an heir outside the family of the Caesars. At Capri the youth could be the centre of no political plots; and he was there kept safe, as his brothers had not been, from the allurements and designs of Sejanus.

(2) The effect upon his own influence of the retreat to Capri.

But the retirement to Capri did more than keep Gaius out of harm's way: it removed Sejanus from constant intercourse with the Emperor. The duties laid upon him must often have called him to Rome; he would thus lose the opportunity of working, day by day, upon the suspicious temperament of Tiberius, and of maintaining his personal ascendancy over him. For in addition to all the talents which made Sejanus so useful a coadjutor to Tiberius, he must have been a man of extraordinary personal fascination, and capable of inspiring those about him with entire confidence. His success in corrupting, one after the other, the women who could help him in his designs, is evidence of this fact; he could worm out, through their wives, the secrets of all the most distinguished men in Rome.¹ Tiberius was not a man easily imposed upon; and no minister was ever more absolutely trusted than was Sejanus by his master.

Whatever may have been the personal element in that influence, it was lost when the minister could no longer be by his master's side. We may be sure that the whisper of suspicion and calumny was not silent among the chosen few who still had access to the imperial person; and distance would exaggerate every evil rumour.

Tiberius becomes more jealous than ever;

Very different had been the calculation of Sejanus. The voice of his enemies, he had thought, would sound more faintly at Capri than at Rome; his crowded levees, the universal court that was paid to him, would escape observation; an Emperor devoted to vicious ease would let the reins of government fall gradually from his hands.² But all turned out otherwise. It was not Tiberius, but Sejanus, who lost his hold on power by the retreat to Capri. Tiberius showed no tendency to relax his grip of the most important affairs of state; and his jealous

¹ Dio, lviii. 3, 8.

² Ann. iv. 41, 3.

temper was not soothed, but irritated, by the knowledge that he had to hand over many of the details of government to another. The danger to himself and to the State of allowing a substitute to wield plenary authority in Rome began to loom large before him; and the suspicion dawned upon him that he had been striking down Agrippina and her family only to make way for another and more sinister ambition.

The severity of Tiberius did not abate with his seclusion. He decoyed and threw into prison, under every circumstance of treachery, the hated Asinius Gallus; of whom we have heard so much in the earlier books of the Annals as the husband of the divorced Vipsania, as the officious proposer of motions in the Senate, as a possible competitor for empire—in his own opinion at least, if not in that of others.¹ Gallus presented himself at Capri as an envoy, to announce fresh honours voted to Sejanus by the Senate; and at the very moment when he was being entertained as a guest at the Emperor's table, the Senate, instructed by a secret order, voted his condemnation. A praetor was despatched to effect his arrest. Tiberius calmly suffered Gallus to depart, and bid him be of good cheer; but he ordered that he should be kept in custody in Rome till he should arrive himself to try the case. The case was never tried; and after languishing for three years in hopeless confinement, Gallus was allowed to die miserably of starvation.²

and his severity does not diminish

At what precise moment the confidence of Tiberius in his favourite passed into suspicion and alarm does not appear. Possibly some rumour reached him as to how Drusus had come to his end. He was naturally slow in forming his judgments; he never hurried on a move until he believed the time was ripe for it; though when once the resolve was formed, he could act upon it with terrific suddenness.³ This feature in his character, as well as the nature of the situation itself, both harmonise excellently with the details of the story so dramatically told by Dio.⁴

He gradually loses confidence in Sejanus,

The resolve to strike Sejanus was probably formed some time during the year A.D. 30. The minister had

and resolves upon his downfall.

¹ Ann. i. 13, 2.

² Ann. vi. 33, and Dio, lviii. 3.

³ See Ann. iv. 71, 5.

⁴ Dio, lviii. 4-13.

become too powerful to be retained longer in that position; and, with characteristic cunning, Tiberius conceived that the best mode of bringing about his fall would be to begin by raising him to the highest office in the state. He would thereby lull him into security, expose him to greater envy, and tempt his more ardent supporters to declare themselves.¹ He accordingly designated him to the Consulship for the year following, with himself as colleague; thus exalting him to the same position as that in which he had placed his natural heir Germanicus in the year A.D. 18. The duties of that office would keep Sejanus at a distance; and, if the favourite flattered himself that the report of his doings in Rome would only reach Tiberius through his own creatures, while he himself would be kept informed of all that passed at Capri,² the sequel showed how egregiously he was mistaken.

He designates him as Consul for A.D. 31 along with himself.

A.D. 31. CONSULS TIBERIUS CAESAR AUGUSTUS V.
AND L. AELIUS SEJANUS.

Universal adulation of Sejanus.

No sooner was Sejanus installed in office, than honours of every kind were showered upon him. His receptions were thronged by obsequious crowds; statues were voted to him and to the Emperor in conjunction; gilded chairs were set up for both in the theatres; men spoke of Tiberius as the ruler of an island, of Sejanus as master of the Empire. Tiberius himself spoke of him as 'his own Sejanus;' his betrothal to Livilla, it would appear, was now at last permitted;³ and a decree was passed conferring upon him the Consulship along with Tiberius for the next five years.

Ambiguous attitude of Tiberius.

But amid this torrent of honours and adulation, Sejanus had cause to feel uneasy. As the year went on, Tiberius wrote in varying strains about himself, both to Sejanus and to the Senate; at one moment he spoke of illness, and hinted at his approaching end; at another, he declared that he was in excellent health, and would shortly return to Rome. Word came that Gaius had been raised to the Augurship and Priest-

¹ See Ann. i. 7, II.

² Dio, lviii. 4, 2, and 6, 2.

³ Hence he is spoken of as 'the son-in-law of Tiberius,' Ann. vi. 8, 6.

hood, and indicated as heir. Sejanus himself was sometimes commended, sometimes censured, in the imperial despatches. It was noticed that, in announcing the death of Drusus, Tiberius had introduced the name of Sejanus without any of his usual titles; and when Sejanus asked for a personal interview, the Emperor declined to receive him, on the pretence that he himself was about to come to Rome.

Men knew not what to think; Sejanus began to feel that the ground was falling away beneath him. If he ever thought of entering into a conspiracy against the Emperor's life, as asserted by the Roman historians, and assumed by Tiberius afterwards, this would have been the time to choose. The Senate were still at his feet; the Praetorian Guards were devoted to their commander; he believed the populace to be favourable. But he did not move. Perhaps he still believed in the Emperor's favour; perhaps his nerve failed him at the last. Josephus asserts the conspiracy as a fact;¹ it was discovered, he tells us, by the faithful Antonia, who at once despatched a trusty messenger to Capri with the news. If there was a plot, it was not ready; Sejanus had allowed the favourable moment to slip by.

Sejanus
begins to
feel uneasy.

Early in May, Tiberius vacated the Consulship; Sejanus had to do the same, thus finding himself stripped of office. Two *consules suffecti* were installed upon the 8th, one of whom gave way on the 1st July to L. Fulcinus Trio, a partisan of Sejanus—chosen doubtless for the very purpose of allaying his suspicions—while the other was replaced on the 1st of October by P. Memmius Regulus, a man upon whose nerve and devotion Tiberius could rely. At last, on the 18th of October, there arrived from Capri the famous despatch—the *verbosa et grandis epistola*²—which was a death signal to Sejanus, and to all who could be suspected of being his accomplices, and which inaugurated a reign of terror which lasted more or less throughout the remaining years of Tiberius.

*Consules
suffecti
are in-
stalled.*

The despatch was entrusted to Naevius Sertorius Macro, who carried with him a secret commission, appointing him to the command of the Praetorian Guards. Arriving late at night in Rome, he announced

Arrival of
Macro
with the
Emperor's
letter.

¹ Ant. xviii. 6, 6.

² Juv. x. 71.

his mission to the Consul Memmius Regulus, and to Graecinus Laco, the commander of the city police. Regulus summoned the Senate to meet at daybreak, in the Temple of Apollo on the Palatine. Sejanus hurried to obey the summons, attended by his Praetorian Guards; reassured by Macro, who informed him that the tribunitian power was to be conferred upon him that day, he passed into the place of meeting. Having seen Sejanus safely into the building, Macro turned back to address the Praetorians who had been stationed outside; exhibited to them his commission as their commander; and promising them a largess in the Emperor's name, induced them to return to their camp. In the mean time, Laco occupied every avenue to the temple with his police. This done, and the Senate having now assembled, Macro entered the chamber, handed the Emperor's letter to the presiding Consul Regulus, and hurried off to the camp to check any possible movement on the part of the troops.

The reading of the letter in the Senate.

Then followed the reading of the letter. It began with indifferent topics; passed on to some faint censure of Sejanus, and requested that one of the Consuls should come to Capri to escort Tiberius to Rome. By degrees, the tone of complaint grew stronger; new points were introduced; two senators, special friends of Sejanus, were marked out for punishment: and at the very end of all, Sejanus himself was denounced by name, and ordered off to prison.

Exultation of the Senate.

As the reading of the letter went on, a change came over the face of the assembly. The senators who but now had been flocking round Sejanus to congratulate him on his new honours, and assure him of their support, edged away from his side; the magistrates and the tribunes quietly closed round him to prevent him from making a rush for the door, and raising a tumult outside. When the last fatal words were pronounced, Sejanus seemed like one dazed; the Consul called upon him three times before he could find words to reply. As he rose, he found Laco by his side; in a moment, the long pent-up hatred against the favourite broke out in one roar of triumph and exultation over his fall, and a storm of insults and reproaches, from foes and friends alike,

burst upon the head of the unhappy man, who, *bath* yesterday, had been reckoned 'second in the whole world.'¹

The Consul, after calling on some leading senators to speak, thought it best not to put the question to the vote. At the head of the magistrates, escorted by Laco and his Guards, he hustled Sejanus across the Forum to the dungeon—the famous *Tullianum*—in which the enemies of Rome had to meet their end. The news of the favourite's downfall had spread like wild-fire through the city; as he passed along, he could see his statues being dragged from their pedestals and ground to powder, with every mark of vindictive fury, by the mob.

Sejanus^{openly} dragged to the Tullianum,

Later in the same day, as soon as it was ascertained that the temper of the populace was safe, and that there was nothing to fear from the Praetorians, the Senate was again summoned to the *Temple of Concord*, in the immediate proximity of the prison. Here the death of the traitor was decreed without a moment's delay. He was strangled in that same terrible prison in which Jugurtha had shuddered at the cold bath provided for him by the Roman people; his body was cast out upon the Gemonian stairs to be insulted and trampled upon; and at last the mangled remains, like those of an ordinary malefactor, were tossed into the Tiber.

and put to death.

Meanwhile Tiberius was awaiting the news from Rome in a state of the utmost anxiety. He took his station on the head of a cliff to get the first sight from afar of the signals which he had arranged for the occasion; he even had ships ready, in case things at Rome went wrong, to carry him off to one of the provincial armies.²

Anxiety of Tiberius.

The fall of Sejanus was immediately followed by the prosecution and punishment of all who could be accused or suspected of having shared his designs or cultivated his friendship. The broken narrative of Tacitus resumes in the midst of an account of a meeting in the Senate, at which an accused friend of Sejanus openly acknowledges the friendship, and justifies himself by the example of Tiberius.]

Punishment of all friends of Sejanus.

¹ Juv. x. 63.

² Suet. Tib. 65.

his

C

A.D. 31. CONSULS (SUFF.) L. FULCINIUS TRIO
AND P. MEMMIUS REGULUS.

Bold
speech
by a friend
of Sejanus.

. . . Forty-four speeches¹ were delivered on this 6
occasion ; some of them inspired by terror, the majority
by the mere habit of adulation. . . . *I never thought to
bring shame on myself, or odium upon Sejanus. But
Fortune has now turned. He who assumed Sejanus as 2
his colleague and his son-in-law² finds excuse for himself ;
the others, adding crime to their shame, denounce the
man upon whom they fawned.³ Whether it be a more 3
unhappy thing to be the accuser of a friend, or to be
accused for being a man's friend, I care not to determine. 4
I will put no man's cruelty, no man's clemency, to the test ;
but while still free, and with my conscience to approve, I
will anticipate my doom. Of you I beg that you will 5
think of me, not with sorrow, but with gladness, and enrol*

¹ What formed the subject of the forty-four speeches referred to in this fragment of fifteen words is not known. It was evidently connected with the fall of Sejanus ; and the number of orations delivered, with the assigned motives, *ob metum* and *adsuetudine*, suggest a debate on some motion in the senate. But there is no evidence to connect the debate specially, as most editors do, with the punishment of Livia for the murder of Drusus. The rest of the chapter forms a second fragment. It contains an address by an avowed, but as yet unaccused, friend of Sejanus ; who, like the *equus M. Terentius* in vi. 8, 6, protests his innocence of all guilty projects, and justifies his friendship for Sejanus by the example of the emperor himself.

² It is a mistake to press the words *collegam et generum* too far, so as to suppose that Sejanus had been made in some special sense *collega imperii* by sharing with Tiberius the proconsular power. The similar words used by M. Terentius in vi. 8, 6 (*tuum, Caesar, generum, tui consulatus socium, tua officia in re publica capessentem*), refer to the joint consulship of Sejanus

with Tiberius in A.D. 31, and also to such share in the work of administration as led Tiberius to speak of Sejanus as *socium laborum* (iv. 2, 4), and Drusus to complain *incolumi filio adiutorem imperii alium vocari* (iv. 7, 2). Had Sejanus been made a sharer of the proconsular or any other formal power, as Furn. suggests (Intr. p. 83), the historians could scarcely have failed to notice so important a fact. The term *generum* refers to the alliance with Livia which Sejanus had dared to hope for. To raise so hateful a proposal from the region of surmise into that of fact is characteristic of Tacitus ; it is no less appropriate rhetorically in the mouths of men who are defying Tiberius before they die, and are *per invidiam* straining the case against him to the utmost. The words would in fact mean, 'your would-be son-in-law.' Suetonius more correctly describes Sejanus as *spe adfinitatis ac tribuniciae potestatis deceptum* (Tib. 65).

³ *i.e.* by accusing innocent persons in order to save themselves. The speaker is no doubt referring to the informers (*indices*) mentioned in chap. 8, 1.

me in that company who have found in honourable death an escape from the evils of their country.

7. 1 He then passed part of the day with his friends, bidding them farewell, or detaining them, according as each desired to stay and converse with him or not; and the house was still thronged with guests, all gazing on his intrepid face, and not deeming the end so nigh, when he threw himself on a sword which he
2 had hidden in the folds of his dress. Nor did the Emperor vent on him when dead any of the foul charges which he had not spared in the case of Blaesus.¹

He openly commits suicide.

3. 1 Next came the cases of Publius Vitellius² and Pomponius Secundus.³ The former was accused of having offered to open the Treasury, of which he was Prefect, and use the military chest⁴ to aid a rising; the latter was charged by Considius, an ex-Praetor, with being a friend of Aelius Gallus:⁵ for Gallus had fled to the gardens of Pomponius as to a sure refuge
2 when Sejanus was executed. Nothing would have saved these two men but the staunchness of their brothers,⁶ who came forward as sureties for them.
3 But there were many postponements; and Vitellius

Cases of Vitellius and Pomponius Secundus.

¹ The uncle of Sejanus (iii. 35, 2), hailed as 'Imperator' by his troops for his African successes (iii. 74, 6). He was apparently among the first victims. His two sons afterwards put an end to themselves (vi. 40, 3).

² This is the Vitellius who conducted the retreat by land from Germany (i. 70). As a friend of Germanicus, he was an accuser of Cn. Piso (ii. 74, 2; iii. 10, 2, etc.).

³ Pomponius Secundus was subsequently cos. suf. A.D. 44.

⁴ The mention of *militarem pecuniam* and *praefectus* shews that the *aerarium militare* is meant, instituted by Augustus in A.D. 6 for the payment and rewards of the army (i. 78, 2), as we learn from the Mon. Anc. iii. 36-37. The military treasury was managed by a prefect or prefects appointed by the emperor;

the public aerarium was managed by the praetors (i. 75, 4).

⁵ On the conjecture that Sejanus was adopted by Aelius Gallus, made prefect of Egypt B.C. 24, see n. on iv. 1, 3. It is conjectured that the Aelius Gallus here mentioned was the eldest son of Sejanus, bearing the same name as his adoptive grandfather. It seems, however, unlikely that Tacitus, in his one mention of this name, should have omitted to add the cardinal fact that he was the son of Sejanus.

⁶ A brother of Pomponius, Quintus by name, is mentioned in vi. 18, 2, as accusing a sister of Considius. One of the brothers of P. Vitellius was Lucius, who became cos. A.D. 34, who conducted the Parthian campaign as Governor of Syria in A.D. 35, and of whom Tacitus uses the fine phrase *cesserunt prima postremis* (vi. 32, 7).

was unable to endure the alternations of hope and fear. Asking for a penknife, as if for purposes of study, he made a slight incision in his veins, and so died,¹ of sheer despondency. Pomponius, however, survived Tiberius; he was a man of fine character, and of great intellectual parts,² and he bore with fortitude his change of fortune.

Cruel execution of the young children of Sejanus.

Although the popular fury was now subsiding, and most people had been appeased by the sentences already inflicted, it was resolved to punish the remaining children³ of Sejanus, and they were carried off to prison. The boy was old enough to understand what was before him; but the girl was so innocent that she kept on asking, *What was her fault? Whither were they taking her? She would not do it again: could she not be chastised like any other child?* Writers of the time tell us that as there was no precedent for inflicting capital punishment on a maiden, she was outraged by the executioner before being strangled. The execution over, the poor young bodies were cast down the Gemonian stairs.⁴

Bold attempt to per-sonate Drusus.

At this juncture, an alarming though short-lived rumour ran through the provinces of Asia and Achaia that Drusus,⁵ the son of Germanicus, had been seen in the Cyclades, and again upon the mainland. The young man in question was of about the same age as Drusus, and some of that prince's freedmen professed to recognise him, and attached themselves to

¹ The story of Suetonius is that he was constrained to bind up his wounds, and died afterwards *morbo* (Vit. 2).

² Pomponius was a tragedian of high repute; Quintilius says of him *eorum quos viderim longe princeps Pomponius Secundus, quem senes parum tragicum putabant, eruditione et nitore praestare confitebantur* (x. 1, 98).

³ From iv. 3, 5 we learn that Sejanus

had three children by Apicata. The eldest, whether called Aelius Gallus or not, probably perished with his father. See n. on chap. 8, 1.

⁴ For the Gemonian stairs, see n. on iii. 14, 6.

⁵ Drusus was at this time a prisoner in the Capitol; his miserable end is described below, vi. 23, 4.

his person to promote the fraud. The renown of his name, and the love of the Greek mind for all that is strange and marvellous,¹ soon attracted to him an ignorant following. A story was concocted, and straightway believed, that Drusus had escaped from custody, and was on his way to his father's army² to
 3 make a descent upon either Syria or Egypt. Attended by crowds of young men, and received with enthusiasm by the provincials, the youth had become elated by his success and puffed up with empty hopes, when the thing came to the ears of Poppaeus Sabinus,³ Governor of Macedonia, who had Achaia also under his charge.
 4 To be beforehand with the affair, whether there should be truth in it or not, he hurried past the bays of Torone and Thermae,⁴ skirted the island of Euboea in the Aegean, touched at the Piraeus on the coast of Attica, and then landing on the Corinthian shore, crossed the Isthmus of that name. Taking ship again on the Ionian Sea, he entered the Roman colony of Nicopolis,⁵ where at last he learnt that the pretender, when shrewdly questioned as to his identity, had declared himself son of Marcus Silanus,⁶ and being deserted by many of his followers, had taken ship
 5 as if for Italy. All this he reported to Tiberius; but I have not been able to discover anything further as to the origin or issue of the affair.

I. 1 At the close of the year, a quarrel which had long

Quarrel between the Consuls Trio and Regulus.

¹ Cp. Acts xvii. 21: 'For all the Athenians and strangers that were there spent their time in nothing else, but either to tell, or to hear some new thing.'

² Called *paternos* as having been commanded by Germanicus in the East.

³ See n. on iv. 46, 1.

⁴ The gulfs of Kassandra and Saloniki, on the E. coast of Macedonia.

⁵ *Nicopolis Actia* was the colony

founded by Augustus on the N. side of the Ambracian Gulf, opposite to Actium. See ii. 53, 1.

⁶ This is thought to be the same M. Silanus whose influence obtained from Tiberius a pardon for his brother Decimus (iii. 24, 5), whose daughter Claudia was married to Caligula A.D. 33 (vi. 20, 1); and who was forced by that emperor to commit suicide, A.D. 37 (Suet. Cal. 23).

been brewing between the Consuls came to a head. Trio,¹ who was of an aggressive temper, and versed in the ways of the law-courts, had indirectly rebuked Regulus² for slackness in putting down the followers of Sejanus; while Regulus, who, except under pro-² vocation, was a man of peace, not only repudiated the charge, but proposed to bring his colleague to trial for having himself taken part in the conspiracy. In³ vain did many of the senators implore them to give up a quarrel which could only end disastrously: they persisted in their animosity and their threats against each other until they vacated office.³

¹ Fulcinius Trio is known to us as leading the accusation against Libo (ii. 28, 4), when he is described as *avidus famae malae*; and also as accuser of Cn. Piso (iii. 10, 1). Expecting to be accused himself, he committed suicide A.D. 35 (vi. 38, 2), after delivering himself of a violent attack upon Macro and Tiberius.

² P. Memmius Regulus succeeded Poppaeus Sabinus in his command,

A.D. 35; he died A.D. 61, *auctoritate constantia fama clarus* (xiv. 47, 1). Dio tells us that when Macro entered Rome by night, armed with his secret instructions against Sejanus, he entrusted them to Regulus, but not to Trio, as the latter was thought to be too friendly to Sejanus (lviii. 9, 3).

³ As to this quarrel, see further, vi. 4, 2.

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BOOK VI.

A.D. 32. CONSULS CN. DOMITIUS AHENOBARBUS¹ AND
M. FURIUS CAMILLUS² ARRUNTIUS SCRIBONIANUS.

I. 1 THE new Consuls had already entered upon their office when Tiberius crossed the strait which separates Capreae from Surrentum, and coasted along Campania, either uncertain whether to go to Rome or not, or else professing the intention for the very
 2 reason that he had resolved otherwise. He came several times close up to the city; entered some gardens³ beside the Tiber; and then slunk back once more to his cliffs and his solitary sea, in very shame at his own criminal and lustful practices. For his passions had now become so rampant that he would debauch free-born children, after the fashion
 3 of an oriental despot; not for their grace or beauty only, but because the innocent youth of one, or the illustrious ancestry of another, added a fresh stimulus
 4 to his desires. It was now that were first invented the terms of *sellarii* and *spintriae*, to correspond to

Tiberius approaches Rome. His excesses.

¹ The husband of Agrippina and father of Nero: see n. on iv. 75, 1.

² This Camillus had for his natural and adoptive fathers respectively the M. Furius Camillus of ii. 52, 5, and the L. Arruntius of i. 13, 1; but which was the adoptive, which the natural father, is uncertain. Why he was called Scribonianus is not known; that name was not assumed until a later period (xii. 52, 1).

³ These were the gardens bequeathed

by Julius Caesar to the people, on the right bank of the river. Suetonius says that on this occasion Tiberius came up the river in a trireme as far as the gardens *proximos naumachiae* (i.e. the naval amphitheatre built by Augustus), guards being posted on the banks to keep off the crowd. When Horace attempts to shake off his bore, he tells him he has to visit a sick friend: *Trans Tiberim longe cubat is, prope Caesaris hortos* (Sat. i. 9, 18).

filthy forms and multiplicities of lust. The office of 5
 hunting up and dragging in victims was assigned to
 slaves, who would offer bribes for compliance, and
 meet reluctance with menaces; if resistance were
 offered by friends or parents, they would use open
 violence, and work their will on them as in a captured
 city.¹

¹ As this chapter presents the indictment against the private life of Tiberius in its most loathsome as well as most positive form, it is well to ask how far we are bound to accept as true the facts here stated. The account given by Suetonius in the corresponding passage is so similar in its details, that we cannot doubt that both writers drew from the same source; and from the nature of the case that source must have been mainly, if not entirely, the popular rumours prevalent at the time. We have already seen how frequently Tacitus first records the existence of some rumour or suspicion, and then afterwards, having thus satisfied his conscience as a historian by indicating the nature of his evidence, permits the suspicion to harden into an assertion, and treats the matter to which it refers as an established fact. This is especially true of the private life of Tiberius. The mere secrecy of that life in its later years would lead naturally, in an atmosphere like that of Rome, to the invention and propagation of every evil rumour in regard to it. Immorality of the grossest kind was so rife in Rome, that to attribute it to an opponent had become the ordinary stock-in-trade of personal abuse. If it be true, as Tacitus tells us, that in those days no accusation against any one was considered complete unless a charge of *maiestas* was added to it, it is equally true that no accuser, whatever the other charges on which he relied might be, failed to superadd to them a vilification of the private life of the accused. This fact alone should make us chary of accepting as true all the foul stories current at the time in regard to personages who had become objects of public detestation. Tacitus himself lays down a caution which may well be applied to the case which we are now considering: 'The truth is that Sejanus was thought capable of devising any villainy; and such was the extravagant affection of Tiberius for him, and the

hatred of every one towards them both, that any tale against them, however fabulous or monstrous it might be, found ready credence' (iv. 11, 3).

It has been already pointed out (see n. on i. 4, 4) that all we know, on certain evidence, of the public life and character of Tiberius during his earlier years, is inconsistent with a life of private debauchery. His strenuous, over-anxious attention to public business; his indifference to ordinary pleasures; his interest in literature and Greek learning; his impatience of scandalous conduct, especially in members of the imperial family, which he punished with a severity deemed excessive by Tacitus himself; his loathing towards his own profligate wife Julia—all these things lead us to doubt that Tiberius, in his later days, could have given himself up to a life of infamy. We hear no whisper of the kind during his earlier years, when his life was public, and spent in Rome: it is only when his life was withdrawn from public view, when positive evidence was no longer forthcoming as to how his time was spent, that he is asserted to have changed the whole current of his life—and that, in spite of the fact that he lived to a hale old age, enjoying good health to the last.

Some of the details given in this chapter (*ut more regio pubem ingenuam stupris pollueret . . . in his modestam pueritiam, in aliis imagines maiorum incitamentum cupidinis habebat*) are mere rhetorical exaggerations, suggesting motives incapable of proof, and wholly foreign to the character of Tiberius. And if there be an element of truth in the tales of kidnapping and violence given in the closing words of the chapter (*præpositique servi . . . exercebant*), it is not necessary to suppose that these things were done by the order, or with the knowledge, of Tiberius. We know from Petronius how wild and disordered life in Italy was at that time, and what outrages

2. 1 Meanwhile at Rome, as though the scandalous doings of Livia had only just come to light, and not been punished¹ long before, cruel decrees were pronounced against her at the new year; even against her statues² and her memory.³ The property of Sejanus was taken out of the public Treasury, and transferred to the Fiscus; just as if that made any
2 difference.⁴ Such proposals, in identical or slightly varied terms, were strenuously supported by men bearing the names of Scipio, Silanus, or Cassius;⁵ when suddenly Togonius Gallus,⁶ thrusting his ignoble self

Fresh decrees against Livia and Sejanus.

Officiousness of Togonius Gallus

could be committed with impunity. We may well believe that outrages like those here described might be committed by the freedmen and other members of the household of Tiberius. Cut off at Capri from the pleasures and opportunities of the city, it would be easy for them to organize raids on to the main land, and outrage or carry off whom they would. None would dare to resist a party coming from Capri; all would be done and excused in the emperor's name; and the emperor himself would thus gain the credit for the disorderly conduct of his own household. After the death of the hated tyrant, all such stories, to use the language of Tacitus, were 'raked up and made the most of' (iv. 11, 4); and in view of such a possibility, as well as of the other doubts which surround the case, we may well give the verdict of 'not proven' on this most repulsive part of the indictment against Tiberius as set forth by Tacitus in the closing words of Book VI.

¹ According to Dio (lviii. 11, 7), Tiberius put to death Livia and others on receiving a written account of the murder of Drusus, drawn up by Apicata, wife of Sejanus, before her own suicide. He mentions another version according to which Tiberius would have spared Livia for the sake of her mother, Antonia minor; but that Antonia herself caused her to be starved to death. This is a good instance of the manner in which the court gossip followed by Dio and Suetonius could always add a new element of horror to every story. Tacitus makes a more discriminating use of his authorities,

² So in the case of Messalina, the senate decreed *nomen eius et effigies privatis ac publicis locis demovendas* (xi. 38, 4); so it was decreed that Libo's image was not to appear at the funerals of his descendants (ii. 32, 2); and in iii. 17, 8 the consul Cotta proposes *Pisonis nomen eradendum fastis*. Paris has not infrequently inflicted similar forms of retribution on her fallen heroes.

³ The cue was taken up all over the empire. An inscription from Interamna of A.D. 32 is dedicated *providentiali Ti. Caesaris*, and congratulates him *sublato hoste perniciosissimo*: no doubt Sejanus is meant. See Rushforth, p. 69.

⁴ *i. e.* the emperor was, in fact, master of all. In theory, while the *fiscus*, like the administration of the imperial provinces, was under the direct control of the princeps, the *aerarium* could only be dealt with by decree of the senate. The rule for confiscated property was that it should be paid into the *aerarium*; but, like all others, that rule could be overridden by the emperor, as when he appropriated for the *fiscus* the property of Sextus Marius (chap. 19, 1).

⁵ The plurals *Scipiones*, *Silani*, *Cassii*, here mark the bitterness of Tacitus in recording the adulation displayed by members of the great old houses. Only individuals are meant in each case.

⁶ This person is unknown. The absurdity consisted partly in taking it for granted that Tiberius meant what he said; partly in the proposal to protect the emperor from his enemies in the senate by a bodyguard chosen by lot from that body (Dio, lviii. 17, 4).

among these mighty names, made himself ridiculous by imploring the Emperor to select a certain number of senators, twenty of whom should be chosen by lot to act as an armed escort and protect his person whenever he should enter the Senate-house. He had taken in good faith,¹ no doubt, a passage in the Emperor's letter² asking for the protection of a Consul on his journey from Capreae to the city. But Tiberius had a way of throwing in a jest in the midst of serious affairs;³ so he thanked the Fathers for their goodness, and inquired:—*Who were to be chosen, who left out? Would it be always the same men, or would the duty be taken in rotation? Were they to be young men,⁴ or men who had held office? Private individuals, or magistrates? How would it look to see them girding on their swords at the door of the Senate-house? His life would not be worth the having if arms were needed for his protection.* Such was his temperate reply to Togonius; and he advised nothing further than the cancelling of the resolution.

sarcastically rebuked by Tiberius.

Stinging answer to Junius Gallio.

On the other hand, he administered a cutting rebuke to Junius Gallio,⁵ who had proposed that members of the Praetorian Guard should have the

¹ How little Tiberius meant what he said is shown by the fact that the consul Regulus actually presented himself at Capri for the purpose, and was refused admittance (Dio, lviii. 13, 3).

² This was doubtless the famous letter immortalised by Juv. x. 71: *Nil horum: verbosa et grandis epistola venit = A Capreis.*

³ Suetonius relates some instances of the grim humour of Tiberius. On the arrival of a tardy embassy from Ilium to present condolences on the death of his son, he replied that 'he too was grieved for them, at the loss of their excellent citizen Hector' (Tib. 52). Some wag, as a funeral passed, shouted aloud to the corpse to tell Augustus that 'his legacies to the people were still unpaid.' Tiberius caused the amount of the

legacy to be paid to the man at once; then ordered him off to execution, bidding him to be sure and inform Augustus that he had received his legacy (Tib. 57).

⁴ *i.e.* either those who had not yet risen above the quaestorship (tenable at twenty-five years of age), or such as had been specially *adlecti a principe*. See Furn. Intr., p. 80.

⁵ This Gallio is ranked by Seneca as one of the four foremost declaimers of his time (Contr. x. pr. 13); but Quintilian speaks only of his 'tinklings,' *tinnitus Gallionis* (ix. 2, 91). He adopted Annaeus Novatus, one of the sons of Seneca, who, taking the name of L. Annaeus Junius Gallio, became proconsul of Achaia in St. Paul's time, and is famous as the Gallio who 'cared for none of these things' (Acts xviii. 17).

right of sitting in the Fourteen Rows after they had served their time.¹ As if questioning him to his face, Tiberius asked:—*What had he to do with the soldiers? From whom but from the Emperor² should soldiers receive*
 2 *either their commands or their rewards? Had Gallio discovered a new principle which had escaped the wisdom of Augustus? Or had he been seeking to stir up discord and sedition as a satellite of Sejanus: inciting the rude minds of the soldiery to break through the rules of the service, under pretence of conferring on them a distinction?*

3 Such was the reward that Gallio reaped for his carefully studied flattery. He was expelled from the Senate forthwith, and soon afterwards from Italy. And as it was objected that he would find life too pleasant in the famous and delightful island of Lesbos, which he had chosen for his exile, he was dragged back to Rome, and given over for private custody to the magistrates.³

His punishment.

4 In the same despatch, to the great satisfaction of the Senate, the Emperor struck at Sextius Paconianus, an ex-Praetor, a pestilent person of great effrontery, who pried into everybody's secrets, and had been selected by Sejanus to help in laying a plot for Gaius
 5 Caesar. No sooner was this known than the hatred long entertained against him burst out openly, and he would have been condemned to death had he not offered to turn informer.⁴

Sextius Paconianus accused, but turns informer,

¹ *i.e.* they were to be treated as equites, and to receive the privileges of *primipilani*.

² At the height of the mutiny in Pannonia, Drusus, temporising, had referred the troops to the *arbitrium senatus et patres*; but, as a matter of fact, their petition was never laid before the senate at all. The retort of the soldiers to Drusus shews how hollow they felt his pretence to be (i. 26, 6).

³ As Furn. points out, Roman law recognised four kinds of custody which

the magistrates could inflict: (1) in a carcer; (2) *militaris custodia*, as in iii. 22, 5, and xiv. 60, 5: cp. Acts xxviii. 16, 'But Paul was suffered to dwell by himself with a soldier that kept him'; (3) with special guardians or '*vades*,' as was the case with Pomponius (v. 8, 2); or lastly (4) in their own houses, as in the passage before us. See Dig. xlvi. 3, 1.

⁴ Paconianus was strangled in prison, A.D. 36 (chap. 39, 1).

and
denounces
Latinus
Latiaris.

And when Sextius denounced Latinus Latiaris, the sight of these two men, both equally detested, in the position of accuser and accused, filled every one with joy. Latiaris, as I have related,¹ had taken the leading part in entrapping Titius Sabinus; and he was the first to pay the penalty. While the affair was still pending, Haterius Agrippa² attacked the Consuls of the preceding year, asking:—*How was it that, after threatening each other with accusations,³ they were silent now? It must be that fear, or complicity in guilt, was serving as a bond between them: the Fathers, at any rate, should not keep silence as to what they had heard.* To this Regulus replied that *he would bide his time for revenge, and state his case before the Emperor.* Trio's answer was that *their rivalry as colleagues, and their angry words to one another, had better be forgotten.* Agrippa still persisting, Sanquinius Maximus,⁴ a Consular, implored the Senate *not to add to the Emperor's troubles by hunting up further subjects of exasperation: he could himself provide a remedy.* Thus was Regulus saved, and Trio's fate postponed. What made Haterius so hateful was that, although enervated by somnolence or nights of debauch, and protected by his own lethargy from the Emperor's cruelty, however great it might be, he never ceased plotting the downfall of illustrious men in the midst of his lusts and gluttonies.

Haterius
attacks
last year's
Consuls.

His hateful
character.

Cotta
Messalinus
accused,

On the first opportunity after this, Cotta Messalinus,⁵ a man long and deeply hated for his alacrity

¹ See iv. 68, 2, and 71, 1.

² Mentioned as a relation of Germanicus, and gaining the praetorship by his influence (ii. 51, 2); as proposing a capital sentence on Clutorius (iii. 49, 4); and as cos. A.D. 22 (iii. 52, 1). He had made a show of independence as trib. pleb. in A.D. 15 (i. 77, 3).

³ See above, v. 11, 1.

⁴ A man of some distinction: twice cos. suf., and ultimately legatus of Lower Germany, where he died A.D. 47 (xi. 18, 1).

⁵ A special object of Tacitus' detestation. See v. 3, 4; also iv. 20, 6; ii. 32, 2, and vi. 7, 1. His full name was M. Aurelius Cotta Maximus; he

in proposing measures of severity, was accused on various counts: that he had spoken of Gaius Caesar as effeminate; that he had described a priestly banquet on Augusta's birthday, at which he was present, as *a funeral feast*;¹ and that, when complaining of the excessive influence of Manius Lepidus and Lucius Arruntius,² with whom he had some difference on money matters, he had added:—*The Senate will protect them; but I shall have my dear little Tiberius to protect me.* All this was proved against him by men of high standing; but when the case was pressed, Messalinus appealed to the Emperor. And before long a letter arrived, in which Tiberius, by way of defence, recounted the origin of his friendship with Cotta, enumerated his many services towards himself, and begged that *a criminal interpretation might not be put on words twisted from their natural meaning, or uttered in all frankness at the dinner-table.*³

but protected by the Emperor.

5. 1 The preamble to this letter attracted much attention. It ran thus:—

Pathetic letter from Tiberius.

*If I know, Conscript Fathers, what to write to you at this time, or how to write, or, in fine, what not to write, may all the Gods and Goddesses destroy me with a destruction worse than that with which I feel myself to be perishing day by day!*⁴

was a son of the famous M. Valerius Messalla Corvinus, the orator, poet, grammarian and historian, the friend and patron of Horace and Tibullus. His brother Messalla Valerius, from whom he is said to have taken the name of Messalinus, appears also as a servile senator in i. 8, 5. He himself is called a gourmand by Pliny (N. H. x. 22, 27), and is described by Persius as the 'blear-eyed offspring of the great Messala' (ii. 72). Yet Ovid rates him highly.

¹ A feast to the dead given nine days after the funeral. The point of the jest was that as Livia had not been deified,

a banquet to her was but a funeral feast.

² For these men, see i. 13, 2 and iii. 32, 2.

³ The excellent tenor of this reply would show that even in his later days Tiberius had flashes of good sense and even kindness, such as were not unfrequent in his earlier years. Tacitus does not quote them as expressing a sentiment honourable to Tiberius; he quotes them only to exhibit him in the odious character of a protector of informers. ✓

⁴ These famous and pathetic words are quoted *verbatim* by Suet. Tib. 67,

The tyrant punished by his own wickedness.

So terribly had his own crimes and excesses recoiled in punishment on his head! How true the saying of the great ancient sage,¹ that if the souls of tyrants could be laid bare, the marks of blows and torture might there be seen; since just as the body is scored by stripes, so is the mind by cruelty, by lust and wicked purposes. For neither high station nor seclusion could save Tiberius from confessing with his own lips the torments of his heart, and the penalties which he was undergoing.

Caecilianus punished for witnessing against Cotta.

The Senate was then permitted to try the case of the senator Gaius Caecilianus who had been the principal witness against Cotta. It was resolved that he should receive the same punishment as Aruseius and Sanquinius,² the accusers of Lucius Arruntius. Never did Cotta receive an honour like to this. He was of noble birth, no doubt; but he had been reduced to beggary by extravagance, and his life was stained with infamies; and yet now, in receiving so honourable a reparation, he was put on a level with a man of spotless character like Arruntius.

Prosecution of Servaeus and Minucius.

Next, Quintus Servaeus³ and Minucius Thermus⁴ were brought into Court. Servaeus had held the Praetorship, and had been on the staff of Germanicus; Minucius was a man of equestrian rank, who

with the exception that for *quam perire me cotidie*, Suetonius has *quam cotidie perire*, leaving out the *me*. It is clear that the letter must have been officially preserved, and that both writers had access to it. Tacitus interprets the words as a confession of the pangs of conscience; Suetonius, more naturally, as an expression of despair and helplessness—adding that some regarded them as a presage of the hatred of which he was to be the object after death.

¹ *i.e.* Socrates. The reference is to the Gorgias, 524 E, where Rhadamanthus is represented as finding the soul of some potentate all unsound, marked by the scars and wounds inflicted on it by

a life of wickedness and debauch. See also Rep. ix. 579, D.

² Nothing is known of these persons, or of their accusation and punishment: the impeachment of Arruntius must have been recorded in the lost book. His subsequent accusation, and his noble speech before suicide, are related below, chap. 47, 2 and 48, 2-5.

³ Servaeus is mentioned (ii. 56, 5) as the first governor of Commagene, and as one of the accusers of Piso (iii. 13, 3).

⁴ Possibly father of the ex-praetor Minucius Thermus, who was sacrificed to please Tigellinus (xvi. 20, 2).

had enjoyed, but not abused, the friendship of Sejanus. Hence much sympathy was felt for both.

3 Yet Tiberius denounced them as criminal in the highest degree, and Gaius Cestius¹ the elder² was instructed to tell the Senate what he had communicated to the Emperor in writing.

4 Cestius accordingly undertook the prosecution; for of all the evil features of that time, none was more calamitous than this, that the first men in the Senate would practise the vilest delation: some openly, some in secret; not distinguishing between kinsfolk and strangers, between friends and unknown persons, between things of yesterday and things obscured by time. Words uttered in the street, or across the dinner-table, on any subject whatever, were noted for accusation, every man hurrying to be first to mark down his victim: some few acting in self-defence, the greater number as if infected by some contagious malady.

Horrors of the system of delation.

5 Minucius and Servaeus were condemned, but turned informers;³ a similar fate overtook Julius Africanus,⁴ a Gaul of the Santonian tribe, and Seius Quadratus, a man whose origin I have not been able
6 to discover. Many similar cases, I am aware, of peril and of punishment are passed over by the historians, wearied out, perhaps, by their abundance, or perhaps anxious to spare their readers the torture inflicted on themselves by such a catalogue of horrors. I myself have come across many incidents worthy of being known, though left unnoticed by other writers.⁵

Minucius and Servaeus turn informers: fresh prosecutions.

¹ Supposed to be the same as the C. Cestius who showed some independence of character (iii. 36, 2.)

² As the son of Cestius is not mentioned, probably *praetorem* should be read instead of *patrem*.

³ Thus a man could save himself by

turning informer, even after being himself condemned; see chap. 3, 5.

⁴ Probably father of the famous orator of that name under Claudius and Nero.

⁵ These words imply that Tacitus had authorities of his own to draw

Thus at a time when others had been falsely dis- 8.
claiming all friendship with Sejanus, a Roman knight
of the name of Marcus Terentius, accused of that
offence, dared openly to avow the fact. He put his
case before the Senate in this way:—

Noble atti-
tude and
speech of
Marcus
Terentius.

*It may, perhaps, be more hurtful to my interests to plead 2
guilty to this charge, than to deny it; but whatever the
result, I will confess, not only that Sejanus was my friend,
but that I eagerly sought his friendship, and rejoiced to
have secured it. I had seen him sharing with his father 3
the command of the Praetorian Guards, and discharging
various duties, both military and civil.¹ His relations, his 4
connections, were advanced to office; to be intimate with
Sejanus was to enjoy the favour of the Emperor; to be
his enemy, was to live in terror, to be humiliated and
struck down. I will adduce no example save my own: at 5
my own sole peril, I will defend all who, like myself, had
no share in his latest designs. For it was not the Sejanus 6
of Vulsinii whom we courted; it was the member of the
Julian and the Claudian families, into which he had
entered by alliance; it was your own son-in-law, O
Caesar, your own colleague² in the Consulship, one who
was discharging the functions of your high station. It 7
is not for us to appraise those whom you exalt above all
others, or to ask why you have exalted them. To you the
Gods have given the supreme direction of affairs; to us
has been left the glory of obedience. We can but see 8*

from, not accessible to, or not used by, other writers. It is characteristic that he should apologise for giving the speech of a mere eques, specially explaining that it was *dignum cognitu*. See the similar remark in iv. 32, 4.

¹ These words, with those below in section 6 of this chap., show clearly that Sejanus held no official authority of his own, except that of commander of the Praetorians, and that he acted only as the instrument of Tiberius. See above on v. 6, 2.

² The elevation of Sejanus to the consulship along with Tiberius himself in A.D. 31 might well suggest to the Roman world that he was destined as successor to the empire, and was taking the place of Germanicus and Drusus; for they alone had had the honour of being colleagues of Tiberius in the consulship since he became emperor. The names of Tiberius and Sejanus occur together on coins of the year. See Cohen, i. p. 198, No. 97, and Rushforth, p. 69.

what passes before our eyes : on whom you bestow wealth and office, who it is that wields the greatest power, whether to help or to hurt. That Sejanus had all this, none can deny. To pry into the Prince's inner mind, to search out his secret intentions, is to tread on dangerous, forbidden ground : nor though you search, may you discover.

10 Think not, Conscript Fathers, of that last day of Sejanus, but of his sixteen years of power. We had to show respect to a Satrius,¹ to a Pomponius ; to be known to his freedmen and doorkeepers was accounted a grand
11 thing. What then? Shall this plea hold good for all alike, without distinction? Not so : but let a just boundary-line be drawn. Let conspiracies against the State, and murderous plots against the Emperor, meet with punishment ; but in what concerns friendship and friendly offices, let the same rule² that has justified you, Caesar, justify us also.

1 The boldness of this speech, coupled with the fact that a man had been found to give voice to what was in the minds of all, had so great an effect, that his accusers, for this as well as previous delinquencies,³ were punished with death or exile.

Good effect of this speech.

2 Then came a letter from the Emperor attacking Sextus Vistilius, an ex-Praetor. Vistilius⁴ had once been a favourite of the Emperor's brother Drusus, and Tiberius had transferred him to his own staff.

Accusation of Vistilius and others.

¹ See iv. 34, 2. Who Pomponius was is unknown ; he was certainly not the Pomponius Secundus of v. 8, 1.

² *Finis* here means 'the dividing line,' or 'boundary,' between what is permissible and what is not ; and so 'the principle of demarcation.' Cp. our own use of the word 'partition : ' 'And thin partitions do their bounds divide' (Dryden, 'Abs. and Achit.' i. l. 164) ; 'What thin partitions sense from thought divide' (Pope, 'Essay on Man,' Ep. i. 226). Cp. Hor. Od. i. 18, 10 : *exiguo fine libidinum*. Furn. is surely wrong, with Nipp., in making *fnis*

refer to time only ; as if the meaning were, 'our attentions must be excused, because they were continued as long as he was your friend, and no longer.'

³ That Tiberius should have thus recognised the straightforward manliness of this speech, and yielded to its logic, is greatly to his credit. So keen a home-thrust would have doubled the wrath of a Caligula or a Nero, and met with no mercy. The story suggests that the clumsy servility of the Roman nobles did much to aggravate the cruelty of Tiberius.

⁴ Nothing is known of Vistilius.

The cause of offence was that he was believed, truly 3
 or falsely, to have written something in which
 Gaius Caesar was stigmatized as a profligate. For- 4
 bidden¹ the Emperor's table for that reason, he first
 attempted, with his aged hand, to open his veins;
 then had them tied up again, and addressed a petition
 to the Emperor: but on receiving a relentless reply,
 he opened them once more. Next Annius Pollio, 5
 Appius Silanus, with Scaurus Mamercus and Sabinus
 Calvisius, were all accused of treason in one batch;
 Pollio's son, Vinicianus,² was included in the list also.
 All these were men of distinction; some had held the
 highest offices. The consternation of the senators—for 6
 which of them could not count one or other of these
 distinguished men as his friend or kinsman?—was
 relieved when Appius and Calvisius were saved
 by the testimony of Celsus, an officer of the Urban
 Cohorts, who was one of the informers. Tiberius 7
 postponed the cases of Pollio, Vinicianus, and
 Scaurus, in order to try them himself, in conjunction
 with the Senate; but in doing so, he let fall some
 sinister references to Scaurus.

Even
 women
 punished:

Even women were not safe. They could not be IC
 accused of taking part in politics; so they were
 arraigned for their tears. Thus an aged lady of the
 name of Vitia, mother of Fufius Geminus,³ was put

¹ Similarly Germanicus renounced his
 friendship with Piso before his death,
 ii. 70, 3: Augustus did the same to D.
 Silanus, iii. 24, 5. See also iii. 12, 4.

² All these were men of high rank.
 Annius Pollio was cos. suf. A.D. 20.
 Appius Julius Silanus was cos. A.D. 28
 (iv. 68, 1). Mamercus Scaurus was
 probably cos. suf. A.D. 21 (i. 13, 4):
 his fate, due, according to Tacitus, to
 the enmity of Macro, is recorded below,
 chap. 29, 4 and 5. C. Calvisius Sabinus
 was cos. A.D. 26 (iv. 46, 1); L. Annius
 Vinicianus, son of Annius Pollio, joined

the rebellion of Camillus Scribonianus
 against Nero, A.D. 52 (Dio lx. 15, 1,
 and Ann. xii. 52, 2).

³ C. Fufius Geminus was cos. A.D.
 29 (v. 1, 1). As the name *Vitia* is
 elsewhere unknown, Nipp. suggests
Vibia, quoting an inscription in which
 the same mistake is made. In v. 2, 2
 Tacitus tells us that Tiberius, in a letter
 to the senate, rebuked Fufius for his
 'female friendships': *inrepuuit amicitias muliebres, Fufium consulem oblique perstringens*. We may conjecture
 that the mother lived in a circle in

to death for bewailing the death of her son. This case was tried before the Senate; but the Emperor himself¹ sentenced to death two of his oldest friends, Vesularius Flaccus and Julius Marinus. Both had accompanied him to Rhodes; both had been his inseparable companions in Capreae. Vesularius had been his go-between in the trap set for Libo; Marinus had assisted Sejanus in bringing Curtius Atticus² to his ruin. Every one rejoiced to see these men's devices recoil upon themselves.

About the same time the Pontiff³ Lucius Piso died a natural death—a rare occurrence in a position so illustrious. This Piso was a man who never, of his own motion,⁴ made any servile proposal; and if the necessity were laid on him, he would act temperately,

Vesularius and Marinus executed.

Death of L. Piso, prefect of the city.

which the doings of the emperor were too freely criticised, and where Fufius exercised his wit amid a company of female admirers (*aptus alliciendis feminarum animis, dicax idem et Tiberium acerbis facetiis irridere solitus*, v. 2, 3). The death of Fufius himself is not recorded.

¹ We have seen that both in criminal and civil causes the emperor claimed a supreme jurisdiction of his own, alongside of the constitutional power of the consuls and the senate; which again he could override as he chose. Sometimes he would himself preside in the senate when sitting as a court; as in chap. 9, 7, where he postpones the cases of Pollio and others *ut ipse cum senatu nosceret*. Augustus constantly administered justice, sometimes in the regular courts, but sometimes *domi cubans* (Suet. Oct. 33). The holding of courts in the Palatium became common under the later emperors. We have seen that the case of Piso illustrates these different modes of procedure (iii. 10, 6). After the conspiracy of Sejanus, Suetonius represents Tiberius at Capri as *soli huic cognitioni per totos dies deditus et intentus* (Tib. 62). The power of life and death was held to be derived from the proconsular power, exercised within the city.

² Mentioned in iv. 58, 1 as the only *equus splendidus*, besides Sejanus, in-

cluded in the suite of Tiberius when he retired to Capri. His death must have been recorded in the lost portions of Books V. and VI. In the wildness of his panic, Tiberius lost all confidence even in his nearest and oldest friends.

³ The title *pontifex* (confirmed by an insc. of A.D. 14) distinguishes this man from three other Pisos bearing the same praenomen (ii. 34, 1; iv. 45, 1, and iv. 62, 1). This Lucius Piso was consul B.C. 15, and is supposed to have been father of the Pisones of the *Ars Poetica* (see n. on iv. 45, 1).

⁴ The words of Tacitus imply that though Piso never originated cruel proposals, he occasionally had to join in them under compulsion; but that when doing so, he did something to mitigate their harshness. This makes it probable that he is the person referred to in ii. 32, 4, and iii. 68, 2. In the former passage his name seems to occur, after the condemnation of Libo, as joint-proposer of a harmless mark of disgrace: that the day of Libo's suicide should be kept as a *dies festus*. In the latter, being directly called upon by Tiberius to propose a sentence on Silanus, he makes a strong appeal to the emperor's clemency, and proposes, in lieu of death, a sentence of *relegatio*. This was accepted, with a slight further mitigation, by Tiberius.

and with discretion. His father, as I have mentioned,¹ was of censorian rank; he himself had earned triumphal honours in Thrace.² He had reached his eightieth year. His chief title to fame, however, was the rare tact with which he had filled the office of Prefect of the City. That office had but recently been made permanent; and men chafed against its authority all the more that they were unaccustomed to it.³

History of
that office.

For in former times, when the King, or afterwards the magistrates, left the city, a temporary officer was deputed to administer justice and deal with emergencies, that the city might not be left without a ruler; and tradition tells how this post was bestowed by Romulus upon Denter Romulius,⁴ by Tullus Hostilius on Numa Marcius,⁵ and again by Tarquinius Priscus upon Spurius Lucretius.⁶ After that, the appointment lay with the Consuls; a shadow of which custom still survives in the nomination of one to discharge the office of Consul during the Latin festival.⁷ During the

¹ The reference is lost. The father of this Lucius (L. Calpurnius Piso Caesoninus) was censor in B.C. 50, and consul B.C. 58, when he was Cicero's bitter enemy (see Cic. *in Pisonem*). His sister Calpurnia was married to Cæsar, as his last wife, B.C. 59; it was she who vainly urged him to stay away from the senate on the fatal Ides of March.

² This was in B.C. 11. The campaign for which he gained the triumphal ornaments had lasted, according to Velleius, for three years (Vell. ii. 98, 1).

³ Not implying that he failed to secure obedience, but that as the holder of a new office with large powers he shewed tact in enforcing them.

⁴ This person is unknown.

⁵ According to Livy, i. 20, 5, Numa Marcius was chosen *ex patribus* by King Numa as first pontifex, and entrusted with the administration of the whole religious and ceremonial law. Plutarch (Numa 21) makes him son-in-law of Numa, and so father of Ancus Marcius; which is consistent with Livy's account (i. 32, 1).

⁶ Appointed by Tarquinius Superbus,

and left in command of the city by Brutus when he hurried to Ardea to raise the army against Tarquin (Liv. i. 59, 12).

⁷ Drusus is mentioned as holding this ancient form of the office in A.D. 25 (iv. 36, 1). The development of the office of *praefectus urbi* well illustrates the manner in which imperial institutions were grafted on old republican forms. In kingly and early consular times the king or consul appointed a *praefectus urbi* as a substitute, to discharge their duties within the city during any temporary absence—especially for the yearly ceremony of the *Feriae Latinae*, held on the Alban Mount. With the institution of the praetorship in B.C. 367, the office became less necessary; and with the exception of its retention for the *Feriae Latinae*, fell into abeyance. Mommsen supposes that it was abolished by the Licinian laws in that year. Caesar, being above all law, nominated several prefects to discharge such of his duties as he chose to commit to them. During the Actian campaign, and at other times also, Augustus devolved large powers

civil war, Augustus put all Italy and Rome under the
 4 knight Cilnius Maecenas; and when he had risen to
 power, the vastness of the population, and the tardy
 operation of the law, induced him to select a man of
 consular rank to control the slaves and that part
 of the population which nothing but the fear of force
 5 can keep in order. The first holder of this office was
 Messalla Corvinus;¹ but after a few days he was dis-
 6 missed as incompetent. After him Statilius Taurus,²
 though well up in years, filled the post with great
 7 credit; and then came Piso, who earned the respect
 of all during the whole of his twenty years'³ service.

on Maecenas as his vicegerent, though with no special title; Agrippa exercised similar powers in the city during the absence of Augustus in B.C. 21 and years following. Acting on the advice of Maecenas (Dio lii. 21), Augustus established the office as here described by Tacitus on a more regular footing (*nova officia excogitavit . . . praefecturam urbis*, Suet. Oct. 37), though only to be exercised in his absence, and with the main object of keeping the police of the city. Under Tiberius, the office and title became permanent. The prefect had under his command the three cohorts of *Vigiles*, and provided for the security of the city in all respects. He assumed a jurisdiction, at first confined to matters of police, but gradually extending to every department of criminal, and even in some cases to civil, jurisdiction; and thus became eventually one of the principal officers of state, responsible to the emperor alone.

¹ According to Suetonius, as reproduced by Jerome, Messalla seems to have received the appointment in B.C. 25. He adds that he abdicated the office on the sixth day, *incivilem potestatem esse contestans*. It was *incivilis* inasmuch as it put Rome into the position of a provincial city.

² According to Dio (liv. 19, 6) Augustus left Statilius Taurus in charge of the city and Italy on his departure for Gaul in B.C. 16. More probably Statilius was appointed in B.C. 25, on the resignation of Messalla, and the words of Dio refer to some extension of his powers in B.C. 16.

³ This would make Piso's appointment date from A.D. 12, before the

death of Augustus. Halm and Nipp. here substitute xv. years for the MS. xx., for two reasons: (1) Piso does not appear as swearing allegiance to Tiberius on his accession (i. 7, 3), along with the prefect of the Praetorian Guards and the *praefectus annonae*: hence they argue the office must have been vacant at the time; (2) to make the dates of Tacitus agree with a story told by Suetonius, Tib. 42, illustrating Tiberius's *nimiam vini aviditatem*. The story is that on one occasion Tiberius spent two whole days, and the intervening night, in a drinking-bout, along with Pomponius Flaccus and L. Piso; immediately after which he rewarded the former with the province of Syria, the latter with the prefecture of the city. But as Pomponius could not have been legatus of Syria till long after A.D. 12, and as Piso, if appointed in A.D. 12, must have been appointed by Augustus, and not by Tiberius, Furn. considers that the whole story must be false, and that Tacitus omitted to mention it because of its absurdity. But though the dates are wrong, the essence of the story is given both by Seneca (Epp. lxxxiii. 12) and by Pliny (H.N. xiv. 28 (22)), in a manner which proves it to have been generally known and believed. In any case, there is no reason for changing the text from xx. to xv. In A.D. 12, Tiberius was in a position which would have enabled him to procure for a friend either a prefecture or a province; and Pomponius received other appointments—that of Moesia in A.D. 19—as well as Syria. The evidence as a whole confirms, rather than weakens, the authority of Suetonius.

The Senate accorded him the honour of a public funeral.

A question was then raised in the Senate by Quintilianus, a Tribune of the plebs, as to a Sibylline volume which Caninius Gallus, one of the College of Fifteen, wished to include among the writings of the Prophetess. The decree which he proposed for that purpose was carried without discussion; whereupon Tiberius wrote a letter in which he gently censured the Tribune, whose youth, he said, accounted for his ignorance of ancient custom; but he rebuked Gallus, familiar as he was with sacred law and practice, for having brought up such a matter¹ on no certain authority, and in a thin house,² without waiting for the opinion of the College, and without having had the poem read and adjudicated upon, in the usual way, by the Masters of the College.³ He reminded him further that Augustus, (because of the many unauthorised verses passing current under the famous name of the Sibyl), had fixed a day before which all such poems were to be deposited with the Praetor Urbanus, after which day none might be kept in private hands.⁴ A similar decree had been issued in

Question of a new Sibylline volume :

rebuke administered by Tiberius.

¹ Tiberius looked jealously on all assertion of priestly or superstitious claims. Thus he rebuked Asinius Gallus for suggesting that the Sibylline books should be consulted in regard to the inundation of the Tiber (i. 76, 2); he caused the senate to sift carefully the claims made by Greek cities to the right of asylum, and endeavoured to check its abuse (iii. 60-63); and Drusus checked a similar abuse in respect of taking hold of the statue of the princeps (iii. 36).

² Dio tells us that Augustus, finding a quorum of 400 members was too large, relaxed the rule; but apparently without fixing any other number in its place.

³ It appears from inscriptions that there were five *magistri* in the college of Quindecimviri; Augustus names him-

self as a *magister* on the Mon. Anc. iv. 36 (see Mommsen). The term must have marked a grade in the college, not its presidency.

⁴ Suetonius tells how Augustus, on becoming Pontifex Maximus in B.C. 13, caused a search to be made for Latin and Greek prophetic books, and burnt such of them as were of doubtful authority—no less than 2000 in all. He retained none but the Sibylline books, and had a recension made of these also, placing those that were retained in gilded cases in the temple of the Palatine Apollo. Tiberius himself, annoyed at the circulation of a foolish Sibylline prophecy after the death of Germanicus, made a similar revision, and condemned many more (Dio lvii. 18, 5).

an earlier generation, after the burning of the Capitol during the Social War,¹ when Samos, Ilium, Erythrae, Africa also and Sicily, and the Italian colonies,² were ransacked³ for the poems of the Sibyl—whether she were one or many—and when the priests were charged with the duty of discriminating those which were

5 genuine, so far as human means could do so. In obedience with which ruling the book was submitted to the Fifteen for examination.

3. 1 In this year the high price of corn nearly provoked a riot. For several days the theatre⁴ was filled with a mob who vented their discontent with a freedom
2 seldom exhibited towards the Emperor. Tiberius, in high displeasure, found fault with the magistrates and Senate for not putting down the demonstration with a high hand; mentioning at the same time from what provinces he was importing corn,⁵ and in how much

Agitation
at the high
price of
corn.

¹ The Capitol was burnt, not during the social war, which ended in B.C. 88, but in the fight between Sulla and the Marians in the year B.C. 83. Either, therefore, Tacitus makes a slip (which is improbable; for in Hist. iii. 72, 2 he expressly mentions that the temple was burnt *civili bello*); or else he uses a milder term to keep out of view the ugly fact of civil war. On a similar principle, the triumphs of Caesar and Augustus were never nominally celebrated as over Romans.

² *i.e.* the Greek Colonies in the South of Italy, collectively known as *Magna Graecia*.

³ Tacitus overlooks the obvious fact that the search for Sibylline prophecies, after the burning of the Capitol, was made for the very different purpose of replenishing the collection, not of weeding it out. Doubtless much spurious trash found its way in on that occasion. Dionysius of Halicarnassus confirms this account of the search made for the books, those existing in his time being *ἐκ πολλῶν συμφέρονται τῶν τοπῶν*. He adds that many of them were spurious, as could be seen from their acrostic form (Ant. iv. 62, 493). The antiquarian Varro is stated by Lactantius to have

recognised ten genuine Sibyls; of these the Cumæan was the most celebrated.

⁴ The meetings of the comitia being now purely formal, and no political *contiones* being permitted, the theatre was the only place in which popular feeling could find a vent. The incident recalls Juvenal's famous saying that the Roman populace had now but two objects of desire, *panem et circenses* (x. 81).

⁵ We have seen above (iii. 54, 6-8; iv. 6, 6) how great were the pains taken by the emperors to secure a supply of corn for Rome. In A.D. 51 the stock in the city was only enough for 15 days' consumption: Claudius was surrounded by a howling hungry mob, and driven across the forum (xii. 43, 2). According to Seneca (Brev. Vit. xviii. 4), there was only corn enough in Rome for seven or eight days when Caligula died. In republican times, Sicily was the main granary of Rome; in imperial times Egypt, and the north coast of Africa. Josephus quotes a statement that, in round numbers, Rome was supported by Egypt for four months of the year, and by Africa for four (Bell. Iud. ii. 16, 4). Cp. xii. 43, 4: *Sed Africam potius et Aegyptum exercemus, navibusque et casibus vita populi Romani permissa est.*

greater quantities¹ than had been done by Augustus. So the Senate reprov'd the populace in a decree of 3
old-fashioned severity, and an edict of equal stringency
was issued by the Consuls. Tiberius himself re- 4
mained silent; but his silence was attributed, not to
forbearance, as he had hoped, but to arrogance.

At the close of the year, three Roman knights— 14.
Geminus, Celsus, and Pompeius²—were condemned
on a charge of conspiracy. Geminus had become the
friend of Sejanus, from having habits of extravagance
and luxury like his own, not as sharing in any of his
serious designs; but Julius Celsus was a Tribune of 2
the plebs. Loosening the chain which bound him,
Celsus put his head through the loop, and then throw-
ing his whole weight against it, thus broke his neck.
Then Rubrius Fabatus was taken into custody for 3
attempting to fly from the city³ in despair at the
present state of affairs, and throw himself on the
mercy of the Parthians. Caught in the Straits of 4
Sicily, and dragged back to Rome by a centurion,
he could give no plausible reason for his distant
journey; but he was allowed to live on, forgotten
rather than forgiven.

¹ Furn. quotes Aur. Vict. Epit. i. 6, who says that twenty million bushels of wheat were said to have been imported annually by Augustus from Egypt.

² Of these men nothing is known. As they were only equites, Tacitus does not think it worth while to record their

praenomina. So with the equites named i. 73, 1; ii. 48, 1, etc.

³ Senators were not permitted to travel beyond the limits of Italy and Sicily without leave from the emperor (Dio lii. 42, 6). Gallia Narbonensis was specially thrown open to them in A.D. 49 (Ann. xii. 23, 1).

Fresh
condemna-
tions.

Rubrius
Fabatus
not allowed
to flee.

A.D. 33. CONSULS SERVIUS SULPICIUS GALBA¹ AND
L. CORNELIUS SULLA FELIX.²

1 After long considering on whom he should bestow
his two grand-daughters,³ now approaching the age of
marriage, Tiberius selected Lucius Cassius⁴ and Marcus
2 Vinicius.⁵ Vinicius derived his origin from the muni-
cipal town of Cales; his father and grandfather had
been Consulars, the rest of the family were of eques-
trian rank. He was a man of gentle nature, and a
3 graceful speaker. Cassius was a plebeian, but of an
old and respected Roman family; and though he had
been strictly brought up by his father, he was more
remarkable for amiability than for force of character.
4 To the latter Tiberius gave Drusilla, to the former
Julia, both of them daughters of Germanicus; an-
nouncing the fact to the Senate in terms of slight
5 compliment to the young men. Then offering some
unsubstantial excuses for his absence, he passed on
to graver topics: complaining of the enmities he
encountered in doing his duty, and asking that
whenever he entered the Senate-house, he might be
escorted by the Prefect Macro,⁶ with a few Tribunes

Marriages
of Drusilla
and Julia.

Letter
from
Tiberius.

¹ The future emperor (June, A.D. 68 to January, A.D. 69). The prænomen which he bore at this time was Lucius, not Servius; for on being adopted by his stepmother, Livia Ocellina, he took the name of L. Livius Ocella: reverting to his original name, Ser. Sulpicius Galba, on his elevation to the empire (Suet. Galba, 4).

² The cognomen *Felix* which this consul bears in the *Fasti* of Nola indicates that he was a descendant of the Dictator Sulla. He was praetor peregrinus in A.D. 29. We heard of a L. Sulla in iii. 31, 4.

³ *i.e.* Drusilla and Julia (or Livilla), aged respectively 16 and 15, the two youngest children of Germanicus. The

birth of the latter at Lesbos is recorded ii. 54, i. Their elder sister Agrippina was already married to Cn. Domitius (iv. 75, 1).

⁴ L. Cassius Longinus was consul in A.D. 30, his brother Gaius being consul *suf.* in the same year. Their father had been consul *suf.* in A.D. 11.

⁵ M. Vinicius was consul in A.D. 30, along with L. Cassius. His father Publius (mentioned iii. 11, 2) was consul in A.D. 2, his grandfather Marcus in B.C. 19. Velleius dedicated his history to this Vinicius when consul in A.D. 30.

⁶ Successor to Sejanus in the command of the Praetorian Guard. His full name was Naevius Sertorius Macro.

and centurions.¹ The Senate passed a decree in the widest terms, without any limitation as to the number or class of soldiers to be employed. But for all that, Tiberius never again set foot in the city, much less in any public assembly, though he would often steal round his capital by side-ways, and then sheer off from it again.

Meanwhile a host of prosecutors rose up against persons who were enriching themselves by usury in violation of the law passed by the Dictator Caesar.² That law had laid down certain limits as to the lending of money and the holding of landed estate inside Italy; but as private interest always gets the better of the public good, it had long fallen into abeyance. The lending out of money upon usury had long been a trouble in the city, a constant cause of strife and discord;³ and attempts had been made to check it even

¹ This message conveys the idea that a genuine but vague and wild terror had taken possession of the emperor's mind, and almost upset its balance. The open acknowledgment of apprehension, and the piteous request that the senate would grant a protection to the emperor—absolute master of the whole resources of the state—indicate a sense of weakness and a craving for sympathy foreign to the character of a mere tyrant, and recall the tone of the famous letter addressed to the senate in the preceding year (chap. 6, 1). Suetonius inserts similar words into the hypocritical letter written to the senate just before Sejanus was denounced: *mitterent alterum e consilibus qui se senem et solum in conspectum eorum cum aliquo militari praesidio perducerent* (Tib. 65).

² The only law in regard to debt known definitely to have been enacted by Caesar was the temporary measure *de pecuniis mutuis*, passed in B.C. 49. Setting his face against the desire of his extreme supporters for *tabulae novae*, i.e. a total abolition of debts, he relieved debtors (1) by striking off arrears of interest from the capital sum due; (2) by requiring creditors to accept in payment the property of their debtors,

valued at the prices current before the Civil War (Suet. Jul. 42; Dio xli. 37-38; App. ii. 48; Caesar, B.C. iii. 12). It is to be noted that Caesar, in the last-named passage, omits all reference to the first of the above-named provisions: Mommsen thinks he was ashamed of it. A further law of a permanent character must have followed. Tacitus here tells us that it was *de modo credendi possidendique intra Italiam*; i.e. it laid down a maximum sum which any capitalist might put out at interest, and that maximum was to bear some proportion to the amount of land in Italy possessed by the lender. The object of the measure was to force capitalists to invest part of their money in land, and so revivify Italian agriculture. See Mommsen, vol. v. pp. 398-402 (English trans.).

³ The debt troubles, so well known to the readers of Livy, lasted over the whole period from B.C. 495 to the passing of the *Lex Hortensia* B.C. 286. The sufferings caused to the plebs by the Roman law of debt supplied, in fact, the stimulus which goaded them on to wrest an equality of political privilege from the patricians.

in ancient times, when manners were less corrupt
 3 than they are now. First, the Twelve Tables¹ limited
 the rate of interest which might be charged to 10
 per cent.;² for up to that time wealthy persons had
 exacted what rate they chose. Next, a tribunitian law
 reduced the rate to 5 per cent.³ At last, the lending
 out of money on interest was forbidden altogether;⁴
 4 and many measures were passed to meet the fraudu-
 lent evasions⁵ which, continually repressed, were being
 continually devised, with an ingenuity truly marvellous.
 5 On the present occasion, the Praetor Gracchus, who
 was president of the court in which such cases were
 tried, embarrassed by the number of persons brought

¹ No authority but Tacitus attributes this law to the XII. Tables (B.C. 451). Livy ascribes it to the tribunes of the plebs in B.C. 357 (vii. 16, 1).

² The phrase *unciarium faenus* is now universally admitted to have meant interest at the rate of one-twelfth of the principal (literally one ounce in the pound) per annum. This would be equivalent to 8 $\frac{1}{3}$ per cent. Niebuhr supposes that this rate was paid monthly, and first came into use when the Roman year had only ten months; so that with the year of twelve months, the rate would be equal to 10 per cent. But this is very doubtful. It was only in later times that interest came to be paid monthly; it was originally paid only once a year.

³ This was in B.C. 347 (Livy vii. 27, 3). In Cicero's time the rate of interest was *centesima*, i.e. a hundredth part of the principal paid monthly = 12 per cent.

⁴ Furn. and Nipp. take this to mean that interest was forbidden altogether in B.C. 342, relying on Livy (vii. 42, 1) supported by Appian (B.C. i. 54). But Appian probably only followed Livy, and Livy's language is not certain: *invenio apud quosdam L. Genucium tribunum plebis tulisse ad plebem ne faenerare liceret*. Apart from the inherent improbability of such a law, it is inconsistent with Livy's statement that the harsh law of debt, which rendered the debtor's person liable for his debts, was only abolished in B.C. 326 (viii. 28,

9). Such a law never was, and never could be, acted upon. The proper meaning of *versura*, the word used in the present passage (*vetita versura*), is the contracting of a fresh loan to cover both principal and interest due; and a law forbidding it merely meant that the capital of a debt should not be increased by arrears of interest. In other words, it made compound interest illegal. It was this addition of compound interest which made the debtor's position so hopeless *multipliciam sorte exsoluta mergentibus semper sortem usuris*, (Livy vi. 14, 7); and probably the object of the law of B.C. 342 (ambiguously put by Livy as *ne faenerare liceret*) was merely to make such addition illegal. If this were so, the first of the two provisions enacted by Caesar in B.C. 49 (see above on section 1) would only be a re-enactment of the old law of B.C. 342.

⁵ One form of fraud is explained by Livy, xxxv. 7. The money-lenders, finding themselves hampered by the usury laws (*cum multis faenebribus legibus constricta avaritia esset*: a phrase which of itself shews that usury had only been restricted, not forbidden), had devised a plan of evading them by having loans entered in the names of *socii*, i.e. non-citizens, who were not amenable to these laws. To correct this, a *plebiscitum* was passed in B.C. 193, putting *socii ac nomen Latinum* on the same footing as Roman citizens in regard to the law of debt.

into court, referred the matter to the Senate; and the senators, scarce one of whom was free from blame in the matter,¹ threw themselves on the mercy of the Emperor. He was pleased to allow a period of eighteen months, during which every one should bring his money affairs into conformity with the requirements of the law.

This step brought about a scarcity of money; not only because all lenders were calling in their loans at once, but also because the coined metal which had come in from the many recent condemnations and confiscations was all locked up in the Imperial Treasury, or in the Fiscus of the Emperor. To meet this scarcity, the Senate had ordained that lenders should invest two-thirds of their capital in landed property in Italy. The creditors, however, asked for payment in full; and the debtors, when called upon, could not honourably be in default. So at first they all ran to the money-lenders, entreating their forbearance; next, the Praetor's court rang with notices of suits; and the plan devised to bring relief, the buying and selling of land, turned out to have exactly the opposite effect, since the capitalists hoarded up their money with a view to purchasing landed properties. The quantity of land for sale brought about a fall of price; and the greater a man's indebtedness, the greater his difficulty in selling. Thus many were ruined, the loss of property carrying with it loss of position and reputation also.² At last Tiberius came to the rescue by

¹ *i.e.* violations of the usury laws, especially that of Caesar (see above).

² The crisis described in this chapter arose in this way. The edict of the senate gave the money-lenders eighteen months within which to adjust their loans in accordance with the law. During that time, they were to call in all the money which they might have

lent in excess of the proportion allowed by law. The senate fixed that proportion at one-third only, requiring the capitalist to invest the remaining two-thirds in land in Italy; while the debtor was to pay up at once two-thirds of his debt, either in cash or by surrendering land of equivalent value. The creditors, however, exercised their right to call up

Scarcity of cash: how caused.

Relief afforded by the Emperor.

distributing through the banks¹ a sum of one hundred million sesterces, and allowing landowners to borrow for three years without interest, provided that they could offer security to the Treasury for double the amount. Thus credit was restored, and by degrees private lenders came into the market. The purchase of lands, however, was not carried out on the conditions laid down by the Senate. These were enforced with much strictness at the beginning, as is usual in such cases, but with very little in the end.

1 The reign of terror was then revived. A charge of high treason was brought against Considius Proculus,² who was celebrating his birthday, misdoubting nothing, when he was hurried off to the Senate-house, condemned at once, and executed. His sister Sancia was accused by Quintus Pomponius and interdicted from fire and water. This Pomponius was a person of restless character, who gave it as an excuse for these

Reign of
terror
revived.

the whole; the immediate result was a scarcity of cash, and a depreciation of all landed estate, ruinous to its possessors. The tightness in the money-market was thus intensified by three causes: (1) Tempted by the fall in land-value, creditors called in the whole of their loans, with a view to re-investing the amount in land; (2) Speculating on a still further fall, they held up their money, instead of investing it at once, thus 'bearing' the market; (3) In consequence of the many confiscations which had taken place since the downfall of Sejanus, large sums of money were locked up in the aerarium and the fiscus, where they lay idle, unavailable for circulation. To relieve the pressure in the money-market brought about by these concurring causes, Tiberius had recourse to a measure analogous to what we should call a suspension of the Bank Act. He eased the market by putting a sum of a hundred million sesterces at the disposal of the banks for three years, to be lent without interest to all persons who could give landed security to double the amount of the loan. The compulsory sale of land was thus

delayed; those who had security to offer got cash for their present necessities; private lenders came into the market again, and credit was gradually restored. The sympathies of Tacitus, as usual, are in favour of the restrictive law (see 16, 1), the re-enactment of which, at the instance of the delators, had caused all the mischief. The law itself, it would appear, now died a natural death.

¹ The money was not entrusted to ordinary bankers; special Government banks were opened temporarily for the purpose, under the superintendence of a senatorial commission (Dio lviii. 21, 5). Livy tells how a similar financial crisis had been relieved exactly in the same way in B.C. 353, when a commission of five was appointed to lend money from the treasury to all debtors who could offer security (vii. 21).

² Doubtless the same Considius who impeached Pomponius Secundus (v. 8, 1). The fact that Q. Pomponius, the brother, took part in the accusation, shews that the indictment was, in part at least, an act of revenge upon Considius.

and such-like services that, if he gained the Emperor's good-will, he might save his brother Pomponius Secundus.

Even Pompeia Macrina was exiled, a lady whose husband Argolicus, with his father Laco—both leading men in Achaia—had already felt the displeasure of Tiberius. Her father also, and her brother¹—the former an illustrious knight, the latter a man of praetorian rank²—seeing condemnation before them, both put an end to themselves. Their offence was that their grandfather Theophanes of Mytilene had been one of the intimate friends of Pompeius the Great, and that Greek flattery had awarded him divine honours after his death.³

After them, Sextus Marius, the richest man in Spain, was accused of dishonouring his own daughter, and was hurled from the Tarpeian rock. That his wealth was the cause of his ruin was made evident from the fact that although his gold and copper⁴ mines were confiscated to the State, they were appropriated⁵

¹ This cold-blooded persecution of an honoured provincial family—husband, brother, father, father-in-law and Macrina herself—could have had no justification like those directed against noble Roman houses. Its object certainly was not their money, as Orelli suggests. The great-grandfather, Theophanes of Mytilene, had given material help to Pompey during the Mithradatic war; he also wrote a history of his campaigns. For this he was presented with the citizenship in the presence of the Roman army (Cic. pro. Arch. 10, 24), taking the name of Cn. Pompeius Theophanes. He became Pompey's intimate friend. Cicero mentions him several times as a person from whom confidential information could be obtained. His son (or grandson) Pompeius Macer, was employed by Augustus to arrange his library (Suet. Jul. 56), and became his procurator in Asia (Strabo, xiii. 2, 3).

² *i.e.* Pompeius Macer, praetor in A.D. 15 (I, 72, 4).

³ Coins record this deification, granted no doubt in gratitude because Theophanes had obtained for Mytilene the privileges of a free city. Thus in the East, at any rate, the deification of the emperors was but the continuance of a practice already in vogue. The offence of the descendants consisted in their having, and perhaps boasting of, a deified ancestor. To claim divine honours, or divine descent, would be to put themselves on a level with the emperor, and so render them open to a charge of *maiestas*.

⁴ The obvious blank in the MS. before *aurariasque* seems best supplied by *aerarias*, for which Nipp. quotes Pliny (H.N. xxxiv. 1, 2, 4), who speaks of a famous Spanish copper ore called *Marianum* or *Cordubense*. Others read *argentarias*, for which also S. Spain was famed.

⁵ *i.e.* had the amount paid into the *fiscus* instead of into the *aerarium*.

Persecution of a whole Greek family.

Sextus Marius executed: a wholesale massacre follows.

2 by Tiberius. At last, excited to madness by all these executions,¹ Tiberius ordered that every one who was in custody on the charge of complicity
3 with Sejanus should be put to death. There lay the victims, in untold number; of both sexes, of every age, high and low, singly or huddled together:
4 no relative or friend might stand by, or shed a tear over them, or even cast a look at them for more than a moment. Guards were set round to watch for every sign of grief, and to follow the rotting bodies until they were dragged into the Tiber, there to float down the stream, or ground upon the banks: none
5 might burn them, none touch them. Terror had cut them off from all commerce with their kind; and cruelty, waxed wanton, closed the door of pity on them.²

Hideous
spectacle.

1 About this time Gaius Caesar, accompanying his grandfather back to Capreae, took to wife Claudia,³ daughter of Marcus Silanus. Under the mask of an assumed modesty, this youth concealed a most inhuman temper. On the condemnation of his mother, at the death of his brothers, no word escaped him: he would reflect every mood of Tiberius, take pattern by
2 his demeanour, and echo his very words. Hence in

Gaius
Caesar
marries
Claudia.
His
character.

¹ As Nipp. remarks, Tacitus speaks of Tiberius as of a wild beast excited by the taste of blood. Similarly Juvenal compares him to Ajax in his fury: *Quam timeo victus ne poenas exigat Ajax* (x. 84).

² The grandeur of this description almost condones its exaggeration. So in chap. 39, 2, with equal extravagance, Tacitus speaks of *undantem per domos sanguinem aut manus carnificum*. Suetonius is no palliator of the cruelty of Tiberius; yet in describing this period of terror he gives but twenty persons, including boys and girls, as the maximum number put to death on one day. Cp. the similar exaggeration

in regard to the disaster at Fidenae, iv. 62, 63.

³ Her full name was *Iunia Claudilla* (Suet. Cal. 12). The father, Marcus, is mentioned (iii. 24, 5) as interceding for his brother Decimus, exiled for an intrigue with Julia, and restored in A.D. 20; and in iii. 57, 2 as proposing an adulatory decree. Caligula forced him to cut his throat in A.D. 37, because he had declined to accompany him on board ship in rough weather, being afraid of sea-sickness (Suet. Cal. 23). Dio says Caligula killed him because of his pluming himself on his virtue and his relationship to himself (lix. 8, 4).

later days the well-known saying of the orator Passienus,¹ that *no man had ever been a better slave, or a worse master.*²

I must not omit to mention a prognostication of 3
Tiberius in regard to Servius Galba, who was Consul for that year. After sending for him, and sounding him by converse on various topics, Tiberius made this speech to him in Greek:—*And you too, Galba, will one day have a taste of Empire:*³ thus foreshadowing for him a long-deferred and short-lived lease of power. This he did through his knowledge of astrology; for he had had leisure at Rhodes to study that science under Thrasyllus,⁴ a teacher whose skill he had proved in the following manner.

Whenever he sought counsel on such matters, he 21.
would go to the top of his house, which overhung a precipice, taking with him as his sole confidant an illiterate freedman of huge physical strength. This 2
man, crossing a steep place where there was no path, would lead the way for the person whose skill Tiberius desired to test. On the way down, if Tiberius suspected the astrologer of ignorance or imposture, the freedman would hurl him into the sea below, that no

¹ C. Passienus Crispus (*quo ego nil novi subtilius in omnibus rebus*, Sen. Nat. Quaest. IV. Praef. 6) was an orator of distinction, as was his father before him. He was twice consul, the second time in A.D. 44. His position is shewn by his marriages. He married first Domitia (sister of Agrippina's first husband, the father of Nero), and secondly Agrippina herself: Agrippina is said to have poisoned him. Instances of his clever sayings are given by Sen. Ben. i. 15, 2, and Quint. Inst. vi. 1, 50.

² For a further account of the character of Gaius, commonly called Caligula, see chaps. 45 and 46.

³ This story is given by various writers in different forms. Suetonius tells it of Augustus: *Constat Augustum puero adhuc salutanti se inter aequales appre-*

hensa bucula dixisse, και ου τέκνον της αρχης ημων παρατρέτη. Sed et Tiberius, cum comperisset imperatorum eum, verum in senecta: 'Vivat sane,' ait, 'quando id ad nos nihil pertinet' (Suet. Galb. 4).

⁴ Thrasyllus had returned to Rome with Tiberius, and remained his constant companion. Dio says Tiberius consulted him every day, though treating all other astrologers and magi with the greatest severity. He had been with Augustus in his last moments (Suet. Oct. 98). He died one year before Tiberius (Dio lviii. 27, 1), having saved many lives by his cleverness in assuring Tiberius that he had ten more years to live (id. 27, 3), and therefore need not hurry over his executions.

Prophecy of Tiberius in regard to Galba.

How Tiberius had tested the astrologer Thrasyllus at Rhodes.

- 3 one might live to tell the tale. Thrasyllus was introduced by this passage; and in answer to the queries of Tiberius, foretold with great sagacity his future rise to power. Tiberius, greatly agitated, enquired of Thrasyllus, *Had he cast his own horoscope? ¹ What of the year, of the day, through which he was now passing?*
- 4 Having calculated the position and the distances of the stars, Thrasyllus at first hesitated; then trembled; the closer he looked, the greater his amazement and alarm: till at last he exclaimed that *some unknown and well-nigh fatal peril was hanging over him.*
- 5 Tiberius embraced him, complimented him on his prescience of danger, and assured him of his safety. From that day forth he accepted all his pronouncements as those of an oracle, admitting him among the number of his most intimate friends.²

- 1 As for myself, when I hear tales of this kind, my mind remains in doubt whether human affairs are ordered by Fate and unchangeable necessity,³ or proceed by chance. For you will find the wisest of ancient philosophers and their followers at variance on this point. Many firmly believe⁴ that the Gods take no care for our beginning, or our end, or for man's life at all:⁵ so continually do we see evil befall the good, and the wicked in enjoyment of prosperity.

Such tales raise doubts in the mind:

¹ *i.e.* the position of the heavenly bodies at the moment of birth.

² This story is told in the same way by Dio (lv. 11). The English reader scarce needs to be reminded of the fine use of it made by Sir Walter Scott in *Quentin Durward*, chap. xii., in the famous scene between Louis XI. and Martius Galeotti. Suetonius tells a different, but similar story, to the effect that Tiberius was on the point of having Thrasyllus hurled into the sea at Rhodes, as knowing too many of his secrets, when a ship hove in sight. Thrasyllus foretold that the ship was the bearer of good news. The prophecy came true, for the vessel

brought a despatch from Augustus recalling Tiberius to Rome. Thrasyllus was thus re-instated in the good opinion of Tiberius (Tib. 14).

³ The words *fato et necessitate*, as Furn. points out, make up one idea—'a predestined necessity,' corresponding to the Greek *Μοῖρα* and *ἀνάγκη*.

⁴ *i.e.* the doctrine of the Epicureans. He gives first the view which he himself rejects, that all things go by chance.

⁵ Cp. the passage in Horace (*Sat.* i. 5, 101), who borrows from Lucr. v. 83 and vi. 58: *Namque deos didici securum agere ævum, = Nec si quid miri faciat natura, deos id = Tristes ex alto caeli demittere tecto.*

is man's
life pre-
ordained
by the
stars, or by
Necessity?

Or is he
free?

Aströlogy
a true
science,
though
abused.

Others again hold¹ that there is a correspondence 3
between Fate and the course of events; only that this
does not depend upon the movements of the stars, but
on certain elemental principles, and on the sequence
of natural causes.² Yet even so, they would leave to
us our choice of life; which once made, what comes
after is fixed immutably.³ Nor are things good or 4
evil, say they, which the multitude so deems: for
many are happy, who seem to be struggling with
misfortune, while many more, in the midst of great
wealth,⁴ are most miserable, if only the former bear
their ills with fortitude, and the latter use their good
things unwisely.⁵ Nevertheless, most mortals cannot 5
rid themselves of the belief that every man's future
is pre-ordained at his birth; but that, through the
trickery of those who pronounce upon what they
do not know, some things fall out otherwise than as
foretold, thus destroying the credit of a science to
which both our own and former ages have furnished
notable testimonies.⁶ For not to wander over-far from 6

¹ *i.e.* the doctrine of the Stoics. The doctrine of *fatum* in this passage is thus clearly intended to contain a religious element; being contrasted with the Epicurean view that the Gods pay no regard to human affairs. Seneca actually identifies Fate with the Deity: *hunc eundem et fatum si dixeris, non mentieris* (de Ben. iv. 7, 2).

² Granting, then, the Stoical view that Fate is an established and necessary order of events, divinely appointed and fore-ordained, the question arises, is there a correspondence between that order and the motions of the heavenly bodies, so that they who read the stars can read the future also? or does the correspondence follow the lines of natural causation?

³ *i.e.* whichever way the above question be decided, those who believe in Fate (whether Stoics or others) allow to man a choice of life: which choice once made, the necessary consequences follow. In other words, the necessity they believe in does not exclude a

partial free-will, exercised once for all at the beginning of life, such as is figured in the well-known apologue of the Choice of Hercules.

⁴ An obvious reminiscence of Hor. Od. iii. 16, 28: *Magnas inter opes inops*.

⁵ That good and evil are not what appear to be so, is an answer to the Epicurean argument for chance, as stated above in § 2, *ideo creberrime tristia in bonos, laeta apud deteriores esse*.

⁶ Tacitus gives his own view as that of the majority: the science of astrology is a true science; it is only discredited by the fraud and ignorance of many of its professors. So in iv. 53, 2-4, the prophecy of the skilled observers was true: the error lay in the interpretations of the vulgar. Of the ordinary *mathematici* Tacitus speaks with the utmost contempt: *genus hominum potentibus infidum, sperantibus fallax, quod in civitate nostra et vetabitur semper et retinebitur* (Hist. i. 22, 1). Furn.

my subject now, I shall relate in due time how the son of this same Thrasyllus predicted empire for Nero.¹

1 During this year the death of Asinius Gallus² became known. That he died from want of food was beyond question; but whether of his own will,³ or by compulsion, was a matter of doubt.³ On being asked if he would permit Asinius to be buried, Tiberius granted the request without a blush;⁴ he even complained of the untoward accident which had carried off the accused before he could himself try
3 the case; as if the three years which had intervened had been all too short a time for the aged Consular—the father of so many Consulars⁵—to be brought to trial!

Death of
Asinius
Gallus.

4 Then came the end of Drusus.⁶ For nine days the

End of
Drusus.

points out that most Stoics admitted astrology in some form, either as a factor in causation, or as affording indications of the will of heaven. It is perhaps not generally known that at the present day in India natives religiously preserve their horoscopes. This practice, in fact, affords the only equivalent in that country to our system of registering births.

¹ Furn. suggests with probability that chaps. 21 and 22 have been inserted for an artistic purpose, to give some relief from the catalogue of horrors recorded in this book.

² Asinius Gallus appears frequently in the preceding books as a fussy, self-important senator, always anxious to put his word in, and endeavouring to make his servility more acceptable by a show of independence. Tacitus takes pleasure in recording how his want of tact led him to tread on the toes of Tiberius (see i. 12, 2-6: 76, 2: 77, 3; ii. 35, 3: 36, 1; iv. 71, 3), and how completely he merited the epigram (*avidum sed minorem*) by which Augustus described his claims to empire (i. 13, 2). The special reason for Tiberius's dislike to him was that he had married his divorced wife Vipsania (i. 13, 2).

³ Asinius Gallus had been arrested under circumstances of peculiar trea-

chery three years before. On the very day that he was being feasted by the emperor at Capri, and had partaken with him of the loving cup, he was secretly denounced in the senate. A magistrate was at once despatched to carry him off to Rome, where he was kept in solitary confinement under consular custody for three years, with just food enough to support life, and no more. Death alone was thought too good for him. Dio tells us how in another case Tiberius refused to put an imprisoned friend to death, as 'he was not yet reconciled to him' (lviii. 3, 6).

⁴ *i.e.* had the face to grant as a favour what could have been claimed as a right: Asinius having died unheard and uncondemned.

⁵ Of five of his sons known to us, at least three were consulars. All were children of Vipsania. See Nipp.

⁶ The exact date of the arrest and death of Drusus is not known. Sejanus had patronised Drusus with a view to using him as a tool against his brother, while ready to drop him the moment he had no further use for him (iv. 60, 6). In the interval he had been married to Aemilia Lepida (chap. 40, 4); according to Dio (lviii. 3, 8), Sejanus had trafficked with her also against her husband.

young man had supported life on the most pitiable food, having to gnaw the very stuffing of his bed.¹ Some say that Macro had received orders, in the event of an armed rising by Sejanus, to take the young man out of his prison in the Palatine, and put him at the head of the people. But after that, a rumour got abroad that Tiberius was to be reconciled to his daughter-in-law and his grandson; whereupon he preferred severity to mercy.

He even inveighed against the young man after his death. He accused him of personal vices, of plotting the death of his own relatives, and of harbouring designs against his country:² he even ordered a diary³ which had been kept of everything which the youth had done or said, to be read aloud. This seemed the cruellest thing of all. That men should have been posted, through all those years, to take note of his every look, his every groan and secret murmur, and that his grandfather could have brought himself to hear, read and publish all these things, seemed incredible; and yet there it all was, in the letters of Attius a centurion, and Didymus a freedman, with the names of the slaves appended who had intimidated or even struck Drusus if he attempted to leave his chamber. The centurion even reported his own brutal language to the deceased, as if that were something to be proud of, as well as the lad's dying words. For Drusus at first feigned madness, and cursed Tiberius, as if he were beside himself; then abandoning all hope of life, he uttered the most studied and elaborate

¹ Suetonius confirms this account of the death of Drusus *in ima parte Palatii* (Tib. 54), as well as that of the instructions said to have been given to Macro in the following sentence (ib. 65).

² Cp. the similar charges made against Nero (v. 3, 3), Gaius (chap. 9,

3), and Sabinus (iv. 70, 7). As Furn. points out, the words *infensum rei publicae animum* are equivalent to the old phrase *hostis publicus*, or Suetonius' *hostes iudicavit* (Tib. 54, Cal. 7).

³ See iv. 67, 6.

Tiberius denounces him after his death,

and causes a diary of his doings in prison to be read aloud.

imprecations upon him, praying that as he had slain his daughter-in-law, his brother's son and his own grandchildren, and had filled his whole house with blood, so might he himself pay the penalty to his name and race, to his ancestors and to posterity.¹ The senators interrupted the reading, as if in reprobation; they were filled with horror and amazement that one who had hitherto been so artful in concealing his iniquities should have reached such a pitch of assurance² as to throw down, as it were, the prison walls, and display his grandson under a centurion's lash, receiving blows from slaves, and begging in vain for the last necessities of life.

Horror
of the
senators.

Scarcely was this distressing event over, when news came of the death of Agrippina.³ The execution of Sejanus, I doubt not, had buoyed her up with hope; but when she found herself treated as cruelly as before, she put an end to herself—unless indeed food was denied to her that she might be thought to have died by her own hand.⁴ And now Tiberius broke out with the foulest charges against her, accusing her of having committed adultery with Asinius Gallus, and asserting that it was chagrin at his death which had made her despair of life. But in truth Agrippina,

Death of
Agrippina.

Tiberius
inveighs
against
her also.

¹ Drusus at first feigned madness, to excuse his uncontrollable outbursts against Tiberius; then, finding that to be of no use, deliberately cursed Tiberius. Wild outbreaks of passion (*atrox Drusi ingenium*, iv. 60, 5) seem to have been common to all the children of Germanicus and Agrippina.

² The extraordinary mixture of an habitual reserve with occasional fits of frankness, sometimes, as here, of the most brutal kind, is one of the mysteries of the character of Tiberius. It gives the idea of a strong and passionate nature, kept ordinarily under severe control, but subject to sudden tempests which swept away all bonds of prudence, decency and self-respect. Under the influence of such storms he seemed to

revel in proclaiming his own infamies and the degradations of his family (see chap. 25, 4).

³ Book V. chap. 5, 2 broke off at the point at which Agrippina and Nero had been denounced by Tiberius to the senate, and the senate had declared itself ready to anticipate his wishes. Both were hurried off, chained, into banishment; Nero was declared a public enemy, and sent to Pontia; Agrippina to Pandateria, a little island off the bay of Naples, in which the elder Julia had been imprisoned for five years (i. 53, 1).

⁴ Suetonius says she was treated with the greatest brutality: *rursus mori inedia destinanti, per vim ore diducto, infulciri cibum iussit* (Tib. 53).

with all her ambition, her intolerance of rivals, and her masculine preoccupations, had none of a woman's frailties. Tiberius mentioned that she had died on the same day on which Sejanus had paid the penalty two years before, and desired that circumstance to be noted; he took credit also to himself that she had not been strangled, nor her body flung on to the Gemonian stairs. Thanks were voted to him for this, and a decree was passed that on the eighteenth of October in every year, the day marked by the double death, an offering should be made to Jupiter.

Cocceius Nerva deliberately dies of starvation.

Soon after this Cocceius Nerva,¹ one of the Emperor's constant companions, a man learned in all law, human and divine,² unassailed in his position, and in full health of body, made up his mind to die. When Tiberius heard of it, he came and sat beside him, inquired of him his reasons, and implored him not to carry out his design; impressing upon him at last how distressing it would be to himself, and how damaging to his reputation, if his nearest friend were to seek escape from life without cause.³ Nerva declined all conversation, and persisted in his abstinence from food. Those who knew his mind best reported that his inner view of the evils of the times had filled him with terrôr and indignation, and that he had made up his mind, while still unscathed and unattacked, to die an honourable death.

Tardy retribution on Plancina.

The fate of Agrippina, strange to say, drew along with it that of Plancina,⁴ the widow of Gnaeus Piso. Plancina had exulted at the death of Germanicus; and

¹ The single senator of consular rank who had accompanied Tiberius to Capri (iv. 58, 1). The emperor Nerva was his grandson. His son (the emperor's father) was a jurist also (Pomp. Dig. i. 2, 2, 48).

² The usual phrase to denote a jurist

of the first rank. Capito is similarly described (iii. 70, 4).

³ This is almost the only incident recorded by Tacitus which shews Tiberius capable of a personal friendship.

⁴ For Plancina, see n. on ii. 43, 4.

when Piso fell, she owed her safety as much to the hostility of Agrippina as to the entreaties of Augusta.

5 But now that both the hatred and the favour had passed away, right was done; the well-known charges were brought up against her, and she inflicted on herself, with her own hand, a punishment which was tardy rather than undeserved.

7. 1 Depressed as the public mind was by all these calamities, it came as a fresh grief¹ that Julia, who had been the wife of Nero, married into the family of Rubellius Blandus. There were many who could remember that the grandfather of Rubellius was a plain Roman knight, belonging to Tivoli.

Julia
marries
Rubellius
Blandus.

2 At the close of the year Aelius Lamia² died, and was honoured with a censorial funeral.³ He had been relieved at last of his mock appointment⁴ as Governor of Syria, and made Prefect of the City.⁵ He came of a good family, enjoyed a hale old age, and had gained in public esteem from being forbidden to
3 assume his governorship. Soon afterwards, on the death of Flaccus Pomponius,⁶ Proprætor of Syria, a letter was read from the Emperor complaining that the most illustrious citizens, and those best fitted for

Death of
Aelius
Lamia.

¹ A striking instance of the aristocratic temper of Tacitus. In the midst of a reign of terror, when judicial murders were taking place every day, he here represents the general gloom as darkened by Julia's marriage to the grandson of a municipal Roman knight. Seneca mentions the grandfather as the first person in the position of a knight taking to the teaching of rhetoric; all previous teachers having been only *libertini* (Contr. ii. pr. 5). One of the two sons of this marriage, Rubellius Plautus, was father of the Rubellius Blandus apostrophised by Juvenal as a type of the pride of birth: *tecum est mihi sermo, Rubelli = Blande, tumes alto Drusorum sanguine* (viii. 39).

Horace (Od. i. 26, 8; Epp. i. 14, 6, etc.), to whom he attributes a descent from the mythical founder of Formiæ (iii. 17, 2-8).

³ A public funeral of the handsomest kind, such as was given to a censor. See iv. 15, 3; xiii. 2, 6.

⁴ As in the case of L. Arruntius below, § 3. For Tiberius' habit of appointing governors to provinces and then not allowing them to leave Rome, see i. 80, 2 and 3. No name of a governor of Syria is known to us since the temporary appointment of Cn. Sentius to hold the province against Piso, in A.D. 19 (ii. 74, 1).

⁵ As successor to L. Piso, chap. 10, 3.

⁶ For Pomponius see ii. 32, 3 and 66, 3, and n. on chap. 11, 6.

² Probably the Aelius Lamia of

the command of armies, declined to undertake such duties:—*He had been driven*, he said, *to the necessity of entreating men of Consular rank to take the command of Provinces*—forgetting that Arruntius had been kept at home for ten years to prevent his going out to Spain.

Manius Lepidus¹ also died in this year. On this man's wisdom and moderation I have dwelt sufficiently in the earlier books of this history. Of his noble birth I need say nothing; for the Aemilian house has ever been fruitful of good citizens, and even such of them as lived evil lives were persons of distinction.²

A.D. 34. CONSULS PAULLUS FABIVS PERSICUS³ AND L. VITELLIUS.

In this year,⁴ after a long cycle of ages, the phoenix made its appearance in Egypt, and the marvel afforded material for much learned discussion both to Greeks and to the inhabitants. I shall mention the facts on which all are agreed, with several points not free from doubt, yet not unworthy of being recorded.

The bird is sacred to the Sun. In its beak, and in the markings of its plumage, those who have given representations of it agree that it differs from all other

¹ For this Lepidus see nn. on iv. 20, 4, 5 and i. 13, 2.

² Thus Tacitus regards high birth as to some extent a set-off against bad character.

³ Apparently son of the P. Fabius Maximus mentioned in i. 5, 2 as privy to the visit of Augustus to Agrippa Postumus at Planasia; he was procos. of Asia under Claudius. L. Vitellius, father of the future emperor, was appointed to a general command over the East during the Parthian troubles about to be narrated (chap. 32, 5). For his

mixed character as a good soldier but servile courtier, see chap. 32, 6 and 7.

⁴ Dio (lviii. 27, 1) and Pliny (H.N. x. 2, 5) put the arrival of the phoenix two years later. The tale of the phoenix probably had its origin in the frequent representations in hieroglyphics of a bird of the heron tribe which makes its appearance with the rising Nile, at the beginning of the Egyptian year. Its periodic return caused it to become the symbol of a cycle of time, variously computed.

Death of Manius Lepidus.

Appearance of the phoenix in Egypt.

Description of the bird; his period and proceedings.

birds.¹ Of its length of life, diverse tales are told.
 4 The commonly accepted view is that it lives for five
 hundred years.² Some put the interval between two
 appearances at one thousand four hundred and sixty-
 one years; holding that, of the three last seen, the first
 made its appearance in the reign of Sesosis;³ the next
 in that of Amasis;⁴ the third in that of Ptolemaeus,⁵
 third of the Macedonian line: each flying to the city
 called Heliopolis, accompanied by a vast concourse of
 5 other birds marvelling at its strange appearance. The
 two earlier dates are lost in antiquity; but between
 Ptolemaeus and Tiberius there were less than two
 6 hundred and fifty years. Hence some are of opinion

¹ Herodotus describes the bird from representations of it which he had seen. In size and shape, he says, it resembles the eagle, with feathers of red and gold (ii. 73). Pliny gives it a purple body, a golden neck, a blue and red tail, with crest and plume (H.N. x. 2, 1). Lactantius has a special poem on the phoenix, describing it as half pheasant, half peacock.

² Herodotus gives five hundred years on the authority of the inhabitants of Heliopolis. The longer period of 1461 years is the 'annus magnus,' or 'Canicularis,' at the end of which the civil year of 365 days used by the Egyptians comes again into agreement with the true year of 365½ days (Censorinus, de die nat. 18). Pliny, who quotes Manilius, author of the *Astronomica*, gives 540 years—some read 509—as the period. Other periods are given by other authorities. It is possible that the number 500 may have been taken roughly as one-third of 1461.

My friend Mr. W. Ewing Crum has kindly furnished me with the following note:—For the various lengths of the phoenix-period according to classical writers, see Wiedemann's *Herodot.* p. 312. There seems to be no hieroglyphic or astronomical sense in the 500 years here given. But the period of 1461 years is known also as the 'Sothis period,' i.e. the number of years it took before the rise of the Dog Star (Sothis) again coincided with the New Year's Day of the official, moveable year. A great

deal has been written about this and the other periods; see Krall in *Wiener Sitzbr.* xcvi. 835, and in *Wiener Stud.* iv. 36; F. Petrie, *Hist.* i. 249; Mahler in *Aegyptische Zeitschr.* xxviii. 115 (elaborate astronomical reckonings); and Cecil Torr, *Memphis und Mycenae*, 57. The legendary bird was that called in hieroglyphics BNW (probably 'benne') sacred to the Sun-god at Heliopolis. Recently it has been proposed to explain the bird's Greek name, *φοινίξ*, as a confusion due to similarity between the Egyptian words for 'date-palm' (= *φοινίξ*) and for this particular bird; both would sound like 'benne' (Spiegelberg, in *Versamml. Deutsch. Philol.*, 1901).

³ Sesosis is the name given by Diodorus (i. 55) to the king called Sesostris by Herodotus, to whom he attributes the conquests made by Rameses II., of the 19th dynasty. Tacitus (ii. 60, 4) agrees with the monuments in assigning them to Rameses. The name Sesosis may be meant for Sethos, the father or brother of Rameses.

⁴ The date of Amasis was the 6th century B.C.

⁵ Evidently Ptolemy Euergetes, the third of the Ptolemies, is meant. His father Philadelphus might be described as *ex Macedonibus tertius* if we reckon from Alexander as the first. But the date of Euergetes, who died B.C. 222, suits best with the words of Tacitus below in § 5, *minus ducenti quinquaginta anni*.

that the phoenix then seen was not the genuine bird;¹ that he did not come from Arabia; and that he performed none of the acts which ancient tradition ascribes to him. For when his tale of years has run, and his death draws nigh, he builds a nest in his own country; over this nest he sheds a genital substance, from which the young phoenix arises, whose first care, on arriving at maturity, is to bury his father. This he does in no random fashion.² He takes up a load of myrrh, and essays long journeys with it; when he finds himself fit for the weight, and for the journey, he puts his father's body on his back, carries it all the way to the altar of the Sun,³ and there burns it. The details are uncertain, and have been embellished by fable; but that at certain times the bird is seen in Egypt, admits of no question.⁴

At Rome, meanwhile, blood never ceased to flow. Pomponius Labeo, whom I have mentioned⁵ as having been Governor of Moesia, opened his veins and bled

¹ On the authority of Cornelius Valerianus, Pliny gives A.D. 36 as the year of the appearance of the phoenix: he denounces as a manifest imposture the phoenix which appeared, and was brought into the Roman Forum, in A.D. 47, the year when Claudius was censor, and celebrated the *Ludi Saeculares*. The motive for that imposture is obvious.

² The account here given of the proceedings of the phoenix agrees generally with those of Herodotus and Pliny. The latter says the remains of the old bird were carried in its nest. The simplicity of the account of Tacitus recalls somewhat the manner of the Father of History.

³ At Heliopolis, near Cairo.

⁴ The attitude of Tacitus towards the phoenix is similar to his judgment on astrology. He believes in the existence of the bird, but rejects the miraculous tales that have gathered round it.

⁵ *i.e.* in iv. 47, 1. There is a difficulty about the Governorship of Moesia. Poppaeus Sabinus was continued in the

governorship of that imperial province, with the addition of Achaia and Macedonia (i. 80, 1), which as a special favour had been relieved from proconsular rule, and handed over to Caesar (i. 76, 4). Dio says this arrangement continued as long as Sabinus lived (he died A.D. 35), and after that (lviii. 25, 5); and yet in ii. 66, 3 (A.D. 19) we find Latinus Pandusa as *pro praetore Moesiae*, and Pomponius Flaccus appointed to succeed him. In iii. 39, 1 (A.D. 21), P. Vellaeus is in command of the army 'nearest' to Thrace and Macedon; in iv. 47, 1 (A.D. 26), and in the present passage, Pomponius Labeo is Governor of Moesia; and Dio says he governed that province for eight years after his praetorship (lviii. 24, 3). The inference seems to be that the governor of Moesia was put under that of Achaia and Macedonia, and received orders from him, as in iv. 47, 1. As Furn. points out, Moesia was a consular province, while both Labeo and Pandusa were only of praetorian rank.

2 to death; his wife Paxaea followed his example. For people resorted readily to deaths of this kind from the fear of execution; and also because a man's property was confiscated, and burial was denied to him, if he was sentenced to death; whereas, if he took his fate into his own hands, his body was buried, and his will respected.¹ So great were the benefits of despatch!

Why suicide was so common.

3 In this case Tiberius wrote a letter to the Senate reminding them of an old usage of our ancestors, whereby, when they wanted to break with a friend, they would forbid him their house,² and so end the intimacy. *To that practice, he explained, he had resorted in the case of Labeo; but Labeo, who was accused of misgovernment and other offences, had sought to screen his crime by exposing his Prince to public hatred. His wife had been alarmed without cause; guilty though she was, she had been in no danger.*

4 Mamercus Scaurus³ was now put on his trial for the second time; he was a man of evil life, though distinguished alike by birth and by his ability as an advocate.⁴

Similar deaths of Mamercus Scaurus and his wife.

5 It was not his friendship with Sejanus that brought him down, but an influence no less fatal—the hatred of Macro; who was now practising, in a more stealthy way, the arts of Sejanus. Macro had denounced Scaurus because of the subject which he had chosen for a tragedy, quoting from it certain verses which

Charges against Scaurus

¹ Furn. quotes iv. 20, 2 and 30, 3 as exceptions; but there was no confiscation of property in either case. In the former case, that of Silius, only repayment of the *liberalitas Augusti* was exacted. Dio says there were very few exceptions to the rule (lviii. 15, 4).

² See ii. 70, 3; iii. 24, 5.

³ Long an object of Tiberius' dislike (i. 13, 4). On the occasion of his accusing Silanus, Tacitus describes him as a 'disgrace to his ancestors,' and as 'dishonouring them by his infamous acts of subserviency' (iii. 66, 3).

⁴ Scaurus was distinguished both as an orator and as a writer of tragedies. The story of Dio is that Tiberius took offence at a line of his tragedy of *Atreus*, imitated from Eur. Phoen. 394, to the effect that 'the follies of rulers must be endured.' 'If I am Atreus,' said Tiberius, 'I'll make an Ajax of him:' and straightway ordered him to commit suicide. Seneca (Ben. iv. 31) shews that *vita probrosus* refers not to his conduct as accuser, but to the infamies of his private life; he was probably cos. suf. A.D. 21.

might be applied to Tiberius; but what his accusers 6
 Servilius and Cornelius brought against him was that
 he had committed adultery with Livia, and had dabbled
 in magical¹ rites. Scaurus worthily maintained the 7
 dignity of the Aemilian name by anticipating his
 sentence; ² his wife Sextia had incited him to the deed,
 and shared his fate.

And yet accusers also were punished if occasion 30.
 offered. Servilius and Cornelius, who had the ill
 fame of having brought Scaurus to ruin, were inter-
 dicted from fire and water, and deported to islands,
 for having accepted bribes to drop an accusation
 against Varius Ligur.³ Another case was that of 2
 Abudius Ruso,⁴ who had held the Aedileship, and
 served as commander of a legion under Lentulus
 Gaetulicus.⁵ Having threatened to prosecute Lentulus
 for betrothing his daughter to a son of Sejanus, he
 was himself convicted and expelled the city. Gaetu- 3
 licus was at this time in command of the army of
 Upper Germany; he was greatly beloved by his
 troops for his kindness of heart and for his gentle
 discipline; he stood well also with the neighbouring
 army through his father-in-law, Lucius Apronius.⁶
 Hence it was commonly reported that he had dared 4
 to write to the Emperor that *it was not of his own will,
 but by the advice of Tiberius, that he had entered into an
 alliance with Sejanus; he might have been deceived as
 well as Tiberius: and an error which was innocent in the
 Emperor could not be deemed worthy of death in others.
 His own loyalty was unimpaired, and would remain so,* 5

¹ The *Magi* were properly dealers in philtres, drugs and magic spells of all sorts. See ii. 27, 2 : 28, 3 : 69, 5.

² It gives Tacitus some satisfaction that the death at least of Scaurus was worthy of his ancestors.

³ Mentioned iv. 42, 3.

⁴ Unknown.

⁵ Cos. A.D. 26 (iv. 46, 1); now legatus of Upper Germany.

⁶ This was the general who failed against the Frisii. See on iv. 73, 1.

His
 accusers
 punished :
 so also
 Abudius
 Ruso.

Bold atti-
 tude of
 Lentulus
 Gaetulicus
 towards
 Tiberius.

provided that no plots were laid against him ; but he should regard the appointment of a successor as a death-signal.

6 *Let them make a kind of compact together, whereby the Emperor should keep all else, and leave to him the possession of his Province.*

7 Strange as this story was, it derived confirmation from the fact that Lentulus was the only person connected with¹ Sejanus who remained unscathed,² and in high favour with Tiberius—Tiberius bethinking himself of the hatred which the people bore him, of his own great age, and of the fact that his power rested not so much on force as on prestige.³

A.D. 35. CONSULS C. CESTIUS GALLUS⁴ AND M. SERVILIUS NONIANUS.

I. 1 In this year a deputation of Parthian nobles came
2 to Rome, unknown to King Artabanus.⁵ That monarch had been true to us, and just to his own people, so long as he had Germanicus to fear ; but afterwards, puffed up by his victories over the surrounding nations, and despising Tiberius as old and disinclined

Deputation from Parthia. Insolent attitude of Artabanus.

¹ Here used of only a projected alliance, just as Sejanus is called the *gener* of Tiberius, chap. 8, 6, where seen.

² But only during the life of Tiberius ; he was put to death by Caligula on a charge of conspiracy, A.D. 39 (Suet. Claud. 9 ; Dio, lix. 22, 5).

³ It was doubtless a sense of this fact—that their power rested mainly on prestige, and had no real solid foundation either constitutionally or in the spontaneous loyalty of their subjects—that drove Tiberius and other emperors, especially those not conscious of having won their claims to empire, into so many acts of cruelty. The position of Lentulus at the head of the great German armies was very formidable.

⁴ Mentioned iii. 36, 2 ; vi. 7, 3. M. Servilius Nonianus wrote a history of Rome, and is important as one of the

probable authorities of Tacitus ; *Servilius diu foro, mox tradendis rebus Romanis celebris et elegantia vitæ* (xiv. 19, 1). Pliny the Younger quotes him to show how much more ready people in the generation before his own were to attend recitations. Hearing thunders of applause in the palace, Claudius asked what it was ; on being told that Nonianus was reciting, he went in to hear him (Epp. i. 13, 3). Possibly he is the *vir consularis* quoted by Suet. Tib. 61.

⁵ Artabanus, an Arsacid on his mother's side, had been on the throne ever since he had chased away the Roman *protégé* Vonones, son of Phraates (ii. 3, 1) ; and when, some years later, Vonones had occupied the throne of Armenia, Artabanus induced Creticus Silanus, by threat of war, to withdraw him from that country also (ii. 4, 4).

for war, he became insolent to us and tyrannical to his countrymen. He also coveted Armenia, over which, when Artaxias¹ died, he set his own eldest son Arsaces as king; and sent envoys with an insulting² message, demanding back the treasure which Vonones³ had left in Syria and Cilicia. Moreover, he used threatening and boastful language about the ancient boundaries of Persia and Macedon, and declared that he would seize all the dominions of Cyrus and Alexander.⁴ The main promoter of the secret mission from the Parthians was a man of high family, with wealth to match, called Sinnaces, after whom came Abdus, a eunuch: for in barbarous countries that class is not despised, but exercises great influence of its own. These men called in other notables to their councils; and as there was no member of the Arsacid family whom they could set on the throne, since most of them had been killed by Artabanus, or were not yet grown up, they begged for Phraates,⁵ son of the king of that name, from Rome. *All they needed, they said, was a name and a sanction; it would be enough if one of the Arsacid house showed himself, by the Emperor's desire, upon the banks of the Euphrates.*

This was what Tiberius wanted. Holding fast to his settled policy of managing foreign affairs by

Tiberius
fits out
Phraates.

¹ This king, originally called Zeno, had been crowned by Germanicus under the name of Artaxias III., A. D. 18 (ii. 56, 2 and 3).

² According to Suetonius (Tib. 66) Artabanus taunted Tiberius with being a murderer and parricide, etc., and urged him to escape by suicide from the just hatred of his fellow-citizens.

³ The fate of Vonones is recorded in ii. 58 and 68.

⁴ The boast was not hollow. It must be remembered that while Antony was dallying with Cleopatra, the Parthian king Orodes and his fiery son Pacorus, under the skilful leadership of Q. Labienus, had wrested Syria and Judæa

from Rome in B.C. 40, overrun Cilicia, defeated and killed Decidius Saxa, and driven Antony's legate, Munatius Plancus, out of Asia Minor. By the end of that year the provinces beyond the Aegean were practically in the hands of the Parthians. See Dio, xlvi. 24 and 39.

⁵ This Phraates, as well as his brother Vonones, was one of the sons of Phraates IV., who reigned from B.C. 37 to B.C. 2. It was the latter who committed *partem prolis* to Augustus, as a mark of friendship (ii. 1, 2). Strabo says that four of his sons were sent on that occasion, two of them with their wives (xvi. 1, 28).

diplomacy and craft,¹ without having recourse to arms, he equipped² Phraates with everything required to place him on his father's throne. Meantime Artabanus, on discovering the plot, was at one moment paralysed with fear, at another fired with a lust for revenge; but although barbaric sentiment brands delay as slavish, and expects instant action from a king, he allowed prudential considerations to prevail. Under show of friendship for Abdus, he invited him to a banquet, and administered to him a slow poison; Sinnaces was to be amused with presents and pretences, and kept occupied with public affairs. On reaching Syria, Phraates put off the Roman dress to which he had been accustomed for so many years, and adopted the customs of his Parthian ancestors; but they proved too much for him, and he fell ill and died.

Abdus
poisoned.

Death of
Phraates.

Still Tiberius would not abandon his project. He set up Tiridates,³ a member of the same family, as a rival to Artabanus; while for the recovery of Armenia he selected Mithradates of Iberia,⁴ reconciling him to his brother Pharasmanes, the reigning monarch of that country. He then appointed Lucius Vitellius⁵ to take a general charge of Eastern affairs. Vitellius, I am well aware, earned a bad reputation in Rome, and many evil things are told of him; but in the government of his provinces he shewed all the virtues of ancient times. On his return to Rome, what with terror of Gaius Caesar, and intimacy with Claudius, he became a cringing slave; a by-word among

Tiberius
sets up
Tiridates
instead.

and ap-
points L.
Vitellius
over the
East.

¹ An excellent summary of the foreign policy of Tiberius.

² i.e. *auctum pecunia, additis stipatoribus*, xi. 16, 3.

³ Probably one of the four grandsons of the elder Phraates mentioned by Strabo. See n. on ii. 1.

⁴ See n. on iv. 5, 4.

⁵ See n. on chap. 28, 1. No ap-

pointment to Syria has been mentioned since the death of Flaccus Pomponius, A.D. 33 (chap. 27, 3). Probably Vitellius had been appointed, and received now a general commission over the East, like that given to Germanicus. One of his acts was to recall Pilate, A.D. 37 (Jos. Ant. xviii. 4 and 5).

posterity for all that is base in sycophancy. And so his later fame prevailed over his earlier; and the virtues of his youth were effaced by the infamies of his old age.

Mithradates was the first of the princes to take 33
 action, compelling Pharasmanes, both by force and
 treachery, to assist him in his enterprise. They pro-
 cured emissaries who by offering huge bribes to the
 attendants of King Arsaces induced them to make
 away with him; while the Iberians, with a large army, 2
 burst into Armenia, and captured the city of Artaxata.¹
 On hearing of these events, Artabanus despatched a
 Parthian force, under his son Orodes, to chastise the
 invaders, and sent out envoys to hire auxiliaries.
 On the other side, Pharasmanes secured the Alba- 3
 nians,² and called in the Sarmatians,³ whose chiefs, after
 the manner of their tribe, took bribes from both
 parties at once, and espoused opposite sides. Now 4
 the Iberians had command of the passes; so they
 allowed the Sarmatians who were friendly to them
 to pour into Armenia by the Caspian route,⁴ while 5
 they easily barred the way against those who were
 coming to help the Parthians. These last found
 every access closed to them by the enemy, with the
 exception of that between the sea and the extremity
 of the Albanian mountains.⁵ But this route is imprac-
 ticable in summer, when the Etesian gales cause the
 low ground to be flooded;⁶ in winter, the south wind

Mithra-
 dates (the
 Iberian)
 invades
 Armenia.

Arsaces is
 poisoned.

Success of
 Pharas-
 manes.

¹ See ii. 56, 3.

² See ii. 68, 1.

³ A general name for Scythian and other tribes north of the Caucasus.

⁴ The great pass over the centre of the Caucasus chain, called *Claustra Caspiarum* (Hist. i. 6, 5), *Caspiae portae* (Suet. Ner. 19), and now called the Pass of Dariel, connects the modern Tiflis with the upper valley of the Terek.

⁵ *i.e.* the coast road along the W. foot of the Caucasus, between Derbend and Bakon. It will be remembered that the Albanians occupied the extreme eastern end of the Caucasus, right down to the Caspian.

⁶ The Greek *ἐτησιαί*, from *ἔρος*, 'an annual wind.' According to Pliny, north winds begin to blow on the 11th July. These blow gently for eight days, when they are called *prodromi*, or

drives back the sea upon itself, and leaves the shallows near the shore high and dry.

1 Meanwhile Orodes was left without an ally; and Pharasmanes, strengthened with reinforcements, called on him to fight. Orodes declined the challenge, but Pharasmanes gave him no peace; he rode right up to his camp, cut him off from his foraging ground, and even hemmed him in with his pickets after the manner of a blockade, till at last the Parthians, unused to such insults, crowded round their prince and demanded battle.

Orodes, the Parthian general, declines the combat.

2 Now the whole strength of the Parthians lay in their cavalry, whereas Pharasmanes was strong in his foot also; for the Iberians and Albanians, inhabiting a hill country, are more used to hardship and privation. They claim a Thessalian descent, dating from the time when Jason,¹ having carried off Medea, and begotten children by her, returned to the empty² palace of Aëtes and the deserted country of Colchis. Many stories are told about Jason, and the

Origin of the Iberians and Albanians.

'precursors.' In July, B.C. 53, when Cicero was going due S. from Velia to Vibo down the W. coast of Italy, he had to use oars all the way, giving as the reason, *prodromi nulli* (Att. 16, 6). The same north wind, increasing in strength, formed the 'Etesians,' which began on July 20th, and blew steadily till August 26th (Plin. H.N. ii. 124-127 and xviii. 74). For the absurd exaggeration that these constant winds, which are gentle in character, should render the coast road impassable in summer, cp. i. 70, where Tacitus similarly exaggerates the effect of the tides on the north coast of Germany. Curtius repeats the same exaggerations about the Caspian shore: *A sempterrione ingens in litus mare incumbit, longeque agit fluctus, et magna parte exaestuans stagnat*; when the wind changes the sea retires and *terram naturae suae reddit* (Hist. vi. 4, 19).

¹ Jason, the leader of the Argonauts, belonged to the Thessalian town Iolcus,

of which his father Aeson was king. The expedition for the Golden Fleece grew out of the usurpation of Aeson's throne by his half-brother Pelias, whose death Medea compassed on her return with Jason to Iolcus. Expelled for this crime, Jason and Medea went to Corinth, where Jason deserted her for Creusa, daughter of King Creon. The legend in its usual form ends with an account of Medea's cruel vengeance on Creusa and Creon, and the murder of her own children; but according to the Albanian version here given (and so Justinus, xlii. 2, 12), Jason became reconciled to Medea, took her back to Colchis, reinstated her father Aëtes (meantime deposed) in his kingdom, and settled his followers in the country. It was from these settlers that the Albanians professed to be descended.

² Thus, according to the legend followed by Tacitus, Aëtes was dead, and the throne vacant.

famous oracle of Phrixus.¹ No ram may be sacrificed to Phrixus, because he is supposed to have been carried by one of those animals, whether it really was a ram, or only the figurehead of a ship.

Speeches
of Orodes
and Pharasmanes.

The two armies being now drawn up for battle, 5 each leader addressed his men. The Parthian dis-
coursed upon their Eastern empire and the splen-
dour of the Arsacidae; *they had against them a low-*
born Iberian, with an army of mercenaries. Pharas-
manes told his followers that *they had never bowed*
to the Parthian yoke; the greater the prize before them,
the more glorious would be their victory, the greater the
shame and peril of defeat; and pointing to their own 6
unkempt ranks, and to the gold-bespangled columns
of the Medes,² he told them that *all the manhood was*
on the one side, all the booty upon the other.

Varied
battle with
various
styles of
fighting.

The Sarmatians had more than their leader's voice 3
to cheer them on. Each called on the other *not to let*
*it be an archers' battle,*³ *but to rush the fighting.* Hence 2
the battlefield wore a chequered appearance. The
Parthians, skilled equally in pursuit and flight, threw
open their ranks so as to have room to shoot; while
the Sarmatians, throwing aside their bows, which
have no length of range, rushed in with pike and
sword. At one moment, in true cavalry style, the 5

¹ Phrixus, the son of Athamas and Nephete, escaped from the intrigues of his step-mother Ino by riding on the ram with the golden fleece, a present from Hermes. Arrived safe in Colchis, Phrixus sacrificed the ram to *Zeus Phystius* (or *Laphystius*); the fleece was hung up in the grove of Ares by Aëtes. The name and legend of Jason were famous in that part of the East (Justin. xlii. 3). They were caught up and spread by the Thessalians included in Alexander's army. See Grote, chap. 13.

² The terms *Medes*, *Persians*, and *Parthians*, are used indiscriminately by Latin writers. Thus in Horace we

have *Persae*, Od. i. 2, 22; iv. 15, 23; *Medi*, Od. ii. 16, 6; iii. 8, 19; *Parthi*, Od. ii. 13, 18; Sat. ii. 1, 15, Virg. Geo. iii. 3r.

³ The Parthian forces, like those of the Boers, were very mobile, consisting of mounted archers; they rode well and they shot well. Their tactics were to shoot and retire, avoiding close quarters till their enemy was demoralised: their long deadly shafts 'nailed the shield to the arm that bore it, and the helmet to the head' (Oman's 'Seven Roman Statesmen,' p. 198). The Sarmatians, like the British infantry, preferred to charge home.

lines would be alternately face to face, or back to back; at another, every man would use his weight and his weapons in a stand-up fight, pushing and
 3 pushed back by turns. Then the Albanians and the Iberians would spring in, seize the riders, and pull them from their horses; thus the Parthians were pressed on both sides, the horsemen striking at them from above, the footmen, at closer quarters, from below.

4 Meanwhile, conspicuous above the rest, Pharasmanes and Orodes were cheering on the forward, or encouraging the laggards: each recognized the other, and with a shout they pushed their horses to the charge. Pharasmanes was the more impetuous in his attack; he drove his spear through the helmet
 5 of his foe, but being borne on by his horse could not repeat the blow. The wounded prince was rescued by the bravest of his guards; but as a rumour of his death gained currency and credence, the Parthians in panic yielded up the victory.

Encounter of Pharasmanes and Orodes.

The Parthians retire.

1 Artabanus soon¹ brought out the whole strength of his kingdom to repair the disaster. The Iberians, from their knowledge of the country, had the best of the fighting; but Artabanus would not have retired before them had not Vitellius created an alarm of a war with Rome by gathering his legions together, and giving out that he was about to invade Mesopotamia.
 2 This turned the tide against Artabanus. He gave up his designs upon Armenia, while Vitellius tempted his subjects to abandon a king who had played the tyrant in time of peace, and brought them to ruin by
 3 his defeats in battle. Thus appealed to, Sinnaces, whose hostility to Artabanus I have already mentioned,² induced his father to revolt, as well as others

Vitellius makes a shew of force, and

¹ Probably in the year following.

² *i.e.* in chap. 31, 3.

in his private confidence who were the readier to desert because of the recent succession of disasters. Others who had submitted from fear rather than goodwill, and who plucked up courage now that there was some one to shew the way, flocked in by degrees; till at last Artabanus had none but his foreign body-guard left, men exiled from their own country, with no sense of right or wrong, mere hired instruments of crime. Taking these with him, he fled precipitately to the distant but adjoining country of Scythia, hoping to get help through his connection with the Hyrcanians¹ and the Carmanians;² he thought also that the Parthians, as loyal to their kings in exile as they were restless under their rule, might in the mean time repent and change their minds.

Artabanus
retires to
Scythia.

Vitellius
crosses the
Euphrates.

Sacrifice;
and omen
from the
river.

Artabanus having thus fled, and the thoughts of his countrymen being turned towards a new king, Vitellius urged Tiridates to seize his chance, and at the head of his whole forces, Roman and allied, marched to the Euphrates. Here they offered sacrifice, the Roman General, according to custom, offering a boar, a sheep, and a bull;³ while Tiridates propitiated the river with a handsomely caparisoned horse.⁴ While thus engaged, word was brought to them by the natives that *the Euphrates, of its own accord, unfed by*

¹ Hyrcania was situated on the SE. corner of the Caspian, inhabited by Scythian tribes. One of these was the Dahae, among whom Artabanus had been brought up (ii. 3, 1), and from whom the province takes its modern name of Daghestan. Cp. Virg. Aen. viii. 728, where among those included in Caesar's triumph are *Indomitique Dahae et pontem indignatus Araxes*.

² Carmania was a vast half-desert province of the Persian Empire, to the W. of *Persis* proper (now *Fars* or *Farsistan*), and extending S. to the Persian Gulf and Indian Ocean.

³ This sacrifice (called *suovetaurilia*) was originally offered as an agricultural

illustration to Mars. It was afterwards offered at other ceremonies, especially at triumphs, to Jupiter, instead of to Mars. The sacrifice is depicted in two of the most famous remains of Roman sculpture—the bas-relief in the Roman forum, of the time of Vespasian, and that on the Arch of Constantine, which represents Trajan in the act of sacrificing.

⁴ Like all imaginative people, the Parthians paid homage to rivers; and the horse, as their most valuable animal, was their highest sacrifice. He was usually offered to the sun (Xen. Anab. iv. 5, 35).

rains, was rising to a great height, and curling the white foam into circlets like diadems—sure omen of a
 3 favourable crossing. Others, with more shrewdness, interpreted the omen to signify that *the enterprize would succeed at the outset, but the success would not be lasting; seeing that portents on the earth, or in the sky, might be trusted, whereas on an unstable element, like that of a river, they were no sooner displayed than snatched away.*

4 A bridge of boats having been made, and the army conveyed across the river, the first to join the camp was Ornospades, who came in with a force of several thousand horse. Formerly an exile, this man had served with some distinction under Tiberius at the close of the Delmatian war,¹ and had been rewarded with the Roman franchise; he had afterwards again sought the King's friendship, had been held by him in high honour, and appointed Governor of the flat country which, being surrounded by the famous rivers Tigris and Euphrates, bears the name of Mesopotamia.

Ornospades and others come in;

5 Soon after this, Sinnaces arrived with reinforcements; while Abdagaeses, who was the pillar of the cause, brought in the treasure and the court paraphernalia. Vitellius thought it enough to have made a demonstration of Roman force; so he retired with
 6 his legions into Syria, after addressing some words of advice to Tiridates and his chief men.² The former

Vitellius retires.

¹ In A.D. 6-9.

² The policy of Tiberius towards the Parthians seems inglorious at first sight. One of his main objects was to play off Armenia against Parthia, and to keep the two countries embroiled with each other. He was willing to coquet with any new claimant to power, and to foment indirectly any intrigue which promised to aggravate the dynastic or party discords which were always smouldering beneath the surface, and to take advantage of the sudden changes of fortune which were chronic under

the oriental system of government—a system of despotism tempered by assassination. He was willing enough to make a display of Roman force upon the frontier, and to assume the airs of an armed arbiter, like Napoleon III. in his palmy days; as though his supreme sanction were required for any new settlement of affairs in either kingdom. But the moment he was called upon to take a decisive step, and engage the forces of the empire in any serious undertaking, he drew off, satisfied with having made a show of the majesty of

he exhorted not to forget his grandfather Phraates and his protector Augustus, and all the noble qualities of both; the latter he admonished to be dutiful to their King, and respectful towards Rome, and to keep every man his place and his honour inviolate.¹

I have related the events of two summers in conjunction to afford the reader's mind some respite from the unhappy state of things at home. For though three years had passed since the execution of Sejanus, none of the influences which soften other men—neither time nor entreaty nor satiety—had any effect upon Tiberius. He still went on punishing old or dubious offences as if they were recent and of the utmost gravity. Haunted by this terror, Fulcinus 2
Trio² would not wait to be prosecuted. His will contained a scathing denunciation of Macro and the Emperor's chief freedmen; the Emperor himself being stigmatised as a dotard who had been so long absent from the city that he had become almost an exile. These remarks his heirs would have suppressed, but 3

Rome, and leaving the contending factions to stew in their own juice. It was not a dignified policy; but it was enough to satisfy public opinion in Rome, where any appearance of bowing to the supremacy of the empire could be construed into a triumph; and it was, in reality, a policy more in harmony with Roman interests than a forward policy would have been. Parthia contained none of the materials suitable for incorporation in the Roman Empire. Western methods were inapplicable to her; further expansion to the east would have brought to Rome nothing but weakness and disaster, and would have distracted her from the work of assimilating the Western and Northern provinces, which were to be her mainstay in the centuries which followed. Rome had nothing to fear from Parthian aggression. If instead of casting covetous eyes upon the East, she had contented herself with keeping her eastern frontier secure, and put her whole strength into the West and

North; had she extended her frontier from the Lower Danube to the Elbe, and set herself resolutely to subdue and pacify and civilise Germany, as she had pacified Gaul and Spain, she might have added untold strength to her empire. With a narrower frontier to defend, and the splendid strength of a loyal and Romanised Germany to man the bulwarks of her power, she would have been in a very different position, when the day of trial came, to face the barbarians from the North.

¹ Having made a parade of the whole strength of Rome, having crossed the frontier, offered his sacrifices, and received the homage of a few notables, Vitellius deems his work done. He leaves the party leaning on him to face their difficulties without his help as best they may, addresses to them a few lofty words of advice and patronage, and then withdraws.

² For Fulcinus Trio and his quarrel with his colleague Regulus in A.D. 31, see v. 11, 1, and chap. 4, 3.

Unrelenting cruelty of Tiberius.

Suicide of Trio.

Tiberius insisted on their being read aloud ;¹ whether to parade his tolerance of free speech, and his indifference to his own reputation,² or because, after being so long ignorant of the crimes of Sejanus, he preferred now to have everything that might be said about him made public, and thus, even at the cost of insult, learn the truth, to which flattery bars the way.

4 About the same time the senator³ Granius Marcinus, being accused of treason by Gaius Gracchus,⁴ laid violent hands on himself; and Tattius Gratianus, an ex-Praetor, was condemned to death under the same law.

Other deaths of accused persons.

9. 1 Not unlike to these were the deaths of Trebellenus⁵ Rufus and Sextius Paconianus.⁶ The former perished by his own hand; Paconianus was strangled in prison because of some verses which he had there composed
2 against the Emperor. And Tiberius heard of these things, not across a strait of the sea, as formerly, or by the hands of messengers from a distance, but so close to the city that he could answer the despatches from the Consuls on the same day, or with only a night intervening, and almost see with his own eyes

¹ Just as he ordered the record of all the sayings of Drusus for years back to be read aloud and published, though full of insult to himself (chap. 24, 2-4).

² This grim determination to get at the facts of a case, and drag the truth, however disagreeable, to light, even at his own expense, is very characteristic of Tiberius. We have seen how Tacitus sneers at the minuteness of his judicial investigations (i. 75, 2), though he has to acknowledge that they furthered justice. In this passage, he feels compelled reluctantly to admit that the unflinching determination, in spite of courtiers and even *per probra*, to get at the truth, is deserving of some commendation. The natural interpretation of the action of Tiberius is that he

caused these things to be published in self-justification.

³ When used thus by itself, without qualification, the word *senator* seems to denote a senator who had not held high office. So of Firmius Catus, ii. 27, 2, and iv. 31, 7, and of Pius Aurelius, i. 75, 3, etc.

⁴ Probably the person mentioned iv. 13, 3, and chap. 16, 5.

⁵ Mentioned in ii. 67, 4, and iii. 38, 4, as having been appointed guardian of the infant children of the Thracian prince Cotys. The name should be written as here *Trebellenus*: see Furn. on ii. 67, 4.

⁶ Mentioned above, chap. 3, 4, as *audacem maleficum omnium secreta rimantem, delectumque a Seiano cuius ope dolus Gaio Caesari pararetur*.

the blood streaming through men's houses, or dripping down the hands of the executioner.¹

At the end of the year Poppaeus Sabinus died.³ Of respectable origin, imperial favour had raised him to the Consulship, and to the honours of a Triumph. For twenty-four years² he had been retained in command of important Provinces; not for any conspicuous ability that he possessed, but because he was competent, and not more than competent.³

A.D. 36. CONSULS Q. PLAUTIUS⁴ AND SEXTUS PAPINIUS ALLENIUS.

The public had become so used to horrors that the execution of Lucius Aruseius and others in this year attracted no attention; but a sensation was created by the death of Vibulenus Agrippa, a Roman knight. For when his accusers had concluded their case against him, he took poison out of his dress in the Senate-house, drank it off, and fell dying to the ground.⁵ He was hurried off to prison by the lictors; and though he was already dead, his neck was subjected to the halter. Even Tigranes,⁶ once king of

¹ As grossly exaggerated as the language used above in chap. 19, 3.

² For the tenure of his office by Poppaeus Sabinus, see Furn. on i. 80, 1. For his Thracian campaign, see iv. 46-51.

³ A fundamental maxim of despotic governments, when the despot himself is not a commanding genius. Caesar had no jealousy of his subordinates; he could turn to account, and use for the public service, all the ability he could lay his hands on. Tiberius had none of the self-confidence which belongs to greatness. He distrusted himself and his own capacity to control his officers. He had to recoil before the firm and defiant language of Gaetulicus (vi. 30, 3-7); he waited to crush C. Silius till Silius had laid down his provincial com-

mand (iv. 18). His safety—perhaps the safety of the state also—lay in the law by which the mediocre monarch must make use of mediocre instruments.

⁴ Perhaps the brother of the praetor Plautius Silvanus who threw his wife out of the window (iv. 22).

⁵ Tacitus speaks of this as a single notorious instance. Suetonius, with his usual exaggeration, describes it as done frequently: *partim in media Curia venenum hauserunt, et tamen colligatis vulneribus ac semianimes palpitanesque in carcerem rapti* (Tib. 61).

⁶ Identified by Mommsen with Tigranes IV., mentioned by Augustus in the Mon. Anc. as placed by him upon the throne. He was a grandson of Herod the Great. Tacitus makes no mention of him in ii. 4.

Death of Poppaeus Sabinus.

Sensational death of a Roman knight.

Armenia, found no protection in his royal title; he was accused and punished like any private citizen.

3 Gaius Galba,¹ a Consular, and the two Blaesi,² perished by their own hands. Galba had received a letter from Tiberius sternly forbidding him to cast lots for a Province.³ The Blaesi had been destined for priesthoods during the prosperous days of their house; but when the crash came, Tiberius postponed the appointments, and he now conferred them, as though vacant, upon others. The Blaesi took this

4 as a death-signal, and acted accordingly. Then came the case of Aemilia Lepida.⁴ Wedded, as I have related,⁵ to the young Drusus, she had pursued her husband with continual accusations; but infamous as she was, she was allowed to go unpunished so long as her father Lepidus was alive. She was now brought to trial for committing adultery with a slave; and as there was no doubt about her guilt, she abandoned her defence and put an end to herself.

Deaths of
Tigranes,
Galba, the
two Blaesi,
and
Aemilia
Lepida.

1 About this time the Clitae,⁶ a tribe subject to Archelaus of Cappadocia, being compelled to give in returns of their property and pay tribute on the Roman system, retired into the recesses of Mount Taurus; where aided by the character of the country they maintained themselves against the feeble forces of the King. At last Vitellius, Governor of Syria,

Revolt
of the
Clitae.

¹ C. Sulpicius Galba, elder brother of the future emperor, cos. A.D. 22 (iii. 52, 1).

² Sons of Blaesus, the uncle of Sejanus, who was appointed proconsul of Africa A.D. 21 (iii. 35, 3), and in that capacity gained the 'triumphalia' (iii. 72, 6), and was saluted 'imperator' (iii. 74, 6) for his successes against Tacfarinas. Both seem to have been consulars (Vell. ii. 127, 3).

³ So Suetonius, Galb. 3, who adds that he was in exile: *attritis facultatibus urbe cessit*.

⁴ Apparently daughter of M. Lepidus of iii. 32, 2, where see n.

⁵ *i.e.* in the lost books.

⁶ A tribe of wild hillsmen, *agrestium Cilicum nationes quibus Clitarum cognomen* (xii. 55, 1), in the W. part of Cilicia, called Trachaea. The Archelaus here mentioned was son of the Cappadocian king Archelaus, who was enticed to Rome by Tiberius and entrapped (ii. 42, 2-5). Cappadocia was then made a province; but the Clitae were left to the young Archelaus.

sent against them his Legate Marcus Trebellius¹ with four thousand legionaries and a picked body of allies. Throwing up earth-works round two hills occupied by the barbarians, the smaller of which was called Cadra, the larger Davara, Trebellius put to the sword those who ventured to break out, and reduced the rest to submission by want of water.

Tiridates
makes way
in Parthia.

Tiridates in the mean time, with the consent of the Parthians, had taken possession of Nicephorium and Anthemusias and other towns with Greek names which had been founded by the Macedonians, as well as the Parthian towns of Halus and Artemita.² His successes were hailed with delight by the party who loathed Artabanus for his cruelty, and for his Scythian bringing-up, and who hoped to find in Tiridates the milder traits of Roman civilisation.

He is well
received in
Seleucia,

The people of Seleucia surpassed all others in their flattery. This powerful and well-fortified city still bears the impress of its founder Seleucus, and has never lapsed into barbarism. It has a Senate of three hundred citizens, selected for their wisdom or their wealth; and the people have powers of their own. When people and Senate agree, they can defy the Parthians; but when the two fall out, each seeks

¹ As M. Trebellius was thus under the orders of Vitellius, it would appear that Cilicia, or at least this part of it (see also ii. 78, 3), belonged to the province of Syria.

² Tacitus names these cities with little sense of their respective positions. The usual road from Antioch to Mesopotamia lay in a N.E. direction to Zeugma on the Euphrates, opposite to Apamea on the left bank, and thence to the important Macedonian town of Edessa; to the immediate south of which was the district or city of Anthemusias, also a Macedonian name, on the stream Bilechas. At the junction of that stream with the Euphrates, sixty miles due S. of Edessa, lay the Greek town of Nicephorium or Callini, founded by

Seleucus I.; close to which was the lowest ford on the Euphrates at Thapsacus (= *Thihsach*, or 'the Passage'), which could be reached by a route running nearly due E. from Antioch. Tiridates obviously marched by the former route, passing through Anthemusias to Nicephorium. Of the rest of the march—some 600 to 800 miles—Tacitus says nothing. Halus is not known; but it was probably near Artemita, a Parthian town about sixty miles N. of Seleucia, the half-Greek city founded by Seleucus I. on the Tigris, near Baghdad. Opposite to Seleucia, on the left bank of the Tigris, lay Ctesiphon, which became the residence of the Parthian kings after the conquest of Babylon, B.C. 130.

help against the other, and the ally called in to help
 3 the one ends by lording it over both. This had lately
 happened in the reign of Artabanus, who with a view
 to his own interests had put the commons under the
 heel of the nobles; for whereas popular rule is closely
 allied to liberty, domination by the few is near akin
 to kingly absolutism.

4 It came about, therefore, that the people welcomed
 Tiridates when he entered the city, and received him
 with all the honours paid to their ancient monarchs,
 with many more of recent devising; while they poured
 contempt on Artabanus as no true Arsacid, connected
 as he was with that family only on his mother's side.
 5 Tiridates accordingly gave all power to the people;
 and was considering on what day he should assume
 the royal insignia, when he received letters from
 Phraates and Hiero, governors of important provinces,
 6 asking for a short delay. Resolving to await the
 arrival of those influential personages, he betook him-
 self in the meantime to Ctesiphon the capital; but as
 they kept procrastinating from day to day, the Surena,¹
 at last, in accordance with national custom, bound the
 royal diadem² round his head in the presence of a
 vast approving multitude.

1 Now if Tiridates had at once made for the interior,
 and visited the other nationalities, he would have

where he
 favours the
 popular
 party,

and is
 crowned by
 the Surena.

Supineness
 of Tiri-
 dates.

¹ This name seems to have been a semi-official title, denoting both the family and the office of the commander-in-chief of the Parthian armies, the office being hereditary in that family. Nipp. compares it to the name *Caesar* under the empire.

² Cp. ii. 56, 3, where Germanicus places the *insigne regium* on the head of Zeno as king of Armenia in Artaxata. In the case of Persian or Parthian monarchs, it consisted of the *diadema*, a white band or fillet encircling the head, which was the symbol of royalty in the East (Cic. Phil. iii. 5, 12), and as

such was offered to, and refused by, Caesar in B.C. 44. It was bound round the conical high Persian cap called *tiara*. Thus Curtius, iii. 3, 19, *Cidarim Persae vocabant regium capitis insigne; hoc caerulea fascia albo distincta circumibat*. From this head-dress the mitre of the bishop and the triple crown of the Pope are descended; just as the modern crown is the descendant of the simple diadema—adopted by the Greeks for their divinities, and first regularly assumed as the mark of royalty by Constantine.

crushed the doubts of waverers, and every one would have come over to him. But instead of this, he sat down before the fort into which Artabanus had conveyed his treasure and his concubines, and so gave people time to slip out of their engagements. Phraates and Hiero, and the other chiefs who had failed to attend on the day of the coronation, went over to Artabanus; some from fear, others in disgust at Abdagaeses,¹ who was now supreme in the court and had possession of the new king's person. They found Artabanus in the Hyrcanian² country, in a filthy condition, supporting himself by the produce of his bow. At first he was alarmed, suspecting treachery; but when satisfied that they had come to restore him to power, he plucked up courage, and asked what was the meaning of their sudden change. In reply, Hiero spoke contemptuously of Tiridates as a mere boy, enervated by foreign luxury, and enjoying nothing but the empty name of king:—*All real power was in the hands, not of a Prince of the royal house, but of the family of Abdagaeses.*

Various chiefs desert him, and seek out Artabanus.

Artabanus marches promptly on Seleucia.

Well versed in state-craft, the King perceived that, however false their love, their hatred was unfeigned. With no more delay than was needed to summon his Scythian allies, he pushed on with all speed, giving no time either for enemies to cabal, or for friends to change their minds; even his person he left unkempt as it was, to attract the compassion of the multitude. Nothing that trickery or entreaty could do was left untried to allure waverers or confirm supporters. He was soon in the neighbourhood of Seleucia at the head of a large force, where the news of his approach, and then his presence, threw Tiridates into consternation.

¹ See chaps. 36, 3, and 37, 5.

² See chap. 36, 5.

He was now torn between two opinions: should he go out to meet Artabanus, or drag on the war? Those who were for fighting and bringing all to an issue at once, argued that the enemy's forces were still scattered, and worn out by their long march; having so lately betrayed and fought against the man whose cause they were now again espousing, they were not united enough, even in purpose, to yield obedience to any one. Abdagaeses, on the other hand, advised a retreat into Mesopotamia, so as to put the river in their front; let them then call up the Armenians, the Elymaeans,¹ and other tribes in their rear, and not try the fortune of war until reinforced by their allies, and such forces as the Roman General might send to help them. This view prevailed; for the influence of Abdagaeses was all-powerful, and Tiridates himself had no stomach for danger. But the retreat wore all the appearance of a flight. First the Arabians,² then the rest, went off to their homes, or to the camp of Artabanus; until at last Tiridates, making his way back to Syria with a few followers, relieved every one from the disgrace of betraying him.

Vacillation of Tiridates.

He retreats; and takes refuge in Syria.

5. 1 During this year, the city was devastated by a fire, which burned down the part of the Circus Maximus³

Disastrous fire in Rome.

¹ The Elymaei lived at the head of the Persian Gulf, near the mouth of the Tigris. The meaning, therefore, must be that Tiridates was to retire behind the Tigris, fall back upon Armenian and Roman reinforcements, and rouse the Elymaei from the S. to fall upon the Parthian rear.

² Not inhabitants of Arabia proper, but apparently the inhabitants of Osrhoene, the province of which Edessa (see n. on chap. 41, 1) was capital. This appears from xii. 13, 3, where Acbarus, the prince of Osrhoene, is called *rex Arabum*.

³ The Circus Maximus—the great race-course of Rome, first built by Tarquin—filled the long narrow valley

which lies between the Palatine on the N. and the Aventine on the S., and which was originally called the *vallis Murcia*. In imperial times it was 700 yards long by about 135 wide, and could accommodate 150,000 spectators. It consisted of three tiers of covered porticoes, running round three of the sides, the fourth being left for the *carceres*, or starting-places. The lowest seats were of stone, the two upper tiers of wood; outside ran a row of workshops, houses, etc. The whole, therefore, was highly inflammable. The great fire of Nero began *in ea parte circi quae Palatino Caesioque montibus contigua est*, i.e. at its S. extremity (xv. 38, 2). On the present occasion, the part burnt

Generosity
of Tiberius.

adjoining the Aventine, and the Aventine itself. Tiberius turned the disaster to his own credit by paying the value of the houses and tenements¹ which had been burnt—an act of generosity which cost him ² a hundred million sesterces, and was all the more acceptable to the multitude that he had been moderate in building for himself.² Even of public buildings he had ³ erected only two—the temple to Augustus³ and the stage of the Theatre of Pompeius—and even these he did not dedicate when completed, either because of his age or because he despised popular favour. Every ⁴ individual loss was estimated by a commission composed of four of his step-grandchildren, Gnaeus Domitius,⁴ Cassius Longinus, Marcus Vinicius, and Rubellius Blandus; to these Publius Petronius⁵ was added on the nomination of the Consuls. The ⁵ senators devised and decreed new honours for the

was the long western, or more accurately, the south-western extremity, along the base of the Aventine.

¹ An *insula* was a large self-contained block of houses, which might consist of a large mansion-house inside (with shops, etc., round the outside of the ground floor), together with small sets of apartments, tenanted separately from the main mansion; or it might consist wholly of such separate apartments, and so correspond to the 'lands' in a Scotch town, containing several 'flats,' or to a French 'hotel' with its *étages*. These large buildings lent themselves disastrously to fires: the tenants at the top had little hope of escaping (Juv. iii. 198–202). In enumerating the losses by Nero's fire, Tacitus similarly describes the buildings burnt as consisting of *domuum et insularum et templorum* (xv. 41, 1).

² In regard to money matters, Dio pays Tiberius a high compliment: Ἐλάχιστα γὰρ ἐς αὐτὸν δαπανῶν πλείστα δὲ ἐς τὸ κοινὸν ἀνήλισκε (lvii. 10, 3). He adds that Tiberius restored many buildings, but in doing so replaced upon them the names of their original founders. This may be regarded as another instance of the scrupulous regard for 'veritas' which was a characteristic of Tiberius: see i. 75, 2 and n.

³ The huge brick remains of the *Templum Divi Augusti*, at the corner of the Palatine nearest to the Capitol, confront the visitor as he enters the Palatine by the regular entrance at the Villa Nussiner. The temple lay backed against the slope of the hill; owing to the shape of the ground, its plan differed from the ordinary type in having the front on the long side of this temple, instead of on the short side. Livia shared with Tiberius in the building of it (Dio, lvi. 46, 3). As the theatre of Pompey was only restored, this temple was in fact the single work of Tiberius. Both were completed by Caligula (Suet. Cal. 21); the temple was dedicated by him in A.D. 37 (Dio, lix. 7, 1), though it was far enough advanced to be represented on a coin of A.D. 34.

⁴ Cn. Domitius was the husband of the younger Agrippina (iv. 75, 1); L. Cassius Longinus and M. Vinicius were the husbands of her sisters, Drusilla and Julia (or Livilla) respectively (chap. 15, 1). Rubellius Blandus was the second husband of Julia, the daughter of Drusus (chap. 27, 1).

⁵ It was in this man's house that Clutorius Priscus read aloud his unfortunate poem (iii. 49, 2).

Emperor, each according to his bent; but which of them he accepted and which he declined was never
 6 known, because of his approaching end. For soon after this the last Consuls under Tiberius, Gnaeus Acerronius and Gaius Pontius, entered upon office.

Last consuls under Tiberius.

A.D. 37. CONSULS CN. ACERRONIUS PROCULUS AND C. PETRONIUS PONTIUS NIGRINUS.

By this time the influence of Macro had become supreme. He cultivated the good graces of Gaius— which indeed he had never neglected — more and more every day; and after the death of Claudia, whose marriage to Gaius I have mentioned,¹ he urged his own wife Ennia to affect a passion for the young man, and entice him into making a compact of marriage with her.² Gaius was ready to agree to anything that would help him to power; for though hot-tempered³ by nature, he had learnt under his grandfather's tutelage to cultivate the arts of dissimulation.

Influence of Macro. He courts Gaius.

6. 1 All this was known to the Emperor; and for that reason he long hesitated as to the succession. First, as between his grandsons, the son of Drusus was closer to him in blood and affection, but he was still a boy; whereas the son of Germanicus was in the full strength of early manhood,⁴ and was adored by the people

Hesitation of Tiberius as to the succession.

¹ *i.e.* in chap. 20, 1. Claudia died in childbirth (Suet. Cal. 11).

² This story, recorded by Tacitus, Suetonius, and Dio, is told by each in a different way. Tacitus makes Macro the prompter of his wife's dishonour. Dio says Macro enticed Caligula into the intrigue (lviii. 28, 4); Suetonius puts it down to Caligula himself, who promised Ennia marriage both by oath and in writing should he succeed to the empire (Cal. 12). They evidently each

followed different authorities. Macro and Ennia were forced by Caligula to commit suicide within a year (Dio, lix. 10, 6).

³ The same word *commotus* is used of Agrippina's temper (i. 33, 6); of that of Drusus (iv. 3, 2); and of Messalina (xi. 12, 1).

⁴ Caligula was in his twenty-fifth year; Tiberius Gemellus, son of Drusus, only in his eighteenth.

—and for that very reason hated by his grandfather. He even thought of Claudius,¹ because he was of ripe age, and had tastes of a higher kind;² but his weakness of intellect stood in the way. If, again, he were to look outside the family for a successor,³ he was afraid that the memory of Augustus, and the name of the Caesars, might become a laughing-stock and a reproach; for he cared less for present popularity than to stand well with posterity.⁴ At last, unable to make up his mind,⁵ and failing in strength, he left to fate⁶ the decision to which he was himself unequal;

In the end,
he lets it
go by
chance.

¹ An invalid all his early days, Claudius was an extraordinary mixture of clownishness and dullness, both of mind and body (*animo simul et corpore hebetato*, Suet. Claud. 2), with considerable literary learning and even cleverness; but it was of a dull and pedantic kind that brought him no kind of reputation. His mother called him a monster whom 'Nature had begun and not finished off.' No one dreamed that he could ever succeed to the empire (iii. 18, 7). Cp. *hebetem Claudium et uxori devinctum* (xi. 28, 2); he had a mind not capable either of forming an opinion or of hating, except at another's bidding (xii. 3, 3): some believed that even his body was too dull and heavy to be susceptible to poison.

² The phrase *bonae artes* is difficult and uncertain. Sometimes it stands merely for 'education,' 'literary culture,' or 'literary pursuits,' as in i. 3, 4 of Agrippa Postumus, *rudem sane bonarum artium*; and so in Dial. 29, 3. Similarly *artes honestae, liberales*, or *illustres*, refer to intellectual accomplishments, as in iii. 70, 4. Elsewhere the term stands for 'good conduct,' 'good character,' or even 'virtue' in general: Mucianus is *malis bonisque artibus mixtus*, 'half good, half bad' (Hist. i. 10, 3); all citizens might stand for public office *si bonis artibus fiderent*, i.e., 'had a good character,' or 'a good record' (xi. 22, 4). In i. 9, 4 and Hist. i. 17, 3 *per bonas artes* is simply 'by praiseworthy methods.' In the present passage the sense seems to be that Claudius was 'a well-meaning man.'

³ It would thus appear that the

cruelty of Tiberius to the children of Germanicus cannot be entirely put down to jealousy on behalf of his own grandson.

⁴ A handsome acknowledgment on the part of Tacitus, which should be placed to his credit amid all the cruel things which he has said of Tiberius. The anxiety which Tiberius felt in regard to a successor was of the same kind as that which distracted him in the making of provincial appointments (i. 80, 3). That his *ambitio in posterum* was stronger than his desire for *gratia praesentium*, suggests that even in his seventies he may have been moved by a regard for the stability of the government, as much as by feelings of personal vindictiveness, or by a regard for his own safety. The sentiment is in entire accord with that of the famous speech in which he declined divine honours in iv. 38, 1-3; and if there be an inconsistency between the two passages, as Furn. suggests, the inconsistency lies not so much in Tiberius himself as in the carping comments of his critics (iv. 38, 4-6).

⁵ The uncertainty as to the succession was a fatal, perhaps inevitable, flaw in the constitution devised by Augustus. It was the one point in which the attempt to graft a monarchy on to the forms of a republic broke down. In theory, the whole imperial system fell to the ground at once on the death of each emperor, and had to be re-created by special votes in the person of his successor. The question who that successor was to be was left to chance, to be decided by the circumstances of the moment.

⁶ *Fatum* is not mere chance, it is the

and yet he let fall a word or two, which shewed
 6 that he foresaw what was to come. It was not a
 riddle hard to read when he reproached Macro for
 deserting the setting, and looking to the rising sun;¹
 7 or when he prophesied that Gaius, who in a casual
 conversation spoke slightingly of Lucius Sulla, would
 have all Sulla's vices, without any of his virtues.
 8 And again, when he was embracing, with floods of
 tears, the younger of his two grand-children, while
 9 Gaius looked sullenly on:—*Yes, he said, you will kill
 this boy some day, and some one else will kill you.*² But
 though his health was failing, he would give up none
 of his vicious practices, making a show of fortitude
 amid his sufferings. For he had always derided the
 medical art, and would laugh at people who, being
 over thirty years of age, needed any adviser to tell
 them what was good or bad for them.³

1 At Rome, meanwhile, the seeds⁴ of future blood-
 shed were being sown. Laelius Balbus⁵ had brought
 a charge of treason against Acutia, formerly wife of
 Publius Vitellius; but when she was convicted, and
 it was proposed to vote a reward to the accuser,
 Junius Otho, a tribune of the Plebs, interposed his
 veto:⁶ the quarrel thus raised between the two

Various
 fresh ac-
 cusations :

destined course of events, what we might call 'Providence.' See above on chap. 22, 1.

¹ The same saying is recorded by Dio (lviii. 28, 4). Plutarch attributes the proverb to Pompey, as his retort to Sulla who opposed his triumph: 'Remember that more men worship the rising than the setting sun' (Pomp. 14).

² The prophecy was fulfilled by the murder of Gemellus within the year by Caligula (Suet. Cal. 23), and by that of Caligula himself by Cassius Chaerea and others in the Crypto-porticus of the Palatine on the 24th January, A.D. 41.

³ Suetonius states that Tiberius enjoyed almost perfect health, without ever consulting a doctor, after the age

of thirty, a fact which renders the tales about his debaucheries improbable. We find, however, a doctor Charicles in attendance on him (cap. 50, 3), whom Suetonius represents as going away on leave of absence (Tib. 72).

⁴ This metaphor is a favourite one with Tacitus, and it is not always used appropriately. Cf. *ni semina belli restinxisset* (Hist. iv. 80, 1); *Corbulo semina rebellionis praebebat* (Ann. xi. 19, 5); *semina futuri exitii meditare-tur* (iv. 60, 6), etc.

⁵ An orator of note (Quint. x. 1, 24).

⁶ There were still tribunes of the plebs, and they still enjoyed the ancient privileges of their office; but as their tribunitian power was subordinate to

resulting in Otho's banishment. Next, Albucilla, who was notorious for her amours, and had been the wife of Satrius Secundus,¹ one of the informers against Sejanus, was accused of impiety towards Tiberius: Gnaeus Domitius,² Vibius Marsus,³ and Lucius Arruntius⁴ being named as her lovers and accomplices. Of the noble birth of Domitius, I have already spoken; Marsus also belonged to an ancient and illustrious family, and was a man of high attainments. It appeared from the papers laid before the Senate that Macro had himself presided at the examination of the witnesses, and the torture of the slaves; but as Tiberius wrote no letter against the accused persons,⁵ the suspicion arose that Macro, taking advantage of the Emperor's weakness, and perhaps even without his knowledge, had trumped up a series of false charges to gratify his well-known hatred of Arruntius.

probably
contrived
by Macro.

Cn. Domi-
tius and
Vibius
Marsus
spared;

So the lives of Domitius and Marsus were prolonged; the former set about preparing for his defence, the latter made as though he had resolved upon starvation. But when the friends of Arruntius implored him to delay and temporise, he replied as follows:—

but L.
Arruntius
declines to
temporise,

The rule of honour, he said, was not the same for all. He had had enough of life; the one thing he had to repent

that of the emperor, we may be sure they never exercised their veto except to anticipate his wishes. See the case of Haterius Agrippa (i. 77, 3), and the futility of the attempt made by Rusticus Arulenus (xvi. 26, 6). The last recorded instance of the exercise of the veto was in A.D. 69 (Mommсен Staatsr. ii. p. 284 n.).

¹ One of the accusers of Cremutius Cordus, mentioned as an intimate of Sejanus in chap. 8, 10. He had evidently been one of the principal informers against him.

² The husband of Agrippina the younger.

³ C. Vibius Marsus was one of the legates of Germanicus in Syria, and competed with Cn. Sentius to be his successor (ii. 74, 1). As he is called below *illustriis studiis*, Furneaux suggests that he may have been one of those to whom we owe the details of the death of Germanicus.

⁴ See i. 13, 1; vi. 7, 1; 27, 3, etc.

⁵ The record of the proceedings having been sent to the senate, and transmitted to the emperor, the senate would await his pleasure before passing sentence.

of was that he had endured to live on to old age amid perils and mockeries,¹ always in anxiety, always the object of some great man's hatred. It had been Sejanus for a time, it was now Macro; and his only crime was
 4 that he could not tolerate iniquity. He might doubtless live through the few remaining days of Tiberius: but how could he escape from the stripling who was to come after? If the possession of power had perforce deranged and transformed Tiberius,² with all his experience of affairs, was it likely that Gaius Caesar would do better, with Macro to point the way? The lad was scarce out of his teens, ignorant of everything, or instructed only in what was evil; and Macro had been chosen to crush Sejanus as the greater villain of the two, having committed crimes more numerous, more disastrous to the
 5 State than he. He could foresee days of still grosser servitude; and he was making his escape from future as well as from present evils.³

Uttering these words after the manner of an
 6 inspired prophet,⁴ he opened his veins. What follows will show how well Arruntius did to die.

Albucilla was ordered off to prison by the Senate, after inflicting a futile wound on herself. One of her paramours, Carsidius Sacerdos,⁵ a man of praetorian rank, was sentenced to be deported to an island; another, Pontius Fregellanus, to be deprived of his

and opens
his veins.

Sentences
on Albu-
cilla, Car-
sidius, and
Pontius.

¹ *i.e.* such a mockery of power as was left to the senate, which had to register the decrees of the emperor, whatever they might be, or as he himself had to put up with when appointed to the command in Spain and yet not allowed to leave Rome.

² As Furn. suggests, this observation gives the true key to the government and character of Tiberius. See his *Intro.*

³ The dignified, moderate, and self-restrained tone of this speech recalls that of the speaker in v. 6, or that of

M. Terentius in chap. 8. To use the language of Tacitus himself, these speeches exhibit the happy mean between the *abrupta contumacia* too often displayed by later victims of imperial tyranny and the *deforme obsequium* of the flatterers (iv. 20, 5).

⁴ *i.e.* as oracular alike in their weight and in the manner of their utterance.

⁵ Accused of supplying Tacfarinas with corn (iv. 13, 3). He was apparently *Praetor Urbanus* in A.D. 27.

rank as senator. The same punishment was inflicted on Laelius Balbus :¹ a sentence which the Senate decreed with the utmost satisfaction, as Balbus was noted for a truculent eloquence which he was ever ready to exercise against the innocent.

Sextius Papinius throws himself out of a window :

About the same time, Sextus Papinius,² a man of 4
consular family, chose a sudden and hideous form of death by throwing himself out of the window. For 2
this act his mother was held to blame. In spite of all he could do, her amorous advances had brought him into a position from which he could find no way of escape save through death. Indicted in the Senate, 3
she threw herself down before the Fathers, expressing in piteous and dolorous terms the anguish which any one, and most of all a poor weak woman, would feel at so terrible an accident, with other sentiments of a similar character. She was nevertheless banished from the city for ten years, till her younger son should have passed through the critical period of his boyhood.

his mother banished.

Tiberius begins to fail.

And now Tiberius was failing in health and 5
strength, in everything but dissimulation. There remained the same unbending will, the same intentness of look and speech ; but he would affect sometimes an air of gaiety to conceal his manifest decline. After changing more than once his place 2
of abode, he settled down at last in a villa which had belonged to Lucius Lucullus, on the promontory of Misenum.³ That his end was drawing near was 3
discovered in the following manner. There was

¹ See chap. 47, 1.

² Probably son of the consul of the same name (A.D. 36).

³ The vast and luxurious villa on the western extremity of the Bay of Naples, which had been added to

and sumptuously embellished by L. Lucullus after his Eastern campaign. It had belonged to Marius, was bought by Cornelia, and by her sold at a fabulous price to Lucullus (Plut. Mar. 34).

an eminent physician called Charicles,¹ who used to give Tiberius the benefit of his advice, though he
 4 was not his regular attendant. On taking his leave, as if for business of his own, Charicles took the Emperor's hand by way of respect: in doing so,
 5 he touched his pulse. The action did not escape Tiberius. Offended, perhaps, and therefore all the more resolute to conceal his annoyance, he ordered fresh viands to be brought in, and then sat at table longer than was his wont, as though out of
 6 compliment to his departing friend.² Charicles assured Macro that life was ebbing away, and that Tiberius could not hold out for more than two days.

Charicles discovers his approaching end.

Hurried conferences were held on the spot; despatches were sent off to the Legates, and manifestoes to the armies. On the 16th of March the breathing failed; and it was thought that the end had
 7 come. Gaius Caesar stepped forth, amid congratulating crowds, to assume the government: when suddenly word was brought that Tiberius had recovered speech and sight, and was calling for food to
 8 keep up his strength. A general panic ensued. The crowd slunk away from the side of Gaius and dispersed, every one feigning sorrow or ignorance; Gaius, in silent stupor, fallen from his high hopes,
 9 looked for the worst. But Macro was equal to the occasion. He ordered the attendants to heap clothes upon the old man, and leave the room.³

Hurried arrangements.

Tiberius revives: Marco orders clothes to be piled on him.

¹ The name suggests that he was a Greek, and probably a freed-man.

² The account given of the death of Tiberius by Suetonius agrees generally with that of Tacitus, but he adds some particulars. Tiberius had gone to Astura, on the coast of Latium, near Antium, where he was taken ill. Thence he went to Circeii, where he took part in some camp sports, and got worse; but he held on till he

reached Misenum. He there resumed his ordinary life, pleasures and all. Charicles took the emperor's hand, merely *osculandi gratia*: the emperor, suspecting his intention, not merely sat longer than usual at table, but insisted upon standing, according to his custom, to receive the adieux of his guests (Tib. 72).

³ Dio says that Caligula kept food from the dying man, and that it was he

Death of
Tiberius in
his seventy-
eighth
year. His
career.

Thus ended Tiberius, in his seventy-eighth year.¹ 5
He was the son of Tiberius Nero, and could claim
descent from the Claudii on both sides, though
his mother had been adopted into the Livian, and
afterwards into the Julian family.² He had been ex- 2
posed to various chances from his infancy. He had
followed his father, when proscribed, into exile; and
after becoming the son-in-law of Augustus, he had
many rivals to contend with, when the fortunes of
Marcellus and Agrippa, and later again of Gaius and
Lucius Caesar, were in the ascendant. His own brother 3
Drusus was a greater favourite with the people. But
the greatest trial of his life was his marriage with
Julia, whose irregularities he had to tolerate or elude.
On his return from Rhodes he was for twelve³ years 4
undisputed heir in the Imperial family; he was master
of the Roman world for three and twenty.

His
character.

His character passed through like changes to his 5
fortunes. Admirable in conduct, and in high esteem,
while in a private station, or filling commands
under Augustus; dark, and artful in affecting virtue,
so long as Germanicus and Drusus lived, he pre- 6
sented the same mixture of good and evil⁴ until his
mother died. Then came a period of fiendish cruelty,
but masked libertinism, during the days when he
loved or feared Sejanus: until at last, freed from all

who cast blankets on him (lviii. 28, 3); Suetonius mentions both things as rumours only (Tib. 73), adding another to the effect that Caligula had administered a slow poison.

¹ Suetonius gives November 17, B.C. 42, as the date of the birth of Tiberius. He informs us that, in spite of sinister cries from the mob, 'To the Tiber with Tiberius!' the body was carried by soldiers to Rome, honoured with a public funeral, and there burnt; in the will Caligula and Tiberius Gemellus, son of Drusus were left equal heirs

(Tib. 75, 76). Caligula pronounced his funeral oration (Dio, lviii. 28, 5); but set aside the heirship of young Tiberius as the act of a madman (lix. 1, 2).

² See nn. on v. 1, 1. Marcellus died in B.C. 23; Agrippa in B.C. 12; Drusus in B.C. 9; Gaius Caesar in A.D. 2; Lucius Caesar in A.D. 4.

³ *i.e.* from his return from Rhodes in A.D. 2 to his accession in A.D. 14.

⁴ Cf. Dio, lviii. 28, 5: πλείστας μὲν ἀρετὰς πλείστας δὲ καὶ κακίας ἔχων, καὶ ἑκατέραις αὐταῖς ὡς καὶ μόναις κεχρημένος.

fears, lost to all shame, he broke out in wickedness and wantonness alike, and showed himself in no character but his own.¹

¹ It would be hard to imagine a more cruel epigram than that with which Tacitus thus closes his prose epic upon the life and reign of Tiberius. Truth compels him to admit that Tiberius was *inter bona malaque mixtus*; but, whereas Dio, as quoted in the preceding note, is content to place the two lives, the good life and the evil life, side by side, each seeming, if regarded by itself, to represent the whole character of the man, the last word of Tacitus is that everything that was good in the life of Tiberius was assumed, while everything evil was his own. The very different estimate of Velleius Paterculus has been usually put aside as that of a sycophant and panegyrist; but if his view of Tiberius is extravagant on the one side, we have seen reason to believe that the account of Tacitus is highly charged upon the other. In the note upon vi. 1, 5, and elsewhere, reasons have been advanced for doubting the grosser charges brought against the private life of Tiberius. As a counterpoise to the many instances of over-harsh judgments on his conduct which are to be found in the Annals, it is but fair to record what was said of him by a devoted adherent. Velleius was a soldier, and a man of the world; he had served under Tiberius, and wrote only of what he knew. At the worst, he represents the strong party view of the Imperialists, and his language doubtless reflects the opinions professed at the time by the servile crew of flatterers, as Tacitus would have styled them, of which the Senate was composed. Velleius himself was probably one of the victims who fell along with Sejanus. He did not live to see the darker days of Tiberian rule; he knew only its earlier and better period, described in such fair colours by Tacitus himself in Ann. iv. 6. Here is how Velleius describes that period:—

Horum xvi annorum opera quis cum ingerantur oculis animisque omnium [in] partibus eloquatur? Sacravit parentem suum Caesar non imperio, sed religione, non appellavit eum, sed fecit deum. Revocata in forum fides, summo a foro seditio, ambitio campo, discordia curia, sepulturae ac situ obsita iustitia, aequitas, industria civitati redditae; accessit militibus

auctoritas, senatus maiestas, iudicis gravitas; compressa theatralis seditio, recte faciendi omnibus aut incussa voluntas aut imposita necessitas; honorantur recta, prava puniuntur; suspecti potentem humilis, non timet; antecedit, non contemnit, humiliorem potens. Quando annonae moderatio, quando pax laetior? diffusa in orientis occidentisque tractus et quidquid meridiano aut septentrione finitur, pax augusta [per] omnis terrarum orbis angulos a latrociniorum metu seruat immunis. Fortuita non civium tantummodo, sed urbium damnata principis munificentia vindicat. Restitutae urbes Asiae, vindicatae ab iniuriis magistratuum provinciae; honor dignis paratissimus, poena in malos sera, sed aliqua; superatur aequitate gratia, ambitio virtute; nam facere recte civis suos princeps optimus faciendo docet, cumque sit imperio maximus, exemplo maior est (ii. 126).

Side by side with this picture of a perfect administration under a spotless ruler may be placed the character of Sejanus as drawn by the same pen. It corresponds, in some essential features, with the description of Tacitus in Ann. iv. 1; and it has a special interest of its own. Highly coloured as it is, one may be sure that it gives the view of the character and services of Sejanus which was believed by the Roman society of the time to be held by Tiberius himself. After pointing out how the Scipios leaned upon Laelius, and Augustus upon Agrippa and Statilius Taurus, Velleius proceeds:—

Sub his exemplis Ti. Caesar Sejanum Aelium, principe equestris ordinis patre natum, materno vero genere clarissimas veteresque et insignis honoribus complexum familias, habentem consularis fratres, consobrinos, avunculum, ipsum vero laboris ac fidei capacissimum, sufficiente etiam vigori animi compage corporis, singularem principum onerum adulectorem in omnia habuit atque habet, virum severitatis laetissimae, hilaritatis priscae, actu otiosis simillimum, nihil sibi vindicantem eoque adsequentem omnia, semperque infra aliorum aestimationes se metientem, vultu vitaeque tranquillum, animo exsomnem.

The character of Tiberius will

probably always remain a subject of controversy. Mr. Tarver has given it a new interest by his fresh and stimulating book on 'Tiberius the Tyrant;' in which, following Freytag and the late Professor Beesly, he does all that advocacy can do to rehabilitate Tiberius and depreciate the authority of Tacitus. But as M. Suard said to Napoleon, 'La renommée de Tacite est trop haute pour que l'on puisse jamais penser à la rabaisser;' and we do not need to go beyond the pages of Tacitus himself to satisfy ourselves that he has dealt a hard measure of justice to Tiberius. But if he hated Tiberius much, he valued truth more; and his supreme virtue as an historian is that whatever his own prejudices may be, he puts into the reader's hands the materials for forming a judgment of his own. The phrase *inter mala bonaque mixtus* is eminently true of the character of Tiberius as presented in the Annals. We have the dark unrelenting monster of cruelty described to us in the last words of Book VI.; while the earlier books of the Annals present to us the picture of a man, proud, sensitive, ungenial; of a careful governor, a strict judge, a hard-headed unimaginative statesman, sternly just and over-logical, but capable of great acts of generosity. The one character belongs rather to the earlier, the other to the later years of his reign; but the worse

fame has overcome the better: in the words used of Vitellius in vi. 32, 7, *cesserunt prima postremis*.

For the declension of his later years, Tacitus offers us two explanations. All was changed, he tells us, by the death of Drusus: see note on iv. 7, 1. The other cause may be given in the words of L. Arruntius, vi. 48, 4: *Tiberius si . . . vi dominationis convulsus et mutatus sit*. He was broken down by the weight of empire. He had neither the generous nature and lofty soul of Caesar, nor the infinite patience and diplomatic finesse of Augustus; he brought the qualities of a martinet to the government of an empire. Cruelly mortified in his domestic relations, betrayed within his own house, his one chosen instrument breaking in his hands, he lost faith in every one and everything. Yet the government of Rome went on. Even in his worst days the tyranny of Tiberius was never incalculable and senseless like that of Gaius, Nero, and Domitian; intellectually and morally he stood head and shoulders above the evil emperors of the first century. But posterity looked upon him as the man who deflected the empire from the more generous lines which seemed to have been laid down for it by its founder, and Tacitus visited upon him the sins of the worst of his successors.

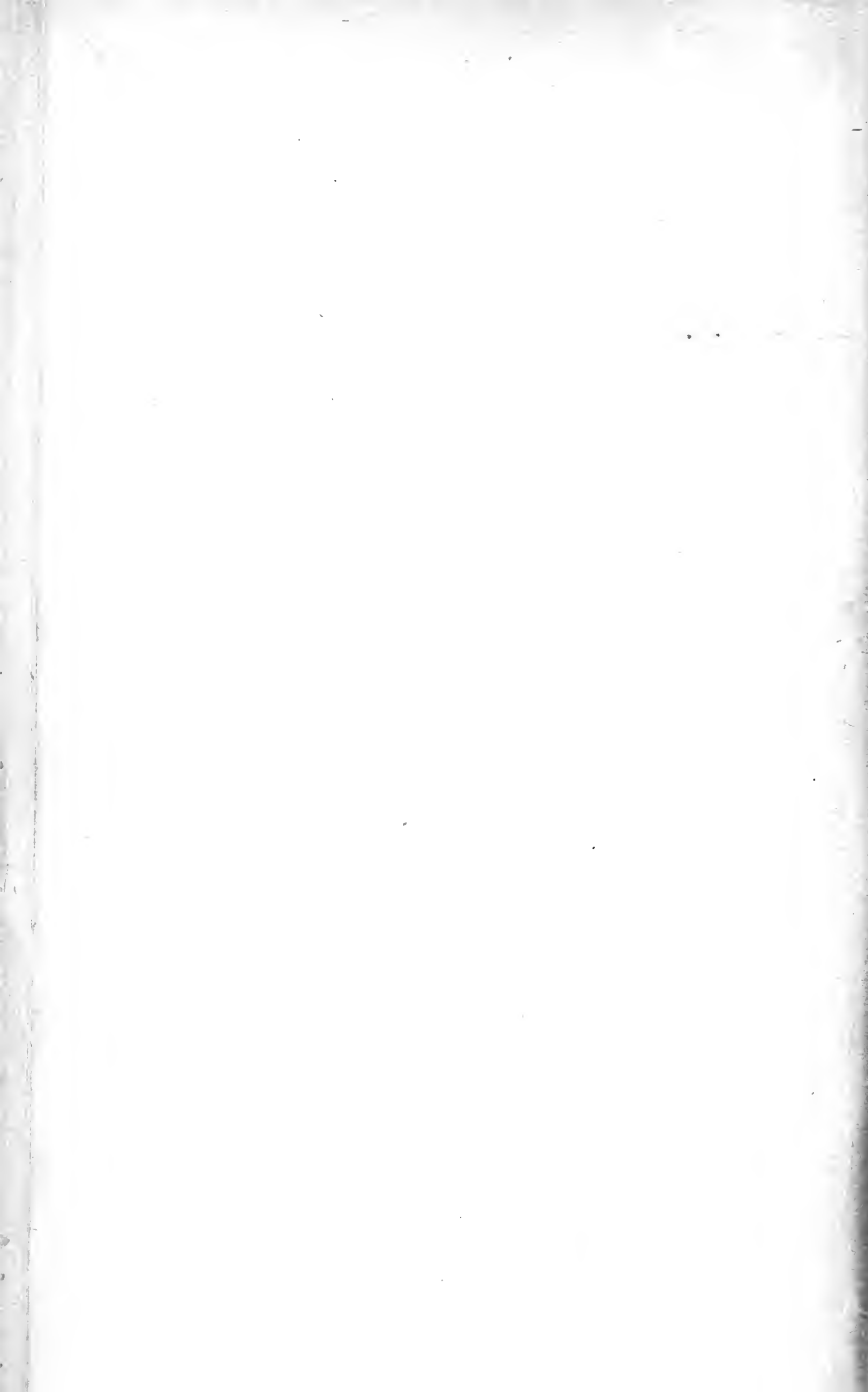
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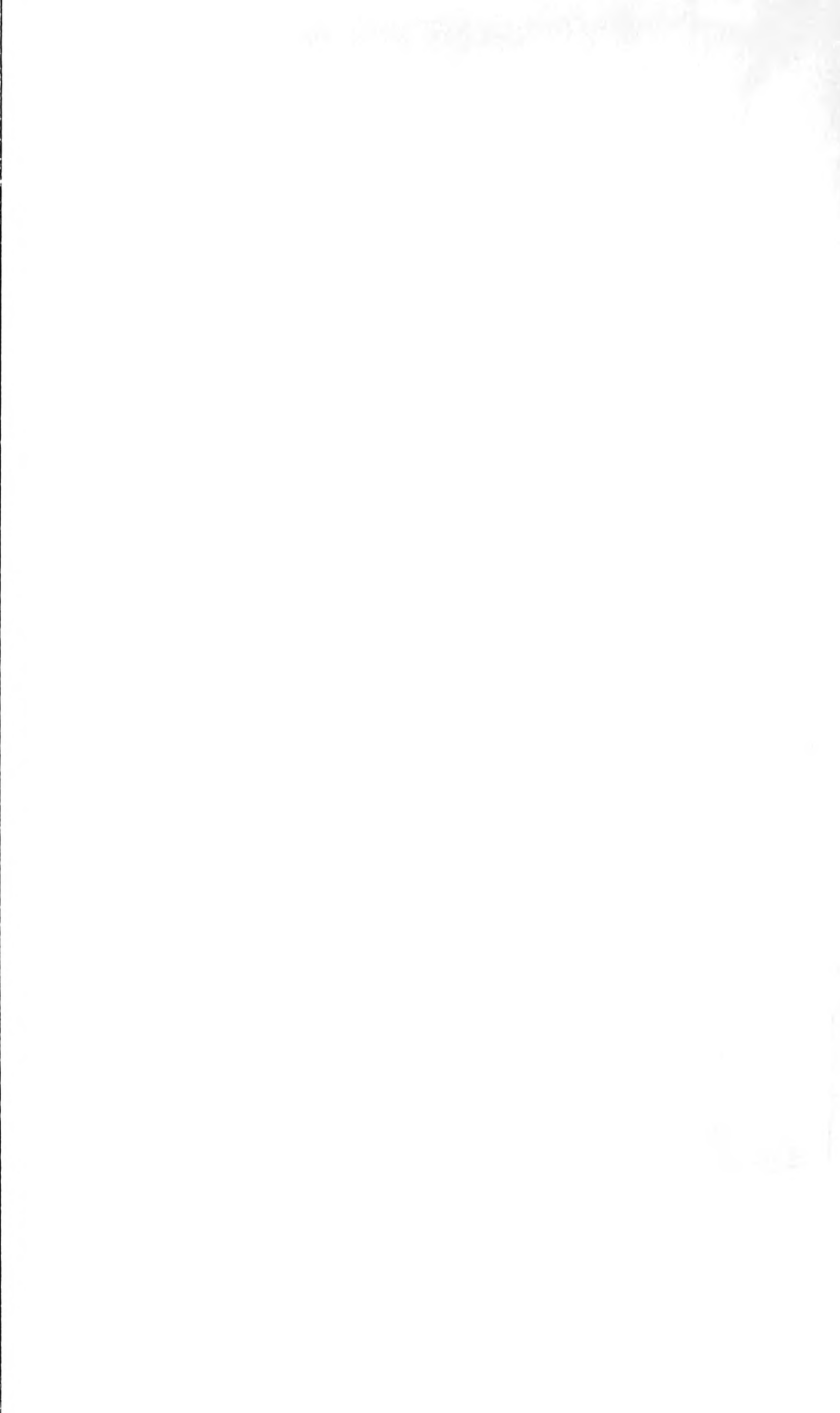
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