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Tacitus
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THE

GERMANIA AND AGRICOLA,

AND ALSO

SELECTIONS FROM THE ANNALS,

OF

TACITUS.

WITH

ENGLISH NOTES, CRITICAL AND EXPLANATORY.

BY

CHARLES ANTHON, LL.D.,

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

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

Encouraged by the success which has attended his previous efforts, the editor has been induced to prepare a new work, which, while it retains in a condensed form all that was important in its predecessor, shall at the same time furnish the student with a more extensive course of reading from the same author, and make him still more familiar with the peculiarities of the style of Tacitus. With this view, two entire books of the Annals and some portion of a third one have been added to the "Germania" and "Agricola." Should the system of annotation pursued in the part thus added prove acceptable, the ed-
it or will, at no distant day, prepare a complete edition of both the Annals and History.

The basis of the present work, as far as the end of the First Book of the Annals, is the English edition of Dr. Smith, published in 1840, and of which a reprint appeared in 1850. The notes to Smith's edition are principally selected from the commentaries of Ruperti, Passow, and Walch, and, as far as they go, are well adapted to the purposes of explanation. It has been the object of the American editor, however, to render these notes still more useful by additional selections from the works of other scholars, and by a more frequent translation of difficult or obscure passages. Every obstacle, indeed, of this kind has been honestly encountered, even if the result may not always have proved a successful one. One great defect in the English edition is the omission of almost all special reference to the authorities whence the notes have been obtained. The American editor has endeavored to supply this deficiency, as far as lay within his power, more particularly in the commentary on the "Germania." The notes on the "Agricola," in the English edition, are pretty much one continuous selection from the excellent commentary of Walch, to which, however, the American editor has added much valuable matter, as well from the same source as from the observations of Ritter and Wex. The notes of Walch on the Agricola consist, in the original German, of more than three hundred closely printed octavo pages, and form one of the most useful commentaries ever published upon any classical author.
But though important materials have been obtained from the sources just mentioned, others equally valuable have been procured from the edition of the Annals by Nipperdey, the notes to which have been translated by the Rev. Henry Browne, and are published in the series of Arnold's Classics. Nipperdey's work forms one of the collection of Haupt and Sauppe, now in a course of publication from the Leipsic press. His notes, as translated by Browne, have constantly been compared with the German original, and many important errors have been corrected. They have not, however, been slavishly followed in the present work. Their form has very frequently been altered, and their substance has on numerous occasions been materially enlarged. Sometimes, again, Nipperdey's conclusions have not been admitted, but others have been adopted in their place, which appear more consistent with sound interpretation. Translations are also given, as in the previous part of the work, of all the obscure and more difficult passages.

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

The Geographical Index was confined in the previous work to the "Germania." It has now been greatly enlarged, and embraces all that is important, in a general point of view, in the "Agricola," and in that portion of the Annals contained in the present volume.
It remains but to give a list of the different editions of Tacitus, as well as of the other subsidiary works from which aid has been obtained in preparing this work.

12. Tacitus, erläuert von Nipperdey, Leipzig., 1851 (with the notes in English, y Browne, Lond., 1852, 12mo).
17. La Germanie de Tacite, par Panckoucke, Paris, 1824, 8vo.
23. The Germania of Tacitus, by Latham, Lond., 1851, 8vo.

32. Menzel, Geschichte der Deutschen, Stuttgart, 1837, 4to.
34. Mannert, Geographie der Griechen und Römer (vol. ii. and iii.).
35. Schirilz, Handbuch der alten Geographie, Halle, 1837, 8vo.
37. Kruse, Deutsche Altherthümer, Halle, 1824, seqq., 12mo.
38. Klemm, Germanische Alterthumskunde, Dresden, 1836, 8vo.
39. Reichard, Sammlung kleiner Schriften, &c., Güns, 1836, 8vo.
40. Böhmens heidnische Opferplätze, Gräber, &c., Prag., 1836, 8vo.
41. Barth, über die Druiden der Kelten, Erlangen, 1826, 8vo.
42. Graff, Althochdeutscher Sprachschatz, &c., Berlin, 1834–8, 4 vols., 4to.
44. Smith’s Classical Dictionary, Lond., 2d ed., 1853, 8vo.

C. A.

Col. College, Sept. 1st, 1833.
LIFE AND WRITINGS OF TACITUS. *

"Caius Cornelius Tacitus was probably born in the reign of Nero, but neither the place of his birth, nor the exact date, is known, nor is any thing ascertained of his parentage. There is no reason for supposing that he belonged to the illustrious patrician gens of the Cornelli, nor any evidence of his having been born at Interamna, in Umbria (the modern Terni), as is sometimes stated. The few facts of his life are chiefly collected from his own works, and from the letters of his friend, the younger Pliny. Tacitus was about the same age as Pliny, but the elder of the two. Pliny was born about A.D. 61, in the reign of Nero, which commenced A.D. 54. A passage of the elder Pliny (H. N., vii., 16) speaks of a son of Cornelius Tacitus, the procurator of the emperor in Belgic Gaul. Lipsius concludes that this Cornelius Tacitus was the historian; but as Pliny died in A.D. 79, it seems hardly probable that the passage can apply to him. It has been conjectured that the procurator was the father of the historian. Tacitus states that he owed his first promotion to Vespasian, and that he was indebted for other favors to his successors, Titus and Domitian (Hist., i., 1). In the year A.D. 77, C. Julius Agricola, then consul, betrothed to him his daughter; and the marriage took place after Agricola's consularship. Tacitus does not state what places he filled under Vespasian and Titus, but in the reign of Domitian he informs us that he assisted as one of the Quindecimviri, at the celebration of the Ludi Seculares, which event took place in the fourteenth consulsipship of Domitian (A.D. 88). At that time he was also pretor (Ann., xi., 11). He was not at Rome when his father-in-law, Agricola, died there (A.D. 93), in the reign of Domitian; but it is too much to affirm, as some have done, that he was an exile during the time of this emperor. It has already been shown that he was at Rome in A.D. 88. A passage in his Life of Agricola (c. 45) rather leads to the inference that he was at Rome during many of the atrocities which Domitian perpetrated after the death of Agricola, though he had been absent from Rome for four years prior to Agricola's death. On the decease of T. Virginius Rufus, in the reign of Nerva (A.D. 97),

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

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

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

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

"The 'Life of Agricola' is one of the earliest works of Tacitus, and
must have been written after the death of Domitian (A.D. 96). The
Proemium, or Introduction to it, was written in the reign of Trajan,
and the whole work probably belongs to the first or second year of
that emperor's reign. As a specimen of biography, it is much and
justly admired. Like all the extant works of Tacitus, it is unencum-
bered with minute irrelevant matter. The life and portrait of Agricola
are sketched in a bold and vigorous style, corresponding to the digni-
ity of the subject. The biographer was the friend and son-in-law of
Agricola, whom he loved and revered, but he impresses his reader
with a profound conviction of the moral greatness of Agricola, his
courage, and his prudence, without ever becoming his panegyrist.
The 'Life of Agricola' was not contained in the earliest editions of Tacitus.

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

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

"The 'Annals' comprehended the history of Rome from the death of Augustus to the death of Nero, a period of fifty-two years, which ended with the extinction of the Julian house in Nero. A part of the fifth book of the 'Annals' is lost; the seventh, eighth, ninth, tenth, the beginning of the eleventh, and the end of the sixteenth and last book, are also lost. These last portions comprehended the whole reign of Caligula, the first years of Claudius, and the last two years of Nero's reign. It is said that the preservation of the historical works of Tacitus is due to the Emperor Tacitus (Vopisc., Tacit., 10), who caused them to be transcribed ten times a year, and copies to be placed in the libraries. But the works of Tacitus, and more particularly the 'Annals,' were neglected during the decline of the empire, and few copies of them were preserved. The first five books of the 'Annals' were not found till the beginning of the sixteenth century, when they were discovered in the Abbey of Corvey, in Westphalia, and published at Rome, in 1516, by Philip Bervaldus.

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

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

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

"The tone which characterizes the historical works of Tacitus is an elevation of thought which had its foundation in the moral dignity of the writer, and the consciousness of having proposed to himself a noble object. He was a profound observer of character: it was his study to watch the slightest indications in human conduct, and by correctly interpreting these outward signs, to penetrate into the hidden recesses of the heart. His power of reaching those thoughts which are often almost unconsciously the springs of a man's actions, has, perhaps, never been equalled by any historical writer. Tacitus had lived through a time when the value of the lessons of philosophy had to be tested by their practical application, and his historical studies carried him through a period in which the mass were sunk in sensuality, and the really good and great had no consolation but in the consciousness of their own thoughts. Though he appears to belong to no sect of philosophers, his practical morality was of the Stoic school, the only school which, in those degenerate times, could sustain the sinking spirits of the Romans, and which, even under favorable circumstances, guided the conduct of the wise Cornelius, the noblest man that ever possessed sovereign power. The religious opinions of Tacitus partook of the character of his age: he had no strong convictions, no settled belief of a moral government of the world: his love of virtue and his abhorrence of vice were purely moral; they had no reference to a future existence. (Ass., iii., 18; vi., 22.) In one of his earliest productions he hopes, rather than expects, that the souls of the departed may still live, and be conscious
of what is passing on earth. (Agric., 46.) But in his latest writings there are no traces that his hopes or his wishes had ever ripened into a belief.

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

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

of

THE FAMILY OF AUGUSTUS.

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

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

1. M. Marcellus, m. (1) Pompeia, dr. of Sextus Pompeius, and (2) Julia, dr. of Augustus—had no progeny. Died in his 17th year, B.C. 23.
2. Marcella, the elder, m. twice, and had—
   b. By Iulus Antonius Africanus, son of the Triumvir.

3. Marcella, the younger.
   a. By M. Vipsanius Agrippa.
   b. By Iulus Antonius Africanus (Annal. iv., 44), father or uncle of

1. Antonia the elder.
   By L. Domitius Ahenobarbus. 
2. Domitia Lepida.
   a. By M. Valerius Barbatus Messalla.

2. Antonia the younger.
   By Drusus, brother of Tiberius.
   2. Livilla, or Livilla, m. C. Caesar, and afterward Drusus, son of Tiberius, is betrothed to Sejanus (Annal. iv., 40).

3. Claudius.
   a. By Plautia Urgulanilla.
   b. By Aelia Petina.
   c. By Valeria Messallina.

1. Drusus.
   2. Claudia.
   3. ClaudiaBritannica.

*Tacitus makes Antonia the younger wife of Domitius (Annal. iv., 41; xii., 64).*
II. Augustus had no children by his other wives; by Scribonia, daughter of L. Scribonius Libo, he had one daughter, Julia. Julia was married three times.

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

b. By M. Vipsanius Agrippa.

2. Lucius Cesar, adopted by Augustus, betrothed to Aemilia Lepida; died A.D. 2.
   By L. Aemilius Paulus, son of the Censor.
   1. M. Aemilius Lepidus, m. Drusilla, dr. of Germanicus.
   2. Aemilia Lepida.
      a. Betrothed to Claudius.
      1. L. Silanus, m. of Claudius.
      3. Junia Calvina, m. son of Vitellius.
      c. By Drusus, son of Germanicus.
      None.

4. Agrippina.
   By Germanicus.
   1. Nero, m. Julia, dr. of Drusus, son of Tiberius (Annaei, vi, 27).
   2. Drusus, m. Aemilia Lepida (Annaei, vi, 40).
   3. Caius Caligula.
   4. Agrippina.
      By Cn. Domitius, Nero.
   5. Drusilla, m. L. Cassius and M. Aemilius Lepidus.
   6. Livia, or Livilla, m. M. Vinius and Quintilius Varus.


c. By Tiberius, had none.
III. Augustus, after divorcing his former wife, Scribonia, married Livia Drusilla, by whom he had no children. Livia, however, had been previously married to Tiberius Claudius Nero, by whom she had two sons, Tiberius, afterward emperor, and Drusus, who was born three months after her marriage with Augustus.

   a. By Vipsania Agrippina, gr. dr. of Antigonus.
      \[ \text{Drusus, by Livia, sister of Germanicus.} \]
      1. Tiberius Gemellus, killed by Caligula (Suet., Cal., 25).
      2. Gemellus (Ann., ii, 84; iv, 15).
         a. By Nero, son of Germanicus. None.
         b. By Rubellius, Rubellius
            Blandus (Ann., xvi, 27). (Annal., xvi, 10).

2. By Julia, dr. of Augustus. None.

3. By Julia, younger. See above.
REMARKS

ON THE

STYLE OF TACITUS.
REMARKS
ON THE
STYLE OF TACITUS.

TRANSLATED* FROM THE LATIN OF WILHELM BOETTICHER.

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

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

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

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

ON THE VARIETY OF THE STYLE OF TACITUS.

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

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

* But it must be observed that, in many passages, all these qualities are united; so that in his very brevity there appear at the same time variety and a poetical complexion.
† Annals, iv., 39, 33.—Nobilis in arto et inglorius labor. "Situs gentium, varietates praelorum, clari ducum exitus retinent ac redintegrant legentium animum: nos saeva iussa, contiusas accusationes, fallaces amicitias, pernicieum innocentia, et eodem exitu causas conjungimus, obvia rerum similitudine et satiatae.”
‡ See the Dialogus de Oratoribus, c. 22: "Variet compositionem; nec omnes clausulas uno et eodem modo determinet." And c. 18: "Non esse unum eloquentiam vultum," &c.
ITS VARIETY.

The following are examples of his variety:

I. His Modes of Writing Words are Various.
   a. Inrumpere and irruptere, adstiri and astiti, adiciere and allicere, adspellere and appellere; colloqui, colligere, and conloqui, coniectus; affundere and ofundere; accelerare, accolere, accruere, and accelerare, acicolere, accurrus.
   b. Cotidie and quotidie; promiscus, promiscoe, and promiscusus, promiscus; abisse and abisse, epistula and epistola; volgo, volnus, volitus, convolue, revolue, mavollue, and vulgus, vulnus, &c.; and also, in some places, servum, program, aetem, captivum, donativum, avoculo, for the common sevum, pruvum, &c.; tegumen, tegimen, and tegmen; balneus (balnea) and balines; cloandes and ciadere; inclutus and inclitus; quotiens, totiens, viciens, saepuagien, and quoties, toties, &c.; transmittere, transmatare, and transmittere, transtare; vinculum and vincium; Hercule and Hercule; ibido, and once lubido; altissimus, optrum, optumante, pronumus (these examples are found each only once in Tacitus), and altissimus, &c.; monumentum and monumentum; decem and decimus, &c.; urgeres and urguere, intelligere and intelligere, oreretur and oriteret, potenteretur and poteteretur, destructare and destructare.

II. Words are Variously Inflected.
   a. Tigranem, Tigranem, Livin, Turesim; the accusative plural ending in is of particles and adjectives chiefly, less frequently of substantives, is interchanged with the common form; as, imminentis, omnis, tris, novis; the genitive which ends in us with the common termination in orum; deum (very rarely deorum), liberum, posturam (Annal., iii., 72), quindecimvirum (Annal., vi., 12); parentum and parentismus. By a poetical usage received from the writers of the Silver Age, we read in Annal., iv., 41, salutamentum for salutantium, and several examples of the same kind occur repeatedly. Cai, Caei, Caselli, Patulei, Rubelii, Pacari, but Tiberii, Pompeii, &c.; di, dis, dii, disis, and deis; quiuus, and not less frequently quts. The dative ending in u is very frequent in Tacitus, as well as the common termination; as, lux, nux, metu, decurum, cruciatus. Caesar, who uses that form more frequently, generally gives nothing else but magistratu, equitatu, exercitu.
   b. Heteroclite and defective words: plebes, plebei (gen. and dat.), and plebs, plebis, plebi (so in Cicero, Livy, and other former writers); juvenis, senecta, (senium), poetical words, and juvenis, senectus (after Livy's example); but juvenis in Tacitus always means youth; juvenae no less constantly the age of youth; nouns are both of the first and fifth declension in the nominative (as is usual), in the accusative,
and in the ablative cases: materia and materias, mollitia and mollitias, duritia and duritias (so, also, in Cicero), with an obsolete genitive, Annal., iii., 34, multa duritia veterum sa melius et latius mutata, unless it is better to take duritia for the ablative, with es understood. Obvivio and (Hist., iv., 9) obvivium (the plural obvivias occurs frequently in the poetae), obvivio and obvividum (so Varro, Plantus, Sallust), which in Tacitus, indeed, is the same as obses, Annal., xi., 10, Mehlert—obsidio nobis datum. So he uses consortium for the common consortio (as Liv., iv., 5); alimonium, Annal., xi., 16, after Varro's example; but Plantus, Suetonius, Gellius, Apuleius, use alimonia, a. Eventus and (what is not an uncommon word with Cicero) eventum, Annal., iv, 39, plures alterum eventis docentur; pretestus and (Hist., ii., 190; iii., 80; as in Seneca and Suetonius) pretesto: Vologese, genitive Vologesio and Vologesi, dative Vologeso, accusative Vologesem, ablative Vologese. Add to these decus and decor (as in the writers of the same age); sonos and (the poetical form) soner; honores and honor; satias and (Sallust) satias; sexus and (Sallust, Livy) sexus; munera and munia (and this frequently); suuri and manis (compare Hist., iii., 30, near the end); gratia and grates; exanimus, examinis; semerumus, semermis; inermus, inermis; claritudo, claritas; firmitudo, firmitas.

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

III. The following examples will prove how great is the variety and copiousness of Tacitus in the actual use of words.

a. The word auris is used by no writer so often and so variously; for he gives aures praebere, adire, perstringere, advertere, imbues, vitare, polluere, obscures, verberare, offendere; ad aures conferre, peruenire; auribus obtenerare, auribus non satis competere, aures respuunt, agnoscent aliquid; diversitas, fastidium aurium; oratio auribus judicum accommodata; diversissimarum aurium copia; cognosce populi aures; aures adrectiores, trepida, lenta, promptae, prones, superba, aquae, aperta, ita formata. Two reasons may be given why Tacitus so often used this word: first, because he was an orator, on which account most examples of it are furnished by his Dialogue concerning Orators; and, therefore, Cicero, also, and Quintilian often use this word;
secondly, because, in describing times which, to use his own words, had destroyed by prosecutions the intercourse of speaking and hearing, and recalled the recollection of the well-known era of the tyrant Dionysius, he was able, by the use of this mode of speech, to express with the greatest propriety and effect, many things which belonged to the wicked arts of tyranny and slavery.

b. There is generally a variety of the same kind in describing hidden and secret things. Thus to *palam* are opposed *secreto, intus, domi, per occultum, per occultum, in occulto, privatis, furtim, secretis criminis* divisionibus, occultis nuntiis, inter secreta consivii, *voi*; *Annal., xvi., 7, mortem Poppeae ut palam tristem, *its* recordaribus latam; *Hist., i., 10, palam laudares; secreta male audiebant; propalum—secretis nuntiis, secretis promissis.*

c. Since Tacitus had to mention frequent deaths, he has in these, also, used very great variety: *relinquenda vita certus; finis sponte sanctus, quaestis mori; suo ictu mortem invocare, nem veste obi ponere, sumere exitium, voluntario exitu cadere, sua manu cadere, mortem sponte sumere, se vita privare, se opem interficere (and interficitus also is used in a rather unusual way of voluntary death in *Annal., i., 2, interfecto Antonio: compare Hist., i., 53, occiso Neroe, voluntate extingui, vim viti sua adferre, vitam abstinencia finire, egestati cibi perimis, venenum haurire, gladio incumbere, semili manu ferrum tentare; venas, brachia exsolvere, resolvere, a Brampure, intersecindere, absecindere, intermittere, in sidera, aperire rursum; levem ictum venis infere; defungi, extingui, obire, concedere, oppedere, finire, fato fungii, fato obire, fato concedere, morte fato propera asferri, mortem obire, mortalitatem explorere, nem viti implere, supremum diem explorere, concedere vita, cedere vita, vitam finire; mori (mortis), obiit; excessus, finis; Dial., 18, fatalis et meas dies.*

d. Propinquae vespera, flaxo in vesperam die, vesperascente die, in umbrante vespera, praecipi in occasum die, extremo die, sero dies, obscuro dies.

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

f. Particles are varied more frequently than in other writers: *hæt and non, hædquaquam, aquaquam; deia, deinde; exin, exinde; præin, præinde; modo—modo et interiti—quandique, modo—nunc, modo—esse nunc; erga, and, with the same signification, contra, adversus, in; genes and ad, in, apud; justa et ad, apud. They serve for a transi-

* A combination of passages, by which Dionysius is said to have been able to overbear the words of his captives as he sat in his palace.
ON THE STYLE OF TACITUS.

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

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

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

c. Externus, besides its common use, in which it simply applies to foreign nations; as, Annal., xi., 16, ire externum ad imperium, is also in Tacitus synonymous with hostilis; Hist., iv., 32, ut abisteret bello, ne ve externa arma falsis velaret; iii., 5, ne inter discordias (Romani- rum) externa motientur. In the same manner diversus is used by Tacitus of things relating to enemies and opposing parties; as, Annal.,
V. IN THE GRAMMATICAL CONSTRUCTION OF WORDS the very great variety of the style of Tacitus is discovered.

a. The singular and plural numbers are interchanged: miles, eques (used, also, of those who are of equestrian rank), veteres, legiones, milites, equites, &c., and more often, indeed, than in former writers: Annal., vi., 35, cum Parthis—distraxerat termas, Sarmata—contis gladiisque uerent; Hist., iii., 59, Samnis Pelignusque et Marsi. The plural, used for the sake of majesty, is often joined with the singular: Annal., iv., 11, ut paterem ab iis, quorum in manus cura nostra veneri, &c.; Agr., 43, nobis nihil compert ad armare auxim.

b. Different cases are joined together: Annal., xiii., 29, legiones—pro vipa componeret, subsidio victis et terrorum adversus victores; Hist., i., 53, corpore ingeni, animi immodicus; Annal., xv., 59, nomen mulieris Arria Gallia, priori marito Domitius Silus: and the same cases with different significations: Germ., 35, occidere solent, non disciplina et sevitate, sed impetu et ira; Hist., ii., 22, molares ingenti ponderi ac fragore provolvunt.

c. The dative, accusative, genitive, and prepositions are used in the same kind of construction: promptus rei, in rem, ad rem; inrum per terram, in terram, ad terram; Annal., xiv., 38, eujus adversus pravitati ipsius, prospera ad fortunam rei publicae refererat, unless you prefer taking this as a zeugma; xii., 55, vim cultoriibus et oppidani ac plebumeque in mercatores—audebant; Annal., iv., 1, sui obtestens, in alias criminators; xiii., 21, utionein in delatores et pravum amicis obtinuit.

(See below, on the Brevity of the Style of Tacitus, iii., 1.)

d. There is the greatest variety in the mode of comparison. 1. The usual construction quo—tanto, quanto—tanto, scire magis quam probe, avidius quam consulti. 2. The positive, or other words which have its force, is used for the comparative in almost the same manner as we read in Agr., 4, vehementius quam emus: Annal., i., 68, quanto inopina, tanto majora affunduntur; c. 74, quantoque incertius offererat, panisentia patiens tulit (compare Livy, i., 25, Romani—Horatium accipium eo majora cum gaudio, quo prope metum res fuerat); iiv., 67, quanto intentius olim—tanto resolutus. Compare Livy, xxxi., 48, quantum status—tantum anxius. 3. Tanto is transposed: Annal., i., 81, speciosa verbis—quantoque majore libertatis
ON THE STYLE OF TACITUS.

Imagine tegabantur, tanto eruptura ad insensius servitium. 4. Tanto or eo is omitted: Annal., ii., 5, quanto aceraria—studies militum et averse (see No. 2) patru voluntas, coloranda victoria intention; Hist., iii., 58, quanto quis clarior, minus satis. Compare Livy, xxv., 38, quo audaciam erat (consilium) magis placet. 5. Plura is omitted: Annal., iii., 5, tanto plura decora max tribui par fuisset, quanta prima fore negavisset. 6. Eodem actus is put for tanto; Hist., i., 12, qui in dieis quanto potenter, eodem actus inveniur erat. 7. Quam is used alone, meaning more than, magis or potius being omitted: Hist., iii., 60, prædæ quam periculum socius; Annal., iv., 61, claris majoribus quam vetustis. Compare Livy, vili., 8, multiplex quam pro numero damnum est. 8. Also the more uncommon construction, Annal., iii., 8, quem haud fratris interius trucem, quam—equiorem sibi sperabat, put for non tam—quam, or tantum abest ut—ut.

e. Adjectives and genitive cases are mixed together: Annal., ii., 3, Armenia—inter Parthorum et Romanas opes insidæ: xii., 14, ex quis Isiates Adiabeno, max Abarus Arabum cum exercitu ascendit.

f. Verbs are variously and, indeed, rather uncommonly constructed: fungi officiiis et officiis, potiri flagitii, honoribus, regiam (by archaisms), adipisci alicui quid et rerum, dominationis (so in Tacitus alone); præsidere alicui rei and (what there seems to be no example of in other writers) Medes, Pannoniam: jubes alicui tributum; Germanos—non jubes, non regi; Annal., xi., 32, jussit ut Britannicus et Octavia—pergerent; xiii., 15, Britannisco jussit exsurgeret; chap. 40, quibus jussus erat ut—resisterent. Compare Terence, Andria, ii., 5, 1, me jussit—observarem; Cicero also, Livy, and others sometimes join this verb with the dative. So with many verbs is joined the infinitive and ut, ne, quod; also, the preposition ad and the particle ut are interchanged; e. g., Annal., ii., 62, haud levæ decus Dreusus quosvis illicens Germanos ad discoraxis, utque fracto jam Maroboduo usque in exitium insectoretur. The historical present and perfect are joined together: Annal., ii., 7, Casar—jubet; ipsæ—sex legiones eo duxit; c. 20. Scio Tuberoni legato tradit equitem campumque; peditem aciem ita instruxit ut, &c.; i., 39, perducit ad se Plancum imperat, recepitque in tribunal.—"There are those who ascribe such things to negligence in the author. But he seems to me to have thus adjusted them designedly, like a skillful workman, so as to distinguish wisely and with a polished taste what words should flow with a more animated, and what with a more tranquil course."—(Wallker on the Annals, ii., 7.) In the same way he places together the historical present, the historical infinitive, and the perfect: Annal., iii., 20, Eodem anno Tarfarinas—bellum in Africa renovat, magis primum populationibus—dein vicis excendere, trahere graves praedas, postremo—cohortem
Romanum circumedidit; xii., 51, conjus gravida—toleravit; post—ubi quasi uterum et viscera vibratur, orare ut, &c.; xv., 37, simili consilio terrenum adiurare, et Megistanas Armenicos—pellit sedibus, &c.

4. There is great variety in the syntax of particles: Annal., i., 2, per acies aut proscriptione cadere; ii., 70, ea Germanico haud minus era quam per metum accepta; Annal., xi., 39, ut quis reprehenderit in publico aut per lateras; iv., 51, nos ais in audacia, ais ad formidinem opportuna.—Germ., 20, sororum filius idem apud avunculum qui ad patrem honor; Annal., vi., 22, tria in bone, lata apud deteriores esse.

VI. Constructions of different kinds are often mingled together; and after beginning with some one form of speech, he passes abruptly, and without regarding the law of uniformity, to another. Thus very often the passive and active voices are mixed up together: Annal., vi., 44, nihil omnium qua ambiguum ilicercet, promit firmamentum; iv., 44, Albem transcendit, longius penetra Germania qua quae quae priorum. Compare Livy, xiii., 6, qua Pulcra religione servata fides ab Hannibale est, atque in vincula omnes conjicit.—The accusative, the accusative with the infinitive, the finite tenses of the verb and particles, are mingled together: Annal., xvi., 50, dum sceleris principis et finem adesse imperio, deligendumque qui—excurreneret inter se—jacentur; Hist., iv., 4, promisit sententiam ut honorificam in bonum principem, ita falsa aberant. (Compare Annal., iii., 30, fato potential—en satias capit.) Annal., iv., 38, quod aitii modestiam, multi, quia disfideret, quidam ut degeneres animi interpretabantur. Compare Sallust's Catilina, 10, avaritia—superbia, crudelitatem, deos neglegere, omnia venalita habere edocuit.—The participle, gerund, finite tenses of the verb, and particles are placed together: Annal., i., 62, quod Tibério haud probatum, secun cuncta Germanici in deturis trahebit, sic—credibat; iii., 31, absentiam—meditavit, sive ut—impleret; xiii., 11, orationibus, quas Seneca testificando quam honesta praecipuus vel jactandi ingenii—vulgabat; c. 47, socors ingenium ejus in contrario trahebat callidumque et simulamum interpretando. He passes from what is called the oblique narration to the direct (as Livy, i., 13, 47, 57): Annal., iv., 40, ad ea Tiberius—principum diversum esse sors; falleris enim Sejana, &c.; Hist., iii., 2, ad ea Antonius Primus—festinationem ipsius utilem. "Duas tunc Paneonicae ac Municum als perpetere hostem," &c. See, also, the heads Sylopesis and Zeugma, in the remarks on the Brevity of his Style, V.

VII. In the position of words, Tacitus indulges in variety above other writers, following chiefly the practice of his own age, and he
even sometimes inverts those phrases which other writers are wont to preserve constantly in a certain order; as, Annales, xi., 35, consulte consensu. (See above, III., a.)

a. Cognomina, or agnomina, are even placed before names; and in the same way, a term signifying the dignity and office with which any one is endowed, is expressed before the name itself, as Agrippa Postumus and Postumus Agrippa, M. Annaeus Lucanus and Lucanus Annaeus, Asinius Pollio and Pollio Asinius (thus Cicero, also, has Pollio Asinius), Antonius Primus and Primus Antonius; dictator Cæsar and Cæsar dictator (as in Cicero, rex Deiotarum; in Livy, rex Prusias); imperator Augustus, Augustus imperator; but when this dignity was perpetual, from the age of Julius Cæsar downward, the title of imperator (as before, in general, that of dictator) used to be placed before the proper name. Compare Suetonius (Caes., 76), honores nimios recepti—pronomen imperatoris. So, besides the common arrangement, praetor Antistius, procurator Marius, augur Lentulus (as in Livy we have consul Aemilius, consul Swipicius). Add to these, tribunus plebis, and plebi, and plebis (plebei) tribunus.

b. Together with the common order of the particles we find an anastrophe of the prepositions and conjunctions after the manner of the poets, which is admitted also, though less often, by other writers, chiefly of the Silver Age: Amissam et Lupiam annes inter, diejectas inter et vix pervias arenas, sedes inter Vestalium: praetum intra et totum unum intra damnum; and thus are used super, extra, ultra, contra, penes, propter, juxta, apud, ad, and ab: Annales, v., 9, vanescence quamquam plebea ira (so Cicero); Annales, i., 5, acribus namque custodis domum—seperat (so Livy very often); Annales, ii., 15, classem quippe (Cicero); Hist., ii., 17, invitatam quin etiam (Capitolinus); Dial., 6, illis quin immo (in other writers very rare, and every where having the first place); Annales; xi., 30, fruor et immo istis (Plautus); Germ., 30, durant siquidem collae (Pliny the elder).

c. With the remarks we have made above (VI.) on the mixture of constructions may be compared the Synchysis, which Quintilian calls a mixture of words, and of which Livy likewise furnishes not a few examples: Annales, i., 10, Pompeianarum gratiam partium; xii., 65, seu Britannicum rerum seu Nero potestatem; xiv., 2, tradit Olivius ardores retinendae Agrippinam potestatem eo usque prosectam, ut, &c.; c. iv., pluribus sermonibus, modo familiaritate juvenilii Nero et rursus adductus—tracto in longum constuit, prosequitur abuentem; iii., 42, inconditam multitudinem adhuc diejecti, that is, inconditam adhuc. You may also refer Tmesis to this head: Annales, xiii., 50, acrit etiam populi Romani tum libertate; Dial., 31, neque enim dixerat arte et scientia, &c., that is, nondum enim; Hist., i., 20, at illis vix decumae super portiones erant.
ON THE FORCE AND BREVITY OF THE STYLE OF TACITUS.

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

I. And, first, in the very collocation of his words there is a certain force and brevity: non is sometimes separated from its verb and placed first, to increase the force of the sentence; as, Anxial., vi., 32,

* The most important passage for discovering the feelings from which this peculiarity of the style of Tacitus proceeded is that in the Germania (33), where, with as deep emotion as he has ever shown, he says, manet quase duratque gensibus, &c. Compare, also, Anxial., III., 55, at the end, and Agr., 2, 3: dedimus profecto grande patientia documentum—adento per inquisitiones et legendi audientiis commercio, &c.—prope ad ipsoe exacte exacte terminos per silentium venimus.

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

II. The force of the language depends often on single words.

a. On frequentatives, which are repeatedly used by Tacitus (and Sallust): some, indeed, he alone employs, as infenare, redentare; in contemporary authors, also, and the writers of a later age, we find appellare, advertere, avexitare, despectare, suspetere (i.e., suspectum habere), emtileare, mansitare, pratenare. But it must be well observed, that it is not always the force of the language which depends on these words; but that they also often express an attempt, and that a vain one (as loqui captare), and in this way, also, assist the brevity of the style.

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

c. On the meaning of the words themselves: as examples of which we may adduce vinari, introspicere, disspicere, gliscere (adolescere, crescere, augeri, and augere with a passive signification), scavis, atrox, ferox, trux, truculentus, grandis, ingens, enormis, all which words he uses oftener than other writers.

III. By an unusual mode of using number, cases, adjectives, moods, and particles, the language is rendered more effective and concise.

a. The plural, chiefly of those nouns which are called abstract,
expresses various kinds and modes of action: *Annal.,* i., 74, *formam vitae initit,* quan postea celebrat miseria temporum et audacia hominum fecerant; xiv., 4, *formandas parentium iracundias; German.,* 2, *ipsos Germanos indigenas crediderim, minimoque aliorum gentium adventibus et hospitiis mistos.*

b. There is a peculiar force and brevity in the use of the *genitive* (concerning the *nomina* put absolutely, see below, under *ellipsis*, b. a. *dolor, ira*): *Annal.,* xv., 36, *non longam sui absentiam et cuncta in republica perinde immota ac prospera for.(qui refers to Nero, whose great idea of his own importance is plain from all accounts); xi., 24, *conditor nostri Romanus;* ii., 54, *noster origo* (a Roman is speaking).

The genitive plural expresses custom: *Annal.,* ii., 1, *Praetores—cuncta venerantium officia ad Augustum veritas* (which are wont to be offered by those who revere their prince); vi., 40, *supplicia civium effugit* (by which citizens are wont to be affected). To express the dispositions and peculiarities of men, the genitive is used more frequently than in other authors, and in a still more unusual way in the plural number: *Annal.,* iv., 31, *Tiberius compositus alias et velut eluctantium verborum.* The partitive genitive is used more extensively than in other writers, and its use increases the force and peculiarity of the narrative; the same remark applies to the genitive joined with *proemium.* *Annal.,* xii., 17, *navium quaedam circumcensis barbari praefecto cohortis et plerisque centurionum interfecit; chap. xviii., *Romanorum nemo id auctoritas aderat, ut, &c.* So we find *id temporis, solitudinis, honoris, Hist.,* iv., 23, *neque unquam id maiorum—ut, &c.* *Ingens rerum, praecipua circumcensoris, primus hende pene.* (See below, where Greecisms are treated of.) The genitive, which is called objective, is joined with the *subjective:* *Hist.,* iii., 10, *ut priditionis ira militum; Annal.,* xii., 26, *Britannici fortune moror* (Cicero *causum adulatio dominorum.* To this class belongs that very difficult passage, *Annal.,* xv., 61, *etor etiam in principis ludes repetitum venerantium;* by those who reverenced the prince on account of his wife’s restoration; compare xi., 23, *et studiis diversis apud principem certabatur, adsequernium, non adae egradam Italian, ut, &c.* Compare, On the *Poetical Composition of the Style of Tacitus,* III., a. The genitive of the passive participle in *endus,* joined with the same case of the substantive (or of the genitive with the case which belongs to the verb), the word *causae* being omitted, is used by no writer oftener than by Tacitus, in his strong desire of brevity, to express the end which any one pursues: *Annal.,* ii., 59, *Agyptum profeciscitur cognoscenda antiquitatis; iv., 2, neque senatoris ambitu abstinebat clientes suo honoribus aut provinciis ornandi.* Of the same kind are genitives joined with substantives: *Hist.,* iii., 40,
agendi tempora consultando consumsit; chap. 1., Silvanum secordem bello et die rerum verbis tereantem; Annal., i., 58, non hic mihi primus erga populum Romanum fidei et constantiae (sc. ostentandum) dies.

c. Very similar is the use of the dative, which Tacitus has employed more frequently than any other writer, and in a more varied manner, to express an end and advantage, and that, too, in such a way that in this mode of speaking, also, he has respect to brevity: as it is commonly said, triumvir reipublica constituenda, dividendis agris, comitia regi creando, so Annal., vi., 37, cum ille equum placando anns adornsset; chap. xliii., ubi data fides reddenda dominationi venisset, adsematur animum; Hist., iii., 20, num—cetera expugnandis urbis (utilia) attulissent; Annal., xiv., 3, additurum—defunctae templum et aras et cetera ostentanda piaebat (compare Livy, xxx., 6, qua restin-guendo igni forint portantes); Annal., ii., 57, amici accendendis offenditionibus callidi; Annal., xiv., 59, repertus est—audus exercitando corpori. Annal., xii., 46, diem locumque faderi accepti; i., 51, in-cessiti itinere et praio. To the same class belong obtentui, ostentui, iririsui, derisui, usui, metu, despectui, potui, victui, vestiui, indutui, vini, venatuui esse, which are for the most part rare in other writers. For the rest, see below, where Graecisms are treated of.

d. The accusative is often joined with verbs which express motion without a preposition, after the manner of the Greeks and of the poets; as ripam accedere (Cicero), oppidum inrumpere (Cesar, Sallust), incursare Germaniam (Livy), involare castra (Cicero, rostra adovolare), adovolui genua (Sallust), incidere locum, incidere aliquem (in aliquem), adventare propinquu Selucie, Annal., vi., 44; propinquavere campos (Sallust), eniti aggerem (Livy), ascendere sugetum (Cicero, Livy, and others), evadere angustias (Livy), elabi pugnam, egredi tentoria (Sallust), castra lubricum juvenia. This remark applies to the following passages, which depart from common usage: Hist., iv., 76, Germansee—non juberi, non regi; i., 16, gentibus, quae regnantur (Pliny the elder); Annal., iii., 39, is proximum exercitum præsebatur; Germ., 43, vertices montium—inseerunt; Annal., xi., 20, insignia triumphi indulgere, i.e., concedere; as if it were to indulge any one with them, and so to yield them (Juvenal, se indulgere, i.e., permitere aliqui); similarly Tacitus uses propungare, potiri, fungi, vesci, disserere, fremere aliquam rem; but he likewise, that thus he might add force to the narrative, has sometimes used prepositions where the common language employs the accusative: Hist., iv., 48, ex de cade quam verissime expediam; Germ., 34, reverentissius vivum de actis deorum credere quam scriere. Concerning the ablative of substantives put absolutely, see below, where the participle is treated of.

e. Brevity is promoted by adjectives which, when joined to sub-
assertives, have the force of genitives, or of other constructions, chiefly in expressing those things which belong to lands, cities, or men: Annal., iii., 43, Trevericum tumulus; iv., 20, provincialia uxorum crimina; xv., 23, Actiaca religio; iv., 3, municipalis adulter; Hist., iv., 15, Caesena (Ossii imperatoris) expididit; Annal., i., 6, necer- calis odia; chap. vii., uxorium ambitus; venilia adoptio; 33, mulieribus offensiones; iv., 2, senatorius ambitus, objectively, as chap. liii., municipalis ambitio; xii., 51, metus hostilis; ii., 44, vacui externo metu; Dial., 29, histrionalis favor. No one has often used this manner of speaking; but many similar examples are also found in the older writers, as in Cicero, pro Lege Manilia, xii., Ostenius incommodum; Cas., B. C., ii., 32, Cornimenti ignominia; Cic. Fam., ii., 17, metus Parthicus, objectively.

f. The infinitive is very frequently used by Tacitus for the sake of this same brevity and force. The infinitive, which is called historical, is used oftener than by other writers (as Livy and Sallust; see, On the Variety, &c., V., f.); and it is joined also with particles, and not only with demonstrative particles, as is the custom of other writers, but even with copulatives: Hist., iii., 10, ut crudescere seditio et et consicius ac probris ad tela et manus transivit in iici catenas Flaviismo jubet. Annal., xi., 34, jam erat in aspectu Messaliina—cum obstrueret accusator, &c. Sometimes it includes in itself elli and posse, or solere: Hist., v., 15, Civilis instare fortuna, Corialis abolere (sc. volebat) ignominiam; Germ., 7, in proximo pigrova, unde feminarum usulatus audire, unde vagitus infantium (sc. possum). Compare the similar use of the indicative, subjunctive, and participle below (h. i.) By no writer is the infinitive oftener joined with verbs, which are commonly constructed with the particles ut, ne, quominus, quod, or in some other manner. Thus we find used in the older writers also, but less frequently, hortari, impellere, precipere, pereunte, postulare, imperare, monere, maturare, prohibere, instare, erubescere, consentire, destinare, pergere, as Annal., xi., 4 (Livy, and others), persitique—addere reos equos Romanorum; chap. xxxiv., instabat—Narcissus operire ambages. A similar use of the following words is adopted by the poets: suadere, incumbere, mandare, orare, surgere, ambiri, accingi, arcere, persistere, dare, adigere, desse; as Hist., iii., 58, nec decessit ipse volo, voce, lacrimis misericordiam elicere (but the common construction is, Annal., xiv., 39, nec defuit Polybius quominus—incederet). Tacitus alone appears thus to have used percellere, perpellere, amulari, eensus, nunutiare, denuntiare, scribere (i. e., muntio, scripto imperare), impetrare, inicere, inducere (i. e., permovere), componere, pangere, obsistere (Germ., 34, obstitit Oceanus (τ) in se simul atque in Herculem inquiri), inlacrimerar (Annal., ii., 71), inlacrimer-
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mabunt (tu) quondam foret non—multis brevibus causis. See, On the Pictural Complexion, &c., III., c., γ. To the verbs deferre and incasse, the infinitive is joined in the place of a genitive or of the particle quod; Ancal., ii., 27, Libo Drusus defertur moliri res nescia; iii., 38, neque minus Rhemelcen—incursus populorum in- juriae insultus sinere (compare below, On Gracians). On the other hand, quod and ut are sometimes employed in a more unusual maner for the accusative with the infinitive: creditum quod—voluisset; quibus justerat ut—resisterent. See above, d., near the end.

g. The indicative is often, even in the obliqua oratio, joined to the particle dum; as Ancal., ii., 81, Piso oravit uti traditis armis maneret in castello, dum Caesar cui Syriam permitteter consultur. Former writers have seldom spoken thus; and so, in general, the indicative is found more frequently in Tacitus than in other historical writers, when sentences are inserted in the obliqua oratio as if they proceeded from the mind of the writer himself; as, Hist., iv., 16, as cum cohorte, cui praebet—tumulum compressurus. No one, moreover, has oftener used the indicative for the subjunctive, in that kind of sentences which indicate that that which is implied in the condition had almost happened, as we have it in Livy, who not infrequently speaks thus: iii., 19, nunc nisi Latinis—arma sumissent—deleti eramus, we were lost. Generally nisi, more rarely si, joined with the pluperfect, and sometimes with the imperfect, begins the condition, and the idea which is limited by it oftener precedes than follows in the imperfect, the pluperfect, and sometimes the perfect: Ancal., xi., 19, recipierat Armeniam aevbat, ni a Vibio Marso—cohibitus foret; i., 63, trudebanturque in paludem—ni Caesar—legiones inuiduesset; Hist., i., 16, si immensum imperii corpus stare—sine rectore posset, dignum erat, a quo res publica inciperet. Ancal., xi., 37, ni cadem ejus—properavisset, verterat pennis in accusatorum (thus Cicero, praecipe vicerasse, nisi—Lepidus receptisset Antonium). Hist., i., 64, prope in praelium egressi, no Valens—admonuisset (thus Livy, ii., 10, pros iter pares hostibus dedit, no sumus vir fuisset). Instances conform to the common usage of the language are less frequent in Tacitus.

To the same class belongs the Enallage of the Imperfect for the Pluperfect, which is also used by the older writers, as Ancal., xii., 37, si statim deditus traderer (traditus essem, fuissem), neque mea fortuna, neque tua gloria incolauisset. Compare Hist., i., 48, Piso (interfectus) usum et tricesimum statis annum explebat. In the use of tenses in general there is great force. The historical present is very frequently used (take as an example of all the rest, Ancal., i., 21): following the writers of the former age, chiefly the poets, be
uses the perfect with the force of the Greek aorist. 1. To express 
custom: Agr., 9, haud semper errat fama; aliquando est aegrit. 2. In 
the place of the pluperfect; Hist., i., 53, hunc juvenem Galba—legiones 
praeposit; max—at peculorum flagitiari jussit (preposuerat, jussuerat 
olim). 3. The infinitive present for the infinitive future: Annal., ii., 
34, Lucius Piso—abire se et cedere urbe—testabatur. 4. The perfect 
for the infinitive future; iv., 28, non enim in eadem principi—uno 
seculo cogitasse (he would not have thought of it), and Cicero furnishes 
a very similar instance, Phil., ii., 3.

b. The subjunctive has not unfrequently a pregnant sense, in-
volving posse, velle, opus esse (compare the remarks on the historical 
infinite and the participle). We find examples of the same thing 
in Cicero, Livy, and others: Agr., 17, cum Corialis quidem alterius 
successoris curam seseque abvisset (obrui potuisset), sustinuit quo-
que molem Frontium; Annal., i., 11, Tiberoque etiam in rebus 
quae non acculeret (occulere vellet)—obcura verba; Agr., 22, ex 
iracundia nihil superaret; secretum et silensium ejus non timeres (non 
erat causa cur timeres). To which the common phrase sum cornes, 
teredes, approaches very nearly. There is a similar but less frequent 
use of the indicative: Annal., iv., 40, si adductione Augusti movemur 
(nos moveri fas est), quanta validius est, quod, &c.; ii., 34, Lucius 
Piso—abire se et cedere urbe (cessurum), victoriam in aliquo abdito et 
longinquum rure testabatur; simul curiam reliquerat, i. e., in eo erat ut 
reliquarent. Compare Hist., i., 46, militare otium redimebant.

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

a. The perfect participle of deponent verbs is put indefinitely 
(scoporix) for the present participle, as reatus, veritus, and others are 
even in the ordinary language; Hist., ii., 96, in hunc modum etiam 
Vitellius apud multis disserruit pratorianos nuper exauctoratis insula-
tus; and, also, as Livy had used it before, for the future passive part-
iciple, which has the force of a present participle: Annal., xvi., 21, 
Nero virtutem ipsum exciderit concupivit interfecit (interficiendo) 
Thrasea Peto. The present participle not unfrequently expresses an 
attempt (compare the remarks on the subjunctive and historical in-
infinite): Hist., ii., 18, reiunienti duci telo intentare. It is used for the 
infinite: Annal., xiii., 50, sublatio portorii sequens (thus Cicero 
uses conseques, but with esse added) ut tributorum abolitio expostu-
leretur. Likewise for a substantive: Annal., iii., 40, discerabant de 
—superbia presidentium, i. e., presidium. Compare Sen., Clem., 19, 
nihil magis decorum regenti quam clementia. There is a similar brev-
ity (βραχύλογια) in the use of the future participle active: Annal., vi., 
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3. incusabatur facile toleraturus exsiliium deleta Lesbo (quod facile toleraturus est et): Hist., ii., 74, cetera—legiones secutae sperabantur (sperabantur fore ut sequerentur). The perfect passive participle is used for the finite tenses of the verb: Annal., vi., 32, cupidum et Tiberio, i. e., cupiebat; and so it takes the place of a substantive (as in Plantus); Annal., iv., 3, nepotes adulti moram cupidissi adferebant. The neuter of the future passive participle is joined with the verb habere, after the manner of the Silver Age (like the perfect participle, oratum te habeo, and as we read in Cicero, edem tuendum habere): dicendum, respondendum, subendum habere.

β. Often and still more boldly than other writers, he uses the perfect passive participle in the place of an abstract substantive, when it refers even to inanimate objects: Annal., i., 8, cum occasus dictator Caesar—puellerrimum facinus sideretur; Annal., vi., 27, genus illi decorum, vivida senectae; et non permissa provincia dignitatem addiderat. Compare Livy, xxvii., 37, liberatas religione mente turbavit ruinam sanctatum, Frusineone infantem natum esse quadrime parum.

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

δ. Ablatives which are called absolute are used in an unusual way, and generally elliptically; but examples of the same thing are not wanting in the older writers. The most uncommon case is that of the future active participle employed in this way: Hist., ii., 32, inrupturis tam infestis nationibus. Very often the participle of the substantive verb (δα) must be supplied, as it were, in thought, when a substantive is found (put absolutely) joined with an adjective or with a pronoun: Hist., iii., 26, incipere oppugnationem—arduem, et nullo juxta subsidio aperae; Annal., xi., 23, suffecisse olim indigenas consanguineos populis; that is, when yet the nations of Italy were of the same race as the Romans; Livy, xxxvi., 6, labante—disciplina et multorum co statu, qui diuturnus esse non posset. The ellipsis is harsher when the adjective or substantive is used alone in this manner: Annal., i., 6, juxta periculo sae fecta seu vera promeret, i. e., cum
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juxta periculum esse (as Livy; so dubio, incerto, sermo); Annal., iv., 5, initio ab Syria (in other passages we read initio—orto; as, Hist., iii., 44, initio—a prima Adjutrice legione orto); iii., 28, dedit jura, quis pace et præcipe uterumur; i., 59, ales gentibus ignorantia imperiis Romani fæxexpeta esse supplicia. Compare Caesar, B. C., ii., 29, Caesaris navis ejus fuga se receperunt. Like this is the use of the ablative of substantives in the place of an adverb, as in the older writers, also, case, consensus, nomine, ratione, judicio (as if adhibito were to be added), and similar words are found: Annal., i., 59, non enim se prædicatione—sed palam—bellum tractare; Dial., 25, solum inter hos arbitrator Brutum non malignitatem nec invidia, sed simplicitatem ingenii judicium animi sui detextisse; Annal., xiv., 5, Aeeronia imprudentia (cum imprudenter aeger)—navalis telis confectione, which serve, as it were, for a transition to that use of the ablative in which, often, other than in other writers, it is used by itself, without the participle which is commonly joined with it (ductus, commotus), to express a reason; Annal., i., 57, juvenis conscientia cunctabatur; Hist., i., 63, non ob prædam aut spoliandii cupidinem, sed furore et rabiis; Annal., xii., 10, non se faderis ignorantem, nec defectionem a familia Bracidarum venire. The perfect passive participle is put absolutely, the substantive being omitted much oftener in Tacitus than in the older writers: Annal., i., 35, strictum obtulit gladium addito acutore esse. Thus adjecto, cognito, intellecto, comperto, audito, explorato, ventitato, quasiti, perstitato, prædicto, credito, distincto, repetito, certato, diseptato, expectato, interdico, are found in this writer, and, what is very rare in other authors, even without the addition of any words to hold the place of the object: Annal., xv., 14, et multum insicem diseptato, Monobazus—testis—adhibetur.

k. The supine, which no writer uses more frequently than Tacitus, is used both in the accusative and ablative, for the sake of brevity; for example, ultum, perdium, ruptum, inulsum ire, oppugnatum venire; pudet dicit appears to be used by Tacitus alone. Misum, admonitu alcivius, and similar phrases, are not without example in former writers.

1. Great power lies in the use of prepositions when they are put, according to a rather unfrequent usage, for a simple case (sometimes, but not so often, the genitive or another case is used, contrary to the common mode of speech, in place of a preposition; as, Hist., i., 46, ne solgi largitiones (in vulgus) centurionum animos averteret). For example, Annal., xii., 25, adoptio in Domitium—festinatur; xi., 25, isque illi finis incertiae erga domum suam fur; (in things relating to his house); Hist., ii., 56, in omne fas nefasque avidi aut venales; Annal., iii., 24, Silanus in nepti Augusti adulter; xv., 44, in crimine incendii
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—convicti sunt; i., 12, addidit laudem de Augusto; Hist., i., 67, de cede Galiae ignari; Annal., ii., 39, forma hanc dissimili in dominum erat; Agr., 12, nec alius pro nobis utilis. Compare, ON THE VARIETY OF THE STYLE OF TACITUS, V., c., and ON THE POETICAL COMPLEXION, &c., III., d., y.

IV. Frequently, in the composition of a sentence, a deeper sense lies hid when, the form of expression not being perfect and precise, and the ordinary connection of words being neglected, the feeling alone with which the soul of the writer is moved, and the thought which he has conceived in his mind, are expressed by a structure of the sentence which is called PREGNANT. There are, indeed, such passages in the writers of the former age also, chiefly in Livy; but not so used as to form an essential feature of their style. Hist., iii., 49, primus Antonius nequaquam pari innocentiis post Cremonam (incensam) aegrot; Annal., iv., 40, posse ipsam Liviam estrarit, sumpendas et Draconem (mortum), atque in penitus idem tolerandum habet; Annal., i., 39, ius legationis (violatum) atque ipsius Planci—cum facunde miseratur; Agr., 18, qui clausae, qui nave, qui mare expectabant; that is, the violence of the sea, and the aid to be gained from hence; Annal., ii., 40, offerat pecuniam, idem atque pericula policicuntur; that is, to share the danger; Hist., iv., 59, ceteros, ut quique flagitium navieserant (that is, had exerted himself in perpetrating wickedness, as in Cicero we have navare rempublicam) præmio attollit. The propositions in and ad are often used to form a pregnant sense: Annal., i., 55, dissideris hostem in Arminium ac Segestem; that is, they quarreled to such a degree that some went over to the side of Arminius, and others to that of Segestes; chap. lvii., nec Arminii—neque victa in laceras (that is, so as to shed tears), neque voce supplex; iii., 19, ceteris ad discendum testimonium exterritus; that is, so as to utter their testimony. Compare Livy, ii., 40, Coriolanus—consternatus ab hdeo sua cum ferreti matri obvia complexum; and vii., 42, multitudinem ad arma consternatam esse.

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

a. The term SYLLEPSIS I would apply chiefly to those passages in which things of an entirely different nature are mentioned in connection with each other; as, donec ira et dies permanerit; quia die-
its force and brevity.

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

b. The term Znuoma applies to those cases in which a verb that only suits the words immediately preceding it, and not also those which are more remote, is yet made to embrace the latter as well as the former within the same kind of construction, some similar verb being, as it were, implied in the one used: Annal., vi., 21, tum complexus cum Tiberius praecium periculum (esse fatetur) et incolorum fore gratat; chap. xxiv., ut, quemadmodum numrum filiumque fratres et nepotes (interfecerat) domumque omnem cadibus completisset, ite, &c.; Germ., 2, quoniam qui prius Rheum transgressi ac nunc Tungris (vocentur), tunc Germani vocari sint; chap. xxxvi., ita qui soli boni aquique Cheruscic (vocabantur) nume inertes ac stulte vocabant; Annal., i., 58, quia Romanis Germanisque idem conducere (putabant) et pacem quam bellum probabam; xiii., 56, desse nobis (potest) terra in qua vivamus, in qua moriamur non potest; Hist., i., 8, vir facundus et pacis artibus (expertus), bellis inexpertus. But the zeugma is not always in the verb, but sometimes, also, in a word joined to it; as, Annal., ii., 73, et erant qui (Germaniici) formam, atatem, genus mortis, ob proponiis etiam locorum, in quibus interiit, magni Alexandri (formae, etati, et) fatis adequarent.

VI. The figure which is properly called Ellipsis is met with extensively in Tacitus, and has very great power in augmenting the brevity and conciseness of his language. In the plays of the come-
dians, also, and in the letters of Cicero, this form of expression is often met with. A few examples of each case of it will suffice.

a. **Nouns** are omitted: *Papia Poppea* (lex), *Sulpicia* (gens), *postero* (die), *octingentesimo post Romam* conditam (anno), *ad duodecimum* (lapidem), *laureata* (litterae), *Piraeus Attica orae* (portus), *Apicata Sejani* (uxor), *pretium* est (operae). Also, **Pronomes:** the substantive pronoun, *Annal., i., 35, si velit imperium, promos (se) ostentaveret:* the demonstrative pronoun; *iv., 60, guarus praferocem (cum esse):* the relative pronoun; *Annal., vi., 7, Seius Quadratus, (cujus) virginem non repperi; chap. xxxvi., quin neque boni intellectus neque maius cura, sed (qui) mercede aluntur.* There are examples, also, in older writers of the omission of the relative in those phrases which are placed in apposition with the principal sentence, either to afford an explanation or to express the intention: *Annal., vi., 10, L. Piso pontifex, (quod) rarum in tanta claritudo, fato obit;* i., 3, Augustus, *subsidia dominationi (quos esset) Claudio Marcellum—Marcus Agrippam—extuliit.*

b. **Verbs** are omitted.

a. The infinitive of the **Substantive Verbs**; and in several passages this construction is such that the accusative or nominative appears to be simply joined with the verb on which the accusative with the infinitive depends: *Hist., ii. 82, sufficere videbantur adversus Vitellium pars copiarum et dux Mucianus et Vespasiani nomen ac nihil arduum fatis (rò nihil arduum esse); Annal., i., 73, deorum injurias des curae.* But even the indicative and subjunctive moods of this verb are omitted oftener than in former writers; and the indicative chiefly in those passages which express the more vehement emotions of the mind: *Annal., i., 82, at Roma, postquam Germanici valetudo percruxruit—dolor, etsi;* *Hist., ii., 29, ut vero deformis et flens et preter opem incolumis Valens processit, gaudium, miseratio, favor;* *iv., 46, ut vero huc ille distrahit copere, metus per omnes et precipue Germanici militis formidò.* *Annal., i., 65, cum—apud Romanos invalidi ignes, interrupta voces (essent), atque etsi passim adjacent et vallo.

b. *Posse, facere, agere, vere, venire, ire, se conferre are omitted;* as, *Annal., xiii., 41, Artaxata—solo aquate sunt, quia nec teneri (poterant), sine valido praesidio—nec id nobis virium erat, &c.; Agr., 19, nihil per libertos servosque publicae rei (actum);* *Annal., i., 47, quos igitur anteferrret? ac (verendum) ne postpositi contumelia incenderentur;* *xiv., 8, anxia Agrippina quod nemo a filio (veniret) ac ne Agrippus quidem (rediret).*

g. Very often **verbs of sense and speech** are omitted; as, *Agr., 33, exceperat orationem—alaecres; jamque agmina et armorum fulgores audentissimi cuiusque procurum (conspiciebantur);* *Annal., i., 7, vul-
ITS FORCE AND BREVITY.

Etque composite, ne lati (videreuntur) excessum principis nee tristiores primordia, lacrimas, gaudium—micabant; chap. xxxi., non nisi hac (dicabet)—sed nulla seditionis ora vocescere.

c. PARTICLES are omitted by no other writer more frequently: Annal., xiv., 8, respicit Amicitiam (a) trivium—comitatur; iii., 19, is sumus fuit (in) uliscenda Germanici morte; i., 12, (ex) nulla omissae conicerantur; xiv., 40, tabulas (cum) in quae memoravi et alia minus industrios observavat; Agr., 35, ne simul in frontem, simul et (in) latera suorum pugnaretur; Annal., iii., 30, (incertum est) fato potestia vero sempiterna, an (quia) satius caput, &c. So quod, cum (followed by tum), licet, magis, tantum, tanto, eo, potius, alii, hinc, primum, modo, aliquando, ut, etsi, tamen, sed are omitted in many places. Whole sentences are omitted before the particles non and enim (just as in the Greek writers yap is used in the same way): Annal., xiv., 44, at quidem invenias peridunt! (and no wonder; nec mirum) non et ex fuso exercitii—etiam strenui sorbitur! chap. xiv., nam et ejus flagitia est qui, &c. To the same head belongs the figure Asyndeton, so much used by Tacitus: Hist., i., 3, fuiturum presagia, lata, tristia, ambigua, manifesta; chap. lxxiii., consulari matrimonio subixe, et apud Galban, Othonem, Vitellium inasa; Annal., iii., 26, vexutissimi mortalium—sine probro, sceleri coque sine pene—agebant; Hist., iv., 75, cum, qui attulera, opes epistolas ad Domitianum misit.

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

a. The figure which is called by Quintilian Anadiplosis, or adjectio; that is, the repetition or even more frequent reiteration of the same word (chiefly of particles) with a certain force. This is generally so managed that the repetition answers the purpose of an omitted copulative conjunction, only that it has greater power: Annal., i., 7, miles in forum, miles in curiam comitatur; Hist., i., 50, manuisse Caio Julio, manuisse Caesar Augusto victore imperium; Annal., ii. 82, statim creditis, statim vulgata sunt; Dial., 40, apud quos omnis populus, omnia imperiti, omnia (ut sic dixerim) omnes poterant; nostrae quoque civitas, donec erravitis, donec se—confecit, donec nulla fuit in foro pax, nulla—concordia, nulla—moderatio, nulla—reverentia, nullus—nullus, nullius, nullus, &c. This passage is a clear proof that it was chiefly as an orator that Tacitus used this mode of expression, as there are very many examples of it in Cicero and Quintilian, but few in the historical writers, if you except Livy, who affects the style of an orator.
b. Words which are commonly called *synonymous*, but which, in truth, are of such a nature that the one augments, explains, and amplifies with a new sense the signification of the other. Generally, substantives, of which Tacitus is very fond, are constructed in this manner: *sediose et turbae, fulgore et claritate, dolor et ire, odium et invidiae, modestia et pudor, sanguis et cadex, vires et robur.* *Veteres et senes, antiqui ac veteres, do not so much belong to this head, as they do not express the same things.* Of adjectives, adverbs, and verba so used, the number is less. The following are examples: *incertum et ambiguum, immotum fiamque, turbide et sediose, temere ac fortuito, occultare et abdare, solvi faciarique.*

c. The figure called in Greek to 

*διά δύος* (Hendiadys), of which we have an example in the well-known passage, *pateris libanum et amere.* But the examples of this figure which are found in Tacitus (and they are very many) prove that there is a greater power in substantives and adjectives, constructed after this manner, than in the usual form of speech: *Agr.,* 16, *neque in barbaris saevitia genus conisset ire et victoria* (this has greater force than *ira victoria*; it is anger and the license of victory, rather than of the conquerors); *Germ.,* 33, *super exaginta milia—oblectationi oculisque occiderunt* (not simply *oblectationi oculorum,* but for our entertainment and the mere pleasure of the spectacle). The copulative conjunction often serves for an explanation: *Annal.,* i., 40, *incidebat multibire et miserabile agmen* (not *miserabile multierum agmen,* but a troop consisting of women, and for that reason chiefly miserable).

d. As to the examples of *pleonasm,* they proceeded less from the genius of Tacitus than from the common usage of the Latin language, nor do they detract in any measure from the brevity of the discourse; since none of the old writers has given offence by thus, as it were, expressing things abundantly. But there are also many among these passages of such a kind that the one word adds something to the meaning of the other. Thus, *mare Oceanum* is spoken of just as *Rhenus annois; corpus* in all writers (contrary to the usage of our language) is used pleonastically in such passages, *corporis morbus,* *corporum verbera,* *libera corpora* (libere homines): *ante praesidem,* *ante praedicem* are also used in the older writers; *ipsos solus,* *Germ.,* 38, and *Dial.,* 5, and *solus et unus,* *Dial.,* 34, are explained by referring to the Greek *μόνος μόνος,* and also to that passage of Cicero, *Verr.,* i., 8 (*quod ipsis solis oatis cesset).*
ON THE POETICAL COMPLEXION OF THE STYLE OF TACITUS.

That there was among the Greeks in the most ancient times a great resemblance between the poets and the historical writers, is sufficiently proved by that well-known comparison in which we are wont to speak of Homer, the father of epic poetry, as an author resembling Herodotus, while we call the latter the Homer of history. Among the Romans the plan of composing history was different; for, having at first attended only to the registering of annals, and having thus been accustomed to set more value on the facts themselves, than on the expression of the feelings which move the mind in narrating and judging of the several events, when afterward they were led on, chiefly by the example of the Greeks, to aspire to more perfect skill in the art of writing history also, they then sought more after the ornaments of rhetoric than of poetry. And thus, indeed, you would justly mention Titus Livius as the most perfect model among all the Roman historians, and as the author who chiefly establishes the ability of the Romans for that species of composition, and, above all, as far excelling those writers who, like Lucan, Silius, and others, by doing little more than narrating events in stiff language, lessened the gravity of epic verse and hurt the dignity of history, while they in vain affected poetical language in order to ornament their records of bare facts. Tacitus alone, among all these writers, is worthy to be compared with those Greeks; because he sought not poetical ornaments from without, but was strong in the power of his own genius, and in the innate poetical sublimity of his mind. And as Herodotus presents to us the likeness of the epic, so does our author chiefly that of the lyric and dramatic muse, by arranging every event he records after the manner of a tragic poet, and in all things expressing the impulses of his own mind, nay, even the inmost feelings of his soul. When, as we read his annals and histories, we see the efforts made by men worthy of a better age against the cruelty of princes and the common corruption of manners falling fruitlessly to the ground, but yet perceive, at the same time, that there can be good and brave men even under evil rulers; when we behold fortune, fate, nay, the gods themselves, ruling in a wonderful and ever inscrutable manner the divers chances of human events; as we contemplate in his books of annals the fatal extinction of the Julian race, and in his histories the mighty efforts to establish anew an empire already desolate and falling; do we not seem to ourselves to be reading some tragic composition, such as those of Æschylus, Sophocles, Euripides? is not the mournful image of a Niobe presented before our eyes? are not our souls per-
veded with a kind of horror as at the sight of a Laocoon attempting in vain to burst the frightful knots of serpents? Surely it is a design worthy of the dignity of the Roman Empire, to expend all the resources of so profound a skill in setting forth what was the fate and what the chances of events, through which the power of a "people, now for a long time most mighty, destroyed itself;" what were the vices both of citizens and rulers, which provoked the vengeance and punishment of the immortal gods, so that that mighty imperil structure began to fall to ruin. Behold a second Scipio, not sitting among the ruins of proud Carthage when she had just fulfilled her destiny, but on the soil of Rome herself, even now sinking to destruction, and prophesying with gushing tears the ruin of his country! See him meditating, not with a factitious and far-fetched effort, but under aspects which to such a mind present themselves spontaneously, upon the image of his country, before so excellent and so perfect in all its parts, now distorted and ruined! And we see that he practiced no less art than Sophocles used in his divine tragedies, in arranging every several part, and assigning its own place to each. After prefixing, both to the histories and to the books of annals, a prologue, in which not only the argument of the whole work, but its entire plan and character, are briefly shadowed forth, he then leads the minds of his readers, now with a quickened, and now with a slackened and restrained pace, through all the stages of the action, which are meted out in a manner fit and suitable to the things themselves and to the laws of art; and he so depicts the natures and characters of men, and of the actions performed by them; he so portrays real life, even in its most varied and troubled forms—whether he writes of battles and the storming of cities, or whether of things done in the palaces of princes, and the houses of private men—that all these things we seem to behold with our own eyes, and to be present at them ourselves. But these are matters of such a kind that their nature can be less easily described than conceived in the mind itself. We shall proceed to illustrate, by examples, those points alone which belong to the poetical form of the language itself.

I. Among these examples, the collocation of the words themselves first claims our attention. For, in some passages in Tacitus, either whole or half verses are found: *Annal.*, i., 1, *Urbem Romam a principio regem habere; xv., 73, *donec consensu patrum deterritus es, no; Germ.*, 18, *bellorum causas putet, ipse incipientis; chap. xxxii., praecellunt; nec major apud Catos petitum furorem; chap. xxxix., augurios patrum et prius formidinis sacram.* But Cicero has already observed that verses often fall, also, from the pens of writers through
carelessness, of which there are examples in Livy and many other authors: Livy, moreover, as well as Tacitus, begins the preface to his books of histories with an hexametrical exordium. And, indeed, this circumstance, especially when two principal writers agree in it, I can not believe to have fallen out at a venture; but in the case of Tacitus especially, to whose language gravity (σοφία) is said peculiarly to belong, I should suppose, not, indeed, that he took pains to frame a verse in the very outset of his work, but that he retained one which had spontaneously offered itself to his mind.

II. **Single Words** are used poetically.

a. Words in themselves poetical, and belonging to a former age: desolatus, siccus, exsiccus, fuscere, grandansus, morsare, praesagius, secundare, &c. And of a later age: accursus (us), distinctus (us), honorus. Simple verbs used for compounds: asperare, celerare, cire, flere (aliquid), gravescere, jutus, propinquare, radere, solari, succere, temmone, of a later age flammare.

b. Words poetical in their signification (chiefly those so used by metonymy): cura de libro, demissus = origine mithrae, fides, fudicia applied to a man who inspires confidence (Hist., ii., 4, 5. Titus—ingens rerum fudicia accessit et prapius concurrerant fides Titus), flagitium = efflagraitatio, pupeirum = partus, sinister = malus, species = acies ocularum, *fruits* used as a substantive; in the poets of the later age: canus = proventus anni, transigere = transfigure, transmitse = transire silentio. **Abstract terms** are used for concrete much oftener than in other prose writers: auxilia, vigilia, militia (= militis, Hist., iii., 18, quo militia legiorarii—aquabat; compare Plin., Hist. Nat., iv., 27, Gessaria a succino militia—by the soldiers, miliibus nostris—appellata, a barbaris Austraria), delectus (in civitates remittere, Hist., iv., 71), matrimonia, conjugium, necessitium, adsidentia, amicitiae, dominationes, nobilitates, romigium, clientes servitium, cresilium (Hist., i., 2, plenum cresilium mare), antiquitas, consolamentum, mors, ingens (pavida, servilia). **Substantives are put for adjectives**, spectator populus, domus regnatrix, corruptor animus, victor exercitus, bellator equus (according to the Greek form of expression). **Adjectives** are also used in the place of substantives, see III., b.

* Annal., xl., 31, stes cesperat as (tempestatem; but Tacitus appears to have written as designedly to express a less conspicuous object; any thing of the kind) species (ejus). Compare *Livy., xxxvii., 24, spectaculum cesperat oculis*. So *Lucres., lx., 242, spectatum quo veritatis, and oftener; Virg., ix., 4, si tamia intervensis nostrae species potent id animadvertere, and in other places.*
III. Poetical Structure of the Words: Græcisms* (some words have also a Greek form: Dial., 31, grammaticæ, musice, et geometricæ. But Tacitus has never followed the practice of his age, in mixing words belonging to the Greek tongue with Latin words).

a. In the use of the Cases. Concerning the ellipsis in the use of the genitive, see, On the Brevity, &c., VI., a.: Apicata Sejanu (uxor), as the Greeks say Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Φιλίππος; Pîraeus Attica έρε (portus); &c, εἰς τὴν Φιλίππον, sc. χώραν. Annal., xv., 14, adjectives den (dignum Arcecidarum) ut simul, &c., δξιον των Ἀρσ. Compare Cic., Balb., 2, mîhi quidem dignum rei videtur. Concerning the peculiar use of the partitive genitive (οἱ φῶνικοι τῶν ἄνθρωπων), see, On the Brevity, &c., III., b. The genitive is nowhere found more frequently than in Tacitus joined to relative adjectives and participles (αἵ ὁποίοι ἄρρητων παιδών), and the same may be said of the Accusative, where it is used to apply or restrict the discourse to any object (πόδας ξυῖς, πάντα εὐθαμονεῖν, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα). A few examples will suffice: ingenx animi, diversus animi, fallax amicitia, vetus operis ac laboris, nonor non spernendum, præcipue circumveniendi, primus luenda pæna, anxius potentia, virtutum sterilis, insolens obsequi, manifestus delicti, ferox lingua, aatro odii; contextus lumber, nactus brachia, adlocivi animum, cetera degener, cetera egregius. The Datîve is put for the genitive after the manner of the poets: Hist., iii., 5, Rustia, cui Porcius procurator erat; Annal., xiii., 23, cui (cujus) per nuptias Antonia gener erat (Cic., Demochares—qui fuit Demostheni sororis filius); Annal., i., 3, Augustus subsidia dominationi—Marcellum—Agrippam—extuli; ii., 64, inmittere latronum globos, excudère castella, causas bello; chap. 46, missus tamen Drusus—paci firmator; iii., 14, vario rumore, custos sauti an mortis exactor sequeretur. For a preposition: Annal., xi., 37, florenti sìca hand concors; Hist., iv., 52, Domitianos mitigatus, i. e., mitigatus in Domitiani animo. There is a brevity (βραχυλογία) in the use of the dative of the participle: Annal., xiv. 49., optimum quemque jurgio lacescens et respondentii rasteros; that is, keeping silence if any one answered. There is a very close resemblance to this in the use of the dative absolute, borrowed by the Latins from the Greeks (thus Herodotus: ἀλθῆι λόγω χρωσμένω), Agr., 11; Germ., 6, in universum estimanti (Ourt.); Hist., iv., 17, vero reputantibus, Galliam suismet viribus concidisse. Compare Livy, xxvi., 24, urbiurum Coreyiæ tenes ab Ætolia incipienti solvm tectaque—Ætolorum esse (so Herodotus, ii., 29, ἀπὸ Ἑλλαστικῆς πόλις λόγῳ ἀνατέλει ἐτοί χροιον). On the similar use of the genitive, see, On the Brevity, &c., III., b. Annal., xiv., 61, and xi., 23. The dative,

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

b. In the use of Adjectives.

a. In the place of substantive s are put neuter adjectives, mostly joined with the genitive (the singular of the adjective being used less often than the plural), as well by Livy and other writers as by the poets and Tacitus (τὰ καλὰ, τὰ ἀναγκαῖα, τὸ τετράμμενὸν τῶν βαρβάρων, τὸ πολλὰ τῆς στρατηγῆς, ἀσημα βοῆς, i. e., ἀσημος βοῆ, τῶν βοῶν κατακεκρημνιαμένα). Annal., i., 1, populi Romanorum prospera vel adversa; iii., 40, per conciliabula et causas seditiosas disserebant; xiv., 15, quin et feminæ insulæs informias meditari. Annal., iii., 59, diverso terrarum distineri; ii., 39, adire municipia obscurro diei. Annal., iv., 23, incertâ bellâ metuens; us, ambiguæ, dubia, fortuita, intuta, certa, avia, inaccessa, angusta, ardua, lubrica, edita, obstantia, opportuna, amana, plana, subjecta, aperta, profunda, secreta, adversa, vaca, subita, occulta, opertia, idonea, vanæ, inanæ, falsa, tacita, longinquæ, prima, extrema, summa, praecipua, reliqua, cetera, alia, pauca, multa, are found in Tacitus, joined with the genitive plural.

β. Adjectives are very often used by him, as well as by the poets, after the manner of the Greeks (αὐτὰ for αὐτῶν; εἶδον παντίχιοι, i. e., νυκτὶ, δευτεραίος ἀφίκτε, i. e., δευτέρα ἡμέρα), for Adverbs, when greater power is thereby given to the discourse: Annal., iv., 12, domum Germanici revirescere occulti letabatbantur; xii., 12, si eit advenissent; v., 1, asfert marito (Liviam)—adeo properus, ut, &c.; Agr., 19, a se unius que rum primam domum suam coecidit; Annal., iii., 52, advernum luxum, qui immensus proruperat; iv., 60, Tibérius torus aut falsum residentis vultu; chap. 28, innocentem Cornutum et falsa exterritum.

γ. The use of the Preposition Ex for Adjectives and Ad-

* Many points, also, in the mode of comparison which are borrowed from the Greek language, have been noticed above. (See, On the Variety, &c., V., d.)
VERBS is very common in Tacitus. This mode of expression the poets have generally used after the manner of the Greeks (ἐν τοῖς ἄνθρωποι, διὰ τάξον, ἐν τῷ φανερῷ, and also in the plural number, which is never thus used by Latin writers, ἐν τῷ διώροις), and some examples of this have even passed into the language of common discourse; as, ex improviso, ex inopinato, ex insperato, ex composite, ex preparato, ex aequo, ex occulto, in Livy, ex tuto, ex vano, ex super sacuo: many instances are found in the writers of the Silver Age; as, ex abundanti, ex continenti (continuo), ex pari, ex tuto; in Tacitus, ex honesto, ex integro, ex vano, ex facili, ex adfectu, ex aequo in many places. And on a like principle, per silensium, per iram, per licentiam, in aperto, in levi, in neutrum, in moliun, in deterius. See, ON THE BREVITAT, &c., VII., d., at the end.

C. IN THE USE OF THE VERB. Concerning the indefinite (acricalistical) use of the tenses, see, ON THE BREVITAT, &c., III., g., i., and concerning the use of the infinitive, ibid., III., f. The infinitive is used by attraction with the nominative in place of the accusative; as in that passage of Virgil, sensit medios delapser in hostes; Hist., iv., 55, ipsum e majoribus suis hostis populi Romani quam socius (esse) jactabat; in like manner, Herod., viii., 137, τὸν μοθὸν δρασάν δικαιο εἶναι ἀπολαβόντες στρεφεῖν. On the other hand, the accusative, instead of the nominative, is joined with the infinitive, after the Greek custom (ἡν εἶναι σταθμὸν = σταθμός): Hist., iv., 52, Túrum—orasse dicidebatur; i., 90, Trachali ingenio Othonem uti credebatur; Germ., 33, Angriovarios immigrasse narratur. Very seldom dicitur; more frequently, in Livy, credidit, probit, tradit, fortun, nustitatur, are found thus used. The infinitive supplies the place of the substantive and gerund, after the usage of the Greeks, which has been received by the poets, and in a few examples, also, by the writers of the former age.

A. For the nominative: Annal., xv., 20, culpa quam pena tempore prior, amendarì quam pecare posterior est; Hist., ii., 82, sufficeret videbantur adversus Vitellium pars copiarum et dux Mucianus et Vespasiani nomen ac nihil ardue (esse) fatit.

B. For the genitive, and sometimes for the ablative: Annal., vi., 19, dato sacerdotibus negotio—vera discernere; Dial., 3, etiammen non novum tibi ipse negatium importasses—adgregare (Cesar, B. G., vii., 71, consilium—dimittere); Agr., 8, peritus (rō) obsequi eruditusque (rō) utilia honestis misere; Annal., iv., 52, modicis dignationis et quaqva facinore properus clarescere (a case without example, even in the poets); Annal., ii., 57, atrox ac dissentire manifestus; Agr., 25, paratu magnó, majore fama, uti mò est de ignotis, "oppugnassit ulter," castella adorsit. Compare Livy, iv., 31, cœtibus vinci insita, nólis calpe ἱλατίν, ἐπιθάδιοι κοινίν, διάφερεν τῷ τιμῆς ὅργυθαι.
y. For the accusative, and sometimes for the dative, and for the
former chiefly when a substantive in the same case goes before: An-
nal., xiii., 15, quia nullum crimen neque jubere cadem fratri
cubare custudierat; Annal., iv., 56, factus natura et consuetudine exercitus (τῷ) soleare odium
dallacibus blanditiis; Dial., 10, tamquam minus obnoxium sit (τῷ)
offendere postulant quem oratorum studium. Compare Xen., Apol.
Socr., 14, ἵνα τί μᾶλλον—αὐτοὶ τῷ ἐμὶ τετυμβόθοι ὑπὸ δαμόνων.
See above, On the Brvitty, &c., III., 2. There is another Greekism
in those cases where the particle (ὅρα, so as) is implied in the
infinite: Annal., xi., 1, non extimusse continem populi Romani, sateri,
gloriamque facinoris utro pater; xii., 50, atræx hies, seu parum
proviso commen est et orsa ex utroque tabes percipient Vologesan omis-
tere praesentia. Compare Thucydides, iii., 6, τῆς μὲν θαλάσσης έλιρον,
μὴ χρησιμοῖ, Μυτιληναῖοι.

The Subjective, after the manner of the Greek optative, is used
both by other writers and by Tacitus to imply that a thing has been
done frequently: Annal., i., 27, postremo deseruimus tribunal, ut quis
—occurreret, manus intentatam; chap. 44, si tribuni, si legio industriam—adprobaverant, retinebatur ordinem: ubi avariam aut crudelitatem consensu objectavissent, solenbatur militia (οὐ μὲν ιόν εὐδόκησε
—λύτρας—ἐπένει). Concerning the use of the Participle, compare,
On the Brvitty, &c., III., 1. Evidently after the Greek fashion,
which is adopted also by Sallust, we read in Tacitus invito, cupienti,
volenti mihi est, for nolo, cupio, volo: Annal., i., 59, ut quibusque
bellum inquit aut cupientibus erat, ἀχθομένοις δ ἰδομένοις ἤν; Agr., 18,
ut quibus bellum volentibus erat. We may find an explanation of this
in the passages in which volens has the same sense as gratum (just as
grarius is used for notus): Hist., iii., 52, Muciano volentia rescripsera
(Sallust, volentia plebi facturus videbat); and Annal., ii., 4, Ariobarzamem—volentibus Armeniis praeficit (compare Soph., Ἐν. Col.,
1505, τοῦτον τρυφάναντις); Sall., Jug., 76, panas ipsi volentes pepen-
dere. Add, lastly, the following phrases, which are actually translated
from the Greek, and which are common in the poets, Sallust, Livy,
and others, namely, est for ictet, and amare for solere: Germ., 5, est
divere apud illos argentia vara; Annal., iv., 9, ut ferme amat posterior
adulatio; ἐτος, φιλεί.

d. In the Use of Particles.

a. Vereor is omitted before the particle se (see above, on the
ellipsis of verbs), as in Greek authors we have μὴ τούτῳ ἅλλῳ ἔχω.
The particle cum is often wanting (as in Ovid); Annal., iii., 64, quin-
edemirivi septemviris simul; iv., 55, Hypapeni Trallianique Laodicenis
ac Magnetibus simul; vi., 9, Appius Silanus Scauro Mamerei simul.
Compare Hom., Od., iv., 723, δοσαί μοι ὅμω τράφεν ἥδε ἑγένοτο.
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β. Annal., xvi., 9, donec a centurione—tamquam in pugna caderet (so Suetonius, Otho, 5, ab hoste cedere; Nepos de regibus, iii., 3, periit a morbo)—θανείν υπὸ τινὸς. Annal., ii., 47, Magneset a Sipylo, as on coins we read Μαγνησία ἀπὸ Σιπύλου. Compare Livy, i., 50, Turnus Herdonius ab Aricia (Ariconus) ferociter in absentem Tarquinium erat invictus.

γ. The preposition in is often used to give greater force where, from the common form of speech, you would expect ad, or simply a case of the noun, or some other construction: in id, in loc, eis tuōro (Livy, Velleius, and the poets); in majus celebrare (Livy and Sallust), and the like phrases, in to meiōn κοσμεῖν, in unum consulere, eis μιαν βουλήν, in unum cedere, eis ἐν ἐρχομαι (Livy, Sallust), in longum, in presens, eis ὅρα, eis τὸ παρόν (Livy, Sallust, Cicero), in tantum, in vultus, in cetera, in diversum; Annal., xii., 35, plus vinumerum in nos et plerisque cades orientur; ii., 47, aspermima in Sardianos iuss; chap. 39, forma habat disimilium in dominum erat; as the Greeks say, εἰς πάντα, εἰς ἵκαθον εἰπεῖν, εἰς φόδον, εἰς ἑσπερίν; Annal., iv., 25, adaequant seminomnos in barbaros (see above, On the Brutus, &c., v., a., under syllepsis); as εἰς ὑράνως Χοντο, ἱπάνη λίς εἰς ὅδον.

δ. We find answering to the Greek phrases, εἰς τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἡ ἐκφυσής μετάστασις, Agr., 25, universa ultra gentes; Annal., xiii., 41, cum cuncta extra, teclis tenus, sole industria fuere (compare Livy, xxiii., 27, omni circa agrò potiuntur); Annal., i., 27, is ante alios etate et gloria belii (excelling others); Hist., ii., 76, tua ante omnes experientias; v., 12, proprisique muri labore et opere ante alios.

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

IV. The Form of Expression itself is Poetical; as, equestris procella, aliquid ultra mortale gaudium accipere, arbiter verum, dira quies, in limine bellī, conjux sex partus emixa, trucidati sunt sine nostrō sanguine, sera juvenum Venus, marcentem pacem nutrire, vita populi Romani per incerta mari et tempestatum quotidie voluitur. This poetical language consists generally in the following particulars:

a. Inanimate Objects are Spoken of as Having Life, whence he not only speaks thus of animals: Germ., 9, ne armentis quidem manus honor aut gloria frontis, but, also, still more boldly, Annal., i., 79, quin ipsum Tiberim nolle proresus accolis fuvis orbatum minore gloria fluere; xv., 15, fūmen—vi equorum perturpere (as if it were a hostile army); Germ., 40, est in insula Oceani castum nemus; Hist., v., 6 praecipui montium Libanum erigit (Judæa), mirum dictu tantos inter
ardores opacum sidumque nivibus; idem annum Jordanen fundit altitque; Germ., 27, sepulcrum caspes erigit; Annal., xv., 62, lacrimas eorum modo vermine; modo intemen in modum coercentis ad firmitudinem revocat; Hist., i., 17, circumsteterat interim petulantia publica expectatio magni secreti impatien; chap. ii., opus adgregior opium casibus, atrox praefi, discors seditionibus, ipsa etiam pace savum; Annal., i., 31, multa seditionis ora vocaque; chap. 61, incendit maestos locos, at the end: ubi infidici dextro—mortem invenerit.

b. The Prosopophia of Time is very frequent: Annal., vi., 51, morum quoque tempora illi diversa: egregium vita famaque (tempus), quoad privato—fuit; occultum ac subdolum fingendis virtutibus, donec Germanicus ac Drusus superfrue; idem inter bona malaque mistus, &c, whence it is clear that in these things, also, variety has been aimed at; Germ., 30, disponere diem, vallare noctem; Hist., i., 80, obsecue meliorum nos abstulerat; Annal., xiii., 17, nus eadem necem Britannici et rogam conjunxit; chap. 33, idem annus plures reos habuit; iv., 15, idem annus alio quoque luctu Caesarum adjicit alterum ex geniis Drusi iuberis extingendo; i., 54, idem annus novas cerimoniae accepit addito sodali Augustali sacrodoto; Agr., 22, tertius expeditionum annus novas gentes aperuit; Hist., v., 10, proximus annus civili bello intentus; Annal., iv., 31, quem vidit sequens eas tranquillum, venalem; xv., 38, fessus aut rudis pueritia etas; xiv., 33, si quos imbellis sexus aut fessa etas—attingerat. Livy has not uncommonly used this form of expression, as well as Velleius, Pliny the elder, Silius, and others; compare Cicero, Brut., 92, interim me questorem Siciliensis excepit annus.

c. To the Names of Nations and of Men are Poetically Joined Verbs, which Properly Refere to the Appellative to Which Those Names Should Have Been Added in the Genitive, or Certain Verbs Are Made to Refer to Men Which, in Their Common Use, Are Only Joined to Appellatives and Abstract Nouns: Annal., ii., 25, ipse majoribus copiis Marsos inrumpit; chap. 56, Cappadoceis in formam provinciae adacti Quintum Veranum legatum accepere; xii., 58, tributum Apamensibus terra motu convolus—remissum; Agr., 22, vastatis usque ad Taum—nationibus; Hist., ii., 87, nec coloniae modo aut municipia conestu copiarum, sed ipse culturae arvaque, maturis jam frugibus, ut hostile solem vastabatur; Annal., ii., 25, populatur, escondit non annum congregi hostem; xii., 49, dum socios magis quam hostes praedatur; xvi., 13, in qua (urbem) omne mortalium genus vis pestilentiae depopulatur; Agr., 41, tot militares viri cum tot cohortibus expugnati et capti (where Welch, comparing the expression to Thucydides's use of ἵκαλορκεῖν, quotes Justin., iii., 4, 11, expugnati veteribus incolis; Lucret., iv., 1008, reges expugnare; Livy, xxiii., 30,
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obsessus fane expugnavit; to which add, Curt., iii., 1, 7, ut scire inap-
pugnabile esse; ix., 10, 7, tris eumal agmina populabantur Endos—
maritimos Ptolemæus, ceteros ipse rex et ab alia parte Leonnatus uera-
bant; Livy, xxviii., 6, finitimos depopulabantur; Epit., 47, Illyrius—

custóverunt). Amm., xii., 25, sa quoque accingeret iuvene partem

curorum excesituro; iii., 63, Milesius Darco rege niti; iv., 19, hoc
corripit, dilato ad tempus Sabino, placitum; Hist., ii., 71, Valerium
Moritum destinatum a Galba comem distulit; chap. 95, magna et

miseræ civitas, codem anno Othonem Vitelliumque passa; iv., 52, amicos
tempore, fortuna—imminui, transferri, deserere (that is, their atten-
tions, their very friendship); Amm., iv., 42, Merulam—alba senatorio
erasit; vi., 42, civitas—conditoris Selunci retinens (that is, of his insti-
tutions). Compare Quintil., viii., 6, 25, hominem devorari (that is,
his goods), Plinius, Hist. Nat., vi., 24, regi—percontanti postes nar-
ravit Romanos et Caesarum; vii., 2, supra hæc extraea in parte monti-
tum Triepitham Pygmaeique narratur. And in the same way the
elder writers also use loqui, narrare.
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WHICH ARE QUOTED OR REFERRED TO IN BÖTTCHER'S REMARKS ON HIS STYLE.

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C. CORNELIUS TACITUS

DE
SITU, MORIBUS ET POPULIS GERMANIAE

SUMMARY.

Chap. I. Situation of Germany. II. Its inhabitants probably indigenous. — Authors of the race. — Origin of the name. III. A Hercules among the Germans also. — Baritus. — Altar of Ulysses. IV. The Germans an unmixed race. — Their physical conformation. V. Nature of the country. — Contains no gold, no silver. — These metals held in no estimation. VI. Arms of the Germans: their cavalry, infantry, mode of warfare. VII. Their kings, leaders, priesthood. VIII. Spirit displayed by their women, and respect shown them. — Veleda. — Aurinia. IX. Their deities, sacred rites. — No images of their divinities. X. Auspices, lots. — Presages derived from horses, from captives. XI. Public deliberations and assemblies. XII. Accusations, punishments, dispensing of justice. XIII. Youths adorned with a shield and frame; companions of the chieftains, their valor and wide-spread reputation. XIV. Warlike spirit and pursuits of the race. XV. Season of peace, hunting, indolence. — Presents bestowed upon the chieftains. XVI. No cities. — Their villages, dwellings; caves serving as a retreat in winter, and as receptacles for grain, &c. XVII. Attire of the men, of the women. XVIII. Matrimonial engagements strictly adhered to. — Dowry brought by the husband. XIX. Purity of female morals. — Punishment of adultery. XX. Mode of rearing children. — Laws of succession. XXI. The enmities as well as friendships espoused of one's father or near relation. — Price of homicide. — Hospitality. XXII. Bathing, mode of life, quarrels of the intoxicated, deliberations at banquets. XXIII. Drink. — Food. XXIV. Public spectacles. — Fondness for gambling. XXV. Slaves, freedmen. XXVI. Taking interest unknown. — Agriculture. — Seasons. XXVII. Funerals, tombs, mourning. XXVIII. Institutions and customs of individual tribes. — Early migrations of the Gauls into Germany. — The Helvetii, Aravisci, Boii, Osi. — Tribes of German origin: the Treveri, Nervii, Vangiones, Triboci, Nemetes, Ubii. XXIX. The Batavi, a branch of the Catti. — The Mattiaci. — The tithe-lands. XXX, XXXI. Country of the Catti, their physical character, military discipline, martial vows. XXXII. The Usipii, the Tencteri: their superiority in cavalry. XXXIII. Settlements of the Bructeri seized upon and occupied
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I. GERMANIA omnis a Gallis Rætisque et Pannoniis Rheno et Danubio fluminibus, a Sarmatis Dacisque mutuo metu aut montibus, separatur. Cetera Oceanus ambit, latos sinus et insularum immensa spatia complectens, nuper cognitis quibusdam gentibus ac regibus, quos bellum aperuit. Rhenus, Ræticarum Alpium inaccesso ac praecipiti vertice ortus, modico flexu in Occidentem versus, septentrionali Oceano miscetur. Danubius, molli et clementer edito montis Abnobæ jugo effusus, plures populos adit, donec in Ponticum mare sex meas tumerus erumpat; septimum enim os paludibus hauritur.

II. Ipsos Germanos indigenas crediderim, minimeque aliarum gentium adventibus et hostiis mixtos; quia nec terra olim, sed classibus, advehebantur, qui mutare sedes querebant: et immensus ultra, utque sic dixerim, adversus Oceanus raris ab orbe nostro navibus aditur. Quis porro, præter periculum horridi et ignoti maris, Asia aut Africa aut Italia relictæ, Germaniam peteret, informem terris, asperam coelo, tristem cultu adspectuque, nisi si patria sit? Celebrant carminibus antiquis (quod unum apud illos memoriam et annalium genus est) Tuwiconem Deum, terra editum, et filium Mannum, originem gentis conditoreaque.
Manno tres filios adsignant, e quorum nominibus proximi Oceano Ingævones, medii Herminones, ceteri Istævones vocantur. Quidam autem, licentia vetustatis, plures Deo ortos, pluresque gentis adpellationes, Maresos, Gambririos, Suevos, Vandalios adfirmant: eaque vera et antiqua nomina. Ceterum Germaniae vocabulum recens et nuper additum; quoniam, qui primi Rhenum transgressi Gallos expulerint, ac nunc Tungri, tunc Germani vocati sint. Ita nationis nomen non gentis evaluisset paulatim, ut omnes, primum a victore ob metum, max a seipsis invento nomine, Germani vocarentur.


IV. Ipsæ eorum opinionibus accedo, qui Germaniæ populos nullis aliarum nationum connubiiis infectos, propriam et sinceram et tantum sui similem gentem extitisse, arbitrantur. Unde habitus quoque corporum, quamquam in tanto hominum numero, idem omnibus; truces et cærulei oculi, rutilæ comæ, magna corpora et tantum ad impetum
valida. Laboris atque operum non eadem patientia: minimeque sitim aestumpque tolerare, frigora atque ineditam coelo solve adsueverunt.


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

VIII. Memoriae proditur, quasdam acies, inclinatas jam et labantes, a feminis restitutas, constantia precum et objectu pectorum, et monstrata cominus captivitate, quam longe impatientes feminarum suarum nomine timent: adeo, ut officiaceus obligentur animi civitatum, quibus inter
obsides puellae quoque nobiles imperantur. Inesse quin
etiam sanctum aliquid et providum putat: nec aut con-
silia earum adsperrantur, aut responsa negligunt. Vidi-
mus, sub divo Vespasiano, Veledam, diu apud plerosque
numinis loco habitam. Sed et olim Auriniæm et com-
plures alias venerati sunt, non adulatione, nec tamquam
facerent deas.

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

X. Auspicia sortesque, ut qui maxime, observant.
Sortium consuetudo simplex. Virgam, frugiferæ arbori
decisam, in surculos amputant, eaque, notis quibusdam
discretos, super candidam vestem temere ac fortuito spar-
gunt. Mox, si publice consuletur, sacerdos civitatis, sin
privatim, ipse paterfamiliae, precatus deos, cœlumque sus-
piciens, ter singulos tollit, sublato, secundum impressam
ante notam, interpretatur. Si prohibuerunt, nulla de
eadem re in eundem diem consultatio; sin permissum,
auspiciorum adhuc fides exigitur. Et illud quidem etiam
hic notum, avium voces volaturque interrogare: proprium
gentis, equorum quoque præsagia ac monitus experiri.
Publice aluntur iisdem nemoribus ac lucis candidi, et nullo
mortali opere contacti: quos pressos sacro curru sacerdos
ac rex vel princeps civitatis comitantur, hinnitusque ac
fremitus observant. Nec ulli auspicio major fides, non
solum apud plebem, sed apud proceres, apud sacerdotes:
se enim ministros deorum, illos conscius putant. Est et
alia observatio auspiciorum, qua gravius bellorum eventus explorant. Ejus gentis, cum qua bellum est, captivum, quoquo modo interruptum, cum electo popularium suorum, patriis quemque armis, committunt: victoria hujs vel tlius pro prejudicio accipitur.

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


XIV. Cum ventum in aciem, turpe principi virtute vinci, turpe comitatui virtutem principis non adæquare. Jam vero infame in omnem vitam ac probrosum, superstitionem principi suo ex acie recessisse. Illum defendere, tueri, sua quoque fortia facta gloriae ejus adsignare, præcipue sacramentum est. Principes pro victoria pugnant; comites pro prince. Si civitas, in qua orti sunt, longa pace et otio torpeat; plerique nobilium adolescentium petunt ulter eos nationes, quæ tum bellum aliquod gerunt; quia et ingrata genti quies, et facilius inter ancipitia clarescant, magnumque comitatum non nisi vi bellique tuse. Exigunt enim principis sui liberalitate illum bellatorum equum, illam cruentam victriçemque frameam. Nam epulae, et convictæ, quamquam incomiti, largi tamen apparat, pro stipendio cedunt. Materia munificentiae per
bella et raptus. Nec arare terram, aut exspectare annum, tam facile persuaseris, quam vocare hostes et vulnera mereri. Pigrum quin immo et iners videtur, sudore adquirere, quod possis sanguine parare.

XV. Quotiens bella non ineunt, multum venatibus, per otium transigunt, dediti somno ciboque. Fortissimus quique ac bellicosissimus nihil agens, delegata domus et penatium et agrorum cura feminis senibusque et infra-missimo cuique ex familia, ipsi hebent: mira diversitate naturae, cum idem homines sic amant inertiam et oderint quietem. Mos est civitatibus, ullo ac viritum conferre principibus vel armentorum, vel frugum, quod pro honore acceptum etiam necessitatis subvenit. Gaudent pre-cipque finitimarum gentium donis, quae non modo a singulis, sed et publice mittuntur; electi equi, magna arma, phaleræ, torquesque. Jam et pecuniam accipere docuimus.

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

XVII. Tegumen omnibus sagum, fibula, aut, si desit, spina concertum: cetera intecti totos dies juxta fucum atque ignem agunt. Locupletissimi veste distinguuntur,
non fuitante, sicut Sarmatae ac Parthi, sed stricta et singulares artus exprimente. Gerunt et ferarum pelle, proximi ripae negligenter, ulteriores exquisitius, ut quibus nullus per commeria cultus. Eligunt feras, et detracta velamina spargunt maculis, pellibusque belluarum, quas exterior Oceanus atque ignotum mare gignit. Nec alius feminis quam viris habitus, nisi quod feminae sepius lineis amicitibus velantur, eoesque purpura variant, partemque vestitum superioris in manicas non extendunt; nudae brachia ac lacertos.

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

XIX. Ergo septæ pudicitia agunt, nullis spectaculorum illecebris, nullis conviviorum irritationibus corruptæ. Litterarum secreta viri pariter ac feminæ ignorant. Paucissima in tam numerosa gente adulteria; quorum poena praesens, et maritis permissa. Accisis crinibus, nudatam,
coram propinquis, expellit domo maritus, ac per omnem vicum verberre agit. Publicatae enim pudicitiae nulla ve-nia; non forma, non ætate, non opibus maritum invenerit. Nemo enim illic vita ridet; nec corrumpere et corrumpi sæculum vocatur. Melius quidem adhuc æe civitates, in quibus tantum virgines nubunt, et cum spe votoque uxoris semel transigitur. Sic unum accipient maritum, quo modo unum corpus unamque vitam, ne ulla cogitation ultra, ne longior cupiditas, ne tanquam maritum, sed tanquam matrimonium, ament. Numerum librorum finire, aut quemquam ex agnatis necare, flagitium habetur: plusque ibi boni mores valent, quam alibi bonus leges.


XXI. Suscipere tam inimicitias, seu patris, seu propin-qui, quam amicitias, necesse est. Nec inplacabiles durant. Luitur enim etiam homicidium certo armentorum ac pecorum numero, recipitque satisfactionem universa domus: utiliter in publicum; quia periculosiores sunt inimicitiae
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XXIV. Genus spectaculorum unum atque in omni coetu
idem. Nudi juvenes, quibus id ludicum est, inter gladios se atque infestas frameas saltu jaciunt. Exercitatio artem paravit, ars decorum: non in quæstum tamen, aut mercedem: quamvis audaciis lasciviae pretium est voluptas spectantium. Aleam (quod mirere) sobrii inter seria exercent, tanta lucrandi perdendive temeritate, ut, cum omnia desecerunt, extremo ac novissimo jactu de libertate et de corpore contendant. Vicit voluntarium servitutem adit: quamvis juvenior, quamvis robustior, adligari se ac veuire patitur. Ea est in re prava pervicacia: ipsi fidem vocant. Servos conditionis hujus per commercia tradunt, ut se quoque pudore victoriam exsolvant.


XXVI. Fenus agitare, et in usuras extendere, ignotum: ideoque magis servatur, quam si vetitum esset. Agri, pro numero cultorum, ab universis in vices occupantur, quos mox inter se secundum dignationem pariuntur: facilitatem partiendo camporum spatia praebent. Arva per annum mutant; et superest ager: nec enim cum ubertate et amplitudine soli labore contendunt, ut pomaria conservant et prata separant et hortos rigent: sola terrae seges imperatur. Unde annum quoque ipsum non in totidem digerunt species: hiems et ver et aestas intellectum, ac
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vocabula habent; auctumni perinde nomen ac bona igno-

rastur.

XXVII. Funerum nulla ambitio: id solum observatur, ut
corpora claram virorum certis lignis clementur. Struem
rogi nec vestibus, nec odoribus, cumulant: sua cuique
arma, quorundam igni et equis adjicitur. Sepulcrum
cespites erigit. Monumentorum arduum et operosum homo-
rem, ut gravem defunctis, adsperrarunt. Lamenta ac
lacrimas cito, dolorem et tristitiam tarde ponunt. Feminis
lugere honestum est; viris meminisse. Hae in commune
de omnium Germanorum origine ac moribus accepiimus:
nunc singularum gentium instituta ritusque, quatenus
differant, quae nationes e Germania in Gallias commigra-
verint, expediem.

XXVIII. Validiores olim Gallorum res fuisse, summus
auctorum divus Julius tradit: eoque credibile est, etiam Gal-
los in Germaniam transgressos. Quantulum enim amnis
obstatab, quo minus, ut quaeque gens evaluerat, occuparet
permutaretque sedes, promiscuas adhuc et nulla regnorum
potentia divisae? Igitur inter Hercyniam silvam Rhenum-
que et Mœnum amnes Helvetii, ulteriora Boii, Gallica
utraque gens, tenuere. Manet adhuc Boiemi nomen,
significatque loci veterem memoriam quamvis mutatis
cultoribus. Sed utrum Aravisci in Pannoniam ab Osis,
Germanorum natione, an Osi ab Araviscis in Germaniam,
commigraverint, cum eodem adhuc sermone, institutis,
moribus utantur, incertum est: quia, pari olim inopia ac
libertate, eadem utriusque ripae bona malaque erant.
Averi et Nervii circa adfectionem Germaniac originis
num ambitioi sunt, tamquam, per hanc gloriam sanguinis,
a similitudine et inertia Gallorum separantur. Ipsam
Rheni flumin haud dubie Germanorum populi colunt,
Vangiones, Triboci, Nemetes. Ne Ubii quidem quam-
quam Romanam colonia esse meruerint, ac libentius Agrip-
pius.
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bescunt, transgressi olim et experimento fidei super ipsam Rheni ripam collocati, ut arcerent, non ut custodirentur.

XXIX. Omnium harum gentium virtute præcipui Batavi, non multum ex ripa, sed insulam Rheni annias, colunt, Cattorum quondam populus, et seditione domestica in eas sedes transgressus, in quibus pars Romani imperii fieren.


Non numeraverim inter Germaniæ populos, quamquam trans Rhenum Danubiumque consederint, eos, qui Decumates agros exercant. Levissimus quisque Gallorum, et inopia suda, dubiae possessionis solum occupaveret. Mox limite acto promotisque præsidii, sinus imperii et pars provinciae habeatur.

XXX. Ultra hos Catti initium sedis ab Hercynio saltu inchoant, non ita effusis ac palustribus locis, ut ceteræ civitates, in quas Germania patescit: durant siquidem colles, paulatimque raraeunt; et Cattos suas saltus Hercynius prosequitur simul atque deponit. Duriora genti corpora, stricti artus, minax vultus, et major animi vigor. Multum (ut inter Germanos) rationis ac sollicitæ: præponere electos, audire præpositos, nosse ordinis, intelligere occasiones, diffère impetus, disponere diem, vallare noctem, fortunam inter dubia, virtutem inter certa numerare: quodque rarissimum, nec nisi Romanæ disciplinae concessum; plus reponere in duce, quam in exercitu. Omne robur in pedite, quem super arma ferramentis quoque et copiis onerant. Alios ad prælium ire videas, Cat.
tos ad bellum: rari excursus et fortuita pugna. Equestrium sane virium id proprium, cito parare victoriam, cito cedere. Velocitas juxta formidinem, cunctatio propior constantiae est.


XXXII. Proximi Cattis certum jam alveo Rhenum, quique terminus esse sufficit, Usipii ac Tencteri colunt. Tencteri, super solitum bellorum decus, equestris disciplinæ arte praecellunt; nec major apud Cattos peditum laus, quam Tencteris equitum. Sic instituere maiores, posteri imitantur. Hic lusus infantium, haeve juvenum simulatio; perseverant senes. Inter familias et penates et jura successionum equi traduntur; excipit filius, non, ut cetera, maximus natu, sed prout ferox bello et melior.

XXXIII. Juxta Tencteros Bructeri olim occurrebant; nunc Chamavos et Angrivarios immigrasse narratur, pulsis Bructeris ac penitus excisis, vicinorum consensu nationum; seu superbiae odio, seu prædæ dulcedine, seu favore quo- dam erga nos deorum: nam ne spectaculo quidem proliti
invidere: super sexaginta milia, non armis telisque Romanis, sed, quod magnificentius est, oblectationi oculisque ceciderunt. Maneat, quæso, duretque gentibus, si non amor nostri, at certe odio sui; quando, urgentibus imperii fatis, nihil jam præstare fortuna majus potest, quam hostium discordiam.


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

XXXVI. In latere Caucorum Cattorumque Cherusci nimiam ac marcentem diu pacem illacessiti nutrierunt:
idque jucundius, quam tutius, fuit: quia inter impotentenes et validos falso quiescas; ubi manu agitur, modestia ac probitas nomina superioris sunt. Ita, qui olim boni aquique Cherusci, nunc inertes ac stulti vocantur: Cattis victoribus fortuna in sapientiam cessit. Tracti ruina Cheruscorum et Fosi, contermina gens, adversarum rerum ex æquo socii, cum in secundis minores fuissent.


XXXVIII. Nunc de Suevis dicendum est, quorum non
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una, ut Cattorum Tencterorumve, gens: majorem enim Germaniae partem obtinent, propriis adhuc nationibus nominibusque discreti, quamquam in commune Suevi vocentur. Insigne gentis obliquare crinem nodoque substringere. Sic Suevi a ceteris Germanis, sic Suevorum ingenui a servis separatur. In alii gentibus, seu cognatione aliqua Suevorum, seu (quod sæpe accidit) imitatione, rarum et intra juventæ spatium; apud Suevos usque ad canitiem horrentem capillum retro sequuntur, ac sæpe in ipso solo vertice ligant. Principes et ornatiorum habent: ea cura formæ, sed innoxia. Neque enim ut ament amenturve; in altitudinem quamdam et terrorem, adituri bella, comit; ut hostium oculos ornantur.


XL. Contra Langobardos paucitas nobilitatis: plurimir ac valentissimis nationibus cincti, non per obsequium, sed proeliis et periclitando tuti sunt. Reudigni deinde et Aviones et Angli et Varini et Eudoses et Suardones et Nuithones fluminibus aut silvis munientur. Nec quidquam notabile in singulis, nisi quod in commune Hertham, id est, Terram matrem, colunt, eamque intervenire rebus hominum, invehii populis, arbitrantur. Est in insula
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oceani castum nemus, dicatumque in eo vehiculum, veste contectum: attingere uni sacerdoti concessum. Is adesse penetrati deam intelligit, vectamque bubus feminis multa cum veneratione prosequitur. Læti tunc dies, festa loca, quaeunque adventu hospicioque dignatur. Non bella ineunt, non arma sumunt; clausum omné ferrum: pax et quies tunc tantum nota, tunc tantum amata, donec idem sacerdos satiatam conversatione mortalium deam templo reddat. Mox vehiculum et vestes, et, si credere velis, numen ipsum secreto lacu abluitar. Servi ministrant; quos statim idem lacus haurit. Arcanus hinc terror sanctaque ignorantia, quid sit illud quod tantum perituri vident.

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


XL III. Nec minus valent retro Marsigni, Gothini, Osii, Buri: terga Marcomannorum Quadorumque cludunt: •

XLIV. Suionum hinc civitates, ipso in oceano, preter viros armaque classibus valent: forma navium eo differt, quod utrinque prora paratam semper appulsui frontem agit: nec velis ministrantur, nec remos in ordinem lateribus adjungunt. Solutum, ut in quibusdam fluminum, et mutabile, ut res poscit, hinc vel illinc remigium. Est apud illos et opibus honos, eoque unus imperatit, nullis
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jam exceptionibus, non precario jure parendi: nec arma, ut apud ceteros Germanos, in promiscuo, sed clausa sub custode et quidem servo, quia subitos hostium incursus prohibet oceanus, otiosae porro armatorum manus facile lasciviant: enimvero neque nobilem, neque ingenuum, ne libertinum quidem, armis praeponeo regia utilitas est.

olentem: mox ut in picem resinaeve lentescit. Suioni-
bus Sitonum gentes continuantur. Cetera similes uno
differunt, quod femina dominatur: in tantum non modo a
libertate sed etiam a servitute degenerant. Hic Sueviae
finis.

XLVI. Peucinorum Venedorumque et Fennorum na-
tiones Germanis an Sarmatis adscribam, dubito, quam-
quam Peucini, quos quidam Bastarnas vocant, sermone,
cultu, sede ac domiciliis ut Germani agunt. Sordes omni-
um ac torpor: procerum connubiiis mixtis nonnihil in Sar-
matarum habitum foedantur. Venedi multum ex moribus
traxerunt. Nam quidquid inter Peucinos Fennoaque sil-
varum ac montium erigitur, Iatrociniiis pererrant: hi tamen
inter Germanos potius referuntur, quia et domos figuunt et
scuta gestant et peditem usu ac pernicitate gaudent; quae
omnia diversa Sarmatis sunt, in plaustro equoque viventi-
bus. Fennis mira feritas, seda paupertas: non arma, non
equi, non penates: victui herba, vestitui pelles, cubile
humus: sola in sagittis spec, quas, inopia ferri, ossibus
asperant: idemque venatus viros pariter ac feminas alit.
Passim enim comitantur, partemque praedae petunt. Nec
aliud infantibus ferarum imbriumque suffugium, quam ut
in aliquo ramorum nexu contegantur: hoc redeunt juve-
nes, hoc senum receptaculum. Sed beatus arbitrantur
quam ingemere agris, inlaborare domibus, suas alienasque
fortunas spe metuque versare. Securi adversus homines,
securi adversus deos, rem difficillimam adsecuti sunt, ut
illis ne voto quidem opus esset. Cetera jam fabulosa:
Hellasios et Oxionas ora hominum vultuque, corpora atque
artus ferarum gerere: quod ego, ut incomptum, in me-
dium relinquam.
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VITA

JULII AGRICOLÆ.
C. CORNELII TACITI

JULII AGRICOLÆ

VITA.

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SUMMARY.

CHAP. I. The custom of writing the lives of illustrious men an ancient one. II. Dangerous, however, under bad princes. III. This custom resumed by Tacitus, under the happy reign of Nerva, in honor of Agricola, the writer's father-in-law. IV. Origin and education of Agricola. V. The rudiments of the military art learned by him in Britain. VI. He marries.—Is appointed, in succession, questor, tribune, pretor, &c. VII. His mother murdered during a hostile descent made by Otho's fleet on the coast of Liguria, her lands ravaged, and a great part of her effects carried off.—Agricola goes over to the side of Vespasian, and receives the command of the 30th legion, in Britain. VIII. Excellent department of Agricola while in command. IX. Returns to Rome.—Is called by Vespasian to the patrician order, and invested with the government of Aquitania.—Is chosen consul.—Betroths his daughter to Tacitus.—Is appointed governor of Britain. X. Description of Britain. XI. Origin of the Britons.—Their physical conformation, sacred rites, language, general character. XII. Their military strength, form of government, climate, soil, &c. XIII. Their cheerful submission to levies, tributes, &c.—The expedition of Cesar into Britain.—Long neglect of the island subsequently, on the part of the Romans.—Invasion of Britain in the reign of Claudius, and restoration of the Roman authority. XIV. Operations of the consular governors. XV. Britons meditate a rebellion. XVI. Boadicea, a female of royal descent, their leader.—Defeated by Suetonius Paulinus.—Roman governors of inferior ability succeed Paulinus. XVII. Petilius Cerialis and Julius Frontinus restore affairs to their former footing.—The former subdues the Brigantes, the latter the Silures. XVIII. Agricola reduces the Ordovices, and the island Mona.—He finally brings the whole province into a peaceful state. XIX., XX. His moderation, prudence, equity, &c., in regulating the affairs of his province. XXI. Endeavors to reclaim the natives from their rude and unsettled state by making them acquainted with the comforts of civilized life. XXII., XXIII. New expeditions discover new nations of Britons to the Romans, and fortresses are erected to keep them in obedience.—Agricola's candor as regarded the meritorious actions of
others. XXIV. Design formed by him of invading Hibernia. XXV.—XXVII. The countries situated beyond Bodotria are explored.—The Caledonians attack a portion of the forces of Agricola, but, after some partial successes, are defeated by him, on his coming up with his other forces.—New preparations made by the enemy. XXVIII. A cohort of the Usipii, by a strange chance, circumnavigate the island of Britain. XXIX. Agricola loses his son, about a year old.—The Britons renew the war, under Calgacus as their leader. XXX.—XXXII. Address of Calgacus to his followers. XXXIII., XXXIV. Address of Agricola to his soldiers. XXXV.—XXXVII. Fierce and bloody battle. XXXVIII. Victory of the Romans.—Agricola orders Britain to be circumnavigated. XXXIX. The account of these operations received by Domitian with outward expressions of joy, but inward anxiety. XL. He, nevertheless, directs honors to be rendered to Agricola.—The latter returns to Rome, and leads a modest and retired life. XLI. Often accused before Domitian, in his absence, but as often acquitted. XLII. Excuses himself from taking a province as proconsul. XLIII. Dies, not without suspicion of having been poisoned by Domitian. XLIV. His age at the time of his death.—His personal appearance, &c. XLV. Happy in having ended his days before the atrocities of Domitian broke forth. XLVI. General reflections.

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

II. At mihi, nunc narrature vitam defuncti hominis, venia opus fuit; quam non petissem, ni cursaturus tam mea et infesta virtutibus tempora. Legimus, cum Aruleno Rustico Pætus Thrasea, Herennio Senecioni Priscus
Helvidius laudati essent, capitale fuisse: neque in ipso modo auctores, sed in libros quoque eorum sevivum, delegato triumviris ministerio, ut monumenta clarissimorum ingeniorum in comitio ac foro uerentur. Scilicet illo igne vecem populi Romani et libertatem senatus et conscientiam generis humani aboleri arbitrabantur, expulsis in super sapientiae professoribus atque omni bona arte in exilium acta, ne quid usquam honestum occurreret. Dedimus profecto grande patientiae documentum: et sicut vetus aetas vidit quid ultimum in libertate esset, ita nos quid in servitute, ademto per inquisitiones et loquendi audiendique commercio. Memoriam quoque ipsam cum voce perdidissemus, si tam in nostra potestate esset obli- visci, quam tacere.

III. Nunc demum redit animus: et quamquam primo statim beatissimi seculi ortu Nerva Caesar res olim dis- sociabiles miscuerit, principatum ac libertatem, augeratque quotidie felicitatem temporum Nerva Trajanus, nec spem modo ac votum securitas publica sed ipsius voti fiduciam ac robur assumserit, natura tamen infirmitatis humanae tardiora sunt remedia, quam mala; et, ut corpora lente augescent, cito exstinguuntur, sic ingenia studiisque oppresseris facilius, quam revocaveris. Subit quippe etiam ipsius inertiae dulcedo, et invisa primo desidia postremo amat. Quid si per quindecim annos, grande mortalis sev spatium, multi fortuitis casibus, promissimus quisque sevitiae principis intercederunt? Pauci, ut ita dixerim, non modo aliorum, sed etiam nostri superstites sumus; exemptis et media vita tot annis, quibus juvenes ad senectutem, senes prope ad ipsoe exactae aetatis terminos, per silentium venimus. Non tamen pigebit, vel incondita ac rudi voce, memoriam prioris servitutis ac testimonium præsertem bonorum compositisse. Hic interim liber, honoris Agricolae soceri mei destinatus, professione pietatis aut laudatus erit, aut excusatus.

V. Prima castrorum rudimenta in Britannia Suetonio Paulino, diligenti ac moderato duci, approbavit, electus quem contubernio aestimaret. Nec Agricola licenter, more juvenum qui militiam in lasciviam vertunt, neque segniter ad voluptates et commenstus titulum tribunatus est inscitiam retulit: sed noscere provinciam, nosci exercitui, discere a peritis, sequi optimos, nihil appetere in jactationem, nihil ob formidinem recusare, simulque anxius et intentus agere. Non sane alias exercitator magisque in ambiguo Britannia fuit: trucidati veterani, incensæ coloniæ, intercepti exercitui; tum de salute, mox de victoria certaver. Quæ cuncta etsi consiliis ductuque alterius agebantur, ac summa rerum et recuperatae provinciæ gloria in ducem cessit, artem et usum et stimulus addidere
juveni: intravitque animum militaris gloriae cupidio, ingrata temporibus, quibus sinistra erga eminentes interpretatio, nec minus periculum ex magna fama, quam ex mala.

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

VII. Sequens annus gravi vulnere animum domumque ejus afflixit: nam classis Othoniana, licenter vaga, dum Intemelios (Liguriæ pars est) hostiliter populatur, matrem Agricolæ in prædiis suis interfecit; prædiaque ipsa et magnam patrimonii partem diripuit, qua causa cædis fuerat. Igitur ad solennia pietatis praefectus Agricola, nuntio affectati a Vespasiano imperii reprehensus, ac statim in partes transgressus est. Initia principatus ac statum urbis Mucianus regebat, admodum juvene Domitianò, et ex paterna fortuna tantum licentiam usurpante.
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Is missum ad delectus agentes: Agricolam, integreque ac strenue versatum, vicesimae legioni, tarde ad sacramentum transgressae, praeputit, ubi decessor seditione agere narrabatur; quippe legatis quoque consularibus nimia ac formidolosa erat; nec legatus praetorius ad cohibendum potens, incertum, suo an militum ingenio: ita successor simul, et ultor electus, rarissima moderatione maluit videri invenisse bonos, quam fecisse.


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

X. Britanniae situm populosque, multis scriptoribus memoratos, non in comparationem curae ingeniiive referam, sed quia tum primum perdomita est; itaque, quæ priores, nondum comperta, eloquentia percoluere, rerum fide tradentur. Britannia insularum, quas Romana notitia complexitum, maxima, spatio ac coelo in orientem Germaniae, in occidentem Hispaniae obtenditur: Gallis in meridiem etiam inspicitur: septemtrionalia ejus, nullis contra terris, vasto atque aperto mari pulsantur. Formam totius Britanniae Livius veterum, Fabius Rusticus recentium eloquentissimi auctores, oblongæ scutulæ vel bipenni assimilavere: et est ea facies citra Caledoniam, unde et in universum fama est transgressa: sed immensum et enormo spatium procurrentium extremo jam littore terrarum velut in cuneum tenuatur. Hanc oram novissimi maris tunc primum Romana classis circumvecta insulam esse Britanniam affirmavit, ac simul incognitas ad id tempus insulas, quas Orcadas vocant, invenit domuitque. Dispecta est et Thule, quam hactenus nix et hiems abdebat; sed mare pigrum et grave remigantibus perhibent ne ventis quidem perinde attolli: credo, quod rariores terræ montesque, causa ac materia tempestatum, et profunda moles
continui maris tardius impellitur. Naturam oceani atque æstus neque quaerere hujus operis est, ac multi retulere: unum addiderim: nasquam latius dominari mare, multum fluminum hic atque illuc ferre, neclittore tenus accrescere aut resorberi, sed influere penitus atque ambire, et jugis etiam atque montibus inseri velut in suo.


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


XIV. Consularium primus Aulus Plautius praepositus, ac subinde Ostorius Scapula, uterque bello egregius: redactaque paulatim in formam provinciæ proxima para Britanniae: addita insuper veteranorum colonia. Quædam
civitates Cogiduno regi donatae (is ad nostram usque memoriam fidiissimus mansit) vetere ac jam pridem recepta Populi Romani consuetudine, ut haberet instrumenta servitutis et reges. Mox Didius Gallus parta a prioribus continuuit, paucis admodum castellis in ulteriora promotis, per quae fama aucti officii quereretur. Didium Veranius exceptit, isque intra annum extinctus est. Suetonius hinc Paulinus biemio prosperas res habuit, subactis nationibus firmatisque presidiis: quorum fiducia Monam insulam, ut vires rebellibus ministrantem, aggressus, terga occasioni patefecit.


XVII. Sed, ubi cum cetero orbe Vespasianus et Britanniam recipieravit, magni duces, egregii exercitus, minuta hostium spes. Et terrorem statim intulit Petilius Cerealis, Brigantium civitatem, quæ numerosissima provinciæ totius perhibetur, aggressus: multa prælia, et aliquando non incruenta: magnamque Brigantium partem aut victoria amplexus, aut bello. Et cum Cerealis quidem alterius
successoris curam famamque obruisset, sustinuit quoque mockem Julius Frontinus, vir magnus, quantum licebat, validamque et pugnace Silurum gentem armis subegit, super virtutem hostium locorum quoque difficultates eluc- tatus.

XVIII. Hunc Britanniae statum, hanc bellorum vicem media jam aestate transgressus Agricola invenit, cum et milites, velut omissa expeditione, ad securitatem, et hostes ad occasiorem, verterentur. Ordovicis civitas baud multo ante adventum ejus, alam, in finibus suis agentem, prope universam obtiverat: eoque initio erecta provinciis, ut quibus bellum volentibus erat, probable exemplum aut recentis legati animum opperiri. Tum Agricola—quamquam transacta æstas, sparsi per provinciam numeri, presumta apud militem illius anni quies (carda et contraria bellum inchoature), et plerisque custodiri suspecta potius videbatur—ire obviam discrimini statuit; contractisque legionum vexillos et modica auxiliorum manu, quia in æquam degredi Ordovices non audebant, ipse ante agmen, quo ceteris par animus simili periculo esset, erexit aciem; caesaque prope universa gente, non ignarus, instandum famæ, ac, prout prima cessissent, fore universa, Monam insulam (cujus possessione revocatum Pauliunum repellione totius Britanniae supra memoravi) redigere in potestate animo intendit. Sed, ut in dubiis consiliis, naves deerant; ratio et constantia ducis transvexit. De- positis omnibus sarcinis, lectissimos auxiliarium, quibus nota vada et patrius nandi usus, quo simul seque et arma et equos regunt, ita repente immisit, ut obstupefacti hostes, qui classem, qui naves, qui mare espectabant, nihil ar- duum aut invictum crediderint sic ad bellum venientibus. Ita petita pace ac dedita insula, clarus ac magnus haberi Agricola, quippe cui ingredienti provinciam, quod tempus aliis per ostentationem, aut officiorum ambitum transigunt, labor et periculum placuisset. Nec Agricola prosperitate.
rerum in vanitatem usus expeditionem aut victoriam vocabat victos continuisse: ne laurus quisque gesta prosectus est, sed ipse dissimulatione famae famam auxit, aestimantibus quanta futuri spe tam magna tacuisset.

XIX. Ceterum animorum provinciae prudens, simulque doctus per aliena experimenta, parum profici armis, si injuriæ sequentur, causas bellorum statuit excidere. A se suisque orsus, primum domum suam coercuit; quod plerisque haebr minus arduum est, quam provinciam regere. Nihil per libertos servosque publicae rei: non studiis privatis, nec ex commendatione aut precibus centurionum militis ascire, sed optimum quemque fidelissimum putare: omnia scire, non omnia exsequi: parvis peccatis veniam, magnis severitatem commodare: nec poena semper, sed saeptius poenitentia contentus esse: officiis et administrationibus potius non peccatus præponere, quam dammare cum peccassent. Frumenti et tributum actionem æqualitatem munerum mollire, circumcisae quæ in quæstum reperta ipso tributo gravius tolerabantur. Nämque per ludibrium assidere clausis horreis, et emere ultero frumenta, ac vendere pretio cogerantur. Devortia itinerum et longinquitas regionum indicebatur, ut civitates a proximis hibernis in remota et avis deferrent, donec, quod omnibus in promtu erat, paucis lucrum fieret.

XX. Hæc primo statim anno comprimendo, egregiam famam paci circumdedit: quæ vel incuria vel tolerantia priorum haud minus quam bellum timebatur. Sed, ubi æstas advenit, contracto exercitu, militum in agmine laudare modestiam, disjectos coercere, loca castris ipse capere, æstuaria ac silvas ipse prætentare, et nihil interim apud hostes quietum pati, quo minus subitis excursibus popolarebat; atque, ubi satia terruerat, pariendo rursus irritamenta pacis ostentare. Quibus rebus multæ civitates, quæ in illum diem ex æquo egerant, datas obsidibus, iram posuere, et præsidiiis castellisque circumdatae fanta ratione
curaque, ut nulla ante Britanniae nova pars illacessit transierit.


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

XXIII. Quarta æstas obtinendis, quæ percurrerat, in-
sumta; ac, si virtus exercitu et Romani nominis gloria pateretur, inventus in ipse Britannia terminus. Nam Clota et Bodotria, diversi maris aestibus per immensum reiectae, angusto terrarum spatio dirimuntur: quod tum præsidii firmabatur: atque omnis proprius sinus tenebatur, summotis velut in aliam insulam hostibus.


XXV. Ceterum æstate, qua sextum officii annum inchoabat, amplexus civitates trans Bodotriam sitas, quia motus universarum ultra gentium et infesta hostili exercitu itinera timebantur, portus classe exploravit; quæ, ab Agricola primum assumpa in partem virium, sequebatur egregia specie, cum simul terra simul mari bellum impelletur, ac sœpe iisdem castris pedes eaqueque et nauticus miles, mixti copii et laetitia, sua quisque facta, suos casus attollerent; ac modo silvarum et montium profunda, modo tempestatum ac fluctuum adversa, hinc terra et hostis, hinc victus oceanus militari jacantia compararentur. Britan-
nos quoque, ut ex captivis audiebatur, visa classis obstupe-faciebat, tamquam aperto maris sui secreto ultimum victis perfungium clauderetur. Ad manus et arma conversi Caledoniam incolentes populi, paratu magno, majore fama (uti mos est de ignotis) oppugnasse ultro, castella adorti metum ut provocantes addiderant; regrediendumque citra Bodotriam, et excedendum potius quam pellerentur, specie prudentium ignavi admonebant; cum interim cognoscit, hostes pluribus agminibus irruperunt. Ac, ne superante numero et peritia locorum circumiretur, diviso et ipse in tres partes exercitu incessit.

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

XXVII. Cujus constantia ac fama ferox exercitus, nihil virtuti suæ invia; penetrandam Caledoniam, inveniendique tandem Britanniae terminum continuo prœliorum cursu, fremebant: atque illi modo cauti ac sapientes, promit post eventum ac maguiloqui erant: iniquissima hec bellorum condicio est; prospera omnes sibi vindicant, adversa uni imputantur. At Britanni non virtute, sed occasione et arte ducis rati, nihil ex arrogantia remittere, quo minus juventutem armarent, conjuages ac liberos in loca tuta transferrent, coetibus ac sacrificiis conspirationem
civitatum sancirent: atque ita irritatis utrimque animis diessum.

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

XXIX. Initio aëstatis Agricola, domesticu vulnere ictus, anno anto natum filium amisit. Quem casum neque, ut plerique fortium virorum, ambitiose, neque per lamenta rursus ac moerorem muliebriter tuli; et in luctu bellum inter remedia erat. Igitur præmissa classe, quæ pleribus locis prædata magnum et incertum terrem faceret, expedito exercitu, cui ex Britannis fortissimos et longa pace exploratos addiderat, ad montem Grampium pervenit, quem jam hostes insederant. Nam Britannii, nihil fracti pugnæ prioris eventu, et utionem aut servitium essentiae: tandemque docti commune pericum concordia propulsandum, legationibus et fæderibus omnin civitatum vires exciverant. Jamque super tringinta millia armatorum aspiciebantur, et adhuc affluerebant omnis juventus, et quibus cruda ac viridis senectus, clari bello, ac sus quisque decora gestantes; cum inter plures duces virtute
et genere præstans, nomine Calgacus, apud contractam multitudinem, prælium posceanem, in hunc modum locutus fertur:


XXXI. Liberos cuique ac propinquos suis natura carissimos esse voluit: hi per delectus, alibi serviti, auseruntur. Conjuges soreosque, etiam hostiles libidinem effugiant, no-mine amicorum atque hospitum poletuntur. Bona fortun-atusque in tributum egerunt, annos in frumentum: corpora ipsa ac manus, silvis ac paludibus emunidens, verbera inter ac contumelias, conterunt. Nata servituti mancipia semel venemunt, atque ulter a dominis alnumur: Britannia servitutem suas quotidie emit, quotidie pastic. Ac, sicut in fami-
bia recentissimus quisque servorum et conservis ludibrio est; sic, in hoc orbis terrarum vetere sumulatu, novi nos et viles in excidium petimus. Neque enim arva nobis, aut metalla, aut portus sunt, quibus exercendis reservemur. Virtus porro ac feroxia subjectorum ingrata imperantibus: et longinquitas ac secretum ipsum quo tutius, eo suspicius. Ita, sublata epe venia, tandem sumite animum, tam quibus salus, quam quibus gloria carissima est. Brigantes femina duce exsurgere coloniam, expugnare castra, ac nisi felicitas in secoerdiam vertisset, exsurgere jugum potuere: nos integri et in- domiti, et libertatem non in praesentia laturi, primo statim congressu non ostendamus quos sibi Caledonia viros sepso- suerit?

XXXII. An eandem Romanis in bello virtutem, quam in pace lasciviam, adesse creditis? Nostris itiis discersionibus ac discordiis clari, vitia hostium in gloriam exercitus sui vertunt; quem contractum ex diversissimis gentibus, ut secundus res tenent, ita adversae dissolvent; nisi si Gallos et Germanos et (pudet dictu) Britannorum plerosque, licet dominationi aliena sanguinem commodent, diutius tamen hostes quam servos, sive et affectu teneri putatis: metus et terror est, in firma vincula caritatis: quae ubi removeris, qui timere desierint, odisse incipient. Omnia victoria in- citamenta pro nobis sunt: nulla Romanos conjuges accendunt; nulli parentes jugam exprobraturi sunt; au nulla plerosque patria, aut alia est: paucos numero, circum trepi- dos ignorantia, caenum ipsum ac mare et silvas, ignota om- nia circumspectantes, caules quodammodo ac vinctos dii nobis tradiderunt. Ne terreat vanus aspectus et auris ful- gor atque argenti, quod neque tegit, neque vulnerat. In ipsea hostium acie inveniemus nostras manus: agnoscent Britanni suam causam: recordabuntur Galli priorum libertatem: deserent illos ceteri Germani, tamquam nuper Unipii reliquerunt. Nec quidquam ultra formidinis: vacua castella, senum colonia, inter male parentes et injuste impo-


XXXIV. Si nova gentes atque ignota acies constitisset, aliorum exercituum exemplis vos hortarer: nunce vestra de-
corto recensete, vestros oculos interrogaite. Ist sunt, quos proximo anno, unam legionem furto noctis aggressos, clamore debellasti: iis ceterorum Britannorum fugacissimi, ideoque tam diu superstites. Quomodo silvas saltuque penetrantis bus fortissimum quoque animal robore, pavida et inertia ipso agminis sono pelluntur, sic acerrimi Britannorum jam pridem occiderunt: reliquos est numerus ignavorum et mementium, quos quod tandem invenistis, non restiterunt, sed deprehensi sunt novissimi: ideo extremo metu corpora defixeret his vestigiis, in quibus pulchram et spectabilem victoriam ederetis. Transigite cum expeditionibus: imponite quinquaginta annis magnus diem: approbate reipublicae nunquam exercitui imputari potuisse aut moras belli aut causas rebellandi.

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

XXXVI. Ac primo congressu eminus certabatur: simul constantia, simul arte Britanni, ingentibus gladiis et brevibus cetris, missilia nostrorum vitare, vel excutere, atque ipsi magnam vim telorum superfundere; donec
Agricola tres Batavorum cohortes ac Tungrorum duas co-
hortatus est, ut rem ad mucrones ac manus adducerent: quod et ipsis vetustate militiae exercitatum, et hostibus in-
habile, parva scuta et enormes gladios gerentibus: nam
Britannorum gladii sine mucrone complexum armorum,
et in arcto pugnam non tolerabant. Igitur, ut Batavi mis-
cere ictus, ferire umbonibus, ora foedere, et stratis qui in
saequ to obstiterant, erigere in colles aciem cœpere, ceteræ
cohortes, semulatione et impetu commixtæ, proximos quo-
que cædere: ac plerique seminæces aut integri festinatione
victoriae relinquebantur. Interim equitum turmæ fugere,
covinarii peditum se prælio miscuere: et, quamquam re-
centem terrem intulerant, densis tamen hostium agmini-
bus et inæqualibus locis hærebant; minimeque equestris
ca pugnæ facies erat, cum sægre diu stantes, simul equo-
rum corporibus impellerentur, ac sæpe vagi currus, exterr
riti sine rectoribus equi, ut quemque formido tulerat,
transversos aut obvios incursabant.

XXXVII. Et Britanni, qui adhuc pugnæ expertes
summa collium insederant, et paucitatem nostrorum vacui
spernebant, degredi paulatim et circumire terga vincenti-
tium cœperant; ni id ipsum veritus Agricola quattuor
equitum alas, ad subita belli retentas, venientibus opposu-
isset, quantoque ferocius accurrerant, tanto acrius pulso
in fugam disjecisset. Ita consilium Britannorum in ipso
versum; transvectæque præcepto ducis a fronte pugnan
tium alæ, aversam hostium aciem invasere. Tum vero
patentibus locis grande et atroc spectaculum: sequi, vul-
nerare, capere, atque eosdem, oblatis aliis, trucidare.
Jam hostium, prout cuique ingenium erat, catervæ arma-
torum paucioribus terga præstare, quidam inermes ulbro
ruere, ac se morti offerre. Passim arma et corpora et
laceri artus et cruenta humus. Est aliquando etiam victis
ira virtusque: postquam silvis appropinquarunt, collecti
primos sequentium, incautos et locorum ignaros, circum-

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

XXXIX. Hunc rerum cursum, quamquam nulla verborum jactantia epistolis Agricolæ auctum, ut Domitiano
moris erat, fronte latus, pectore anxius exceptit. Inerat conscientia, derisui fuisse nuper falsum e Germania triumphum, emit per commercia, quorum habitus et crines in captivorum speciem formarentur: at nunc veram nammque victoriam, tot millibus hostium cæsis, ingenti fama celebrari. Id sibi maxime formidolosum, privati hominis nomen supra principis attolli: frustra studia fori et civilium artium decus in silentium acta, si militarem gloriæ alius occuparet: et cetera utcumque facilius dissimulari, ducis boni imperatoriam virtutem esse. Talibus curis exercitus, quodque sævæ cogitationis indicium erat, secreto suo satiatus, optimum in presentia statuit reponere odium, donec impetus famæ et favor exercitus languesceret: nam etiam tum Agricolæ Britanniam obtinebat.

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

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

XLII. Aderat jam annus, quo proconsulatum Asiae et Africæ sortiretur; et occiso Civica nuper, nec Agricolæ consilium deerat, nec Domitiano exemplum. Accessere quidam cogitationum principis periti, qui, iturusne esset in provinciam, ulterius Agricolam interrogarent: ac primo occultius quietem et otium laudare, mox operam suam in approbanda excusatione offerre: postremo non jam obscuri, suadentes simul terrentesque, pertraxere ad Domitianum. Qui paratus simulatione, in arrogantiam compositus, et audit preces excusantis, et, cum adnuisset, agi sibi gratias passus est: nec erubuit beneficii invidia. Salarium tamen, proconsulari solitum offerri, et quibusdam se ipso concessum, Agricola non dedit: sive offensus non
petitum, sive ex conscientia, ne, quod vetuerat, videretur emisse. Proprium humani ingenii est, odisse quem læseris: Domitianus vero natura præceps in iaram, et, quo obscurior, eo irrevocabilior, moderatione tamen prudentiaeque Agricolæ leniebatur: quia non contumacia neque inani jactatione libertatis, faram fatumque provocabat. Sciant, quibus moris est, illicita mirari, posse etiam sub malis principibus magnos viros esse: obsequiumque ac modestiam, si industria ac vigor adsint, eo laudis excedere, quo plerique per abrupta, sed in nullum reipublicæ usum, ambitiosa morte in克拉uerunt.


XLIV. Natus erat Agricola Caio Cæsare primum Consule Idibus Junii: excessit sexto et quinquagesimo anno, decimo Kalendas Septembris Collega Priscoque consulibus. Quodsi habitum quoque ejus posteri nescere
velint; decentior quam sublimior fuit: nihil metus in vultu; gratia oris supererat: bonum virum facile crederes, magnum libenter. Et ipse quidem, quamquam medium in spatio integrae ætatis ereptus, quantum ad gloriam longissimum ævum peregit. Quippe et vera bona, quae in virtutibus sita sunt, impleverat, et consularibus ac triumphalibus ornamentis predito, quid aliud adstruere fortuna poterat? Opibus nimiis non gaudebat; speciosae contigerant: filia atque uxore superstibus, potest videri etiam beatus, incolami dignitate, florente fama, salvis affinitatibus et amicitias, futura effugisse. Nam, sicuti durare in hac beatissimi sæculi luce, ac principem Trajanum videre, augurio votisque apud nostras autres ominabatur, ita festinatæ mortis grande solatium tulit, evasisse postremum illud tempus, quo Domitianus, non jam per intervalla ac spiramenta temporum, sed continuo et velut uno ictu, rempublicam exhaust.

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

XLVI. Si quis piorum manibus locus, si, ut sapientibus placet, non cum corpore exstinguuntur magnae animae, placide quiescas, nosque, domum tuam, ab infirmo desiderio et muliebribus lamentis ad contemplationem virtutum tuarum voces, quas neque lugeti neque plangi fas est: admiratione te potius, et immortalibus laudibus, et, si natura suppeditet, semulatu decoremus. Is verus honos, ea conjunctissimi cujaque pietas. Id filiae quoque uxoriaque praeciperim, sic patris, sic mariti memoriam venerari, ut omnia facta dictaque ejus secum revolvant, famamque ac figuram animi magis quam corporis complектantur: non quia intercedendum putem imaginibus, quae marmore aut eare finguntur; sed ut vultus hominum, ita simulacra vultus imbecilla ac mortalium sunt, forma mentis æterna; quam tenere et exprimere, non per alienam materiam et artem, sed tuis ipse moribus possis. Quidquid ex Agricola amavimus, quidquid mirari sumus, manet manuorumque est in animis hominum, in æternitate temporum, fama rerum. Nam multos veteranum, velut inglorios et ignobiles, oblivio obruet: Agricola, posteritati narratus et traditus, superstes erit.
C. CORNELII TACITI
ANNAIUM
LIBER PRIMUS.
C. CORNELII TACITI

ANNALIUM

LIBER PRIMUS.

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These events embrace a period of nearly two years.

A.U.C. A.D. Consul.
Sextus Appuleius.
DCCLXVIII. 15. Drusus Caesar.
C. Norbanus Flaccus.

I. URBEM Romam a principio reges habuere. Libertatem et consulatum L. Brutus instituit. Dictaturæ ad
tempus sumebantur: neque decemviri potestas ultra
bienium, nequæ tribunorum militiae consulare jus diu
valuit. Non Cinnæ, non Sullæ longa dominatio; et Pomp-
peii Crassique potestia cito in Cæsarem, Lepidi atque
Antonii arma in Augustum cessere; qui cuncta discordiis
civilibus fessa nomine principis sub imperium accept.
Sed veteris populi Romani prospera vel adversa claris
scriptoribus memorata sunt; temporibusque Augusti di-
cendis non defuere decora ingenia, donec gliscente adu-
latione deterrerentur. Tiberii Caiique et Claudii ac
Neronis res, florentibus ipsis, ob metum falsæ; postquam
occiderant, recentibus odiis compositae sunt. Inde consil-
ium mihi paucæ de Augusto et extrema tradere, mox
Tiberii principatum et cetera, sine ira et studio, quorum
causas procul habeo.

II. Postquam, Bruto et Cassio cæsis, nulla jam publica
arma, Pompeius apud Siciliam oppressus, exutoque Le-
pido, interfecto Antonio, ne Julianis quidem partibus nisi
Cæsar dux reliquis, posito triumviri nomine, consulem se
ferens, et ad tuendum plebem tribunicio jure contentum;
ubi militem donis, populum annona, cunctos dulcedine
otii pellexit, insurgere paulatim, munia senatus, magistra-
tum, legum in se trahere, nullo adversante; cum feroxissimi per acies aut proscriptione cecidissent, ceteri nobil-
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fum, quanto quis servitio promtior, opibus et honoribus extollerentur; ac novis ex rebus aucti tuta et praesentia quam vetera et periculosa mallent. Neque provinciae illum rerum statum abnuebant, suspecto senatus populique imperio ob certamina potentium et avaritiam magistratuin; invalido legum auxilio, quæ vi, ambitu, postremo pecunia turbabantur.

III. Ceterum Augustus, subsidia dominationi, Claudium Marcellum, sororis filium, admodum adolescentem, pontificatu et curuli ædilitate; Marcus Agrippam, ignobilem loco, bonum militia et victoriam socium, geminatis consulatibus extulit, mox, defuncto Marcello, generum sumsit; Tiberium Neronem et Claudium Drusum, privigos, imperatoriis nominibus auxit, integra etiam tum domo sua. Nam genitos Agrippa, Caium ac Lucium, in familiam Caesarum induxerat; necdum posita puerili praetexta, principes juventutis appellari, destinati consules, specie recusantis flagrantissime cupiverat. Ut Agrippa vita concessit, Lucium Caesarem euntem ad Hispanienses exercitus, Caium remeantem Armenia et vulnere invalidum mors fato propera vel novercae Liviae dolus abstulit; Drusoque pridem extincto, Nero solus e privignis erat, illuc cuncta vergere: filius, collega imperii, consors tribuniciae potestatis assumitur, omnisque per exercitus ostentatur; non obscuris, ut antea, matris artibus, sed palam hortatu. Nam senem Augustum devinxerat adeo, uti nepotem unicum, Agrippam Postumum, in insulam Planasiam projicet, rudem sane bonarum artium et robore corporis stolide ferocem, nullius tamen flagittii compertum.

At hercule Germanicum, Druso ortum, octo apud Rhenum legionibus imposuit, adscirique per adoptionem a Tiberio jussit; quamquam esset in domo Tiberii filius juvenis; sed quo pluribus munimentis insisteret. Bellum ea tempestate nullum, nisi adversus Germanos, supererat; abolendae magis infamiae ob amissum cum Quintilio Varo
exercitum, quam cupidine proferendi imperii aut dignum ob præmium. Domi res tranquillæ; eadem magistratuum vocabula: juniores post Actiacam victoriam, etiam senes plerique inter bella civium nati: quotusquisque reliquis qui rem publicam vidisset?

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

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

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

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

VIII. Nihil primo senatus die agi passus nisi de supremis Augusti; cujus testamentum, illatum per virgines Vestae, Tiberium et Liviam heredes habuit. Livia in familiam Juliām nomenque Augustae assumebatur, in spem secundam, nepotes pronepotesque; tertio gradu primores civitatis scripserat, plerosque invisœ sibi, sed jactantia gloriaque ad posteros. Legata non ultra civilem modum, nisi quod populo et plebi quarringeanties trices quinquies, prætoriarum cohortium militibus singula nummum millia, legionariis trecentos, cohortibus civium Romanorum quingenos nummos virītim dedit. Tum consulta-
tum de honoribus; ex quis maxime insignes visi: ut porta triumphali duceretur funus, Gallus Asinius; ut legum lata-
rum tituli, victarum ab eo gentium vocabula anteferentur, L. Arruntius censuere: addebat Messala Valerius, reno-
vandum per annos sacramentum in nomen Tiberii: inter-
rogatusque a Tiberio, num se mandante eam sententiam
promisset, sponte dixisse, respondit, neque in iis, quae ad
rem publicam pertinèrent, consilio nisi suo usurum, vel cum
periculo offensionis: ea sola species adulandi supererat.
Conclamant patres, corpus ad rogum humeris senatorum
ferendum. Remisit Cæsar arroganti moderatione; popu-
rumque edicto monuit, ne, ut quondam nimiiis studiiis funus
divi Iuli turbassent, ita Augustum in foro potius quam in
campo Martis, sede destinata, cremari vellent. Die funeris
milites velut præsidio stetere, multum irridentibus qui ipsi
viderant quique a parentibus acceperant diem illum crudi
adhuc servitii et libertatis improspere repetitæ, cum oc-
ccisus dictator Cæsar aliis pessimum, aliis pulcherrimum
facinus videretur: nunc senem principem, longa potentia,
provis etiam heredum in rem publicam opibus, auxilio
scilicet militari tuendum, ut sepultura ejus quieta foret.

IX. Multus hinc ipso de Augusto sermo, plerisque vana
mirantibus: quod idem dies accepti quondam imperii prin-
ceps et vitae supremus; quod Nola in domo et cubiculo, in
quo pater ejus Octavius, vitam finivisset: numerus etiam
consulatum celebrabatur, quo Valerium Corvinum et C. Ma-
rinum simul aquaverat; continuata per septem et triginta
annis tribunicia potestas; nomen imperatoris semel atque
victors partum; aliaque honorum multiplicata aut nova.
At apud prudentes vita ejus varie extollebatur argueba-
turve. Hi, pietate erga parentem et necessitudine rei
publicae, in qua nullus tunc legibus locus, ad arma civilia
actum, quæ neque parari possent neque haberi per bonas
artes: multa Antonii, dum interfectores patris ulcisceretur,
multa Lepido concessisse: postquam hic socordia senserit,
ille per libidines pessum datus sit, non aliud discordantis patriciae remedium fuisset quam ut ab uno regeretur. Non regno tamen neque dictatura, sed principis nomine constituatam rem publicam: mari oceano aut amnibus longinquis septum imperium: legiones, provincias, classes, cuncta inter se connexa: jus apud cives, modestiam apud socios: urbem ipsam magnifico ornatu; paucis admodum vi tractata, quo ceteris quies esset.

X. Dicebatur contra, pietatem erga parentem et tempora rei publicae obtentui sumta: ceterum cupidine dominandi concitos per largitionem veteranos, paratum ad adolescentem privato exercitum, corruptas consulis legiones, simulatum Pompeianarum gratiam partium; mox ubi decreto patrum fasces et jus pratoris invaserit, censis Hirtio et Pansa (sive hostis illos, seu Pansam venenum vulneri affusum, sui militis Hirtium et machinator doli Caesar abstulat), utriusque copias occupavisse: extortum invito senatu consultatum, armaque quæ in Antonium acceperit, contra rem publicam versa; proscriptionem civium, divisiones agrorum, ne ipsis quidem qui fecere laudatas. Sane Cassii et Brutorum exitus paternis inimicitiae datos (quamquam fas sit privata odia publicis utilitatisibus remittere); sed Pompeium imagine pacis, sed Lepidum specie amicitiae deceptos: post Antonium, Tarentino Brundisinoque fædere et nuptiis sororis illectum, subdole affinitatis penas morte exsolviisse. Pacem sine dictio post haec, verum cruentam: Lollianas, Varianasque clades; interfectori Romæ Varrones, Egnatios, Iulos. Nec domesticis abstinebatur. Abdicata Neroni uxor, et consulti per ludibrium pontifices, an concepto necdum edito partu rite nuberet: Q. Tedi et Vedii Pollionis luxus: postremo Livia, gravis in rem publicam mater, gravis domui Caesarum noverca. Nihil deorum honoribus relictum, cum se templis et effigie numinum per flamines et sacerdotes colit vellet. Ne Tiberium quidem caritate aut rei publicae cura successorem ascitum: sed quoniam arrogantiam sævitiam-
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quae ejus introspecerit, comparatione dextra sibi gloriam quasivisse. Etenim Augustus, paucis ante annis, cum Tiberio tribuniciam potestatem a patribus rursum postularet, quamquam honora oratione, quaedam de habitu culturae et institutis ejus jecerat, quae velut excusando exprobraret.

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

XII. Inter quae senatu ad infimas obstationes procumbente, dixit forte Tiberius se, ut non toti rei publicae parem, ita, quæcumque pars sibi mandaretur, ejus tutelam suscepturum. Tum Asinius Gallus, Interrogo, inquit, Caesar, quam partem rei publicae mandari tibi velis. Percussus improvisa interrogatione, paulum reticuit: dein collecto animo respondit, nequaquam decorum pudori suo legere ali-
quid aut evitare ex eo, cui in universum excusari mallet. Rursum Gallus (stenim vultu offensionem conjectaverat); non idcirco interrogatum, sit, ut divideret quae separari nequirent, sed ut sua confessione argueretur unum esse rei publicae corpus atque unius animo regendum: addidit laudem de Augusto, Tiberiumque ipsum victoriarum suarum, queque in toga per tot annos egregie fecisset, admonuit. Nec ideo iram ejus lonivit, pridem invisus, tamquam ducta in matrimonium Vipsania M. Agrippae filia, quae quondam Tiberii uxor fuerat, plus quam civilia agitaret, Polllionisque Asinii patris ferciam retineret.

XIII. Post quae L. Arruntius, haud multum discrepans a Galli oratione, perinde offendit, quamquam Tiberio nulla vetus in Arruntium ira; sed divitem, promtum, artibus egregiis et pari fama publice, suspectatab. Quippe Augustus, supremis sermonibus cum tractaret, quinam adipsici principem locum subjecturi abnuerent, aut impares vellent, vel iadem possent superentque, M. Lepidurn dixerat capacem sed aspernantem; Gallum Asinium avidum et minorem, L. Arruntium non indignum, et, si casus daretur, ausurum. De prioribus consentitur: pro Arruntio quidam Cn. Pisonem tradidere; omnesque preter Lepidum variis mox criminiibus struente Tiberio circumventi sunt. Etiam Q. Haterius et Mamercus Scaurus suspicacem animum perstrinxere; Haterius, cum dixisset, Quousque patieris, Caesar, non adesse caput rei publicae? Scaurus, quia dixerat, spem esse ex eo, non irritas fore senatus preces, quod relationi consulum jure tribunicia potestatis non intercessisset. In Haterium statim invectus est; Scaurus, cui implacabilius irascebat, silentio transmisit: fessusque clample ore omnium, expostulatione singulorum, flexit paulatim, non ut fateretur suscipi a se imperium, sed ut negare et rogari desineret. Constat Haterium, cum deprecandis causa palatium introisset, ambulantisque Tiberii genua advolveretur, prope a militibus interfectum, quia
Tiberius, casu an manibus ejus impeditus, prociderat: neque tamen periculo talis viri mitigatus est, donec Hate- rius Augustam oraret, ejusque curatissimis precibus pro- tegeretur.

XIV. Multa patrum et in Augustam adulatio. Alii parentem, ali matrem patriæ appellandam; plerique, ut nomini Cæsaris ascriberetur Julia filius sensebant: ille moderandos feminarum honores dicti, eademque se tem- perantia usurum in iis, qua sibi tribueretur; ceterum anxius invidia, et muliebre fastigium in diminutionem sui accipiens, ne lectorem quidem ei decerni passus est, aramque adoptionis et alia hujiuscemodi prohibuit. At Germanico Cæsari proconsulare imperium petivit, missique legati qui deferrent, simul moestitiam ejus ob excessum Augusti solarentur: quo minus idem pro Druso postula- retur, ea causa, quod designatus consul Drusus praesens- que erat. Candidatos præturae duodecim nominavit, nu- merum ab Augusto traditum: et, hortante senatu ut auge- ret, jurejurando obstrinxit se non excessurum.

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

XVI. Hic rerum urbanarum status erat, cum Panno- nicas legiones seditio incessit, nullis novis causis, nisi quod mutatus princeps licentiam turbarum et ex civili bello
sperm præmiorum ostendebat. Castris Æstivis tres simul legiones habebantur, præsidente Junio Blæso; qui fine Augusti et initis Tiberii auditis ob justitium aut gaudium intermiserat solita munia. Eo principio lascivire miles, discordare, pessimi cujusque sermonibus præbere aures, denique luxum et otium cupere, disciplinam et laborem asperrari. Erat in castris Percennius quidam, dux olim theatricalium operarum, dein gregarius miles, procax lingua et miscere cætus histrionali studio doctus. Is imperitos animos, et quænam post Augustum militiae conditio ambigentes, impellere paulatim nocturnis colloquiis, aut flexo in vesperam die et dilapsis melioribus deterrimis quemque congregare. Postremo, promtis jam et aliis seditionis ministris, velut ciontabundus interrogabant:

XVII. Cur paucis centurionibus, paucioribus tribunis, in modum servorum obedirent? quando auros exposcere remedia, nisi novum et nutantem adhuc principem precibus vel armis adirent? satis per tot annos ignavia peccatum, quod tricena aut quadragesa stipendia senes, et plerique truncato ex vulneribus corpore, tolerent: ne dimissis quidem finem esse militiae, sed apud vexillum retentos alio vocabulo easdem labores perferre. Ac si quis tot casus vita superaverit, trahi adhuc diversas in terras, ubi per nomen agorum uligines paludum vel inculta montium acceptant. Enimvero militiam ipsam gravem, infructuosam: denis in diem assim animam et corpus aprimari: hinc vestem, arma, tentoria, hinc sæviam centurionum et vacationes munern redimi. At hercule verbera et vulnera, duram hiemem, exercitus aëstas, bellum atrox aut sterilum pacem sempiterna: nec alius levamentum quam si certis sub legibus militia iniretur, ut singulos denarios mererent, sextus decumus stipendii annus finem afferret; ne ultra sub vexillis tenerentur, sed sium in castris primium pecunia solveretur. An pretorias cohortes, qua binos denarios acceperint, qua post sedecim annos pénatibus suis reddantur, plus pericu-
lorum suscipere? Non obtrectari a se urbanas excubias: sibi tamen apud horridas gentes e contuberniis hostem aspici.

XVIII. Adstrepebat vulgus, diversis incitamentis; hi vorberum notas, illi canitem, plurimi detrita tegmina et nudum corpus exprobrantes. Postremo eo furoris venere, ut tres legiones miscere in unam agitaverint: depulsi semulatione, quia sua quisque legioni eum honorem que rebant, alio vertunt, atque una tres aquilas et signa cohortium locant: simul congerunt cespites, exstruunt tribunal, quo magis conspicua sedes foret. Properantibus Blaesus advenit, increpabatque ac retinebat singulos, clamitans: Mea potius cede imbrite manus; leviore flagitio legatum interficietis quam ab imperatore desciscitis; aut incolumnis fidem legionum retinebo, aut jugulatus pan tentiam accelerabo.

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

XX. Interea manipuli, ante cæptam seditionem Nau portum missi, ob itinera et pontes et alios usus, postquam turbatum in castris accepere, vexilla convollunt, direptis-
que proximis vicis ipsoque Nauponto, quod municipii instar erat, retinentes centuriones irrisu et contumeliis, postremo verberibus insectantur; praecipua in Auidienium Rufum praefectum castrorum ira, quem dereptum vehiculo carcinis gravant aguntque primo in agmine, per ludibrium rogitantes, an tam immensa onera, tam longa itinera libenter ferret? Quippe Rufus diu manipularis, dein centurio, mox castris praefectus, antiquam duramque militiam revocabat, intentas operis ac laboris, et eo immittor quia tolerateverat.

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

XXII. Flagrantior inde vis, plures seditioni duces: et Vibulenus quidam, gregarius miles, ante tribunal Blæsi allevatus circumstantium humeris, apud turbatores, et, quid pararet, intentos: Vos quidem, inquit, his innocentibus et miserrimis lucem et spiritum reddidistis: sed quis fratrem meo vitam, quis fratrem mihi reddit? quem missum ad vos a Germanico exercitu de communibus commodis nocte proxima jugulavit per gladiatores suos, quos in exitium militum habet atque armat. Responde, Blæse, ubi cadaver apercis? ne hostes quidem sepultura invident: cum oculis, cum lacrimis dolorem meum inglevero, me quoque trucidari
jube, dum interfectos nullum ob scelus, sed quia utilitati legionum consulèbamus, hi sepeliant.

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

XXIV. Hæc audita quamquam abstrusum et tristissima quæque maxime occultantem Tiberium perpulere ut Dru- sum filium cum primoribus civitatis duabusque prætoriis cohortibus mitteret, nullis satis certis mandatis, ex re consulturum. Et cohortes delecto milite supra solitum firmatæ. Additur magna pars prætoriani equitis et robora Germanorum, qui tum custodes imperatori aderant: simul prætori præfectus Ælius Sejanus, collega Straboni patri sum data, magna apud Tiberium auctoritate, rector juveni, et ceteris porciilorum præmiorumque ostentator. Druso propinquanti quasi per officium obviesse fueræ legi- onis, mun hæc, ut assolet, neque insignibus fulgentes, sed
illuvie deformi et vultu, quamquam moestitiam imitarentur, contumaciae propiores.

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

XXVI. Responsum est a concione mandata Clementi centurioni, quae perferret. Is orditur de missione a sedecim annis: de præmiis finitum militiae: ut denarius diurnum stipendium foret; ne veterani sub vexillo haberentur. Ad ea Drusus, cum arbitrium senatus et patris obtenderet, clamore turbatur: Cur venisset, neque augendis militum stipendis, neque allevandis laboribus, denique nulla benefaciendi licentia? at hercule verbera et necem cunctis permitti. Tiberium olim nomine Augusti desideria legionum frustrari solutum: easdem artes Drusum retulisse: nunnamne nisi ad se filios familiarum venturos? novum id plane, quod imperator sola militiae commoda ad senatum rejiciat: easdem ergo senatum consulendum, quotiens supplicia aut praemia indicantur; an praemia sub dominis, poenas sine arbitro esse?

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

XXVIII. Noctem minacein et in seclus eruptionem fors lenivit; nam luna claro repente célo visa languescere. Id miles, rationis ignarus, omen præséntium accipiebat, suis laboribus defectionem sideris assimulans, prospereque cessa qua pergerent, si fulgor et claritudo deæ redderetur: igitur æris sono, tubarum cornumque concentu strepere; prout splendidior obscuriorve, ketari aut morere; et postquam ortæ nubes offeceris visui creditumque conditam tenebris, ut sunt mobiles ad superstitionem percusse semel mentes, sibi aeternum laborem portendi, sua facinora aver sari deos lamentantur. Utendum inclinatione ea Cæsar, et quæ casus obtulerat in sapientiam vertenda ratus, circumiri tentoria jubes. Accitut centurio Clemens, et si alii bonis artibus grati in vulgus: ii vigiliis, stationibus, custodiis portarum se inserunt, spem offerunt, metum intendunt. Quousque filium imperatoris obsidebimus? quis certaminum finis? Percennione et Vibuleno sacramento dictur sumus? Percennis et Vibulenus stipendia militibus, agros emeritis largientur? denique pro Neronibus et Drusis imperium populi Romani capessent? quin potius, ut novissimi in culpam, ita primi ad penitentiam sumus? Tarda sunt quæ in commune expostulantur: privatam gratiam statim mereare, statim recipias. Commotis per hæc mentibus et inter se suspectis, tironem a veterano, legione a legione dissociant. Tum redire paulatim amor obsequii: omittunt portas, signa unum
in locum principio seditionis congregata suas in sedes referunt.

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

XXX. Tum, ut quisque praecipuus turbator, conquisisi; et pars, extra castra palantes, a centurionibus aut praetoriarum cohortium militibus cæsi: quosdam ipsi manipuli, documentum fidei, tradidere. Auxerat militum curas prematura hiems, imbris autem continuis adeoque sævis, ut non egredi tentoria, congregari inter se, vix tutari signa possent, quæ turbine atque unda raptabantur: durabat et formido coelestis iræ, nec frustra adversus impios hebescre sidera, ruere tempestates: non alius malorum levamentum, quam si linquerent castra infausta temerataque, et soluti piaculo suis quisque hibernis redderentur: primum octava, dein quintadecuma legio rediere. Nonanus opperendas Tiberii epistolæ clamitaverat, mox desolatus aliorum discessione imminentem necessitatem sponte praebuit: et Drusus, non exspectato legatorum regressu, quia præsentia satis consederant, in urbem rediit.
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ferox, inter obstantes et armatos ferro viam patefecit. Non tribunus ultra, non castrorum praefectus jus obtinuit: vigiliae, stationes, et si qua alia praesens usus indixerat, ipsi partiebantur. Id, militares animos altius conjectantis, praecipuum indicium magni atque implacabilis motus, quod neque disjecti, nec paucorum instinctu, sed pariter ardescerent, pariter silerent; tanta æqualitate et constantia, ut regi crederes.

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

XXXIV. Sed Germanicus, quanto summœ spei proprior, tanto impensius pro Tiberio niti. Sequaces proximas et Belgarum civitates in verba ejus adigit. Dehinc, audito legionum tumultu, raptim praefectus obvias extra castra habuit, dejectis in terram oculis velut penitentia. Postquam vallum inuit, dissoni questus audiri coeperè: et quidam, presa manu ejus per speciem exosculandi, inseruerunt digitos, ut vacua dentibus ora contingeret, alii curvata senio membra ostendebant. Assistentem concionem, quia permixta videbatur, discedere in manipulos jubet: sic melius audituros respondum; vexilla praeferrii, ut id saltatem discernet cohortes: tarde obtemperavere. Tunc, a veneracione Augusti orsus, flexit ad victorias tri-
umphosque Tiberii, præcipuis laudibus celebrans quàe apud Germanias illis cum legionibus pulcherrima fecisset. Italiam inde consensum, Galliarum fidem extollit; nil usquam turbidum aut discors.

XXXV. Silentio hæc vel murmure modo audita sunt. Ut seditionem attigit, ubi modestia militaris, ubi veteris disciplina decus, quonam tribunos, quo centuriones exegissent, rogitans, nudant universi corpora, cicatrices ex vulneribus, verberum notas exprobrant; mox indiscretis vociibus pretia vacationum, angustias stipendii, duritiam operum, ac propriis nominibus incusant vallum, fossas, pabuli, materia, signorum aggestus, et si qua alia ex necessitate aut adversus otiun castrorum quaeruntur. Atrociissimus veteranorum clamor oriebatur; qui tricina aut supra stipendia numerantes, medeteretur fessis, neu mortem in iisdem laboribus, sed finem tam exercitæ militiae, neque inopem requiem, orabant. Fuere etiam qui legatam a divo Augusto pecuniam reposcerent, faustis in Germanicum omnibus; et, si vellet imperium, promptos ostentavere. Tum vero, quasi scelere contaminaret, precepe tribunali desiluit: opposuerunt abeunti arma, mimitantes, ni regrediatur. At ille, moriturum potius quam fidem exueret, clamitans, ferrum a latere deripuit, elatumque deserebat in pectus, ni proximi presam dextram vi attinuissent. Extrema et conglobata inter se pars concionis, ac, vix credibile dictu, quidam singuli propterea incendentes feriæ hortabantur; et miles nomine Calusidius strictum obtulit gladium, addito acutiorem esse. Sævum id malique moris etiam furentibus visum; ac spatium fuit, quo Cæsar ab amicis in tabernaculum raperetur.

XXXVI. Consultatum ibi de remedio: etenim nuntiabantur parari legatos qui superiorem exercitum ad causam eandem traherent; destinatum excidio Ubiorum oppidum; imbutasque præda manus in directionem Galliarum erupturas. Augebat metum gnarus Romanæ seditionis, et, si
omitteretur ripa, invasurus hostis; at, si auxilium et socii adversum abscedentes legiones armarentur, civile bellum suspici: periculoosa severitas, flagitiosa largitio; seu nihil militi sive omnia concederentur, in ancipiti res publica. Igitur, volutatis inter se rationibus, placitum, ut epistolae nomine principis scriberentur: missionem dari vicena stipendia meritis; exauctorari, qui senadema fecissent, ac re-tineri sub vexillo, ceterorum immunes, nisi propulsandi hostis: legata, quae petiverant, exsolvi duplicarique.


XXXVIII. At in Caucis captavere seditionem praesidium agitantes vexillarii discordium legionum, et presenti duorum militum supplicio paulum repressi sunt. Jusserat idennius, castrorum prefectus, bono magis exemplo, quam concessus iure: deinde, intumescente motu, profugus repertusque, postquam intutae latebræ, praesidium ab audacia mutauatur: non prefectum ab iis, sed Germanicum ducem, sed Tiberium imperatorem violari. Simul exterritus qui obstiterant, raptum vexillum ad ripam vertit, et, si quis agmine descessisset, pro desertore fore, clamitans, reduxit in hiberna turbidos et nihil ausos.

XXXIX. Interea legati ab senatu regressum jam apud aram Ubiorum Germanicum adeunt. Duae ibi legiones,
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prima atque vicesima, veteranique, nuper missi sub vexillo, hie exspectant. Pavidos et conscientia vecordes intrat metus, venisse patrum justu, qui irrita facerent, quae per seditionem expresserant. Utque mos vulgo, quamvis falsis reum subdere, Munationem Plancum, consulatu functum, principem legationis, auctorem senatusconsulti incusant; et nocte concubia vexillum, in domo Germanici situm, flagitare occupaunt, concursaque ad januam facto, moluntur fores; extractum cubili Cæsarem tradere vexillum intento mortis metu subignunt. Mox, vagi per vias, obios habuere legatos, audita consternatione ad Germanicum tendentes. Ingerunt contumeliae, caedem parant; Planco maxime, quem dignitas fuga impediverat. Neque alii periclitanti subsidium quam castra primae legionis: illic, signa et aquilam amplexus, religione sese tutabatur; ac, ni aquilifer Calpurnius vim extremam arcuisset (rarum etiam inter hostes), legatus populi Romani, Romanis in castris, sanguine suo altaria deum commaculavisset. Luce demum, postquam dux et miles et facta noscebantur, ingressus castra Germanicum perduci ad se Plancum imperat, receptaque in tribunal. Tum fatalem increpans rabiem, neque militum, sed deum ira resurgere, cur venerint legati aperit: jus legationis, atque ipsius Planci gravem et immentum casum, simul quantum deecoris adierit legio, facunde miseratur, attonitaque magis quam quieta concione, legatos præsidio auxiliarium equitum dimittit.

XL. Eo in metu arguere Germanicum omnes, quod non ad superiorem exercitum pergeret, ubi obsequia, et contra rebelles auxilium. Satis superque missione et pecunia et mollibus consultis peccatum: vel, si viliis ipsi salus, cur filium parvulum, cur gravidam conjugen, inter furentes et omnis humani juris violatores haberet? illos saltem avo et rei publicæ redderet. Diu cunctatus, aspernante uxorem, cum se divo Augusto ortam neque degenerem ad pericula testaretur, postremo uterum ejus et communem filium,
multo cum fletu, complexus, ut abiret perpulit. Incedebat muliebre et miserabile agmen; profuga ducis uxor, parvulum sinu filium gerens, lamentantes circum amicorum conjuges, quae simul trabeabant; nec minus tristes, qui manebant.

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

XLII. Non mihi uxor aut filius patre et re publica cariores sunt: sed illum quidem sua majestas, imperium Romanum ceteri exercitus defendent. Conjugem et liberos meos, quos pro gloria vestra libens ad exitium offerrem, nunc procul a furentibus summoveo, ut, quidquid istuc sceleris imminet, nec tamen sanguine pietur; neve occisus Augusti pronepos, interfecta Tiberii nurus, nocentiores vos faciat: quid enim per hos dies inausum intereatumve vobis? Quod nomen huic castrui dado? militesne appellem? qui filium imperatoris vestri vallo et armis circumsestistis. Ancives? quibus tam projecta senatus auctoritas: hostium quoque jus et sacra legationis et fas gentium rupistis. Divus Julius seditionem exercitus verbo uno compescuit, Quirites vocando qui sacramentum ejus detectabant. Divus Augustus...
tus vultus et aspectus Actiacas legiones exterruit: nos, ut non-
dum eosdem, ita ex illis ortos, si Hispaniae Syriæve miles
aspermaretur, tamen mirum et indignum erat. Primane et
vicesima legiones, illa signis a Tiberio acceptis, tu tot præ-
liorum socia, tot praemiiis aucta, egregiam duci vestro gra-
tiam refertis? hunc ego nuntium patri, ītā omnia aliis e
provinciis audienti, feram? ipsius tirones, ipsius veteranos,
non missione, non pecunia satiatos: hic tantum interfici
centuriones, ejici tribunos, includi legatos: infecta sanguine
castra, flumina: meque precariam animam inter infensos
trahere?

XLIII. Cur enim, primo concionis die, ferrum illud, quod
pectori meo infigere parabam, detraxistis? O improvidi
amici! melius et amantium ille, qui gladium offerebat.
Cecidissem certe nondum tot flagitiorum exercitui meo con-
scius: legissetis ducem, qui meam quem mortem impuni-
tam sineret, Vari tamen et trium legionum ulcisceretur.
Neque enim dii sinant, ut Belgarum, quamquam offerentium,
decus istud et claritudo sit, subvenisse Romano nomini, com-
pressisse Germaniae populos. Tua, dive Auguste, caelo re-
cepta mens, tua, pater Druse, imago, tui memoria, iisdem
istis cum militibus, quos jam pudor et gloria intrat, duant
hanc maculam, irasque civiles in exitium hostibus vertant!
Vos quoque, quorum alia nunc ora, alia pectora contueor, si
legatos senatui, obsequium imperatorii, si mihi conjugem et
filium redidisse, discidete a contactu ac dividite turbidos: id
stabile ad paenitentiam, id fidei vinculum erit.

XLIV. Supplices ad hæc, et vera exprophrari fatentes,
orabant, puniret noxios, ignoscere lapis, et duceret in hos-
tem: revocaretur conjux, rediret legionum alumnus, neve
obses Gallis traderetur. Reditum Agrippinæ excusavit ob
imminentem partum et hiemem; venturum filium: eetra
ipsi essequerentur. Discurrent mutati, et seditiosissimum
quemque vincitos trahunt ad legatum legionis primæ, C.
Cetronium, qui judicium et poenas de singulis in hunc
modum exercuit. Stabant pro concione legiones destric-
tis gladiis: reus in suggestu per tribunum ostendebatur:
si nocentem acclamaverant, praecepis datus trucidabatur: et
gaudebat caedibus miles tamquam semet absolveret: nec
Cæsar arcebat, quando, nullo ipsius jussu, penes eodem
sevitia facti et invidia erat. Secuti exemplum veterani
haud multo post in Rœtiam mittuntur, specie defendendæ
provinciæ, ob iminentes Suevos; ceterum ut avelleren tur
castris trucibus adhuc non minus asperitate remedii quam
celeris memoria. Centurionatum inde egit: citatus ab
imperatore, nomen, ordinem, patriam, numerum stipendio-
rum, quæ strenue in proeliiis fecisset, et cui erant dona
militaria, edebat: si tribuni, si legio industriae innocenti-
amque approbaverant, retinebat ordines: ubi avaritiam
aut crudelitatem consensu objectavissent, solvebatur mi-
litia.

XLV. Sic compositis præsentibus, haud minor moles
supererat ob serociam quintæ et unaetvisæmæ legionum,
sexagesimum apud lapidem (loco Vœtæra nomen est) hiber-
nantium. Nam præm seditionem coptaverant; atrocissi-
mum quoque facinus horum manibus patrum; nec
pœna commilitonum externiti, nec pænitentia conversi,
iras retinebant. Igitur Cæsar arma, classem, socios de-
mittère Rheno parat, si imperium detrectetur, bello cer-
taturas.

XLVI. At Romæ, nondum cognito, qui fuisset exitus
in Illyrico, et legionum Germanicarum motu audito, tre-
pida civitas incusare Tiberium, quod, dum patres et ple bem,
invalida et inermia, cunctatione flecta ludifiaret, dissident
interim miles, neque duorum adolescentium nondum adulta
auctoritate comprimisse: ire ipsum et opponere majesta-
tem imperatoriam debuisse cessuris ubi principem longa ex-
perientia, cundemque severitatis et munificentiam summum
vidissent. An Augustum, fessa estate, totiens in Germanias
comeare potuisse: Tiberium, vigentem auxilis, sedere in
senatu, verba patrum cavillantem? satis prospectum ur-
banae servituti: militaribus animis adhibenda fomenta, ut
ferre pacem velint.

XLVII. Immotum adversus eos sermones fixumque
Tiberio fuit non omittere caput rerum, neque se remque
publicam in casum dare. Multa quippe et diversa ange-
bant: validior per Germaniam exercitus, propior apud
Pannoniam: ille Galliarum opibus subnixus, hic Italia im-
minens: quos igitur anteferret? ac ne post positi contumelia
incenderentur. At per filios pariter adiri, majestate salva;
cui major et longingo reverentia: simul adolescentibus ex-
cusatum quaedam ad patrem recicere; resistentesque Ger-
manico aut Druso posse a se mitigari vel infrangi: quod
aliud subsidium, si imperatorem spreisset? Ceterum,
ut jamque iturus, legit comites, conquisivit impedi-
menta, adornavit naves: mox hiemem aut negotia varie
causatus, primo prudentes, dein vulgum, diutissime pro-
vincias sefellit.

XLVIII. At Germanicus, quamquam contracto exer-
citu, et parata in defectores ultione, dandum adhuc spatium
ratus, si recenti exemplo sibi ipsi consulerent, præmissit
letteras ad Cæcinam, venire se valida manu, ac, ni suppli-
cium in malos præsumant, usurum promiscua cade. Eas
Cæcina aquiliferis signiferisque, et quod maxime castro-
rum sincerum erat, occulte recitat, utque cunctos infamia,
se ipsos morti eximant, hortatur: nam in pace causas et
merita spectari: ubi bellum ingruat, innocentes ac noxios
juxta cadere. Illi tentatis quos idoneos reabant, post-
quam majorem legionum partem in officio vident, de sen-
tentia legati statuunt tempus, quo fœdissimum quemque
et seditione prætum ferro invadant. Tunc, signo inter
se dato, irrupsum contubernia, trucidant ignaros: nullo,
nisi consciis, noscente quod cædis initium, quis finis.

XLIX. Diversa omnium quæ unquam accidere civilium
armorum facies: non proelio, non adversis, e castris, sed
iisdem e cubilibus, quos simul vescentes dies, simul quietos
nox habuerat, discedunt in partes, ingerunt tela. Clamor,
vulnera, sanguis palam; causa in occulto: cetera fors re-
git: et quidam bonorum caeli, postquam, intellecto in quos
seviretur, pessimis quoque arma rapuerant: neque legatus
aut tribunus moderator adfuit: permissa vulgo licentia
atque ultio et satietas. Mox ingressus castra Germanicus,
non medicinam illud, plurimis cum lacrimis, sed cladem
appellans, cremari corpora jubes. Truces etiam tum ani-
mos cupidus involat eundi in hostem, piaculum furoris:
nec aliter posse placari commilitonum manes, quam si
pectoribus impiis honesta vulnera accepiissent. Sequitur
ardorem militum Cæsar, junctoque ponte tramittit du-
decim millia et legionibus, sex et viginti socias cohortes,
octo equitum alas, quarum ea seditione intemerata mo-
destia fuit.

L. Læti, neque procul, Germani agitabant, dum jus-
titio ob amissum Augustum post discordis attinemur. At
Romanus, agrine propero, silvam Cæsiam limitemque a
Tiberio coemptum scindit; castra in limite locat; frontem
ac tergum vallo, latera concedibus munit. Inde saltus
obscuros permeat, consultatque, ex duobus itineribus breve
et solitum sequatur, an impeditus et intentatum, eoque hos-
tibus incautum. Delecta longiore via, cetera acceleran-
tur: etenim attulerat exploratores festam eam German-
尼斯 noctem ac solennibus epulis ludicram. Cæcina cum
expeditis cohortibus praebire, et obstantia silvarum amoliri
jubetur: legiones modico intervallo sequuntur. Juvit
nox sideribus illustri: ventumque ad vicos Marsorum, et
circumdatae stationes, stratis etiam tum per cubilia prop-
terque mensas, nullo metu, non antepositis vigiliis. Adeo
cuncta incursia disjecta erant; neque belli timor; ac ne pa
quidem, nisi languida et soluta, inter temulentos.

LI. Cæsar avidas legiones, quo latior populatio foret,
quatior in cuneos dispertit: quinquaginta millium spa-
tium ferro flammissque pervastat: non sexus, non ætas miseracionem attulit: profusa simul et sacra et celeberri-
mum illis gentibus templum, quod Tarsanæ vocabant, solo
æquantur: sine vulnere milites, qui semioemno, inermes,
aut palantes ceciderant. Excivit ea caedes Bructeros, Tu-
bantes, Usipetes; saltusque, per quos exercitui regressus,
isedere: quod gnarum duci; incessitque itineri et praedio.
 Pars equitum et auxiliariae cohortes ducabant, mox prima
legio, et mediis impedimentis sinistrum latus unaetioesi-
mani, dextrum quintani clausere; vicesima legio terga
firmavit; post ceteri sociorum. Sed hostes, donec agmen
per saltus porrigeretur, immoti; dein latera et frontem
modice assaltantes, tota vi novissimos incurrere: turbab-
turque densis Germanorum catervis leves cohortes,
cum Cæsar adventus ad vicesimanos voce magna hoc illud
tempus obliterandæ seditionis clamitabant; pergerent, pro-
perarent culpam in decus vertere. Exarsere animis, unoque
impetu perruptum hostem redigunt in aperta, caeduntque:
simul primi agminis copiæ evasere silvas castraque com-
munivere. Quietum inde iter: fidentque recentibus ac
priorum obitus miles in hibernis locatur.

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

LIII. Eodem anno Julia supremum diem obiit, ob im-
pudicitiam olim a patre Augusto Pandateria insula, mox
oppido Rheginorum, qui Siculum fretum accolunt, clause.
Fuerat in matrimonio Tiberii, florentibus Caio et Lucio
Caesariibus, spreveratque ut imparem; nec alia tam intima Tiberio causa, cur Rhodum absederet: imperium adeptus, extorrem, infamem, et post interfectum Postumum Agrippam omnis spei egenam, inopia ac tabe longa peremit, obscuram fore necem longinquitate exsilii ratus. Par causa sævitiae in Sempronium Gracchum, qui familia nobili, solers ingenio et prave facundus, eandem Julia m in matrimonio M. Agrippae temeraverat. Nec is libidini finis; traditam Tiberio pervicax adulter contumacia et odiis in maritum accendebat: litteræque, quas Julia patri Augusto cum insecutione Tiberii scripsit, a Graccho compositione credebantur. Igitur amotus Cercinam, Africi maris insulam, quatuordecim annis exsilium toleravit. Tunc milites ad cædem missi invenire in prominenti littoris, nihil lætum opperientem: quorum adventu breve tempus petivit, ut suprema mandata uxori Alliaria per litteras daret, cervicemque percussoribus obtulit, constantia mortis haud indignus Sempronio nomine; vita degeneraverat. Quidam non Roma eos milites, sed ab L. Asprenate, proconsule Africe, missos tradidere, auctore Tiberio, qui famam cædis posse in Asprenatem verti frustra speraverat.


LV. Druso Cæsare, C. Norbano consulibus, decernitur Germanico triumphus manente bello; quod quamquam in
sæstatem summa ope parabat, initio veris et repentino in Cattos excursu præcepit: nam spes incesserat dissidere hostem in Arminium ac Segestem, insignem utrumque per-
fidia in nos aut fide. Arminius turbator Germaniaæ; Se-
gerestes, parari rebellionem, sepe alias, et supre\nmo convivio, post quod in arma itum, aperuit, suasitque Varo, ut se et Arminium et ceteros proceres vinciret; nihil ausuram plebem
principibus amotis, atque ipsis tempus fore, quo crimina et
inoxios discerneret: sed Varus fato et vi Arminii cecidit.
Segestes, quamquam consensu gentis in bellum tractus,
discors manebat, auctis privatim odiis, quod Arminius
filiam ejus, alii pactam, rapuerat: gener invisus inimici
soceri: quæque apud concordes vincula caritatis, incita-
menta irarum apud insensos erant.

LVI. Igitur Germanicus quatuor legiones, quinque
auxiliarium millia, et tumultuarias catervas Germanorum
cis Rhenum co lentium, Cæcinæ tradit: totidem legiones,
duplicem sociorum numerum ipse ducit: positoque castello
super vestigia paterni præsidii, in monte Tauno, expeditum
exercitum in Cattos rapit, L. Apronio ad munitiones viarum
et fluminum relictos. Nam (rarum illi caelo) siccitate et
amnibus modicis inoffensum iter properaverat; imbreque
et fluminum auctus regredienti metuebantur. Sed Cattis
adeo improvisus advenit, ut, quod imbecillum ætate ac
sexu, statim captum aut trucidatum sit. Juvenitus flumen
Adranam nando tranimerat, Romanosque pontem coept-
tantes arcebant: dein tormentis sagittisque pulsi, tentatis
frustra conditionibus pacis, cum quidam ad Germanicum
perfugissent, reliqui, omissis pagis vicisque, in silvas dis-
perguntur. Cæsar, incenso Mattio (id genti caput), aperta
populus, vertit ad Rhenum, non auro hoste terga abeun-
tium lascerræ; quod illi moris, quotiens astu magis quam
per formidinem cessit. Fuerat animus Cheruscis juvare
Cattos: sed exterruit Cæcina huc illuc ferens arma; et
Marsos, congrendi ausos, prospero prællo cohibuit.

LVIII. Simul Segestes ipse, ingens visu et memoria bone societatis impavidus. Verba ejus in hunc modum fuere:—Non hic mihi primus erga populum Romanum fidei et constantiae dies: ex quo a divo Augusto civitate donatus sum, amicos, inimicosque ex vestris utilitatisibus de-legi, neque odio patriæ (quippe proditores etiam iis quos anteponunt invisii sunt), verum quia Romanis Germanisque idem conducere, et pacem quam bellum probabam. Ergo raptorem filiæ meæ, violatorem federis vestri, Arminium, apud Varum, qui tum exercitui præsidebat, reum feci. Dilatus sognitio ducis, quid parum præsidi in legibus erat, ut me et Arminium et conscios vinciret flagitiavi: testis illa nox, mihi utinam potius novissima! quæ secuta sunt defleri magis quam defendi possunt; ceterum et injeci cætanas Arminio, et a fatione ejus injectas perpessus sum. Atque ubi
primum tui copia, vetera novis et quieta turbidis antehabeo, 
neque ob premium, sed ut me perfidia exsolvam, simul genti 
Germanorum idoneus conciliator, si pœnitentiam quam per-
niciem maluerit. Pro juventa et errore filii veniam precor: 
filiam necessitate huc adductam fatoer: tuum erit consul-
tare, utrum prævaleat, quod ex Arminio concept, an quod 
ex me genita est. Cæsar, clementi responso, liberis pro-
pinquisque ejus incolumitatem, ipsi sedem vetere in pro-
vincia pollicetur. Exercitum redixit, nomenque impera-
toris, auctore Tiberio, accepti. Arminii uxor viriliis sexus 
stimem edidit: educatus Ravennæ puer, quo mox ludibrio 
conficatus sit, in tempore memorabo.

LIX. Fama dediti benignique excepti Segestis vulgata, 
ut quibusque bellum invitis aut cupientibus erat, spe vel 
dolore accipitur. Arminium, super insitam violentiam, 
rapta uxor, subjectus servitio uxoris uterus, vecordem 
agebant: volitabatque per Cheruscos, arma in Segestem, 
arma in Cæsarem poscens: neque probris temperabat:— 
Egregium patrem! magnum imperatorem! fortem exerci-
tum! quorum tot manus unam mulierculam avexerint. 
Sibi tres legiones, totidem legatos procubuisse. Non enim 
se proditione, neque adversus feminas gravidas, sed palam 
adversus armatos bellum tractare: cerni adhuc Germano-
rum in lucis signa Romana, quæ diis patriis suspenderit: 
oleret Segestes victam ripam: redderet filio sacerdotium 
Romanum; Germanos numquam satis accusaturos, quod 
inter Albim et Rhenum virgas et secures et togam viderint: 
aliis gentibus ignorantia imperii Romani inexperta esse 
supplicia, nescia tributa: quæ quando exserint, irritisque 
discesserit ille inter numina dicatus Augustus, ille delectus 
Tiberius, ne imperitum adolescēntulum, ne seditionem exer-
citum paveserent. Si patriam, parentes, antiqua mallent 
quam dominos et colonias novas, Arminium potius gloriae 
ae libertatis, quam Segestem flagiōsa servitutis ducem, 
sequerentur.
LX. Conciti per hæc non modo Cherusci, sed conterminæ gentes; tractusque in partis Inguioerus, Arminii patruus, veteri apud Romanos auctoritate; unde major Cæsari metus: et ne bellum mole una ingrueret, Cæcinam, cum quadraginta cohortibus Romanis, distrabendo hosti, per Bructeros, ad flumen Amisiam mittit; equitem Pedo praefectus finibus Frisiorum ducit. Ipse impositas navibus quatuor legiones per lacus vexit; simulque pedes, eques, classis apud prædictum amnem convenere. Caući, cum auxilia pollicerentur, in commilitium asciti sunt. Bructeros sua uarentes expedita cum manu L. Stertinius missu Germanici fudit; interque cædem et prædam reperit undevesesimæ legionis aquilam, cum Varo amissam. Duc-tum inde agmen ad ultimos Bructerorum; quantumque Amisiam et Luppium amnes inter, vastatum, haud procul Teutoburgiensi saltu, in quo reliquiae Vari legionumque insepultae dicebantur.

LXI. Igitur cupido Cæsarem invadit solvendi suprema militibus ducique, permoto ad miserationem omni qui aderat exercitu, ob propinquos, amicos, denique ob casus bellorum et sortem hominum. Præmissæ Cæcina, ut occultæ saltuum scrutaretur, pontesque et aggeres humido paludum et fallacibus campis imposeret; incendit moestos locos visuque ac memoria deformes. Prima Vari castra, late ambitu, et dimensis principis, trium legionum manus ostentabant; deuin semiruto vallo, humili fossa, accisæ jam reliquiae consedisse intelligebantur: medio campi albentia ossa, ut fugerant, ut restiterant, disjecta vel aggerata: adjacentem fragmina telorum, equorumque artus, simul truncis arborum antefixa oral. Lucis propinquis barbarae ære, apud quas tribunos ac primorum ordinum centuriones mactaverat: et cladis ejus superstites, pugnam aut vincula elapsi, referebant hic cecidisse legatos; illic raptas aquilas; primum ubi vulnus Varo adactum; ubi infelici dextra et suo ictu mortem invenerit; quo tribunal conciona-
tus Arminius, quot patibula captivis, quae scrobos; utque
signis et aquilis per superbiam illuserit.

LXII. Igitur Romanus qui aderat exercitus sextum post
cladis annum, trium legionum ossa, nullo noscente, alienas
reliquias an suorum humo tegeret, omnes ut conjunctos,
ut consanguineos, aucta in hostem ‑ira, maestis simul et
infensi condebant. Primum extruendo tumulo cespitem
Caesar posuit, gratissimo munere in defunctos, et praesenti-
bus doloris socius. Quod Tiberio haud probatum, seu
cuncta Germanici in deterrus trahenti, sive exercitum
imagine caesorum insepulturumque tardatum ad proelia et
formidolosiorem hostium credebat: neque imperatorem,
auguratus et vetustissimis caerimonii praeitum, attrectare
feralia debuisse.

LXIII. Sed Germanicus, cedentem in avia Arminium
secutus, ubi primum copia fuit, evelli equites, campumque,
quem hostis insederat, eripi jubet. Arminius colligi suos
et propinquare silvis monitos vertit repente: mox signum
prorumpendi dedit iis, quos per saltus occultaverat. Tuno
nova acie turbatus eques; missaeque subsidiariee cohortes,
et fugientium agmine impulsae, auxerant constellationem;
trudebanturque in paludem, gnaram vincentibus, iniquam
nesciis, ni Caesari productas legiones instruxisset: inde
hostibus terror, fiducia militii; et manibus aequis abscessum.
Mox, reducto ad Amisiam exercitu, legiones classe, ut
advexerat, reporat; pars equitum litore oceani petere
Rhenum iussa; Cæcina, qui suum militem ducerat, mo-
nitus, quamquam notis itineribus regrednutur, Pontes
longos quam maturrimo superare. Angustus is trames
vastas inter paludes, et quondam a L. Domitio aggeratus:
cetera limosa, tenacia gravi coeno, aut rivis incerta erant;
circum silvae, paulatim acclives: quas tum Arminius imple-
vit, compendiis viarum et cito agmine onustum sacrinis
armisque militem cum antevenisset. Cæcinæ dubitant, quonam modo ruptos vetustate pontes reponeret, simulque
propulsaret hostem, castra metari in loco placuit, ut opus, et alii praelium inciperent.

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

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

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

LXVII. Tunc contractos in principia, jussosque dicta cum silentio accipere, temporis ac necessitatis monet: Unam in armis salutem; sed ea consilio temperanda, manendumque intra vallum, donec expugnandi hostes spe propius succederent; mox undique erumpendum; illa eruptione
ad Rhenum perveniri: quodsi fugerent, plures silvas, pro-
fundas magis paludes, saevitiam hostium superesse; at
victoribus decus, gloriam: quae domi cara, quae in castris
honesta, memorat: reticuit de adversis. Equos dehinc,
orsus a suis, legatorum tribunorumque, nulla ambitione,
fortissimo cuique bellatori tradit, ut hi, mox pedes, in
hostem invadent.

LXVIII. Haud minus inquisi Germanus spe, cupidine,
et diversis ducum sententiis agebat: Arminio, sinerent
egredi, egressoque rursum per humida et impedita circum-
venirent, suadente: atrocius Inguiomero et læta barbaris,
et vallum armis ambiere: prontam expugnationem, plures
captivos, incorruptam pradam fore. Igitur orta die pro-
ruunt fossas, injiciunt crataes, summa valli prensant, raro
super militie et quasi ob metum desixo. Postquam hæsere
munimentis, datur cohoribus signum, cornuque ac tubæ
continuare: exin clamore et impetu tergis Germanoruirio
circumfunduntur, exprobrantes non hic silvas, nec paludes,
sed æquis locis æquos deos. Hosti facile excidium et pau-
cos ac semermos cogitanti sonus tubarum, fulgor armorum,
quanto inopina, tanto majora offunduntur: cadebantque,
ut rebus secundis avidi, ita adversis incauti. Arminius
integer Inguiomerus post grave vulnus pugnam deseruere:
vulgus truncatum est donec ira et dies permansit. Nocte
demum reversæ legiones, quamvis plus vulnerum, eadem
ciborum egestas fatigaret, vim, sanitatem, copias cuncta in
victoria habuere.

LXIX. Pervaserat interim circumventi exercitus fama,
et infesto Germanorum agmine Gallias peti: ac ni Agrippina
impositum Rheno pontem solvi prohibuisset, erant
qui id flagitium formidine auderent: sed feminæ, ingens
animi, munia ducis per eos dies induit, militibusque, ut
quis inops aut saucius, vestem et fomenta dilargita est.
Tradit C. Plinius, Germanicorum bellorum scriptor, ste-
sisse apud principium pontis, laudes et grates reversis
legionibus habentem. Id Tiberii animum altius penetravit: non enim simplices eas curas, nec adversus externos militem quæri: nihil relictum imperatoribus ubi femina manipulos intervisat, signa adeat, largitione tentet; tamquam parum ambitiose filium ducis gregali habitu circumferat, Cæsaremque Caligulam appellari velit: potiorem jam ápud exercitus Agrippinam, quam legatos, quam duces: compressam a muliere seditionem, cui nomen principis obsistere nons quiverit. Accedebat hæc onerabatque Sejanus, peritia morum Tiberii, odiæ in longum jaciens, quæ recondenderat auctaque promeret.


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

E

LXXIV. Nec multo post Graniun Marcellum prætorem Bithyniae, quæstor ipsius, Cæpio Crispinus, majestatis postulavit, subscripte Romano Hispone: qui formam vitae inuit, quam postea celebrem miseriae temporum et audaciae hominum fecerunt. Nam egens, ignotus, inquies, dum occultis libellis saevitiae principis arreptit, mox clarissimo cuique periculum facessit, potentiam apud unum, odium apud omnes adeptus, dedit exempulum, quod securi, ex pauperibus divites, ex contemptis metuendi, perniciem aliis ac postremum sibi invenere. Sed Marcellum insimulabat sinistros de Tiberio sermones habuisse: inevitabile crimen, cum ex moribus principis fœdissima queque deligeret accusator, objectaretque reo: nam, quia vera erant, etiam dicta credebantur. Addidit Hispo, statuam Marcelli alius quam Casarum sitam; et alia in statua, amputato capite Augusti, effigiem Tiberii inditam: ad quod exarit adeo, ut rupta tacturnitate proclamaret, se quoque in ea causa laturum sententiam palam et juratum: quo ceteris eadem necessitas fieret. Manebant etiam tum vestigia morientis libertatis. Igitur Cæsus Piso, Quo, inquit, loco
censebis, Cæsar? si primus, habebo quod sequar; si post omnes, vereor ne imprudens dissentiam. Permutus his, quantoque incautius efferverat, poenitentia patiens, tulit absolvì reum criminibus majestatis: de pecuniis repetundis ad recuperatores itum est.

LXXV. Nec patrum cognitionibus satiatus, judiciis assidebat in cornu tribunalis, ne prætorem curuli depelleret; multaque eo coram adversus ambitum et potentium preces constituæ: sed dum veritati consultur, libertas corrumpebatur. Inter quæ Pius Aurelius, senator, questus, molle publicæ via ductuque aquarum labefactas ades suas, auxilium patrum invocabat: resistentibus serarii prætoribus, subvenit Cæsar, pretiumque sædium Aurelio tribuit, ergundæque per honesta pecunia cupiens: quam virtutem diu retinuit, cum ceteras exueret. Propertio Celeri, prætorio, veniam ordinis ob paupertatem petenti, decies sestertium largitus est, satis comperto, paternas ei angustias esse: tentantis eadem alios probare causam senatui jussit, cupidine severitatis, in his etiam, quæ rite faceret, acerb-us: unde ceteri silentium et paupertatem confessione et beneficio praeposuere.

ostentandum saevitiam movendasque populi offendenses concessam filio materiem: quamquam id quoque dictum est.

LXXVII. At theatri licentia, proximo priore anno accepta, gravius tum erupit, occisis non modo e plebe, sed militibus et centurione, vulnerato tribuno praetorio cohortis, dum probris in magistratus et dissensionem vulgi prohibent. Actum de ea seditione spud patres, dicabanturque sententiae ut praetoribus sui virgarum in histriones esset: intercessit Haterius Agrippa tribunus plebei, increpitusque est Asini Galli oratione, silente Tiberio, qui ea simulacra libertatis senatus præbebat. Valuit tamen intercessio, quia divus Augustus immunes verberum histriones quondam responderat, neque fas Tiberio infringere dicta ejus. De modo lucaris, et adversus lasciviam fato rum, multa decoruntur: ex quis maxime insignia: ne domos pantomimonorum senator introiet; ne egredientes in publicum equites Romani cingerent, aut alibi quam in theatro spectantur; et spectantium immodestiam exsilium multandis potestas praetoribus fieret.

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

LXXIX. Actum deinde in senatu ab Arruntio et Ateio, an ob moderandas Tiberis exundationes verterentur flumina et lacus, per quos augescit: auditaque municipiorum et coloniarum legationes, orantibus Florentinis, ne Clavis, volito alveo demotus, in annem Arnum transferretur, idque ipsi perniciem affert. Congruentia his Interamnates disseruere: perum ituros fecundissimos Italiae campos, si
amnis Nar (id enim parabatur) in rivos diductus super-
stagnavisset. Nec Reatinii silebant, Velinium lacum, qua
in Narem effunditur, obstrui recusantes, quippe in adja-
centia eruptum: optune rebus mortalius consuluisse na-
turam, quæ suæ oræ fluminibus, suos cursus, utque originem,
ita fines dederit: spectandas etiam religiones sociorum, qui
sacra et luco et aras patriis amnibus dicaverint: quin
ipsum Tiberim nolle, prorsus accolis fluvii orbatum, minore
gloria fluere. Seu preces coloniarum, seu difficultas ope-
rum, sive superstitione valuit ut in sententiam Pisonis con-
cederetur, qui nil mutandum censuerat.

LXXX. Prorogatur Poppæo Sabino provincia Mœsia,
additis Achaia ac Macedonia. Id quoque morum Tiberii
fuit, continuare imperia, ac pleroque ad finem vitæ in
iisdem exercitibus aut jurisdictionibus habere. Cause
variae traduntur: aliis tædio nova cura semel placita pro
aeternis servavisse: quidam invidia, ne plurès fruèrentur:
sunt qui existiment, ut callidum ejus ingenium, ita anxium
judicium: neque enim eminentes virtutes sectabatur, et
rursum vitia oderat: ex optimis periculum sibi, a pessimis
dedecus publicum metuebat: qua hesitatione postremo
eo provectus est, ut mandaverit quibusdam provincias,
quos egredi urbe non erat passurus.

LXXXI. De comitiis consularibus, quæ tum primum,
illo principio, ac deinceps fuere, vix quidquam firmare
ausim: adeo diversa non modo apud auctores, sed in
ipsius orationibus reperiuntur. Modo, subtractis candi-
datorum nominibus, originem cujusque et vitam et sti-
pendia descriptis, ut, qui forent, intelligeretur: aliquando,
ea quoque significacione subtracta, candidatos hortatus
ne ambitu comitia turbarent, suam ad id curam pollicitus
est: plerumque eos tantum apud se professos, disseruit,
quorum nomina consulibus edidisset: posse et alios pro-
fleri, si gratia aut meritis considerent: speciosa verbis,
re inania, aut subdola;quantoque majore libertatis ima-
agine tegebantur, tanto eruptiona ad insensus servitium.
C. CORNELII TACITI
ANNALIUM
LIBER SECUNDUS.
C. CORNELII TACITI

ANNALIUM

LIBER SECUNDUS.
C. CORNELII TACITI

ANNALIUM

LIBER SECUNDUS.

SUMMARY OF BOOK II.

CHAP. I. Commotions in the East. II. Vonones sent from Rome to reign over the Parthians at their own request. III, IV. He is deposed by the Parthians.—Artabanus ascends the throne.—Vonones flies to the Armenians, and is received as their king; but is soon dethroned, and guarded as a prisoner by Silanus, the governor of Syria. V. Tiberius, under feigned pretences, thinks of recalling Germanicus from the command of the forces in Germany.—The latter meanwhile makes preparations for active movements against the enemy. VI. Fleet of Germanicus.—The Rhine. VII. Irruption into the territory of the Catti.—The altar of Drusus rebuilt. VIII. Canal of Drusus.—River Amisia.—The Amaivarii renew hostilities and are punished. IX. Interview between Arminius and his brother Flavus. X. Warm altercation between them. XI. The Romans cross the Visurgis.—Batavian auxiliaries in danger.—Death of Carovalda their leader. XII. Germanicus seeks to ascertain the sentiments and inclinations of his men. XIII. The Germans strive by tempting offers to induce the Romans to desert.—They advance against the Roman camp, but again withdraw. XIV. Dream of Germanicus.—He addresses the soldiers. XV. Addresses of Arminius and the German chieftains to their followers. XVI. Arrangement of the two armies. XVII. Omen of victory.—Flight and slaughter of the Germans. XVIII. Trophy erected. XIX. The Germans resolve again to try the hazard of a battle. XX. A second conflict. XXI. Victory declares at length for the Romans, though the Roman cavalry fought with undecided success. XXII. Trophy and inscription. XXIII. Some of the legions return by land to winter quarters.—Germanicus sails with the rest down the Amisia to the ocean.—Fleet overtaken by a storm.—Alarm of the soldiery.—Fleet dispersed. XXIV. Disasters and sufferings resulting from the storm.—Fleet subsequently refitted.—Aid thus afforded to those who had been shipwrecked on the islands. XXV. The Germans, on receiving intelligence of these dis
asters, begin to renew the war.—They are attacked and defeated by the Romans.—The eagle of one of the legions of Varus recovered. XXVI. The Roman troops go into winter quarters.—Germanicus recalled by Tiberius. XXVII. Libo Drusus accused of conspiring against the state. XXVIII.—XXXI. Trial before the Senate.—Libo commits suicide. XXXII. Estate of the deceased divided among the informers.—Conduct of the Senate on this occasion.—Astrologers, &c., banished from Italy.—Two of the number put to death. XXXIII. The luxury of the times taken into consideration by the Senate. XXXIV. Lucius Piso breaks out with vehemence against the reigning vices of the times.—Retires from the Senate.—Haughty conduct of Urgulania. XXXV. Debate in the Senate on adjoining all public business until the return of Tiberius to Rome. XXXVI. Motion of Asinius Gallus respecting the election of magistrates; which is opposed by Tiberius. XXXVII. Address of Hortalus to the Senate, requesting relief. XXXVIII. Harsh speech of Tiberius on the occasion.—Expresses his willingness, however, to aid the children of Hortalus. XXXIX. Daring conduct of the slave Clemens, and his design to carry off Agrippa from Pianasia.—Attempts to personate the murdered prince. XL. Is seized and executed. XLI. Public monuments erected and dedicated at Rome.—Germanicus enjoys a triumph for his victories over the Germans. XLII. Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, invited to Rome.—Arraigned before the Senate.—Dies. XLIII. Troubles in the East.—Germanicus commissioned to quell them.—Syria given to Piso. XLIV. Drusus sent to command the army in Illyricum.—Intestine quarrels among the Germans. XLV. Arminius takes the field again at the head of the Cheruscis and their allies.—Addresses his followers. XLVI. Harangue of Maroboduus on the other side.—Battle.—Maroboduus defeated.—Retires among the Marcomanni, and thence sends a deputation to Tiberius for aid.—Aid refused. XLVII. Twelve principal cities in Asia destroyed by an earthquake.—Relief extended to them by Tiberius. XLVIII. Besides these acts of public munificence, Tiberius displays great liberality in matters of a private nature. XLIX. Temples dedicated. L. Apuleia Varilla accused of high treason and of adultery. LI. Warm contest for the appointment of a prætor, the office having become vacant by the death of Vipsanius Gallus. LII. War kindled up in Africa by Tachfarinas the Numidian, and by Maxippa, leader of the Mauritani.—Defeated by Camillus.—Triumphal ornaments decreed to Camillus by the Senate. LIII. Germanicus visits various parts of Greece. LIV. Passes over into Asia.—Consults the oracle of the Crian Apollo. LV. Piso and his wife Plancina attempt by secret arts to gain over the affections of the soldiery... LVI. Germanicus places Zeno on the throne of Armenia. LVII. Insolent demeanor of Piso. LVIII. Vonones removed from Syria. LIX. Germanicus visits Egypt.—Tiberius finds fault with this. LX. Canopus.—Thebes. LXI. Statue of Mammert—Pyramids, &c. LXII. Dissensions among the Germans.
LXIII. Maroboduus, driven out by Catuus, flees for refuge to the Romans.—Catuus subsequently experiences a like reverse of fortune, and finds a similar refuge. LXIV.—LXVII. Rhescuporis, king of Thrace, murders his nephew, and is sent a prisoner to Rome.—He is ordered to Alexandria, and there put to death. LXVIII. Vonones attempts to escape out of Cilicia; and being taken, is killed by a veteran soldier. LXIX. Germanicus returns from Egypt.—Animosities between him and Piso.—Germanicus is seized with a fit of illness; he recovers, but has a relapse.—Poison suspected. LXX. Indignation of Germanicus.—Writes to Piso disclaiming all friendship and connection with him, and commands him to leave the province. LXXI. Germanicus takes leave of his friends. LXXII. His last advice to his wife.—His death, and the grief of all ranks of men. LXXIII. His funeral and character. LXXIV. Sentius takes upon him the government of Syria. LXXV. Agrippina embarks with the urn of Germanicus.—Piso, while at the island of Cos, hears of the death of Germanicus.—His joy at the tidings. LXXVI. The centurions flock to Piso, and exhort him to resume the command that had been taken from him.—A council of his friends called.—His son is for his returning to Rome without delay. LXXVII. Domitius Celer is of a contrary opinion. LXXVIII. Piso follows the advice of Domitius, and orders the latter to sail for Syria. LXXIX. Piso's fleet meets that of Agrippina near the coast of Lycia. LXXX. Piso seizes the castle of Celenderis in Cilicia.—Draws out his followers for battle.—Is defeated by Sentius. LXXXI. Piso capitulates.—Sentius allows him a safe return to Rome. LXXXII. Grief and loud complaints at Rome on hearing of the illness of Germanicus.—Strong expression of public feeling when the news of his death arrived. LXXXIII. Honors decreed to the memory of Germanicus. LXXXIV. Livia, the wife of Drusus, delivered of twins.—Joy of Tiberius. LXXXV. Laws to restrain female licentiousness. LXXXVI. Choice of a new Vestal virgin in the room of Oocia deceased. LXXXVII. Tiberius rejects the title of Father of his country. LXXXVIII. Arminius dies in Germany, through the treachery of his own relations.—Character of that chieftain.

These events embrace a period of four years.

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C. CORNELIUS TACITUS.

I. Sisenna Statilio Taurö, L. Libone Coss., morti Orientis regna provinciæque Romanæ, initio apud Parthos orto, qui petitum Roma acceptumque regem, quamvis gentis Arsacidarum, ut externum aspernabantur. Is fuit Vonones, obesa Augusto datus a Phraate. Nam Phraates, quamquam depulisset exercitus ducesque Romanos, cuncta venerantium officia ad Augustum vereterat, partemque prolis firmandæ amicitiae miserat; haud perinde nostri metu, quam fidei popularium diffusus.

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

III. Igitur Artabanus, Arsacidarum e sanguine, apud Dahas adultus, excitur, primoque congressu fusus, reparat vires, regnique potitur. Victo Vononi perfugium Armenia fuit, vacua tunc, interque Parthorum et Romanas opes insida, ob acclus Antonii, qui Artavasden, regem Armeniorum, specie amicitiae illectum, dein caēnis oneratum, postremo interfecerat. Ejus filius Artaxias, memoria patris nobis insensus, Arsacidarum vi seque regnumque
tutatus est. Occiso Artaxia per dolum propinquorum, datus a Cæsare Armeniis Tigranes, deductusque in regnum a Tiberio Nerone. Nec Tigrani diuturnum imperium fuit, neque liberis ejus, quamquam sociatis, mora externo, in matrimonio regnumque.


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


VIII. Jamque classis adverterat, cum, præmiso com-
meatu, et distributis in legiones ac socios navibus, fossam, cui Drusianæ nomen, ingressus, precatusque Drusum patrem, ut se, eadem ausum, libens placatusque exemplo ac memoria consiliorum atque operum juvenet; lacus inde et Oceanum usque ad Amisiam flumen secunda navigatione pervehitur. Classis Amisiae relecta, lævo amne; erratumque in eo, quod non subvexit; transposuit militem, dextræs in terras iturum: ita plures dies efficiendis pontibus absunt. Et eque quidem ac legiones prima aestuaria, nondum accrescente unda, intrepidis transire: postremum auxiliorum agmen, Batavique in parte ea, dum insultant aquis, artemque nandi ostentant, turbati, et quidam hausti sunt. Metanti castra Cæsari Amaivariorum defectio a tergo nuntiatur: missus illico Stertinius cum equite et armatura levi igne et caëdibus perfidiam ultus est.

IX. Flumen Visurgis Romano Cheruscosque interfluebat. Ejus in ripa cum ceteris primoribus Arminius adstitit, quæsitoque, an Cæsar venisset? postquam adesse responsum est, ut liceret cum fratre colloqui, oravit. Erat is in exercitu, cognomento Flavus, insignis sive, et amissae per vulnus oculo paucis ante annis, duce Tiberio. Tum permissum; progressusque salutatur ab Arminio: qui, amitis stipatoribus, ut sagittarii, nostra pro ripa dispositi, abscederent, postulat; et postquam digressi, unde ea deformitas oris? interrogat fratrem. Illo locum et prœlium referente: quodnam præmium receptisset? exquirit. Flavius aucta stipendia, torquem et coronam aliaque militaria dona memerat; irri gente Arminio vilia servitii pretia.

X. Exin diversi ordiuntur: hic magnitudinem Romanam, opes Cæsaris, et victis graves panas; in editionem venienti paratam clementiam; neque conjugem et filium ejus hostiliter haberit: ille fas patria, libertatem aviam, penetrales Germaniae deos, matrem precum sociam; ne propinquorum et affiniun, denique gentis sua desertor et pro-
ditor quam Imperator esse mallet. Paullatim inde ad jurgia prolapsi, quo minus pugnam consererent, ne flumine quidem interjecto cohibebantur, ni Stertinius accurrerens, plenum iræ, armaque et equum poscentem Flavum attinuisset. Cernebatur contra minitabundus Arminius, præliumque denuntians. Nam pleraque Latino sermone interjaciebat, ut qui Romanis in castris ductor populatum meruisset.


XII. Cæsar, transgressus Visurgim, indicio perpæae cognoscit, delectum ab Arminio locum pugnae: convenisse et alias nationes in silvam Herculi sacram, ausurosque nocturnam castrorum oppugnationem. Habita indici fides; et cernebantur ignes: suggressique propius speculatores, audiri fremitum equorum immensique et inconditi agminis murmurs, attulere. Igitur, propinquo summæ rei discrimine, explorandos militum animos ratus, quonam id modo incorruptum foret, secum agitabat: Tribunos et centuriones lata sæpius quam comperta nuntiaret; libertorum servilia ingénia; amicis inesse adulationem; si concio vocetur, illie
quoque, quæ pauci incipient, reliquos adstrepere. Penitus
noscendas mentes, cum secreti et incustoditi, inter militares
 libros; solum aut metum proferrent.

XIII. Nocte cæpta egressus augurali, per occultæ et
vigilibus ignara, comite uno, contectus humeros ferina
pelle, adit castrorum vias, adsistit tabernaculis, fruiturque
fama sui: cum hic nobilitatem ducis, decorem alius, plu-
rimi patientiam, comitatem, per seria, per jocos eundem ani-
um, laudibus ferrent, reddendamque gratiam in acie,
faterentur: simul, perfidos et ruptores pacis ultioni et glo-
ria mactandos. Inter quæ unus hostium, Latinæ linguae
sciens, acto ad vallum equo, voce magna, conjuges et agros
et stipendii in dies, donec bellaretur, septertia centenos, si
quibus transfugisset, Arminii nomine pollicetur. Incendit ea
contumelia legionem iras: veniret dies, daretur pugna;
sunturum militem Germanorum agros, tracturum conjuges:
accipere omen, et matrimonia ac pecunias hostium prædes
destinare. Tertia ferme vigilia assultatum est castris,
sine conjectu teli, postquam crebras pro munimentis co-
bortes et nihil remissum sensere.

XIV. Nox eadem letam Germanico quietem tulit:
viditque se operatum, et, sanguine sacro respersa prætexta,
pulchriorum aliam manibus aviae Augustæ accepisse.
Auctus omine, addicentibus auspiciis, vocat concionem,
et, quæ sapientia prævisa, aptaque imminenti pugnæ, dis-
serit: Non campos modo militi Romano ad prælium bonos,
sed, si ratio adsit, silvas et saltus. Nec enim immensa bar-
barorum scuta, enormes hastas, inter truncos arborum et
enata humo virgulta perinde haberis, quam pila et gladios
et habentia corpori tegmina. Denserent ictus, ora mucer-
ibus quarerent: non loricam Germano, non galeam; ne
scuta quidem ferro, nervove firmata, sed viminum textus,
sed tenues, fucatas colore, tabulas: primam utcunque arietem
kastatum; ceteris præusta aut brevia tela. Jam corpus, ut
veiæ torvum et ad brevem impetum validum, sic nulla cul-
nerum patientia: sine pudore flagitiis, sine cura ducum, abire, fugere: pavidos adversis, inter secunda non divini, non humani juris memores. Si tædio viarum ac maris finem cupiant, hac acie parari: propriem jam Albim, quam Rhenum; neque bellum ultra: modo se, patris patrui-que vestigia prementem, iisdem in terris victorem sisterent.

XV. Orationem ducis securus militum ardor: signumque pugnae datum. Nec Arminius aut ceteri Germanorum proceres omittebant suas quasque testari: Hos esse Romanos, Variani exercitus fugacissimos, qui ne bellum tolerarent, seditiolem induerint: quorum pars onusta vul-neribus terga, pars fluctibus et procellis fractos artus, in-sensis rursum hostibus, adversis Diis objiciant, nulla boni-spe: classem quippe et via Oceani quiesita, ne quis ven-entibus occurreret, ne pulsos premeret: sed, ubi miscuerint manus, inane victis ventorum remorumve subsidium. Me-minissent modo avaritia, crudelitatis, superbiae: aliud sibi reliquum, quam tenere libertatem, aut mori ante servitium?


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

Et plerosque, tranare Visurgim conantes, injecta tela, aut vis fluminis, postremo moles ruentium et incidentes ripæ operuere. Quidam turpi fuga in summa arborum nisi, ramisque se occultantes, admotis sagittariis, per ludibrium figebantur: alios prorutae arbores afflixere. Magna ea victoria, neque cruenta nobis fuit.

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

XIX. Haud perinde Germanos vulnera, luctus, excidia, quam ea species, dolore et ira aecitus. Qui modo abire sedibus, trans Albim concedere parabant, pugnam volunt, arma rapiunt: plebes, primores, juvenus, senes agmen Romanum repente incursant, turbant. Postremo deligunt locum, flumine et silvis clausum, arcta intus planitie
et humida: silvas quoque profunda palus ambibat, nisi quod latus unum Angrivariv lato-ag gere extulerant, quo a Cheruscis dirimerentur. Hic pedes adstitit: equitem propinquis lucis texere, ut ingressis silvam legionibus a tergo foret.


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

XXII. Laudatis pro concione victoribus, Caesar conqueriorem armorum struxit, superbo cum titulo: debellatis inter Rhenum Alpinque nationibus exercitum Tiberii Caesaris ea monimenta Marti et Jovi et Augusto sacrificasse. De se nihil addit, metu invidiæ, an ratus, conscientiam facti satis esse. Mox bellum in Amsivarios Stertini mandat, ni deditionem properavisse. Atque illi supplices, nihil absumendo, veniam omnium accepere.


XXIV. Quanto violentior cetero mari Oceanus, et truculentia coeli præstat Germania, tantum illa clades novitate et magnitudine excessit, hostilibus circum litoribus, aut ita vasto et profundo, ut credatur novissimum ac sine terris, mari. Pars navium haustæ sunt; plures apud insulas
longius sitas ejectae; milesque, sulli illic hominum cultu
fame absuntus, nisi quos corpora equorum, eodem elissa,
toleraverant. Sole Gérmanici tremeris Caucorum terram
appulit, quem per omnes illos dies noctesque apud scopu-
los et prominentes oras, cum se tanti exitii reum clamitaret,
vix cohibuere amici, quo minus eodem mari oppeteret:
Tandem relabente aetu et secundante vento claudae naves
raro remigio, aut intentis vestibus, et quaedam a validiori-
bus tractae, revertère: quas raptim refectas misit, ut scru-
tarentur insulas. Collecti ea cura plerique: multos Am-
sivarii nuper in idem accepti, redemptos ab interioribus
reddidere; quidam in Britanniam rapti, et remissi a regul-
lis. Ut quis ex longinquo revenerat, miracula narrabant;
vim turbinum, et inauditas volucres, monstra maris, am-
biguas hominum et belluarum formas; visa, sive ex metu
credita.

XXV. Sed fama classis amissae, ut Germanos ad spes belli,
ita Cæsarem ad coercedum erexit. C. Silio cum
triginta peditem, tribus equitum, millibus ire in Cattos im-
perat: ipse majoribus copiis Marsos irruptit: quorum
dux Malovendus, nuper in ditionem acceptus, propinquus
luco defossam Varianæ legionis aquilam modico praesidio
servari, indicat. Missa extemplo manus, quae hostem a
fronte eliceret; alii, qui, terga circumgressi, recluderent
humum: et utrisque adfuit fortuna. Eo prontior Cæsar
pergit introrsus, populatur, exscindit non ausum congregi
hostem, aut, sicubi restiterat, statim pulsum: nec unquam
magis, ut ex captiva cognitum est, paverent. Quippe
invictos, et nullis casibus superabiles Romanos predicabant,
qui perdita classe, amissis armis, post constrata equorum
virorumque corporibus littora, eadem virtute, pari ferocia, et
veluti aucti numero irrupissent.

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

XXVII. Sub idem tempus e familia Scriboniorum Libo Drusus defertur moliri res novas. Eius negotii initium, ordinem, finem curatus disseram; quia tum primum re- perta sunt, quæ per tot annos rem publicam exedere. Fir- mius Catus, senator, ex intima Libonis amicitia, juvenem improvidum et facilem inanibus, ad Chaldæorum promissa, Magorum sacra, somniorum etiam interpretis impulit: dum proavum Pompeium, amitam Scriboniam qua quon- dam Augusti conjux fuerat, consobrinos Cesares, plenam imaginibus domum ostentat. Hortaturque ad luxum et sœs alienum, socius libidinum et necessitatum, quo pluri- bus indiciis illigaret.

XXVIII. Ut satis testium, et, qui servi eadem noce- rent, reperit, aditum ad principem postulat, demonstrato criminé et reo, per Flaccum Vescularium, equitem Roma-
C. CORNELIUS TACITUS.

num, cui propior cum Tiberio usus erat. Caesar indicium hau adspersatus, congressus abnuit: posse enim, eodem Flacco internuntio, sermones commeare. Atque interim Libonem ornat preitura, convictibus adhibet, non vultu alienatus, non verbis commotor (adeo iram condiderat) cunctaque ejus dicta factaque, cum prohibere posset, scire malebat: donec Junius quidam, tentatus, ut infernas umbras carminibus eliceret, ad Fulciniun Trionem indicium detulit. Celebré inter accusatores Trionis ingenium erat, avidumque famæ male. Statim corripit reum, adit consules, Senatus cognitionem poscit: et vocantur Patres, ad dito, consultandum super re magna et atroci.

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

XXX. Accesserant, præter Trionem et Catum accusatores, Fonteius Agrippa et C. Vibius, certabantque, cui jus perorandi in reum daretur: donec Vibius, quia nec ipsi inter se concederent, et Libo sine patrono introisset, singillatim se crimina objecturum professus, protulit libellós, vecordes adeo, ut consultaverit Libo, an habiturus foret opes, quis viam Appiam Brundisium usque pecunia speriret. Inerant et alia hujuscemodi, stolida, vana; si mollius acciperes, miseranda. Uni tamen libello manu Libonis nominibus Caesarum aut senatorum additas atroces vel occultas notas, accusator arguebat. Negante reo, agnoscentes servos per tormenta interrogari placuit. Et, quia vetere Senatusconsulto quæstio in caput domini prohibebatur, callidus et novi juris repertor, Tiberius,
mancipari singulos actori publico jubet: scilicet, ut in Libonem ex servis, salvo Senatusconsulto, quæreretur. Ob quæ posterum diem reus petivit. Domumque digressus, extremas preces P. Quirino propinquuo suo ad principem mandavit. Responsum est, ut Senatum rogaret.


XXXIII. Proximo Senatus die multa in luxum civitatis dicta a Q. Haterio, consulari, Octavio Frontone, praetura functo: decretemque, ne vasa aurum solida ministrandis cibus fient: ne vestis serica viros sadaret. Excessit Fron-
to, ac postulavit modum argento, supellectili, familia.
Erat quippe adhuc frequens senatoribus, si quid e re publica crederent, loco sententiae promere. Contra Gallus Asinius dissertuit: Auctus imperii adolevisse etiam privatæ opæ; idque non novum, sed e vetustissimis moribus. Aliam apud Fabricios, aliam apud Scipiones pecuniam: et cuncta ad rem publicam referri: qua tenui, angustas civium domos; postquam eo magnificentia venerit, gliscere singulos. Neque in familia et argento, quaque ad usum parentur, nimium aliquid, aut modicum, nisi ex fortuna possidentis. Distinctos Senatus et Equitum census, non, quia diversi natura, sed ut locis, ordinibus, dignationibus antistent, taliaque ad requiem animi, aut salubritatem corporum parentur. Nisi forte clarissimo cuique plures curas, majora pericula subveni; delenimentis curarum et periculorum carentem esse. Facilem assenum Gallo, sub nominibus honestis, confessio vitiorum et similitudo audientium dedit. Adjacerat et Tiberius, non id tempus censura: nec, si quid in moribus labaret, defuturum corrigendi auctorem.

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


spatia exercendae candidatorum industria quærendisque aut potiundis honoribus statuerint.


XXXVIII. Inclinatio senatus incitamentum Tiberio fuit, quo promtius adversaretur, his ferme verbis usus: Si quantum pauperum est venire huc, et libéris suis petere pecunias caperint, singuli namquam exatiaabantur, res publica deficiet. Nec sane ideo a majoribus concessum est, egredi aliquando relationem, et, quod in commune conducat, loco sententiae proferre, ut privata negotia, res familiares nostras hic augeamus, cum invidia senatus et principum, sive indulserint largitionem, sive abnuerint. Non enim preces sunt istuc, sed efflagitatio, intempestiva quidem et improvisa, cum aliis de rebus convenirent patres, consur-
gere, et numero atque etate liberum suorum urgere modestiam senatus, eandem vim in me transmittere, ac velut perfringere aerarium: quod, si ambitione exhauserimus, per seclera supplendum erit. Dedit tibi, Hortalc, D. Augustus pecuniam, sed non compellatus, nec ea lege, ut semper daretur. Languwescet aliqui industria, intendetur socordia, si nullus ex se metus aut spes; et securi omnes aliena subsidia espectabunt, sibi ignavi, nobis graves. Hæc atque talia, quamquam cum adsensu audita ab his, quibus omnia principum, honesta atque inhonestà, laudare mos est, plures per silentium aut occultum murmur excepere. Sensitque Tiberius. Et, cum paullum reticuisset, Hortalo se respondisse ait: ceterum, si patribus videretur, daturum liberis ejus dicenæ septertia singulis, qui sexus virilis essent. Egere alii grates; siluit Hortalus, pavore, an avitæ nobilitatis, etiam inter angustias fortunæ, retinens. Neque miseratus est posthac Tiberius, quamvis domum Hortensii pudendam ad inopiam delaberetur.

et mora, falsa festatione et incertis valescunt, relinquentbat famam aut praeveniebat.


XLI. Fine anni arcus, propter aedem Saturni, ob recepta signa cum Varo amissa, ductu Germanici, suspiciis Tiberii; et aedes Fortis Fortunae Tiberim juxta in hortis, quos Caesar dictator populo Romano legaverat; sacrarium genti Juliae, effigiesque divo Augusto apud Bovillas, dicantar. C. Caeclio, L. Pompeio consulibus, Germanicus Caesar ante diem septimum Kalendas Janias triumphavit de Cheruscis Cattisque, et Angrivaria, quaque aliae nationes usque ad Albim colunt: vecta spolia, captivi, simulatae montium, fluminum, praelorium: bellumque, quia conficer prohibitus erat, pro certo accipiebat. Augebat intuentium visus eximia ipsius species, currusque quinque liberis onustus, sed suberat occultis formidio reputantibus,
haud prosperum in Druso, patre ejus, favorem vulgi: avunculum ejusdem, Marcellum, flagrantibus plebis studiis intra juventam ereptum: breves et infaustos populi Romani amores.


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

XLIV. Nec multo post Drusus in Illyricum missus est, ut suscercet militiae, studiaque exercitus pararet; simul juvenem, urbano luxu lascivientem, melius in castris haber Tiberiis, seque tutorem rebatur, utroque filio legiones obtinente. Sed Suevi pretendeabantur, auxilium adversus Cheruscos orantes. Nam discessu Romanorum, ac vacui externo metu, gentis assuetudine, et tum æmulazione gloriae arma in se verterant. Vis nationum, virtus ducum in sequo: sed Marobodum regis nomen invisum apud
populares; Arminium, pro libertate bellantem, favor habebat.

XLV. Igitur non modo Cherusci sociiique eorum, vetus Arminii miles, sumsero bellum: sed e regno etiam Marobodui Suevae gentes, Semnones ac Langobardi, defe(ere ad eum. Quibus additis, prepollebat, ni Inguiomerus cum manu clientium ad Maroboduum perfugisset; non aliam ob causam, quam quia fratris filio juventi patruus senex parere dedignabatur. Diriguntur acies, par utrimque spe, nec, ut olim apud Germanos, vagis incursibus, aut disjectas per catervas; quippe, longa adversum nos militia, insueverant sequi signa, subsidiiis firmare, dicta imperatorum accipere. At tunc Arminius, equo collusus, trans cuncta, ut quoque adventus erat, Reciperatam libertatem, trucidatas legiones, spolia adhuc et tela Romanis dextra in manibus multorum, ostentabat: contra fugacem Maroboduam appellans, praeliorum expertem, Hercyniae latebris defension, ac mox per dona et legationes petivisse foedus; proditorem patriae, satellitem Caesaris, haud minus infensus animis exturbandum, quam Varum Quinctilium interfecerint. Meminissent modo tot praeliorum; quorum eventu, et ad postremum ejectis Romanis, satis probatum, penes utros summa belli fuerit.

XLVI. Neque Marobodus jactantia sui, aut prorobris in hostem abstinebat: sed Inguioerum tenens, Illo in corpore decus omne Cheruscorum, illius consiliis gesta, quae prospera ceciderint, testabatur: veerdom Arminium, et rerum nescium, alienam gloriain se trahere, quoniam tres vacuas legiones, et duce fraudis ignarum, perfidia deceperit, magna cum clade Germaniae et ignominia sua; cum conjux, cum filius ejus servitium adhuc tolerent. At se, duodecim legionibus petitum, duce Tiberio, illibatam Germanorum gloriain servavisse. Mox conditionibus aequo discessum: neque penitere, quod ipsorum in manu sit, integrum adversum Romanos bellum, an pacem incruentam.
malint. His vocibus instictos exercitus proprie quoque causa stimuliabant; cum a Cheruscis Langobardisque, pro antiquo decore, aut recenti libertate; et contra, au- gendae dominationi certaretur. Non alias majore mole concursum, neque ambiguo magis eventu, fusis utrimque dextris cornibus. Sperabaturque rursum pugna, ni Maro- boduus castra in collis subduxisset. Id signum perculsi fuit: et transfugiis paullatim nudatus, in Marcomanno concessit, misitque legatos ad Tiberium, oraturos auxilia. Responsum est, non iure eum adversus Cheruscos arma Romana invocare, qui pugnantis in eundem hostem Romano nulla ope juvisset. Missus tamen Drusus, ut retulimur, pacis firmator.


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


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

et decreveret patres triumphalia insignia: quod Camillo, ob modestiam vitae, impune fuit.


LV. At Cn. Piso, quo properantis destinata inciperet,
civitatem Atheniensium, turbido incessu exterritam, ora-
tione seva increpat, oblique Germanicum perstringens,
quod, contra decus Romani nominis, non Athenienses, tot
cladibus extinctos, sed colluviam illam nationum, comitate
niria coluisset. Hos enim esse Mithradatis adversus Sul-
lem, Antonii adversus divum Augustum socios. Etiam ve-
tera objectabant, quae in Macedones improspere, violenter
in suos secissent: offensus urbi propria quoque ira; quia
Theophilum quemdam, Areo judicio falsi damnatum, pre-
cibus suis non concederent. Exit navigatione celeri per
Cycladas, et compendia maris, assequitur Germanicum
spud insulam Rhodum, haud nescium, quibus insec-
tionibus petitus foret: sed tanta mansuetudine agebat, ut,
cum orta tempestas raperet in abrupta, possetque interitus
inimici ad casum referri, miserit trireses, quorum subsidio
discrimini eximetur. Neque tamen mitigatus Piso, et
vix diei moram perpessus, linquit Germanicum præveni-
que. Et, postquam Syriam ac legiones attigit, largitione,
ambitu, insimos manipulum juxando, cum veteres cen-
turiones, severos tribunos, demoveret, locaque eorum cli-
entibus suis vel deterrimo cuique attribueret, desidiam in
castris, licentiam in urbis, vagum ac lascivientem per
agros militem sineret, eo usque corruptionis profectus et;
ut sermone vulgi pares legiones haberetur. Nec Plac-
cina se intra decora feminis tenebat; sed exercitio equi-
tum, decursibus cohortium interesse: in Agrippinam, in
Germanicum contumelias jacere: quibusdam etiam bono-
rum militum ad mala obsequia promitis, quod, haud invito
imperatore ea fieri, occultus rumor incedebat.

LVI. Nota haec Germanico; sed præverti ad Armenios
instantior cura fuit. Ambigua gens ea antiquitus hominum
ingenii et situ terrarum, quo, nostris provinciis late pra-
tenta, penitus ad Medos porrigitur; maximisque imperii
interjecti et sepius discordes sunt, adversus Romanos odio
et in Parthum invidia. Regem illa tempestate non habe-
sant, amato Vonone: sed favor nationis inclinabat in Zevonem, Polymonis regis Pontici filium, quod is prima ab infantia, instituta et cultum Armeniorum semulatus, venatu, epulis et quae alia barbari celebrant, proceres plebemque juxta devinixerat. Igitur Germanicus in urbe Artaxata, approbantibus nobilibus, circumvass multitudine, insigne regium capiti ejus imposuit. Ceteri venerantes regem, Artaxiam, consalutaver e; quod illi vocabulum indiderant ex nomine urbis. At Cappadoce, in formam provincie redacti, Q. Verani legatum accepere: et quaedam ex regis tributis deminuta, quo mitius Romanum imperium speraretur. Commageneis Q. Servæus praepositur, tum primum ad jus prætoris translatis.


LVIII. Inter quæ ab rege Partorum Artabano legati venere. Miserat amicitiam ac sedes memoraturas, et
curere renovari dextris, datumque honoris Germanici, ut ripam Euphratis accederet; petere interim, ne Vonones in Syria habetur, nee proceres gentium propinquis suntis ad discordias traheret. Ad ea Germanicus, de societate Romanorum Parthorumque magnifice; de adventu regis et cultu sui, cum decore ac modestia respondit. Vonones Pompeiopolim, Ciliciæ maritimam urbem, amotus est. Datum id non modo precibus Artabani, sed contumeliam Pisonis, cui gratissimis erat ob plurima officia et dona, quibus Plancinam devinixerat.


LX. Sed Germanicus, nondum comperto, profectionem eam incusari, Nilo subvehebatur, orsus oppido a Canopo. Condidero id Spartani, ob seplutum illic rectorem navis, Canopum; qua tempestate Menelaus, Græciæm repetens, diversum ad mare terramque Libyam dejectus. Inde proximum amnis os, dicatum Herculi, quem indigenæ ortum apud se, et antiquissimum perhibent, eosque, qui postea pari virtute fuerint, in cognomentum ejus adscitos, mox visit veterum Thebarum magna vestigia. Et manebant structis molibus litteræ Ægyptiæ, priorem opulentiam
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complexæ: jussusque e senioribus sacerdotum patrium sermonem interpretari, referebat, habitasse quondam septingenta millia atate militari: atque eo cum exercitu regem Rhamaen Libya, Äthiopia, Medisce et Persis et Bactriano ac Scythe potitum; quasque terras Syri Arme-
niique et contigui Cappadoces colunt, inde Bithynum, hinc Lycium ad mare, imperio tenuisse. Legebantur et indicta gentibus tributa, pondus argenti et auri, numeros armo-
rum equorumque, et dona templis, ebur, atque odores, quasque copias frumenti et omnium utensilium quæque natio penderet, haud minus magnifica, quam nunc vi Parthorum aut potentia Romana jubentur.

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

LXII. Dum ea præstas Germanico plures per provincias transigitur, haud leve decus Drusus quæsivit, illiciens Germanos ad discordias; utque facto jam Maroboduo usque in exitium insisteretur. Erat inter Gotones nobilis juvenis, nomine Catualda, profugus olim vi Marobodi, et tunc, dubiiis rebus ejus, ultionem susus. Is valida manu fines Marcomannorum ingreditur, corruptisque primoribus ad societatem, irrumpt regiam castellumque juxta situm. Vetere is illic Suevorum præsæ, et nostris e provinciis lœxæ ac negotiatores reperti, quos jus commercii, dein cupidó augendi pecuniam, postremum oblivio patriæ suis quemque ab sedibus hostilem in agrum transtulit.

LXIII. Maroboduo undique deserto non aliud subsid

LXIV. Simul munitiato, regem Artaxiam Armeniis a Germanico datum, decrevere patres, ut Germanicus atque Drusus ovantes urbem introirent. Structi et arcus, circum latera templi Martis Utoris, cum effigie Caesarum: latiore Tiberio, quia pacem sapientiam firmaverat, quam si bellum per acies confecisset. Igitur Rhescuporin queque, Thraciæ regem, astu aggregatur. Omnes eam nationem Rhœmetalcece tenuerat: quo defuncto, Augustus partem Thraciæm Rhescuporidi, fratri ejus, partem filio Cotyi permisit. In ea divisione arva et urbes et vicina Graecis Cotyi; quod incultum, ferox, annexum hostibus, Rhescuporidi cessit: ipsorumque regum ingenia, illi mite et amicum, huic
atrox, avidum et societatis impatiens erat. Sed primo subdola concordia egere: mox Rhescuporis egredi fines, vertere in se Cotyi data, et resistenti vim facere; cunctanter sub Augusto, quem auctorem utriusque regni, si sperneretur, vindicem metuebat. Enimvero, audita mutatione principis, immittère latrium globos, exscindere castella, causas bello.


LXVI. Eas litteras Latinius Pandus, Propriator Mœsiae, cum militibus, quis Cotys traderetur, in Thraciam misit. Rhescuporis, inter metum et iram cunctatus, maluit patrati, quam incepti facinoris reus esse: occidi Cotyn jubet, mortemque sponte suntam ementitur. Nec tamen Cæsar placitas semel artes mutavit, sed, defuncto Pando, quem sibi insensum Rhescuporis arguebat, Pomponium Flaccum, veterem stipendiis et arta cum roge amicitia, eoque ao-
commodatiorem ad fallendum, ob id maxime Mæsiae praefecit.

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

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

LXIX. At Germanicus, Ægypto remeans, cuncta, quæ apud legiones aut urbes jussaret, abolita, vel in contrarium versa cognoscit. Hinc graves in Pisonem contumelias; nec minus acerba, quæ ab illo in Cæsarem tentabantur. Dein Piso abire Syria statuit. Mox adversa Germanici valetudine detentus, ubi recreatum accept, votaque pro
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incolumitate solvebantur, admotas hostias, sacrificalem apparatum, festam Antiochensium plebem, per lictores proturbat. Tum Seleuciam digreditur, opperiens aegritudinem, quæ rursum Germanico acciderat. Sævam vim morbi augebat persuasio veneni, a Pisone accepti: et reperiebantur solo ac parietibus erutæ humanorum corponum reliquiae, carmina et devotiones, et nomen Germanici plumbis tabulis insculptum, semusti cineres, ac tabe obliti; aliaque maleficia, quis creditur animas numinibus infernis sacrari. Simul missi a Pisone incusabantur, ut valetudinis adversa rimantes.


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

LXXII. Tum, ad uxorem versus, per memoriam sui, per communes liberos oravit, exueret ferociam, saevienti fortuna submitteret animum; neu regresset in urbem emulatione potentiae validiores irritaret. Hae palam, et alia secreto; per qua ostendere credebatur metum ex Tiberio. Neque multo post exstinguitur, ingenti luctu provinciae et circumjacentium populorum. Indoluer in externe nationes regesque: tanta illi comitas in socios, mansuetudo in hostes: visuque et auditu justa venerabilis, cum magnitudinem et gravitatem summæ fortunæ retineret, invidiam et arrogantiam effugerat.

LXXIII. Funus sine imaginibus et pompa, per laudes, et memoriam virtutum ejus celebre fuit. Et erat, quæ formam, ætatem, genus mortis, ob propinquitatem etiam locorum, in quibus interiit, Magni Alexandri fatis adæquarent. Nam utrumque corpore decoro, genere insigni, haud multum triginta annos egressum, suorum insidiis, externas inter gentes occidisse: sed hunc mitem erga amicos, modicum voluptatum, uno matrimonio, certis liberis egisse: neque minus praesidiore, etiam si terneritas abfuisset, præpeitusque sit perculsas tot victorias Germanias servitia premere. Quod si solus arbiter rerum, si jure et nomine regio fuisset, tanto promtius assecuturum gloriæ militiae, quantum elementia, temperantia, ceteris bonis artibus praestisset. Corpus antequam cremaretur, nudatum in foro Antiochensi, qui locus sepulcrum destinabatur, prætuleritne beneficii
signa, parum constitit. Nam, ut quis misericordia in Germanicum, et presumta suspicione aut favore in Pisonem prornior, diversi interpretabantur.


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


LXXIX. Igitur oram Lyciae ac Pamphyliæ praegentibus, obviis navibus, quæ Agrippinam vehabant, utrimque infensi, arma primo expediere: dein, mutua formidine, non ultra jugium processum est: Marsusque Vibius nun-tiavit Pisoni, Romam ad dicendum causam veniret. Illae eludens respondit, affuturum, ubi praetor, qui de veneficiis quaeret, reo atque accusatoribus diem prædixisset. Interim Domitius Laodiceam, urbem Syriae, appulsus, cum hiberna sextæ legionis peteret, quod eam maxime novis
consiliiis idoneam rebatur, a Pacuvio legato prævenitur. Id Sentius Pisoni per litteras aperit, monetque, ne castra corruptoribus, ne provinciam bello tentet: quosque Germanici memores, aut inimicia ejus adversos cognoverat, contrahit; magnitudinem imperatoris identidem ingerens, et rempublicam armis peti: ducitque validam manum, et prælio paratam.

LXXX. Nec Piso, quamquam cæpta secus cadebant, omissit tutissima e presentibus, sed castellum Cilicæ munition admodum, cui nomen Celenderis, occupat. Nam admixtis desertoribus, et tirone super intercepto, suisque et Plancinæ servitiis, auxilia Cilicum, quæ reguli misent, in numerum legionis componerat. Caesarisque se legatum, testabatur, provincia, quam is dedisset, arceri non a legionibus, earum quippe accitus venire, sed a Sentio, privatum odium falsis criminiibus tegente. Consistenter in acie, non pugnaturis militibus, ubi Pisonem, ab ipsis parentem quondam appellatum, si jure ageretur, potiorem, si armis, non invalidum vidisset. Tum pro munimentis castelli manipulos explicat, colle arduo et derupto; nam cetera mari cinguntur. Contra veteranis, ordinibus ac subsidiiis instructi. Hinc militum, inde locorum asperitas. Sed non animus, non spec, ne tela quidem, nisi agrestia, ad subitum usum properata. Ut venere in manus, non ultra dubitatum, quam dum Romam æquitas in æquum enenterur: vertunt terga Cilicæ, aequo castello claudunt.

LXXXI. Interim Piso classem, haud procul oppressen- tem, appugnare frustra tentavit: regressusque et pro muriis, modo semet affliciendo, modo singulos nomine ciens, praemii vocans, seditionem cœptabat: aedeque commoverat, ut signifer legionis sextæ signum ad eum transtulerit. Tum Sentius occeanæ corum tubasque, et peti aggerem, erigi scalas jussit, ac promptissimum quemque succedere; alios tormentis hastas, saxa et facies ingerere. Tandum victa pertinacia Piso oravit, uti traditæ armis
maneret in castello, dum Caesar, cui Syriam permitteret, consultur. Non receptae conditiones: nec aliud, quam nayes et tutum in urbem iter concessum est.


LXXXIV. Ceterum, recenti adhuc maestitia, soror Germanici, Livia, nupta Druso, duos virilis sexus simul enixa est. Quod, rarum latetumque etiam modestia Penatibus, tanto gaudio principem affectit, ut non temperaverit, quin jactaret apud patres, nulli ante Romanorum ejusdem fasigii viro geminan stirpem editam. Nam cuncta, etiam fortuita, ad gloriam vertebat. Sed populii, tali in tempore, id quoque dolorem tuit; tamquam auctus liboris Drusus domum Germanici magis urget.

LXXXVI. Post qua retulit Caesar, capiendum virginem in locum Occiae, quae septem et quinquaginta per annos, summa sanctimoniam, Vestalibus sacris presederat: egitque gratem Fonteio Agrippae et Domito Pollioni, quod, offerebant filias, de officio in rempublicam certarent. Praetors est Pollionis filia, non ob aliud, quam quod mater ejus in eodem conjuge manebat. Nam Agrippa discidio domum immiserat. Et Caesar, quamvis posthabitat, decies sestertii dote solatus est.

LXXXVII. Saeviam annons incusante plebe, statuit frumento pretium, quod emptor penderet, binosque numos se additurum negotiatoribus in singulos modicis. Neque tamen ob ea parentis patriae, delatum et antea, vocabulum assumit, acerbeque increpuit eos, qui divinas occupationes, ipsumque dominum dixerant. Unde angusta et lubrica oratio sub principe, qui libertatem metuebat, adulationemoderat.

LXXXVIII. Reperio apud scriptores senatoresque eorumdem temporum, Agandestrii, principis Cattorum, lectas in senata litteras, quibus mortem Arminii promittebat, si patrandae nec venenum mitteretur: responsum esse, non fraude, neque occultis, sed palam et armatum populum Romanum hostes suis sacrisci. Qua gloria sequabat se Tiberius priscis imperatoribus, qui venenum in Pyrrhum regem vetuerant, prodiderantque. Ceterum Arminius, abscedentibus Romanis et pulso Maroboduo, regnum affectans, libertatem populi Caesar in regem adversam habuit, petitusque armis, cum varia fortuna certaret, dolo propinquorum cecidit: liberator haud dubie Germaniae, et qui non primordia populi Romani sicut aliis reges ducuesque, sed florentissimum imperium lacessisset: praelii ambiguius, bello non victus. Septem et triginta annos vitae, duodecim potentiae expelit: canitrique adhuc barbaras apud gentes; Graecorum annalibus ignotus, qui sua tantum mirantur: Romanis haud perinde celebris, dum vetera extollimus, recentium incuriosi.
C. CORNELII TACITI

ANNALIUM

LIBER TERTIUS.
C. CORNELII TACITI

ANNALIUM

LIBER TERTIUS.

SUMMARY OF PART OF BOOK III.

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

I. Nihil intermissa navigatione hiberni maris, Agrippina Corcyram insulam advexit, litora Calabriæ contra sitam. Illic paucos dies componendo animo insumit, violenta luctu, et nescia tolerandi. Interim, adventu ejus audito, intimus quisque amicorum, et plerique militares, ut quique sub Germanico stipendia fecerant, multique etiam ignoti vicinis e municipiis, pars officium in principem rati, plures illos securi, ruere ad oppidum Brundisium;
quod naviganti celerrimum fidissimumque appulsu erat. 
Quoque, ubi primum ex alto visa classis, complentur non
modo portus et proxima maris, sed moenia ac tecta, quaque
longissime prospectari poterat merentium turba et rogi-
tantium inter se, silentione, ut voce aliqua egredientem
exciperat? neque satis constabat, quid pro tempore foret:
cum classis paulatim successit, non alacri, ut assolet, re-
migio, sed cunctis ad tristitiam compositis. Postquam
duobus cum liberis, feralis urnam tenens, egressa navi,
defixit oculos, idem omnium gemitus: neque discerneres,
proximos, alieos, virorum seminaramve planctus: nisi
quod comitatum Agrippinæ, longo morore fessum, obvi
et recentes in dolore anteabant.

II. Miserat duas praetorias cohortes Caesar, addito, ut
magistriatus Calabria Apulique et Campani suprema erga
memoriam filii sui munera fungerentur. Igitur tribunorum,
centurionumque humeris cineres portabantur; praecedebant
incoma signa, versi fasces: atque, ubi colonias trans-
gredenterunt, strata plebes, trabeati equites, pro opibus
loci, vestem, odores, aliaque funerum solennia, cremabant.
Etiam quorum diversa oppida, tamen obvi, et victimas
atque aras Diis Manibus statuentes, lacrimis et conclama-
tionibus dolorem testabantur. Drusus Tarracnam pro-
gressus est cum Claudio fratre liberisque Germanici, qui
in urbe fuerant. Consules, M. Valerius et M. Aurelius
(jam enim magistratum occuperant) et senatus ac magna
pars populi viam complevere, disjecti, et, ut cuique libitum,
flentes. Aberat quippe adulatio, gnaris omnibus, lactam
Tiberio Germanici mortem male dissimiari.

III. Tiberius atque Augusta publico abstinuere, inferius
majestate sua rati, si palam lamentarentur, an ne, omnium
oculis vultum eorum scrutantibus, falsi intelligenterunt.
Matrem Antoniam non apud auctores rerum, non diurna
actorum scriptura, reperio, ullo insigni officio functam;
cum, super Agrippinam et Drusum et Claudium, ceteri
quoque consanguinei nominatim perscripti sint: seu valentudine præpediebatur, seu victus luctu animus magnitudinem malis perferre visu non toleraverit. Facilius crediderim, Tiberio et Augustæ, qui domo non excidebant, cohabitam, ut par moror, et matris exemplo avia quoque et patruus attineri viderentur.

IV. Dies, quo reliquias tumulo Augusti inferebatur, modo per silentium vastus, modo ploratibus inqüies: plena urbis itinera, collucentes per campus Martis faces. Illic miles cum armis, sine insignibus magistratibus, populus per tribus concidisse rempublicam, nihil spei reliquum, clamitabant; promtius apertiusque, quam ut meminisses imperitantium crederes. Nihil tamen Tiberium magis penetravit, quam studia hominum accensa in Agrippinam; cum decus patriae, solum Augusti sanguinem, unicum antiquitatis specimen appellarent, versique ad oculum ac deos integram illi subolem, ac superstitem iniquorum, preca rentur.

V. Fuere, qui publici funeris pompam re quirerent, compararentque, qua in Drusum, patrem Germanici, honora et magnifica Augustus fecisset. Ipsum quippe asperrimo hiemis Ticianum usque progressum, neque abcederentem a corpore simul urbem intravisse: circumjuxit lecto Claudiorum Illiiorumque imaginem: defletum in fora, laudatum pro rostris: cuncta a majoribus reperta, aut qua posteri invenirent, cumulata. At Germanico ne solitos quidem, et omnium nobili debitos, honores contigisse. Sane corpus, ob longitudinatum itinerem, externis terris quoque modo crematum: sed tanto plura decora max tribui par fuisse, quanto prima fors negavisset. Non fratrem, nisi unus diei via, non patruum, saltem porta tenuit, obviam. Ubi illa veterrum instituita? propositam tatar effigiem, meditata ad memoriam virtutis carmina et laudationes, et lacrimas vel deoloris imitamenta?

VI. Gnarum id Tiberio fuit; utque premeret vulgi

VII. Tum, exuto justicio, reditum ad munia; et Drusus Illyricos ad exercitus profectus est, erectis omnium animis spe petendae e Pisone ulationis, et crebro questu, quod, vagus interim per amana Asia atque Achaia, arroganti et subdola mora scelerum probationes subverteret. Nam vulgatum erat, missam, ut dixi, a Cn. Sentio famosam veneficiis Martinam, subita morte Brundisii extinctam, venenumque nodo crinium ejus occultatum, nec usla in corpore signa sumtii exitii reperta.

VIII. At Piso, præmisso in urbem filio, datisque mandatis, per quæ principem molliret, ad Drusum pergit: quem haud fratris interitu trucem, quam remoto Ænulo æquiore sibi sperabat. Tiberius, quo integrum judicium ostentaret, exceptum comiter juvenem, sueta erga filiosfamiliarum nobiles liberalitate auget. Drusus Pisoni, si vera foret, quæ jacerentur, praecipuum in dolore suum locum, respondit; sed malle falsa et inania, nec cuquam mortem Germanici exitiosam. Hæc palam, et vitato omni secreto: neque dubitabantur præscripta ei a Tiberio, cum incallidus alioqui et facilis juvena senilibus tum artibus uteretur.
IX. Piso Dalmatico mari trannisso, reliquisque apud Anconam navibus, per Picenum, ac mox Flaminium viam, assequitur legionem, quae e Pannonia in urbem, dein presidio Africæ, ducebatur. Eaque res agitata rumoribus, ut in agrine atque itinere crebro se militibus ostentavisset. Ab Narnia, vitandæ suspicionis, an, quia pavidis consilia in incerto sunt, Nare ac mox Tiberi deuctus, auxit vulgi iras, quia navem tumulo Cæsarum appulerat; dieque et ripa frequenti, magno clientium agrine ipse, feminarum comitatu Plancina, et vultu alacres incessere. Fuit inter irritamenta invidiae domus foro immens, festa ornatu, conviviumque et epulæ, et celebritate loci nihil occultum.

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

XI. Atque interim Drusus, rediens Illyrico, quamquam patres censuissent, ob receptum Marobodum, et res priore aestate gestas, ut ovans iniret, prolato honore, urbem intravit. Post quæ reo, L. Arruntium, L. Vinicium, Asinimum Gallum, Æserinion Marcellum, Sextum Pompeium patrones petenti, iisque diversa excusantibus, M'. Lepidus et L. Piso et Livineius Regulus affuere, arrepta omni civitate, quanta fides amicis Germanici, quæ fiducia reo: satīn co-
hiberet ac premeret sensus suos Tiberius. Iis haud alias intention populus, plus sibi in principem occultae vocis aut suspicacis silentii permisit.

XII. Die senatus Caesar orationem habuit meditato temperamento: Patris sui legatum atque amicum Pisonemuisse, adjutoremque Germanico datum a se, auctore senatu, rebus apud Orientem administrandis. Illic contumacia et certaminibus asperasset juvemem, exituque ejus latatus esset, an scelebre extinxisset, integris animis dijudicandum. Nam, si legatus officii terminos, obsequium erga imperatorem, exuit, ejusdemque morte et luci meo latatus est; odoro, seponamque a domo mea, et privatas inimicitias non vi principis ulciscar: sin facinus, in ejuscunque mortuam nece vindicandum, detegitur; vos vero et liberos Germanici, et nos parentes, justis solatis afficite. Simulque illud reputate, turbide et seditione tractaverit exercitus Piso; quasita sint per ambitionem studia militum; armis repetita provinci; an falsa hae in majus vulgaverint accusatores; quorum ego nimii studiis jure succenameo. Nam quo pertinuit, nudare corpus, et contractum vulgi oculis permittere, differtique etiam per externos, tanquam veneno interceptus esset, si incerta adhuc ista, et scrutanda sunt? Defleo equidem filium meum, semperque deflebo: sed neque resum prohibeo, quo minus cuncta proferat, quibus innocentia ejus sublevari; aut, si qua fuit iniquitas Germanici, coargui posuit: vosque oro, ne, quia dolori mea causa connexa est, objecta crimina pro approbatis accipiatis. Si quos propinquus sanguis, aut fides sua patronos dedit, quantum quisque eloquentia et cura valet, juvate periclitantem: ad eundem laborem, eandem constantiam accusatores hortor. Id solum Germanico super leges praesiterimus, quod in curia potius, quam in foro, apud senatum, quam apud judices, de morte ejus anquiritur: cetera pari modestia tractentur. Nemo Drusi lacrimas, nemo mastitiam meam spectet, nec, si qua in nos adversa fanguntur.

C. CORNELIUS TACITUS.


XVI. Audire me memini ex senioribus, visum sœpius inter manus Pisonis libellum, quem ipse non vulgaverit; sed amicos ejus dictitavisse, litteras Tiberii et mandata in Germanicum continere: ac destinatum promere apud patres, principemque arguere, ni elusus a Seiano per vana promissa foret: nec illum sponte extinctum, verum immisso percussore. Quorum neutrum asseveraverim: neque tamen occulere debui narratum ab iis, qui nostram ad juventam duraverunt. Cesare, flexo in meœstiam ore, suam invidiam tali morte quaœtam apud senatum crebrisque interrogationibus exquirit, qualem Piso diem supremum noctemque exegisset. Atque illo pleraque sapienter, quædam inconscientia respondebant, recitat codicillos, a Pisoni in hunc ferme modum compositos: Conspiratione inimicorum, et invidia falsi crimini oppressus, quatenus veritati et innocence mea measquam locus est, deos immortales testor, vixisse me, Cesare, cum fide adversum te, neque alia in matrem tuam
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pietate: vosque oro, liberis meis consulatis: ex quibus Cn. Piso qualcumque fortuna mea non est adjunctus, cum omne hoc tempus in urbe egerit: M. Piso repetere Syriam dehortatus est. Atque utinam ego potius filio juveni, quam ille patri seni cessisset! eo impensis precor, ne mea pravitiatis penas innoxius luat. Per quinque et quadraginta annorum obsequium, per collegium consulatus quondam divo Augusto, parenti tuo, probatus, et tibi amicus, nec quidquam post hae rogaturas, salutem infelicis filii rogo.


XVIII. Multa ex ea sententia mitigata sunt a princepe: ne nomen Pisonis fastis eximeretur, quando M. Antonii,
qui bellum patriae fecisset, Iuli Antonii, qui domum Augusti
violasset, manerent. Et M. Pisonem ignominiae exemit,
concessitque ei paterna bona; satis firmus, ut sese memo-
ravi, adversum pecuniam, et tum pudore absolutae Planc-
cinse placabiliur. Atque idem, cum Valerius Messallinus,
signum aureum in aedem Martis Ultorius, Cæcina Severus,
aram ultionis statuendum, censuisset, prohibuit: ob exter-
nas ea victorias sacrari, dictitans; domestica mala tristitia
operienda. Addiderat Messallinus, Tiberio et Augusta et
Antonia et Agrippina Drusoque ob vindictam Germanici
grates agendas, omiseratque Claudii mentionem. Et Mes-
sallinum quidem L. Asprenas, senatu coram, percunctatus
est, an prudentes praterisset? ac tum domum nomen Clau-
dii descriptum est. Mihi, quanto plura recentium seu
veterum revolvo, tanto magis ludibria rerum mortalium
cunctis in negotiis obversantur. Quippe fama, spe, vene-
ratione, potius omnes destinabantur imperio, quam, quem
futurum principem fortuna in occulto tenebat.
NOTES ON THE GERMANIA.

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

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

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

Nuper cognitiss. "Having lately become known (to us therein)." Nuper sometimes, as in the present instance, does not refer to what immediately precedes, but takes in a considerable period of antecedent time. Thus,
Cic., N. D. ii., 50, 126, "reader, id est, paene ante seculus."—Bellum. By this term is here meant, in fact, a series of warlike expeditions. The knowledge which the Romans possessed of these regions was derived principally from the expeditions of Drusus, Tiberius, Germanicus, and Abenobarbus. —Apemut. "Has disclosed to our view."

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

Molli et clementer edito, &c. "From the ridge of Mount Abnoba, gently rising and of moderate height." We have given molli here the force ascribed to it by Ritter ("Sanft ansteigend"), and in rendering clementer edito have followed Panckouke ("hautur peu élevée"). The latter of these expressions is opposed to inaccessio in the previous sentence, and the former to priscipiti.—Abnoba. Abnoba was not, in reality, a single mountain, but that part of the range of hills covered by the Black Forest which lay opposite to the town of Augusta Rauracorum, now Augst.—Phere populos edit. On the right bank, the Vindelici, Norici, Pannonii, Illyrii, Musi; on the left bank, the Hermunduri, Nariaci, Marcomanni, Quadi, Daci, Getae, and Bastarnae.

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

CHAP. II.—Ipsos Germanos. "The Germans themselves." The pronoun ipsos here marks the transition from the subject of the country to that of the people dwelling therein.—Crediderim. "I, for my part, believe." The perfect subjunctive is here employed to soften an assertion, investing it with an air of modest reserve (Zumpt, § 527).—Indigenae. This belief in the indigenous origin of different races was very common among the Greeks and Romans, though now deservedly rejected. The ancestors of the German race migrated by land from upper Asia, and form one of the links in the Indo-European chain of nations.—Minimisque aliarum gentium,
endencies, and by no means mixed up through immigrations of other communities and the visits of strangers, as free from all intermixture with foreigners, either as settlers or casual visitors. Observe here the employment of abstract nouns in the plural (adventĭbus, hospitĭbus), to express the recurrence of an act, or its taking place on several occasions. This usage is very frequent in Tacitus.

Nec . . . . at. Equivalent to et non . . . . et. This is of frequent occurrence. So Æneas . . . . at (Aeneid, ii, 31; xv, 28), and Æneas . . . . ac (Agric., 10). So in Greek we have οὐρα . . . . τῆ, and μητρὶς . . . . τῆ. (Compare Kühner, 775, 3, s. ad Jel.)

Adscibeuntur. "Were conveyed to their places of destination." The verb adscibi properly refers to transportation in ships; here, however, it is made to apply also to movements by land. — Utque sic diversum, adversus Oceanum. "And, so to express myself, down-streaming ocean." The ancients had a notion that this part of the world was higher than the rest; so that, in sailing to it, they had to go, as it were, uphill. (Groenov., ad loc.) Compare Hist., ii, 96: "In alia adversa, in alia prope mari;" and the expression adversum flumen, as opposed to secundum flumen. Tacitus prefixes the words utque sic diversum (for utque ut sic diversum) as a kind of apology for the employment here of so unusual an epithet in the case of the ocean; and this alone would show that the different meanings assigned to the term by different editors, of "hostile," or "opposing," or "lying opposite," i.e., belonging, as it were, to the antipodes, can not be intended. Compare the version of Dureau de Lermalle: "Ocean, qu'il faut remonter, pour ainsi dire."

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

Tuisconem deum. The name Tuisco is very probably connected with that of Tuitones, which occurs in various forms; as Thutisci, Thetisci, Tuwtschi, and in the old dialects of Germany, Tuvit, Twit, Thuida; in the Belgic, Duitsche, Duitske. — Terra editum. "Sprung from the earth," i.e., indigenous. — Mannus. Mannus, the son of Tuisco, is merely a personification of the German man (Mann) or race, and the three sons of Mannus are the three main geographical divisions of this race. — Ingwones . . . . Her- minones . . . . Isteiones. Consult Geographical Index. — Vocesius. The subjunctive is here employed because the opinion of others is given, not that of Tacitus himself (Mannus, 135).

Licentia est statutor. "Through the (usual) license of antiquity," i.e,
availing themselves of the license which so remote a period affords for hazarding bold speculations.—Dec. Supply ille. The reference is to Tuisco.

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

CHAP. III. — Herculem. "A Hercules." By Heracles here is merely meant a mythic personification of valor and manliness, called by a Roman name, as is usual with the Latin writers. In this sense almost every nation had its Hercules.—Memorant. The reference is not to the Germans speaking of themselves (for then apud eos would have been apud se), but to the accounts given of them by others.—Primum. "As the first," i.e., the most pre-eminent. Equivalent to principem. Quorum relatus. "By the chanting of which." More literally, "by the recital of which." Tacitus purposely employs the term relatus here, to indicate that the carmina were actual narratives of illustrious exploits.—Quem baritum vocant. "Which they call baritus." This term is supposed to be formed from the old German baren, "to shout," situs being a mere Latin ending. This is the cantus trus which our author speaks of elsewhere, Hist., ii., 22. Freund thinks that Tacitus has here erroneously given the name of the war-cry for that of the war-song. The form baritum is more correct than barratum. Several MSS. and editions read baridum; but the bards were a Celtic order, and did not exist among the Germans.

Terrent enim trepidantem, &c. "For they cause terror, or tremble themselves with alarm, according as the line of battle has sounded forth (the strain)."—Nec tam vocis ille, &c. "Nor does that appear so much a chorus of human voices as the conspireg cry of valor itself." The MS. read-
ing is voces illae . . . . videntur, but we have not hesitated to adopt the emendation of Rhenanus with the Bipont editor, Oberlin, Bekker, Lemaire, and others. It is far more in the spirit of Tacitus.—Practus marvar. “A broken, sullen roar.” The term marvar is not unfrequently employed to denote a low, sullen roar, like that of the sea, thunder, an earthquake, &c.

Quidam opinantur. Among these, Strabo (iii., p. 149) contends that Ulysses advanced beyond Tartessus, and founded ‘Odéneia (“Olisippo,” Lisbon), and Solinus (c. 28, 36) makes him to have touched at Britain.—Fabuloso. “Much sung,” i. e., celebrated in many a legendary strain from Homer downward.—Asciburgium. The modern Aasburg, or the neighboring hamlet of Essenberg, or Orsay, on the left bank of the stream.

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

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

Habitus corporum. “The configuration of their frames,” i. e., their physical characteristics.—Truces et carsele ocui, &c. It is principally in Hesse, Westphalia, Pomerania, Hanover, Thuringia, and Bavaria, that we find traces at the present day of the physical characteristics which Tacitus here ascribes to the ancient German race. On the other hand, the communities that inhabit Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia, a part of Upper Saxony and Austria, display the marks of a blending with the Slavonic race.—Magna corpora. The large stature of the ancient Germans is frequently referred to by the writers of antiquity.—Et tantum ad impetum valida. “And powerful only for the first onset,” i. e., the first shock of the conflict.—Laboris atque operum. “Of labor and prolonged exertions.”—Calo solove. The particles we and vel have always a disjunctive force. Here calo is to be referred to frigora, and solo to insidias, which could not be the case if we were equivalent to quae. Translate, “Cold and hunger they are accustomed to endure by their climate and soil.”
CHAP. V.—Eti aliquidum specie differt. "Although it varies considerably in aspect." Literally, "although it differs (from itself)." Differe is here used absolutely. Aliquidum, aliquidum, and the other compounds of al, which refer to number or space, almost invariably imply greatness of some kind. (Erasti, ad Suet. Cass., 86.)—Paludibus. Especially in Westphalia and Lower Saxony. The cause is to be ascribed to the large forests, which hinder the drainage.—Humidior, qua Galliae. Supply adspect. The western part of Germany is meant, but more particularly the territories of the Batavi and Frisii, now Holland, Friesland, &c. The greater degree of humidity is owing to the forests, rivers, lakes, and marshes in this quarter.—Ventosior, qua Noricum, &c. "More bleak, where it looks toward Noricum and Pannonia." The southern and eastern parts of Germany are meant, where the country is more elevated and mountainous, and hence more exposed to the winds.

Satis ferae. "Productive for grain." Literally, "for things sown in it." Satis is the dative plural of satus, from sero. Observe that satorum ferus would signify "productive in grain," i.e., producing it in abundance; whereas satis ferus merely means, well fitted to produce it.—Frugi ferarum arborum patiente. "Kindly to fruit trees." The ordinary text has impatien, "unkindly," but this can not be correct, since the contrary is asserted by Dion Cassius (xlix., 36), Strabo (iv., 6, 8; vii., 5, 11), Pliny (B. N., xii., 2), and Tacitus himself (c. 10, 23, 26). In the common reading the is might very easily have arisen from the m preceding. We have adopted, therefore, patiente, the conjecture of some editors.—Sed plerumque improcer. "But (these) for the most part (are) small of size." Some make improceres here agree, by a bold figure of speech, with terra instead of pecorae. This, however, is altogether too forced; improceres is a neuter plural, referring to pecorae, so that the construction will be sed improceres (illa sunt).

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

Possessiones et usum hanc perinde adscivimus. "They are not affected by the possession and use (of these) in the same way (as other nations)," i.e., like other nations. We must supply in sense ac alias nationes after perinde.

—Est videre. "One may see." So for to see in Greek.—Non in aliqua vilitate. "Held in no higher estimation." Literally, "in no other cheapness."—Proximi. "Those in our immediate vicinity," i.e., living on the borders.—Utsum commerciorum. "Convenience in traffic."—In pratis hab-
"Hold in value."—Simplicius et antiquus. "After a simpler and more primitive fashion."—Serratoae, bigatoequae. "Those pieces, namely, with notched edges, and those stamped with a two-horse chariot." Supply nummas. The preference of the Germans for certain forms of Roman money was owing to their apprehension of being cheated with false coin. The notched pieces would be a preventive against this, since they had their edges cut like the teeth of a saw (serra), by which means it could be seen whether the metal was the same quite through, or only plated. The pieces termed bigati were, on the other hand, old coin of purer silver than the adulterated currency of the day.


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

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

Sed nec variare gyros, &c. ("Nor this alone), but they are not even taught to practice the various changes of the ring, after our fashion." Literally, "to vary circular movements." The reference is to the various changes of the ring as practiced by the Romans in training their steeds. Observe that nec is equivalent here to ne quidem. (Hand, ad Tursell., iv., p. 105.)—In rectum, aut uno flexu, &c. "They urge them straight onward, or else by one continued turning toward the right, in so close a circle that no one is behind the rest," i. e., in one continued circle. Tacitus is alluding here, not to any military movement, but to the German mode of training steeds, as contrasted with that of the Romans. The latter, as he has just informed us, practiced various changes of the ring, or, in other words, made the steed perform a variety of complicated movements, in order to render him, by dint of numerous turnings both to the right and left, more obedient to the rein; the Germans, on the other hand, had only two modes of proceeding, namely, either to ride straight onward, or else to move round
in one continued ring, by a constant turning of the horse to the right. And this movement was practiced by a number of riders at once, who followed one another so closely, that the ring or circle which they formed may be said to have had neither beginning nor end, and hence no one was behind the rest. (Gerlach, ad loc.)

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

Censura. The term censura was applied to a body of foot-soldiers drawn up in the form of a wedge, for the purpose of breaking through an enemy's line.—Consiliis quam formidinis. "A mark rather of prudence than of fear." Supply magnis before quam.—Referunt. "They carry off." Literally, "they bear back," i.e., from the battle-field.—Sequentia reliquiuss. Compare Horace (Od., ii., 7, 10), and the well-known injunctions of the Spartan women, when presenting their sons with their shields, "H tauv 6 lip 1pax, and Tavzyn 6 xepov 6 ou 6e, 6v ou avn rauyn ovze, 6v npe. Ignominia. "For one thus branded with ignominy."—Superstites. "(Such) survivors."

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

Non quasi in panem, &c. What was thus inflicted by the priest was not regarded in the light of a mere judicial sentence, nor as emanating from the duov, or military leader, but as something coming from on high.—Deo. The god Thor, the German Mars, is meant. Thursday (Thorstag) was named
after him.—Esigiesque et signa quadem, &c. “(On this account), moreover, they carry to battle effigies (of animals), and certain standards taken down from their (sacred) groves,” i.e., in consequence of this belief that the god Thor is present in the battle-field, they bear to the conflict the effigies of animals answering the purposes of standards, which, from the circumstance of their having been preserved in sacred groves, will, it is conceived, propitiate the favor of the divinity, and induce him to be on their side. With effigies supply feroxum. The expression effigies et signa quadem means nothing more, in fact, than effigies serving as a kind of standards, the et being merely explanatory. The standards referred to were probably like those represented on the columns of Trajan and Antoninus, namely, the figure of an animal at the top of a pole.—Tremam aut enorme. “The troop of horse, or wedge of foot.”

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

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

Vidimus. “From this passage it has been erroneously supposed by some that Tacitus had himself been in Germany. He merely saw Veleda, however, when brought captive to Rome. (Ritter, ad loc.)—Sub divo Vespasiano. “Under the (now) deified Vespasian,” i.e., during the reign of the deceased Vespasian.—Veledam. Statius (Silv., i., 4, 68) makes the penult
of this word short; while Dio Cassius (lxvii., 5) writes it in Greek with the long quantity, namely, Beládyad. The former appears more correct. Veleda was a female of the Bructeri, and had much to do with the project of Civilis to drive the Romans from Gaul. Her influence was very great among all classes of the Germans, and she contributed by her predictions to some of their most brilliant successes. She was surrendered to the Romans, however, by her own countrymen, perhaps by Civilis himself. Veleda dwelt in a cave at a place now called Spillenburg, on the right bank of the Luppia, now Lippe.

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

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

Isidi. Isis, the wife of Osiris, and the mother of Horus, was one of the principal Egyptian divinities. The goddess whom Tacitus here calls Isis was the moon, which was worshipped by the Germans. The symbol of this deity would naturally be a crescent moon, the form of which might easily be confounded with that of a pinnace.—Signum ipsum. “The symbol itself (of the goddess).”—Liburnae. “Of a Liburnian galley.” Supply navis. The Liburnians were a people of Illyricum, celebrated as bold and skillful mariners. Their ships were remarkable for their swift sailing, and
hence vessels built after the same model were called Liburnicas or Liburnae naves. They were commonly biremes, made very sharp in the bows and stern.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Ut turba placuit. "As soon as it has pleased the assembled throng." Observe that ut with the perfect indicative has the force of simul ac. Gronovius conjectures ut turba placuit, "as soon as the number has appeared sufficient," i.e., for the transaction of business. But the MSS. are all against this, neither is the change at all required. — Quibus tum et coercedi jus est. Compare chap. vii. — Auctoritate suadendi, &c. "More by reason of weight of influence in advising, than from any power to command." — Armis loudare. Compare Hist., v., 17: "Ubi sono armorum tripudiisque (ita illis mox) adprobato sunt dicta."
CHAP. XII.—Apud consilium. The assemblies were convened chiefly to
discuss matters relating to war, and the offences tried before them were
principally such as affected the military interests of the nation. Other de-
linquencies were placed under the cognizance of the príncipes, who were
elected to administer justice among the cantons and villages.—Discrimen
capitis intendere. “To prefer a capital charge.” Literally, “to aim (or di-
rect) at one a risk of life,” i. e., a charge involving such a risk.—*Ea
delicta. “According to the degree of delinquency.”—*Infames. *Polluted.”—In-
super. “On top of them.” Heavy stones were, in all probability, placed
upon the hurdle. A body was found in 1817, at a considerable depth, in a
moor in East Friesland, which is supposed to have undergone this punish-
ment.—*Illuc respicit. “Has the following principle in view.”—*Scelera.
“Crimes.”—*Flagitia. “Acts of infamy.”—*Delicta. The dative, not the
ablative.—Pro modo. “According to the measure of the offence.”—*Pana.
The conjecture of Acidalius, and given by the best editors. The common
text has *pensum, and the sentence runs on to *nullans.

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

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

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

Gradus quin etiam, &c. “Moreover, even companionship itself has its
several gradations.” The words et ipse are expunged by Walch, and look
very like a gloss upon quin etiam.—Quibus primus, &c. "As to who shall occupy the first place in the favor of their chief." Supply sit with quibus.
—Si numero ac virtute, &c. "If he be conspicuous for the number and valor of his followers."—Et ipse plerumque familia, &c. "And they, for the most part, nearly bring wars to a close by their reputation alone," i.e., if a tribe, when attacked by another, can secure the aid of some distinguished chieftain, the enemy, as soon as this is known, generally desist from their hostile movements in a great degree, if not entirely. Proligare is "to cause to totter," literally. Hence it is frequently followed by conflict. From this has been derived the meaning of "nearly to finish." Compare Sen., de Benef., vii., 15: "Prostituta jam hoc, et pane ad exitum perducta questio est." In the Monumentum Ancyranum Augustus says, "Cupidissima operaque a patre meo perfeci."

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

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

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

Esperare annum. "To await the produce of the year." Another poetic
form of expression. Amicus is often used by the poets for present esse annis, or messis. Agriculture was not entirely neglected by the Germans; it was only not prosecuted with any degree of zeal. Compare Cas., B. G., vi., 23: "Agricultura non studet." The cultivation of the field was left, as Tacitus himself informs us (chap. xv.), to the women, old men, &c.—Vocare. "To challenge."—Merenti. "To earn." Pigrum et inerat. "Spiritless and inert."

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

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

CHAP. XVI.—Nihil Germanor um populi, &c. Towns are, however, mentioned by Tacitus (Ann., ii., 62), Caesar (B. G., iv., 19), &c. Bekker contends that Tacitus, deceived by the false reports of others, has made a mistake here. As a general rule, however, especially for Germania Transrhenana, his observation seems correct.—Inter se junctas sodes. "Contiguous habitations," i. e., sodes junctas inter se. He speaks first of the individual abodes, and then, shortly after, of the vici, or villages.—Colunt discret am diversi. "They dwell separate and scattered."—Uti fons, ut campus,
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Traces of this early mode of dwelling remain in the endings of the names of many towns and villages, such as Born (spring), Bach (brook), Feld (field), Wald (wood), Hayna (grove), Berg (mountain), &c.—Commexis et coherentibus edificiis. "With the buildings adjoining one another and running on in rows."—Cementorum. "Of building stone." Cemenites are, properly, the chips made in hewing stones (fro coae). The term is, then, applied to any kind of hewn stone for building purposes.—Materias. "Timber."—Citra speciem aut delectionem. "Without any thing pleasing to the eye, or calculated to attract." The meaning is, that they took no pains to make it look well. Citra implies a stopping short of something; it could not have been used if they had taken pains to make it ugly.

Quedam loca, &c. "They smear over certain parts of their dwellings with more than ordinary care," &c. With diligentius supply solito.—Terra. A kind of gypsum is meant.—Ut picturam, &c. "As to give the appearance of a painting and colored outlines."—Aperiunt. "To dig."—Suffugium hieni. In these subterranean dwellings they appear to have carried on their manufacture of linen. Compare Pliny (H. N., xix., 2): "Germani autem des fossae atque sub terrâ id opus agunt."—Ignorantur. "Remain unknown."—Fallunt. "Escape observation."—Quod quarenda sunt. Compare Ritter: "Dum hostis quaerit ubi nihil est, sique tempus perdit, pauca illa et fida receptacula latent ipsam et effugium.

CHAP. XVII.—Sagum. The sagum was a mantle of coarse wool, or of goats' hair with the nap left on, fastened by a brooch, or other means, on the top of the left shoulder, and coming down as far as the knees. It was, more especially, the military costume for both officers and common soldiers. It was likewise worn by rustics. Sagum is properly a Celtic word, and the original of our "shag."—Conservatum. "Fastened."—Cetera intecti. "Uncovered as to the rest of their persons."—Compare Cesar's account of the endurance of cold by the Suevi. (B. G., iv., 1).—Fluitante. "Flowing loosely."—Sicut Sarmentar ac Parthi. The Oriental nations, in general, were accustomed to wear loose and flowing garments. The attire of the Sarmatians and Parthians appears on coins.—Singules artus exprimunt. "Exhibiting the shape of each limb." Ripes. The bank as well of the Danube as the Rhine is meant; in other words, the whole Roman frontier.—Negligenter. "With little care (in their selection)."—Esquisitus. "With more nicety (of choice)." The tribes near the Roman frontiers, having the means of procuring other kinds of dress, by commerce, did not exercise much care in selecting skins and furs; those in the interior, however, having no such means, were compelled to be more particular.—Nullus cultus. "No other kind of dress."

Velamina. Put for pelles.—Spargunt. "They diversify."—Pellibusque bellarum. "And with strips of the fur of marine animals." Seals and the like are meant. We have placed a comma after maculis, to show that we have no hendiadys here, as some maintain, but that the allusion in maculis is to actual colored spots.—Extensus oceanus atque ignotum mare. According
to Brotier, the northern ocean and the icy sea.—Purpurea. A vegetable dye is meant.—Partem vestitus superioris. Put for superiorem vestitus partem.—Brachia ac lacertos. “As to their arms below and above the elbow.” Brachium is from the hand to the elbow; lacertum, from the elbow to the shoulder.

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

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

CHAP. XIX.—Septa pudicitia. “Fenced around by feelings of chastity.” Several MSS. and editions have septa in the ablative, which would imply
&c. Traces of this early mode of dwelling remain in the endings of the names of many towns and villages, such as Born (spring), Bach (brook), Feld (field), Wald (wood), Haya (grove), Berg (mountain), &c.—Consecratio et coherantibus edificiis. "With the buildings adjoining one another and running on in rows."—Consequentiarum. "Of building stone." Consecratio are, properly, the chips made in hewing stones (from cedo). The term is, then, applied to any kind of hewn stone for building purposes.—Materia. "Timber."—Citra speciem aut detectionem. "Without any thing pleasing to the eye, or calculated to attract." The meaning is, that they took no pains to make it look well. Citra implies a stopping short of something: it could not have been used if they had taken pains to make it ugly.

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

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

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

Velamina. Put for pellea.—Spargunt. "They diversify."—Pellibusque bellatorum. "And with stripes of the fur of marine animals." Seals and the like are meant. We have placed a comma after maculis, to show that we have no hendiadys here, as some maintain, but that the allusion in maculis is to actual colored spots.—Exterioris occanus atque ignotum mare. According
to Brotier, the northern ocean and the icy sea.—_Purpura._ A vegetable dye in meant.—_Partem vestitum superioris._ Put for _superiorum vestitum partem._ — _Brachia ac lacertos._ "As to their arms below and above the elbow." _Brachium_ is from the hand to the elbow; _lacertum_, from the elbow to the shoulder.

CHAP. XVIII.—_Sed et proxima pars pectoris patet._ "(Nor this alone), but," &c. Some editions place these words at the end of the previous chapter. Our arrangement is the nearer one.—_Quamquam severa, &c._ "Although these matrimonial ties are rigidly observed."—_Qui non libidines, &c._ "Who, not through incontinence (on their part), but on account of their rank, are solicited by very many offers of marriage." An illustration of the language of Tacitus may be found in the case of Arioistus, as mentioned by Caesar (B. G., i., 53).—_Interea parentes._ Observe that _adesse_ means merely "to be present," but _interesse, "to be present and take part" in what is going on.—_Munera probant._ "Pass their appreciation on the presents," i. e., examine into their sufficiency.—_Munera non ad delicias, &c._ The repetition of _munera_ here is intended to add force to the narration, and is an instance of what grammarians term _tuvadithlos._ —_Cesarius._ "May be adorned." _Cesum_ is not derived from _césum_, "the hair," but is compounded of _ce_ ( _ceum_ ) and _éouo_, and signifies, therefore, "to put together," "arrange," "adorn." It is a word especially applicable to the female sex. Compare Terence ( _Heauton_, ii., 2, 11): " _Dum motiatur, dum cumnunt, aequus est._"

_In hac munera._ "On the strength of these presents." The preposition _in_ with the accusative is here equivalent to the Greek _éoti_ with the dative ( _éoti τούτων τοις δώροις_ ), the gifts being considered as the condition on which the whole rests. Compare _Ritter, ad loc._—_Hoc maximum vinculum, &c._ "This they regard as the firmest bond of union, these as their mysterious rites, these as their conjugal deities." This is all in opposition to Roman customs. The _arcanum sacra_, in the case of the latter people, were connected with the ceremony of the _conferratio_, the taking of the auspices, the sacrificing of a cow to Juno, &c. Among the Germans, on the other hand, they consisted merely in the giving of these simple bridal presents.— _Extra virtutum cogitationes, &c._ "Excused from exertions of festitude, and exempt from the casualties of war."— _Auspiciis._ "Ceremonies."— _Denuntiant._ "Proclaim."— _Accipere se, quae, &c._ "That she receives what she is to transmit inviolate and worthy of their acceptance to her children; what her daughters-in-law are to receive, and, in their turn, deliver over to her grandchildren." The reference is to the _arma_, which are not to be disgraced by any unfaithful conduct on her part, but to be handed down as heir-looms.— _Referat._ We have given here the conjecture of Rhenanus. The MS. reading is _referuntur_, which some make still worse by reading _rurus se quae._

CHAP. XIX.—_Septa pudicitiae._ "Fenced around by feelings of chastity." Several MSS. and editions have _septa_ in the ablative, which would imply
were established by law.—*Patres, avunculi.* "Paternal uncles, maternal ones."— *Quanto plus propinquorum, &c.* By *propinqui* are meant "blood-relations;" by *affines, "relations by marriage."— *Nec ulla orbitatis praemin." "Nor are there any advantages resulting from being childless."

Tacitus alludes to the court paid at Rome to rich persons without children by legacy-hunters. This practice formed a frequent subject of censure and ridicule with the Roman writers.

**CHAP. XXI.**—*Suscipere.* "To adopt."— *Nec implacables durant, "These (enemies), however, do not continue implacable."

Observe that *nec* has here the force of *non tamen* (*Weishaupt, ad loc.*).— *Homicidium.* This word occurs also in Pliny the elder, Petronius, and Quintilian, but never in the writers of the golden age of Latinity.— *Recipitque satisfactionem, &c.* "And the whole family (of the offender) becomes responsible for the payment of the fine." *Recipit* is here put for *recipit in se.* Some, less correctly, interpret this to mean that the whole family of the injured party receives a portion of the fine. A law did actually exist in Germany, in ancient times, in accordance with the view which we have taken of this passage, as we learn from the *Lex Tal.*, tit., 61., leg., 1, 2. It was afterward abrogated by King Childerich.— *Justa libertatem.* "When united with freedom," i. e., in a free state. This employment of *justa* in the sense of *spadic, or in with the ablative, is characteristic of the writers of the silver age.

*Convictus et hospitii.* "In common tables and acts of hospitality."

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

**CHAP. XXII.**— *Statim e somno.* "Immediately after sleep." So *ἐκ* in Greek, *γελάν ἐκ τῶν πρόσθεν δακρών* (*Xen., Cyrop.*, i., 4, 28). *Ab* is used in the same way by Livy (xxii., 40),— *Ab hoc sermonum praefectum.*— *In diem.* The Romans, on the contrary, rose early.— *Leonat. "They wash themselves." In a middle sense, like *obligantur* in the previous chapter.— *Plurimum.* "During the greatest part of the year." *Supply anni or temporis.*
—Separata singulis sedes, &c. Eating at separate tables is generally an indication of vorsity. Traces of it occur also in the Homeric poems.—Diem noctemque continuare potendo. “To keep drinking day and night without intermission.” Literally, “to make day and night continuous by drinking.”
—Ut. “As is usual.” Supply esse solet.—Sed et de reconsciendiis, &c. Herodotus relates the same thing of the Persians (i., 133; ii., 72).—Adiuvia. In the sense of eligendia.—Simplices. “Sincere.”—Magnas. “Heroic ones.”

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

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

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

Agrestis poma. “Wild fruit.” Pomum is a very general term, and includes any eatable fruit.—Recons forae. “Fresh venison.” More literally, “fresh wild meat.” Supply caro. The Romans, on the other hand, preferred such viands in a tainted state. Compare Gruber, ad loc., and
Horace, Sat. ii., 8, 6.—Lac concretum. "Coagulated milk." Curds are meant. The Germans did not understand the art of making cheese. They were acquainted, however, with the process of making butter, which was used by the higher class. Some incorrectly think that butter is here meant by Tacitus.—Adparatu. "Studied preparation."—Blendimenta. "Coaxings of the appetite."—Ebrigati. "Their propensity to intoxication."—Haud minus facile, &c. This is not to be understood as meaning that the Germans were easy to be conquered by arms, but merely that their own vices proved formidable means of subjugation.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Quae regnantur. "Which are governed by kings." Literally, "which are reigned over." This employment of regno in the passive voice departs from ordinary usage, since in the active voice it is used intransitively, and we would expect, therefore, the impersonal construction, "quibus regnatum est or regnatur. Similar instances, however, occur in other parts of Tacitus. —Id enim, &c. As at Rome under bad emperors.—Imperat libertini, &c. "The subordinate condition of freedmen is a proof of the value of freedom,"
i. e., the fact that freedmen are held in such low estimation is a proof of the value set upon freedom and the rights of freemen.

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

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

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

Nec enim contendunt. "Nor, indeed, do they attempt to vie." Tacitus means that they do not pretend to bestow on the culture of the soil a degree of labor that may equal its fertility and extent.—Sola seget. "A crop of grain alone," i. e., wheat and barley, to the exclusion of green crops, pulses, and vegetables.—Species. "Seasons." The different "aspects" of nature in different portions of the year.—Intelluculum ac vocabula habent. "Are known and have names." The employment here of the noun intellectus indicates the silver age of Latinity, and intellectum habent is equivalent to intelliguntur, i. e., nota sunt.—Austunnim perinde nomen, &c. Tacitus, at first view, seems to be in error here. The Germans had a term Herbst or Harbist, in more modern German Herbst, whence the English harvest. Thus,
in Eginhart’s Life of Charlemagne (c. 29), the month of November is called Herbst-monat (i.e., Herbst-monat). But the truth is, the word Herbst or Herbst marked rather the crop itself than the season which produced it.—Bona. Particularly the grape and olive.

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

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

CHAP. XXVIII.—Summus auctorum, &c. “The deified Julius, the highest of authorities.” The reference is to the account given of Germany by Julius Caesar (B. G., vi., 24). On the acquaintance of the ancients with Germany, consult Geographical Index.—Divus. Consult notes on chap. viii.: “sub divo Vespasiano.”—Quantulum enim annis obstatabat, &c. “For how small an obstacle did a river oppose, according as each nation had become powerful, to its seizing upon and changing settlements, as yet lying in common and divided off by no power of monarchies,” i.e., and un-
appropriated by any powerful monarchies. The River Rhine is meant.—
Igitur inter. Supply loca before inter. For a similar use of igitur at the
beginning of a sentence, see Vit. Agric., c. 13.—Hercynium silvam . . .
Maurum. Consult Geographical Index.—Boiemi nomen. "The name of
Boiemum." Boiemum or Boichemum probably means "the home of the Boii"
(Heim, Heimath). So that, in all likelihood, Bohemia is the Boiemum of
Tacitus. Latham, however, contends for Bavaria (Boioaria).—Significat-
que loci, &c. "And implies a long-standing reminiscence of the original
settlement."—Quamvis mutatis culturibus. Observe that quamvis is here
for quamquam, a usage occurring only, as already remarked, in the later
prose writers.

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

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

Experimental fidei. "From trial having been made of their fidelity," i. e.,
in consequence of their tried fidelity. Observe that experimentat is here the
ablative.—Ut acererent, &c. To keep their own countrymen in check, and
prevent them from crossing over into the Roman territories; not placed there to be watched themselves by the Romans.

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

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

Non numeraverim. "I do not feel inclined to number." Compare note on crediderim, chapter ii.—Decumates agros. "The tithe-lands." Consult Geographical Index.—Dubia possessionis. At first these lands lay beyond the Roman boundary, and were unprotected against the incursions of the hostile Germans.—Limite acto, &c. "A boundary line having been run, and fortified posts having been pushed forward."—Sinus. "A nook."—Provincia. Germania Cicernana, or Raetia.
NOTES ON THE [CHAP. XXX., XXXI.]

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

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

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

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

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

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

CHAP. XXXII.—Certum jam aequo. "Now settled in its channel." More literally, "now certain (i. e., to be relied upon) in what relates to the bed of the river." The reference is to the quarter where the stream is now confined within fixed limits, and does not form so many branches and lakes as in the country of the Batavi.—Usipii ac Teneteri. These two tribes generally go together in geography and history. They frequently changed their settlements. Consult Geographical Index.—Super solitum bellorum decus. "In addition to the warlike reputation usual (with the German race)."

Supply ceteris Germanis after solitum.—Equestris disciplina, &c. Compare the account given by Caesar of the superiority of the German cavalry (B. G., iv., 2, 11, 12, 16).

Æmulatio. "The point of emulation."—Familiam. "The household." By familia is here meant the dwelling and all things connected with it, furniture, slaves, &c.—Eccipit. "Inherits." Equivalent to hereditare accipit, "receives by inheritance," i. e., the horses, equos being understood.—Prout ferus bello, &c. "According as he is fierce in war, and superior (in this respect to the rest)." There is no tautology here, as some suppose. Compare the explanation of Walther: "Eccipit equos ferus bello inter non feroces: inter feroces eccipit ferocior stv meiorem."
Notes on the [Ch. XXXIII, XXXIV.]

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Bonæ aquisque Cherusi. Some derive the name Cherusi from an old word (cherusk), meaning "just." —Nunc inercæ ac stulti vocantur. The name here referred to is Thuringi (Thuringer), from thoring, "stupid." —In sapientiam esset. "Has passed for wisdom." The meaning of the whole passage is this: The success of the Catti, which was due to their good fortune, has, since they gained the mastery, been placed to the account of their wisdom.

—Tracti. The earlier editions, and some modern ones, have tacti, which would make the allusion a figurative one to a contagious disease. But tracti is a much stronger form of expression. —Cum fussent. "Although they had been." Cum has the subjunctive here, because expressing a kind of comparison between the leading proposition and the subordinate one, especially a contrast (Madvig, t 358; Obs. 3).

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

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

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

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

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

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

Varum. The reference is to P. Quintilius Varus, who was defeated by the Germans under Arminius, in the Saltus Teutoburgianus, in the upper valley of the Lippe. His defeat was followed by the loss of all the Roman possessions between the Weser and the Rhine, and this latter river again became the boundary of the Roman dominions.—Cesar. Augustus Caesar.

—Caesarius. The allusion is to the famous defeat of the Cimbri, in the Raudii Campi, near Vercelle, by Marius and Catulus, B.C. 101. Marius had previously defeated the Teutones and Ambrones at Aquae Sextiae (Ais), in Gaul.—Divus Julius in Gallia. For the campaigns of Julius Caesar against the Germans, consult Cas., B. G., i., 32, seqq.; ii., 1, seqq.; iv., 1, seqq.; vi., 9, seqq.

Drusus ac Nero et Germanicus. By Drusus is here meant Drusus Germanicus, the brother of Tiberius, and by Nero, Tiberius himself, whose full name was Claudius Tiberius Nero Drusus. Germanicus was the son of Drusus, and nephew of Tiberius. Observe the change of the conjunction ac in this sentence, because Drusus and Nero were more on an equality with one another as brothers, than with Germanicus. For an account of the expeditions of Drusus, &c., consult Geographical Index, s. v. Germani.


Inde otium. During the reigns of Claudius and Nero.—Civilium armorum. The civil wars carried on by Galba, Otho, Vitellius, and Vespasian. —Esquonatis legionum hibernis. This was done in A.D. 69, by the Batavi under Civilis. (Hist., iv., 12, seqq.; v., 20.)—Etiar Gallias adiectavere. "They even aimed at the possession of the Gauls."—Proximus his temporibus. Not only in the reign of Domitian, but also in the reigns of Nerva, Trajan, and Hadrian.—Triumphati. The cognomen of Germanicus and the honor of a triumph were frequently, out of flattery, conferred on the emperors, or their sons and favorites.
CHAP. XXXVIII.—Suevis. According to Tacitus, the Suevi possessed all the land from the banks of the Danube northward to the Baltic Sea, between the Elbe and the Vistula.—Præp. adhuc nationibus, &c. "Distinguished from one another, up to the present time, by particular nations and names." The different nations into which the Suevi were divided are enumerated from chapter xxxix. to xlvi., both inclusive.—In commune. "In common." An expression belonging to the silver age of Latinity.—Insigne gentis, &c. "It is a badge of the race to turn back the hair over the head, and to fasten it up in a knot," i. e., not to leave the hair hanging down straight, but to turn or comb it back, &c. The knot into which the hair was formed was not on the top, but at the back part of the head.—Substringere. Properly, "to bind below or under," and hence, "to bind from below," or, in other words, "to bind or tie up." It is a poetic form, and belongs to the silver age of Latinity.—A ceteris Germanis. Other ancient writers, however, make this mode of wearing the hair a badge of the Germans in general. Compare Seneca, De Ira, iii., 26, and Juvenal, Sat., xiii., 164.—Separantur. "Are distinguished."—A servis. The slaves wore their hair cut close and short, as was the custom afterward with this class of persons among the Franks. Long hair was the badge of a freeman. Compare Greg. Turon., iii., 8; Leg. Burgund., vi., 4; Grimm, Deutsche Rechtsalt., p. 284.

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

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

Reverentia. "Mark of reverential homage."—Ut minor. "As an inferior being."—Præ se servus. "Displaying in his own person," i. e., in the chain
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that fetters him.—Eodemus tur. "They roll themselves out." Middle voice.

—Es respicit. "Has reference to this," i. e., has this import.—Inde. "From
this spot," i. e., from the sacred grove. They believed in the indigenous
origin of their race.—Adjicit auctoritatem. Supply superstitionis illi.—Cen-
tum pagis habitant. Caesar says the same of the Suevi (B. G., i., 37; iv., 1).

—Magna corporis. Supply civitatis.

[CHAP. XL.

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

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

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

Templo. "To her sacred abode," i. e., the sacred grove or inclosure.
Templum is here employed in its primitive meaning, not as implying any
building, but merely a space marked out, or set apart. Compare the Greek
τέμνειν, from the same root (τεμω, cut) with the verb τέμνω. —Numen ipsum.
The goddess was feigned to have become polluted by mortal converse, and
therefore required ablution.—Haurit. "Swallows up." The slaves were
drowned in order that the imposture of the priests might not be divulged.
The ostensible reason, however, was, that those persons must needs perish,
who had beheld the goddess herself in her real form.—Quid sit illud, &c.
"As to what that can be, which those only see who are doomed to perish," i. e., who, in consequence of seeing, must immediately thereafter perish.

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

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

CHAP. XLII.—Gloria virilis. Supply sunt.—Parta. Supply erant.—
Nec Narisci Quadive degenerant. "Nor do the Narisci or the Quadri fall
short (of them in valor)," i. e., nor are they inferior in valor to the Marco-
manni. Supply ab ipsis virtute after degenerant.—Eaque velut Germaniae, &c.
"And this is, as it were, the front of Germany, so far forth as it is formed
by the Danube," i. e., so far forth as the Danube forms this front, and sep-
arates Germany in this quarter from the Roman possessions. With perag-
titur (which here has the force of efficiter) supply froms from the previous
clause. Passow understands iter, which appears much less appropriate.
Some editors read pergitur, others porrigitur, but all the MSS. and early edi-
tions have peragitur.

Nobile Marobodui, &c. Of Maroboduus mention will be found in the
Geographical Index, s. v. Marcomanni. Tuder or Tudrus is not mentioned
by any other writer but Tacitus, nor by the latter elsewhere than in the
present passage. Neither are other kings of the Marcomanni and Quadri
spoken of except by writers of a later age.—Externus. Supply reges. As,
for instance, Catualda, Vannius, Vangio, &c. Catualda was subsequently driven out by Vibilius, king of the Hermunduri (Ann., ii., 45, 62). The Quadi received Vannius from the Romans.—Seui vis et potentia, &c. Partly on account of the support afforded them by the Romans against the different factions of their kingdoms, partly because some of them owed their royalty to the Romans.—Sapio pecunia. In point of fact, however, the Romans themselves were sometimes compelled to pay tribute to these princes, as to Decebalus, the king of the Daci, and his allies the Marcomanni and Quadi.


CHAP. XLIII.-Retro. "Farther back," i. e., farther from the Danube, and more in the interior.—Terga claudit. "They shut in the rear."—Referunt. "Resemble."—Oos Pannonica lingua. Compare notes on chapter xxviii.—Sarmatae. By the Sarmatae here are probably meant the Iazyges Metanastes, who dwelt in the neighborhood of the Quadi, or else the Sidones.—Gothissi, quo magis pudet, &c. Because the iron mines in their country ought to furnish them with arms, with which to assert their freedom.

The Greeks and Romans generally employed slaves to work in the mines.—Pauea campestria. "A small extent (only) of level country." Observe the poetical form of expression. The more ordinary form would be pauea campestria loca.

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

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

Ut fratres tamen, &c. Like the Roman Castor and Pollux.—Venerantur. Is transitive: the passive was not in use except in the participle.—Enumera-
ratus paulo ante populus. The Marsigni, Gothini, and Osi.—Insita seriatat, &c. "Increase the effect of their innate ferocity, by calling art and a particular time to their aid." Literally, "pander to their innate ferocity by means of art and time." Arte refers to their black shields and stained bodies; tempore to the murky nights chosen for their encounters.—Ipse formidine, &c. "By the very alarm (which their aspect occasions), and by the shade-like appearance of their funereal host." The funereal gloom of their sable bands makes them resemble so many spectres. Ritter very tamely refers umbra to the shadows cast by their bodies, which would appear greater amid the gloom.—Novum ac velut infernum ad spectum. "Their strange, and, as it were, unearthly look."

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

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

Est apud illos et opibus honos. The wealth here referred to was acquired by traffic. This respect paid to wealth was unknown to the rest of the Germans.—Nullis jam exceptionibus, &c. "With no exceptions now, with no precarious conditions of allegiance." As regards the force of jam here, compare the note on paullo jam adductius, chap. xliii. The expression non pre-
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Cario justus parendi may be rendered more freely, “with an absolute claim upon their obedience.” Precarium jus is a right granted to a person’s entreaties.—Nec arma in promiscuo. “Nor are arms allowed to be kept promiscuously.” Supply concessa sunt. — Et quidem servo. “And he, too, a slave.” — Oceanus. In allusion to their supposed insular situation.—Quis . . . lascivium. This is the reason why arms are not allowed to the public without distinction.—Regia utilitas est. “It is the policy of kings.” We have here the reason why the charge of arms is intrusted to a slave.

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

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

Matrem deum. The same with the Hertha of the Suevi already mentioned.

—Formas aprorum gestant. They wore these as amulets. The boar, as the symbol of fecundity, was sacred to Hertha. Many remnants of this superstition still remain in Sweden. At the time of the festival anciently celebrated in honor of Frey, the rustics make bread into the form of a hog, which is applied to various superstitious uses.—Pro. “Supplying the
place of."—Frumenta ceterisque fructus, &c. "They bestow labor on the culture of corn and the other productions of the earth, with more patient industry than might have been expected from the usual indolence of the Germans." Compare chapters xiv., xv.

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

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

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

Continuatur. "Are contiguous to," i. e., follow immediately after. Compare Freund, s. v.—In tantum. "To such an extent."—A seruavit degenerant. In being slaves to a woman.—Frisia. That is to the North.

CHAP. XLVI.—Sede ac domiciliis. "In fixedness of settlement and in
the nature of their dwellings." The settlements and habitations of the Peumici were fixed and stationary, whereas the Sarmatæ wandered about in their wagons.—Sordes omnium ac torpor. "Fitch and laziness are characteristics of all." Some editors place a colon after procerum, and no stop after torpor, which makes a very awkward reading.—Procerum consubstitit mixtis, &c. "Through the intermarriages of their chiefs with the Sarmatæ, they are gradually assuming the disgusting character of that people."

—Ex moribus. Supply Sarmatarum.—Hi tamen, &c. Ptolemy and others, more correctly, make them a branch of the Sarmatians.—Domus fiant. "They have fixed habitations," i. e., do not wander about in wagons like the Sarmatæ. Another, but less correct reading, is fiant.

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

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

Securi. This does not mean here "safe," but "without care and anxiety."—Ut illis ne voto, &c. "That they would not need even a wish." Rhenanus conjectured opus sit for opus esset, and his emendation was adopted by all subsequent editors until the time of Ernesti, who restored esset, without, however, assigning a very satisfactory reason. The true reason is this: Tacitus does not mean to say that they have no need even of a wish, as if stating a fact; but he gives merely the result of his own reflections, namely, that they would not need even a wish, if there were anything to be actually wished for.—Hellasios et Osiones. Probably the inhabitants of Lapland. The fable here stated may possibly have arisen from their wearing the skins of wild animals.—Osiones. Tacitus occasionally uses this Greek ending, as in Helleconas, chap. xliii.; Suiomas, chap. xlv. So also Vangiones ac Nemetas, Ann., xii., 27. Consult Madvig, § 45, 3. The usage is properly a poetical one.—In medium relinquam. "I will leave, as a subject of doubt, undecided," i. e., I will make a subject of doubt and leave undecided. Equivalent to in dubium vocatum relinquam in medio. (Bötticher, Lex. Tac., p. 25. Compare remarks on the style of Tacitus, p. xliii. of this volume.)
NOTES

ON

THE AGRICOLA.
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The composition of this work may be assigned, from internal and external evidence, to the year of Rome 850-8 (A.D. 97-98), four years after Agricola's death. The first three chapters comprise the preface, the substance of which is as follows: In times of yore, when there was no reason, as now, to dread men's ignorance of virtue, and their envy of her votaries, it was usual to hand down to posterity the exploits and characters of famous men; and a man was not found fault with even if he narrated his own life. But in times like these, when we have only lately seen that to praise illustrious men was a capital crime, I must plead for favor and indulgence; which I should not have done, had not my path lain through times inimical to virtue, in which even those remain unpunished through whose charges Agricola fell, and through whose means many have been calumniated. At length, however, spirit and liberty are returning, though the desire of writing springs up but gradually and slowly, since talents and zeal may be more quickly smothered and suppressed than roused again to vigor and activity; and since sloth, at first the object of our hatred, ends with ingratiating itself into our favor. Hence I am led to hope that I shall meet with excuse for having formed the design of writing this memoir.

CHAP. I.—Antiquitus usitatum. "A custom prevalent in early days." Usitatum is here the accusative singular neuter of the participle, agreeing with the preceding clause.—Quamquam incursus suorum. "Though taking little interest in its own (eminent individuals)."—Omissit. In the sense of omittere solet. Compare Wes, Proleg., p. 150.—Virtus. "Merit."—Ignorantiam recti et invidiam. "An insensibility to, and an envying of virtue." Observe that rectum here corresponds to ὁθῶν, ὁθῶντος, in the Platonic sense.

Praemium magisque in aperto erat. "Was easy, and more unobstructed (than in our own times)." Praemium properly means "bending forward," "inclined," and hence "easy." It is by no means, however, merely synonymous with in aperto, as some suppose. Things are said to be in aperto in two ways; first, as regards a becoming acquainted with them, and then they are clear and free from all obscurity; and, secondly, as regards a performing of them, and then they are free from obstruction and impediment. It is in the latter sense that in aperto is here used.—Virtutis. "Of departed worth."—Sine gratia aut ambitione. "Without predilection or a desire to
gain notoriety." The term amicitia is not used here in the old Roman sense of an honorable suing for preferment or public favor, but in the meaning which it acquired during the silver age. Hence Spalding (Ad Quintil., i., 2, 22), correctly explains it in the present passage by "vane gloria affectatio."—Pretio. "By the recompense (merely)."

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

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

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

Legimus cum Aruleno Rustico, &c. Both occurrences took place in Domitian's reign, A.U.C. 846 or 847. Tacitus was present at the death of Senecio, as we learn from chap. xlv. The reference in legimus is to the
Acta Diurna ("Proceedings of the Day"), a kind of gazette, published daily at Rome, under the authority of the government, and containing an account of the proceedings of the public assemblies, courts of law, of the punishment of offenders, and also a list of births, marriages, deaths, &c. (Consult Dict. Ant., s. v., and Le Clerc, Journaux chez les Romains, p. 197, seqq.)

Aruleno Rustico. Dion Cassius states that Domitian put Arulenus to death because he was a philosopher, and because he had given Thrasea the appellation of "holy" (Isopóv). Dion Cass., lxvii., 11.—Patus Thrasea. For the account of the death of this individual under Nero, consult Ann., xvi., 21.—Herennio Senecioni. With regard to this individual, consult chap. xiv.—Priscus Helvidius. Helvidius Priscus was the son-in-law of Thrasea. He was banished and put to death by Vespasian. (Suet., Vesp., 15.)—Laudati essent. The subjunctive after cum, which is here a causal conjunction. (Zumpt, 9 577.)—Triumviris. The Triumviri Capitales are meant, among whose other duties was that of carrying into effect the sentences of the law, &c. They were attended by eight lictors to execute their orders.—In comitio ac fora. The comitium joined the forum, and was the place of public execution in the time of the emperors. Originally it was the spot where the Comitia Curiata were held. The words ac fora are added, to denote, as Wex remarks, that the burning of the books in question was intended as a spectacle for the public eye.

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

Vetus atas. "The olden time." This expression, like prius avum (Hist., i., 1), generally refers in Tacitus to the period before the battle of Actium.—Ultimum. "The farthest limit." By the ultimum in libertate we are not to understand the greatest happiness, nor the last remnants of liberty under Augustus and Tiberius; but rather unbridled licentiousness, the immoderata libertas of Cicero.—Per inquisitiones. "By spyings (in the very bosoms of our families)." Compare Walch; "heimliche Nachspähungen." The allusion is to the informers kept in pay by Domitian, who insinuated themselves into private circles, in order to find grounds of accusation against the unsuspecting.—Et loquendi, &c. The conjunction et has here the force of siam, "even."—Commercio. "The intercourse."—Memoriam quoque ipsam, &c. The idea is, we would have gone so far in our patient endurance of tyranny as not to have dared even to remember, if this had been possible.
has here the force of et tamen, “and yet.”—Beatiissimi sectuli. The term sectulum here does not mean a century, but a “period” of uncertain duration, lasting until another emperor introduced a new order of things. Thus Pliny (Ep., x., 2) styles the reign of Domitian “tristissimum sectulum.” The period, to the commencement of which Tacitus here alludes, deserved, as the event abundantly showed, the epithet beatiissimum. It began when, after the death of Domitian, the imperial authority devolved on Nerva, and the virtues of this prince were emulated by the successive emperors, Trajan, Hadrian, and the two Antonines. The reigns of these five monarchs, embracing a period of nearly ninety years, formed the happiest era in the history of the Roman empire.

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

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

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

Quibus juvenes ad senectutem, &c. Tacitus could not include himself among the senes, since at this period he was only about forty-five years old. —Per silentium. By silentium is here meant the repression of mental activity, referring to what he had said before, studia repressae facilius quam
revocaveris.—*Vel incondita ac rudi voce.* "Even in unskilful and inelegant language." Tacitus alludes here to the legal style to which he had been accustomed in his pleadings at the bar, as contrasted with the higher and more dignified tone which historic narrative demanded. Compare Wex: "*Inconditam igitur et rudem vocem dicit eam, quae a vera artis historicae forma ac perfectione abstet (in künst- und formloser- Sprache)." Proleg., p. 157. Consult also *Walch, ad loc.* The cultivation of the true historic style had been completely suspended during the mental silence imposed by tyranny, and Tacitus thus apologizes for his want of practice therein.

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

CHAP. IV.—Ferejuliiensium Colonia. The town of Ferejuli was situate in Gallia Narbonensis, and is now Ferejus. It must not be confounded with Ferejuli in Venetia, now Friuli. The term *illustri* is here applied to the former, not so much from its own intrinsic importance, as from the renown of its founder, Julius Caesar. It was founded about B.C. 43, on the site of the ancient Ouxiba.—*Procuratorum Caesarum.* "An imperial procurator." These *procuratores* not only exacted the tribute from the province, and acted as stewards where the emperor had possessions, but collected the *vigeima hereditaturn* and other imperial perquisites.—*Quae equestria nobilitas est.* The procurator enjoyed the rank of an *eques illustris,* and also the right to sit in the senate and wear the *latus clavus.* A distinction of rank had arisen even in the time of Augustus among the equites.

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

In *hujus simu, &c.* "Brought up in the bosom, and beneath the affectionate care of this parent." The expression in *simu* refers to the strict supervision exercised by his parent, and *indulgentia* (which is here to be taken in a good sense) to the mildness with which that supervision was affectionately enforced. Agricola's mother followed the old Roman custom of superintending in person the early education of her son, instead of leaving him to the care of slaves. Hence the peculiar aptness of the expression in *simu,
Per omnem honestarum, &c. We must construe omnem here in sense with artium; "in the cultivation of all liberal studies."

Arcebat eum... quod, &c. "It served to keep him, &c., that from earliest boyhood," &c.—Magistrum—Directress.—Massilium. Massilia, called by the Greeks Massalia (Μασσαλία), and now Marseilles, was a celebrated colony of the Phocceans, on the Mediterranean coast of Gaul. It became famous under the Roman emperors as a school of literature and the sciences.—Locum Graecam comitale, &c. "A place where Grecian refinement was mingled and well united with provincial frugality." Enallage, for locum, in quo Graecam comitatem provincialis pars simoniam mista ac bene composita erat.

Acrius hausisse. "Drank in too eagerly (and would have imbibed too deeply)." Hausisse is here commonly regarded as equivalent to hausum fusisse. Wax, however, regards the clause as elliptical in its nature, and explains as follows: "Agricola hausit studium, sed to haurire est initium ejus, de quo agitur, imbibiendi. Est igitur: hausit (aive hauriebat) Agricola, atque toto animo imbibiisset, si mater prohibisset," &c.

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

Pulchritudinem ac speciem. "The beauty and the array." Not a hendiatry, as some maintain, for pulchram speciem; on the contrary, species increases the force of pulchritudo. Compare Bötticher (Prolegom. ad Tac., p. lxxxi.), "Auge species vim pulchritudinis, canque designat quam oculus hominum se prabet."—Vehementius quam caute. The more regular construction would have been vehementius quam cautius. —Mos. "Subsequently."—Retinuuisse, quod est difficilimum, &c. "And, what is most difficult, he retained from the study of wisdom moderation." The ancient philosophers taught that nothing is good in itself unless under the regulation of ἐρήμους. (Plat., Men., p. 88, B.; Arist., Eth. ad Nic., ii., 5.)

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

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

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

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

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

CHAP. VI.—In urbeae dignitatus. This was in A.D. 62, and in Agricola’s 22d year. He could not sue for office, however, until his 24th year, according to the rule which prevailed under the empire.—Domitian Decidium. The name Decidius may probably have arisen from her mother having been called Decidia. The names Vespasianus and Domitianus arose in a similar way.—Decus ac robur fuit. It secured for him, in seeking preferment, the influence of the powerful gens Domitia.—Et invicem se antependorum. “And by each giving the preference to the other.” More literally, “by mutually preferring one another.”

Nisi quod is bona aequo, &c. Observe that laus is here used for whatever is praiseworthy, and its opposite, culpa, for whatever is blamable. Nisi quod, which restricts or connects something that has been said before, is often used with an ellipsis, which must be supplied by the reader. So here the meaning of the sentence is, They both loved one another sincerely, and each gave the other the preference; for which both deserve credit; only we must allow that in a virtuous wife there is proportionably as much more of what is praiseworthy, as in a bad wife there is of what is blamable; that is, when placed in comparison with the virtues and vices of the husband; because, from the weaker character of woman, the restraining of any evil propensities is more worthy of praise.

Sors questurae. “The lot of the questorship.” The office of questor was the entrance to all public employments, and was consequently the one first held by Agricola. He obtained it in his 25th year, A.D. 65. The questors, with the exception of the Candidati Principis, drew lots for their several provinces, that there might be no previous connection between them and the governors of the same, but that they might serve as checks upon each other.—Salvium Titianum. Lucius Salvius Otho Titianus, the elder brother of M. Salvius Otho, the future emperor, who was at that time serving as proconsul in Lusitania. (Ann. xii. 52; Hist. i. 77, 90, &c.).

Parata peccantibus. “Prepared for delinquents,” i.e., where many of the inhabitants stood ready to be the instruments of the crimes of their rulers. —Quantalibet facilitate. “By any facility, however great,” i.e., by allowing Agricola any facility for plundering which he might wish.—Dissimulationem malit. “Concealment of guilt.”—Filia. Afterward the wife of Tacitus.—Ante sublatum. “Previously born.” Literally, “previously taken up,” i.e., taken up and acknowledged. New-born infants were placed on the ground, and, if the father chose to acknowledge and rear them, he lifted them up (tollebat); if he did not do so, they were exposed.—Brevi amisset. He also lost a second son, born twenty years afterward. Compare chap. xxviii.

Inter quasturam ac tribunatum plebia. “The year between his questorship and tribuneship of the commons.” Supply annum before inter. The year here meant was A.D. 66, and Agricola was then in his 26th year.—Pratura. Agricola was prator in A.D. 68. We have followed Wex in these official dates. (Proleg., p. 208.)—Nec enim juridictio obverterat. “For no actual jurisdiction had fallen to his lot.” He was neither Praetor urbicus nor Praetor peregrinus, but of the number of those from whom all
judicial functions had virtually been taken by the usurpation of the emperors; for even the Questiones Perpetuæ were in the hands of the senate, and carried on under imperial direction. Little else, therefore, was left to the praetors than the management and superintendence of the games.

Ludus et inania honoris, &c. “He exhibited the games and empty pageantry connected with official preferment, by keeping within the limit prescribed by proper calculation and the extent of his own means; as, on the one hand, far removed from lavish expenditure, so, on the other, nearer to an honorable fame,” i.e., he exhibited them in such a way that, though celebrated without any great profusion, they would be extolled for their splendidion, rather than passed over in silence, as though exhibited in a paltry manner. The games, &c., here referred to were those exhibited by the praetors on attaining to office, and on which those magistrates usually spent enormous sums, in order to ingratiate themselves with the people, and pave the way for higher preferment.—Modo rationis atque abundantiae, &c. This is the uniform reading of the earlier editions. One of the MSS., however, has medio, altered probably by some copyist from the more difficult modo. If we adopt this latter reading, the meaning will be, “by pursuing a middle course between rational expenditure and profusion.” The main objection to this reading is the presence of atque, which should connect cognate, not opposite things, as Doederlein correctly remarks. (Zumpt, 433.) Lipsius conjectures moderationis atque abundantiae, giving duxit the force of putavit, and supplying rem esse. The true reading, however, is the one which we have given.—Duxit. Observe that ducere is here equivalent to edere. The notion of leading a procession, &c., gave rise to that of “taking the lead in,” “presiding over,” “managing,” &c. The verb ἕγεισθαι is used in a similar way in Greek.

Diligentissima conquisitio, &c. Not only were the temples destroyed by the conflagration in the reign of Nero; but, when Nero himself was in want of money for the erection of his palace, he despoiled the temples of their offerings. (Ann., xv. 38, seqq.) Tacitus means to say, that Agricola succeeded in recovering most of the treasure from the hands of those who had appropriated it during the confusion, except such parts as had been plundered by Nero. These conquisitio sacrorum were not unfrequently instituted. Compare Lev., xxvi., 7.—Ne sensisset. “Should not have felt,” i.e., did not feel. There is no enallage of tense here, as some suppose. The reference is merely to what was passing at the time in the mind of Agricola, before the object in view was accomplished. He exerted himself to bring it about that the state should not have felt the sacrilege, &c., after the matter might have been brought to a close. (Walther, ad loc.)

CHAP. VII.—Sequens annus, &c. The affair here alluded to occurred in the month of March, A.D. 69, during the brief reign of Otho, and his contest with Vitellius. The cruelties and depredations committed on the coast of Italy by this fleet of Otho’s are elsewhere described in striking colors by Tacitus (Hist., i. 12, seqq.).—Intemelios. “The Intemelii,” i.e., the terri-
istory of the Intemelli. The name of their chief town was Albium Intemelium, now Vintimiglia. The attack was made on this place and its vicinity.—In prædias suis. “On her own estates.”—Causa. “The inciting cause.”

Ad solennis pietatis. “To discharge the solemn duties of filial piety.”

Nuntio affectati, &c. “Was unexpectedly overtaken by the intelligence of the empire’s having been laid claim to by Vespasian.” The term affectati does not refer here, as some suppose, to an actual seizure of the empire, but merely to Vespasian’s having made an open demonstration of his intention to seize it by force of arms. With deprehensio supply est. The verb deprehendo is generally employed to denote unexpected and sudden intelligence; both ideas are blended here.—Ac statim in partes transgressus.

With partes supply ejus, referring to Vespasian. The adverb statim here, like mor, modo, usque, &c., elsewhere in Tacitus, must not be taken in too strict a sense. At least three months must have elapsed between the death of his mother and his going over to Vespasian, as will appear from the following dates. Thus, Otho’s death, after the battle of Bedriacum, took place in April, A.D. 60 (Hist., ii., 55); Vitellius visited the battle-field forty days after the battle (Hist., ii., 70); and Vitellius’s entry into Rome took place on the 18th of July (Hist., ii., 91).

Initia principatus. “The commencement of the new reign,” i.e., that of Vespasian. At first, indeed, Antonius Primus marched into Rome at the end of December, A.D. 69; but in the following January Mucianus arrived, and acquired all the power (Hist., iv., 11).—Admodum juvem. He was at that time only eighteen years old.—Tantum licentiam usurpante. “Claiming only the privilege of indulging in licentiousness.” Domitian became afterward one of the most ferocious and detestable of the Roman emperors.

Is. Referring to Mucianus.—Miserum ad delectus agendos. In the beginning of A.D. 70. Agricola set out for Britain probably in the spring of the same year.—Integreque ac strenue versatum. “And who had conducted himself (in that employment) with fidelity and vigor.”—Vicesima legioni, &c. The reason why, of the four legions posted in Britain (the second, ninth, fourteenth, and twentieth), the second only took the oath promptly, is given by Tacitus elsewhere (Hist., iii., 44). The twentieth legion was stationed among the Cornavii, at Deva, now Chester.—Decessor. “His predecessor.” The individual here meant was Roscius Caelius. For an account of the affair, consult Hist., i., 60. Vettius Bolanus was sent to supply the place of Trebellius, whom Caelius had forced to fly to Vitellius, at Lyons.

Quippe legatis quoque consularibus, &c. “For this legion was too much for, and formidable even unto the consular lieutenants,” i.e., even unto Trebellius Maximus and Vettius Bolanus. The legati consulares, in the time of the emperors, were individuals who had been consuls, and were governors of the province and commanders over all the legions stationed in it. On the other hand, the legati prætorii were those who had filled the office of pretor, and were in command of only a single legion. The legatus prætorius, in the present instance, was Roscius Caelius (Hist., i., 60).—Icertum,
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... on milites ingentem. Either because he did not know how to command, or they to obey.

CHAP. VIII.—Placidius. "With more mildness."—Digest est. Some have proposed esset here instead of est; but though this would do very well if it were merely a remark of Tacitus, founded upon past events, est is equally well suited to the time in which Tacitus was writing; for, after the death of Agricola, Britain, or at least Caledonia, had thrown off the yoke (Hist., i., 2).—Vix esum. "His native spirit."—Ne increcescet. "That he might not grow too much into notice," i. e., become too conspicuous, and appear to eclipse his commander. Some refer increcescet to ordoem, but then, as Ernesti remarks, increcescet would be pleonastic.—Brevis deinde Britannia, &c. This was in A.D. 71. Petilius Cerealis had before this been lieutenant of the ninth legion under Sustennus Paulinus. He was afterward one of the generals of Vespasian, to whom he was related.—Spatium exemplorum. "Room for displaying themselves as examples."

Communicaebat. "Share with him," i. e., with Agricola. Supply cum ills. —Ex eventu. "From the issue," i. e., in consequence of the successful termination of some affair. Equivalent to quum eventus id susceperit. (Hand, ad Turvilla., ii., p. 660.)—In esum famam. "In order to increase his own renown." Observe here the peculiar construction of in with the accusative, and compare Livy (xxi., 43). Generally, in the elder writers, when in or ad is used after a verb to express an object, a participle is subjoined. Others join in esum famam with factis.—Ad auctorem et ducem, &c. "He constantly, as a subordinate officer, gave the honor of his good fortune to the individual with whom his orders originated, and who was likewise his leader."

—Nec extra gloriam erat. Observe that nec is here for nec tamen.

CHAP. IX.—Revertensem ab legatione legionis. "On his return from the lieutenancy of the legion," i. e., from the command of it. The twentieth legion is meant.—Divus. Consult notes on chap. xxviii. of the Germania.

—Provincie. Aquitania. Gallia Comata comprised three provinces, Aquitania, Gallia Lugdunensis or Celtica, and Belgica. Aquitania was the tract between the Garonne, the Loire, the Pyrenees, and the Cevennes. It was annexed to the Roman empire under Augustus.—Splendida in primis dignitatis, &c. "An office of the first distinction, on account of the importance of the command itself, and the hope it gave rise to of the consulship, to which he (Vespasian) had destined him." Administrationes is well explained by Wex: "Propter magnitudinem rerum ibi gerendarum." After destinatar supply esum. Agricola was placed over this province in A.D. 74, in his 34th year.

Substitutam. "Acuteness."—Secura et obtuvior. "Careless (respecting the niceties of law), and more blunt in character."—Mans. "In an off-hand way." Some render this "by physical force," but very incorrectly. Compare the explanation of Wex: "Sine fori ambagibus celertier est conficit nosios plectendo; nos: Kusen Process machen, summarisch K
verfahren."—Callidatatem fori non exercet. "Does not call into exercise the subtle distinctions of the bar." The subjunctive here indicates the sentiments of others, not those of Tacitus himself.

Naturali prudentia. "By dint of native sagacity."—Inter togatos. "In the midst of civilians." The allusion here is to the conventus jurisdicti, or circuit courts (assizes), in which Agricola, as governor of the province, was now called to preside. The term togatos is here equivalent to litiugentes. Suits could only be carried on in the toga, and in Latin. We must be careful, therefore, not to regard togatos here as applying to lawyers or advocates alone, or to citizens merely in opposition to soldiers.—Aēbat. "Decided."

Jam. "From this time forward."—Cursum remissionumque. "Of business and relaxation."—Officio. "Official duty."—Nulla ultra potestatis persona. "There was no playing the part of the man in power after this," i. e., of the magistrate. Observe here the figurative meaning of persona. Its literal signification is "a theatrical mask," whence it obtains the sense of sustaining a character or playing a part.—Tristitia et arrogans et avaritia. "Official sternness, and the rigid requirement of respect, and unflinching severity in exacting what was due to the state." By tristitia is here meant the sternness which befits a magistrate; by arrogans, not the assumption of what does not belong to a person, but the rigid exacting of all the respect and attention to which he has a claim. The term avaritia, on the other hand, has here somewhat of its ordinary meaning. Agricola was not naturally avarus, any more than he was tristis or arrogans; but he was obliged to comply with the commands of Vespasian, who was likely enough to replenish his exhausted coffers by exactations from this wealthy province. Hence avaritia, in the present passage, implies the greatest severity in exacting tribute, or what was due to the state. Some editors, misunderstanding the force of avaritia here, give errore the meaning of "to be entirely free from," but there is no authority whatever for such an interpretation.—Facilita. "Affability."

Abstinentiam. "Freedom from corruption."—Per artem. By means of such arts as governors frequently employ to secure the good-will of their provincial subjects. There is an allusion perhaps, also, to addresses of thanks from the inhabitants of the province to the emperor, during and after the time of administration.—Collegas. Magistrates who were created at the same comitia, and, when these were no longer held, by the senate and emperors, were called collegae. So in Hist., ii., 10, the colleagues of Mucianus are the governors of Judea, Cappadocia, and Egypt; as, here, the colleagues of Agricola are all the provincial prefects, especially those appointed over the Gallic and Spanish provinces.—Procuratores. Each province had only one procurator at a time, and it does not seem that they were often changed; so that this plural must imply disputes such as commonly arise between governors and procuratores.—Vincere. In such disputes as these.—Atteri sordidum. "To be worsted was a positive disgrace." Atteri here implies an infringement upon a person's dignity, or upon the respect and attention to which he has claim.
CHAP. X.]

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Minus triennium. Supply quam after minus (Zumpt, t 485).—Constat opinione. "Public opinion accompanying him," i. e., while, at the same time, a general opinion prevailed.—Nullis in hoc, &c. "On account of no remarks of his own to this effect."—Par. "Equal to the station."—Ali quando et elegit. "Sometimes it has even determined a choice."

Consul. "When consul." This was in A.D. 77, when Vespasian, for the eighth time, and Titus for the sixth, entered upon the consulate, and were succeeded, on the first of July, by Domitian, then consul for the sixth time, and Agricola.—Egregia tum spei filiam. Agricola's daughter was almost fourteen. Tacitus was in his twenty-fifth year. Observe the force of tum, as referring to the hopes that were then formed of the female in question, and that were subsequently realized.—Adjecto pontificatus sacerdotio. This never ceased to be reckoned a mark of distinction.

CHAP. X.—Multis scriptoribus. As, for example, Caesar (B. G., iv., 21, sequ.; v., 8, sequ., &c.), Pliny (H. N., iv., 16), Ptolemy (iii., 2), Diodorus Siculus (v., 21, 22), Agathemerus (ii., 4), Strabo (i., p. 118, 120, 128; iii., p. 137, 185; iv., p. 199, 200), Livy (i., 105), Fabius Rusticus, Pomponius Mela, and others.

Non in comparationem, &c. "Not with the view of comparing my accuracy or talent (with that of others)." Compare note on in eam famam, chap. viii.—Perdomita est. "It was completely subdued."—Percoluer. "Have embellished."—Rerum fide. "With fidelity of facts," i. e., from the evidence of actual discoveries.—Spatio ac calc. "In situation and climate." The old geographers gave the northern coast of Spain a northwesterly direction; and, unacquainted with the extent to which Bretagne reached westward, made the coasts of Gaul and Germany run in an almost uniform north-easterly direction. Tacitus seems to have placed Britain in the angle thus formed. He means to say here that it is situated between nearly the same degrees, both of latitude and longitude, as those parts of the coast of Spain and Germany opposite to which it lies. From chap. xxiv. it appears that he imagined Ireland to lie between Britain and Spain, though there is no reason to suppose that he placed it on the southwest of Britain.

In orientem Germaniae, &c. "On the east toward Germany, on the west toward Spain." Observe that Germaniae and Hispaniae are datives depending on obtenditur.—Gallis in meridiem etiam inspicitur. "It is even seen by the Gauls on the south." He means that it lies so near Gaul on the south as even to be plainly seen from it.—Nullis contra terris. Examples of ablatives absolute, used in this same manner, are found in other writers besides Tacitus. Thus, Cic., Phil., i., 10: "Bonis tribunis plebis;" and Liv., xxxvi., 6: "Multorum eo statu, qui diuturnas esse non posset."

Livius. In his 105th book (now lost, but of which we have the Epitome), in which he gave an account of Julius Caesar's expedition into Britain.—Fabius Rusticus. A contemporary of Claudius and Nero, and a near friend of Seneca, more so than was consistent with the unbiased statement of truth, which should characterize the historian. (Arn., xiii., 20.) He wrote
the history of his own times, and probably mentioned Britain when speaking of the expedition of Claudius (A.D. 43).

Oblongae scutulae. "To an oblong scutula." The scutula was properly a small kind of dish or tray. Wex gives the following delineation of both the scutula and bispinae.

*Et est eu facies, &c.* "And this is, in reality, its appearance, exclusive of Caledonia; and hence the popular report respecting its form has passed over (and been applied) unto the whole island." Observe that *fama* is here the nominative, and we must supply with it a genitive from *facies.* The expression in *universum* is equivalent here to in *universam Britanniam.*—*Sed immenum et enorme,* &c. "But an immense and irregular extent of land, jutting out from that part where the coast now almost comes to an end, is gradually contracted, as it were, into the form of a wedge." Observe that the words *extremo jam littore* are not to be joined, by means of the figure called *hyperbaton,* with *velut in cuneum tenuatur,* but with *terrarum procurrentium.* In the words *extremo jam littore* Tacitus alludes to the narrow isthmus between the Clota (Clyde) and Bodotria (Forth), the southern boundary of Caledonia.

*Novissimi maris.* "Of the farthest sea."—*Tunc primum.* Referring to the time of Agricola.—*Incognitas ad id tempus insulas.* But, according to Eusebius, Claudius had already annexed these islands to his dominions; and the same is asserted by Eutropius (vii., 5); and certainly a report of
their existence had reached Rome by that time. Mela estimates their number at thirty; Pliny at forty; so that perhaps incoignitas may here be equivalent to leviter or non penitus cognitas.—Diœcta est et Thule. "Thule, also, was but just discerned in the distance." The verb diœci is used when speaking of anything which can not be distinguished without difficulty. Thule is variously identified by different authors with Mainland (one of the Shetland isles), Norway, and Iceland. The Thule of Ptolemy is probably the first of these; the Thule of Tacitus, the last-mentioned country.—Quam hactenus nio et hiems abedebat. The text here is doubtful. Some editions have Diœcta est et Thule quadamtemus; nio et hiems adpetebat: "Thule, also, was to some extent descried; snow and winter were seeking to make it their own." Our reading, however, gives the best sense, hactenus abedebat signifying "were accustomed hitherto to conceal." Other variations from the common reading may be seen in Walther and Ritter.

Resurgam et grave remigantibus. "Sluggish and laborious to rowers." It would appear that the first navigators of Britain, in order, no doubt, to enhance the idea of their dangers and hardships, had represented the Northern Sea as in so thickened and half solid a state, that the oars could scarcely be worked, or the water agitated by the winds. Tacitus, however, rather chooses to explain its stagnant condition from the want of winds, and the difficulty of moving so great a body of water. But the fact, taken either way, is erroneous; as this sea is never observed to be frozen, and is remarkably stormy and tempestuous.—Perinde. "As it is elsewhere." Compare note on perinde, chap. v. of the Germania.


Nusquam latius dominari mare, &c. "That the sea nowhere exercises a more extensive dominion; that it bears along many currents in this direction and in that; and that not as far as the shore merely does it increase or is it drawn back, but that it flows far inland, and winds about, and insinuates itself even among hills and mountains, as if in its native bed," i. e., its ebings and flowings are not confined to the shore, but it penetrates into the heart of the country, and works its way among hills and mountains, as in its native bed. The great number of friths and inlets, which almost cut through the northern parts of the island, as well as the height of the tides on the coast, render this language of Tacitus peculiarly proper.—Velut in suo. Equivalent, in fact, to veluti jugis montibusque in suo. The ancients, as the moderns do, taught that the bed of the sea, like the continent, contained valleys and mountains, the summits of which formed rocks and islands. (Plin., H. N., ii., 102; vi., 22.)
NOTES ON THE

[CHAP. XI.

CHAP. XI.—Indigenae. Caesar mentions that the inhabitants of the interior parts of the island were supposed to be of indigenous origin. (B. G., v., 12.)—Ut inter barbaros. “As is usual among barbarians.” Supply fieri solet.—Habitus corporum. “The characteristics of their frames,” i. e., their physical appearance.—Argumenta. “Arguments (are drawn),” i. e., as to their origin. Supply erat, or colligatur.—Namque. There is the same difference between nam and namque as between enim and etsim, γάρ and καί γάρ. Namque may be frequently translated, as in the present passage, “thus, for instance.”—Rutilus comae, &c. Compare chap. iv. of the Germans, where the physical appearance of the Germans is described.—Germanicum originem. The inhabitants of Caledonia were not, as Tacitus here asserts, of German, but of Celtic origin.

Silerum colorat virtus. “The swarthy complexions of the Silures.” The Silures answer to the people of Wales. They occupied what are now the counties of Brecknock, Glamorgan, Monmouth, Hereford, and Radnor.—Torti. “Curly.”—Iberos. An Iberian origin for the Silures is quite out of the question. They were of the old British or Celtic stock.—Prosimi Gallis, &c. “Those nearest the Gauls resemble, also, the inhabitants of that country.” Literally, “are also like (them).” Of these, the inhabitants of the modern Kent are most favorably spoken of by Caesar, as regards civilization. (B. G., v., 14.)—Seu durante origini vi, &c. “Either because the influence of a common origin still remains, or because, the lands running out in opposite directions (until they approach one another), climate has given this character to their frames.” He means the southern part of Britain and the northern part of Gaul. Thus, Britain running in a southern direction, according to him, and Gaul in a northern one, the two countries would approach each other, until they lay opposite. With habitum supply erat.

Eorum sacra delineandas, &c. “You may discover traces of their religious system in the firm belief (of the Britons) in certain superstitions.” Eorum refers to the Gauls, the people mentioned at the close of the previous sentence. The superstitious rites here meant are particularly the mysterious and bloody solemnities of the Druids. From the language of Tacitus it would seem to follow that Druidism came into Britain from Gaul, and this, no doubt, is the correct view of the matter. According to Caesar, however, the institution originated in Britain (B. G., vi., 13). The parent home of Druidism is now thought to have been the remote East.—Superstitionum persuasione. Equivalent to persuasione de superstitionibus. So persuasio falsae scientiae. (Quintil., i., 1, 8.)—In desponsandis periculis. “In courting dangers.” This tallies precisely with Caesar’s account of the Gauls. (B. G., iii., 19.)—Formido. “Want of nerve.”—Ferosia. “Martial spirit.” Ferox does not mean “ferocious,” but “proud and dauntless.”—Otio. “Repose from warfare.”—Britannorum olis victiss. “To those of the Britons who have long been subdued,” i. e., the subjects of Cynobellinus, conquered by Claudius. (Walch, ad loc.)
CHAP. XII.—Honestior auriga, &c. “The more honorable individual is charioteer; his vassals fight for him,” i.e., the noble drives the chariot; his dependants fight from the same. In the Homeric poems, on the contrary, among the Greeks and Trojans, the ἰπιόχος was the less noble of the two.
—Nunc per principes, &c. “Now they are torn asunder by the nobles with parties and factions.” Traukuntur for distribuantur, i.e., vexantur.—Duabus tribusque civitatibus. “On the part of two or three states.” Literally, “unto two and three states.” Observe the force of the dative here, which approximates in meaning to the genitive, by a poetic idiom. (Madvig, δ 241; Obs. 3.)—Conventus. Tacitus is speaking of assemblies for the formation of plans for their common operations.

Calum crebris imbribus, &c. A remark still fully applicable to the climate of Britain.—Ultra nostri orbis mensuram. Elliptical for ultra mensuram dierum nostri orbis. Pliny says that in Italy the longest day lasts fifteen hours; in Britain, seventeen. (H. N., ii, 73.)—Discrimine. “Interval.”—Solem fulgorem. If by solis fulgor we could understand the light arising from the refracted rays of the sun, this would be strictly true; but the words nec occidere . . . sed transire are hardly applicable to this, and must refer to the sun itself.—Transire. “Moves across the sky.”

Scilicet extrema et plana terrarum, &c. This has already been explained in the notes on chap. xlv. of the Germania.—Non existit tenebras. “Do not cast their shadow in a perpendicular direction,” i.e., do not shroud the whole heaven in darkness.—Infraque calum et sidera nos cedit. That is, the surface of the earth only is darkened, while the sky and stars appear above the shadow, and are illumined by the rays of the sun.—Prater. “Except.”—Patiens frugum. For a long time Britain was the granary of the Roman army on the Rhine. Zosimus (iii., 5) speaks of eight hundred vessels employed, by order of the Emperor Julian, in transporting corn to Germany.—Tarde mitescunt, cito proveniunt. “They ripen slowly, they come forth quickly,” i.e., growth is quick, but maturation slow. With mitescunt and proveniunt the term fruges must be mentally supplied.—Cali. “The atmosphere.”

Fert Britannia aurum. Strabo (iv., p. 138) agrees with Tacitus. Cicero, on the contrary, denies that any precious metals (or, rather, that any silver) was found in Britain. (Ep. ad Att., iv., 16.) Cambden speaks of gold mines in Cumberland and Scotland, and of silver mines near Ilfracomb.—Margarita. The neuter plural, from margaritum, which, however, is of rare occurrence, and does not appear in Cicero. The feminine form is the more usual. Pliny says that the British pearls were small and discolored (H. N., ix., 35). Bede, on the contrary (Hist. Angl., i, 4): “In quibus sunt muscula, quibusc inclusam saepe margaritam omnis coloris quidem optimum inveniunt, i.e., rubicundae et purpuree, et hyacinthini et prasini, sed maxime candidi.” The pearls which are found in Caernarvonshire, in the River Conway, and in Cumberland, in the River Ir, are equal to the best of those brought from the Indian Ocean; but they are so few and small as not to repay the trouble of searching for them.
NOTES ON THE

CHAP. XIII.

Artex. "Skill," *i.e.*, in detaching the shell-fish from the rocks.—Rubro

Mare. "The Indian Ocean." Between Ceylon and Persia. The Rubrum

Mare (ἡ Ῥῦβηδα θάλασσα) of the ancients included both the Sinus Persicus

and the Sinus Arabicus.—Prout expulsis sint. "As they have been thrown

up (by the sea)."—Naturum margaritis deceae. "That a proper nature is

wanting to the pearls (of this country)." By natura is here meant what the

Greeks term ποιντυς φωςτης, that is, in the present instance, brilliancy and

whiteness, which the Indian pearls possess. Compare Wex, *ad loc.*

CHAP. XIII.—Ipsi Britannii. From an account of the island, he now pro-

ceeds to that of the inhabitants themselves. Compare a similar employment

of the pronoun ipsa in the Germania, chap. ii.—Impigre obvunt. "Cheer-

fully undergo."—Injury. "Injurious treatment," *i.e.*, the insolence of op-

pression.—Igitur. "Thus." This particle is here intended to be expan-

sory of what immediately precedes, namely, jam domiti ut parent, &c.

Compare Hand, *ad Tuscull.*, iii., p. 196, seqq.—Britanniam ingressus. In

B.C. 55 and 54.—Diuus Julius. Consult notes on chap. viii. of the Ger-

mania.—Mox bella civilia. Supply suae.—Principum. "Of the leaders.

—Consilium. "Policy." Strabo (ii., p. 115; iv., p. 200) assigns the reason

for this conduct in relation to Britain. The Romans had nothing to fear

from that island, nor would much advantage be derived from the possession

of it; and, at the same time, it could not be conquered and kept in sub-

jection without considerable expense.—Præceptum. "An injunction (on

the part of his predecessor)."

Agitasse C. Cassarem. "That Caius Caesar had formed the design." Caligula is meant. This expedition was undertaken not from Gaul, but

from the Batavian shores. The light-house which Caligula built was at the

second mouth of the Rhine, now choked with sand, where the remains of

it still exist, and are called by sailors the Calis-Thurn.—Ni velox ingenio,

&c. "(And he would have carried out this design) had he not been pre-

cipitate in forming schemes, fickle in changing his mind," &c. Observe the

elliptical commencement of the sentence. With ni supply suae. We

have followed Bekker in mobilis panimentia. Others have mobilis panimentia

or mobilis panimentia, both of which are less in the style of Tacitus.—Ingenius

adversus Germaniam, &c. Consult notes on chap. xxxvii. of the Ger-

mania.

Auctor operis. "Was the author of the work," *i.e.*, was the one that

carried these designs into effect. For an account of the successes of

Claudius, or, rather, of Plautius and Vespasian, in A.D. 43, consult *Hist.*, iii.,

44; *Suet., Claud.*, 17.—In partem rerum. "To a share in the undertaking."

—Menstratus satis. "Was pointed out by the fates." As this expedition

laid the foundation of Vespasian's subsequent elevation to the throne, by

the same which he thereby acquired of an able commander, it may well be

said that the fates now began to give indications of his future career. Ob-

serve that satis is here the ablative without *a*, instances of which construc-

tion are not unfrequently found.
CHAP. XIV., XV.] AGRICOLA.

CHAP. XIV.—Aulus Plautius. He was the legatus consularis during the years A.U.C. 796-800.—Propositus. "Was placed over the island." For propositus est insula.—Subinde Ostorius Scapula. During the years 800-803. For an account of his contests with the Silures under Caractacus, consult Ann., xii., 31, seqq. Though he penetrated to the Irish Sea, and Caractacus was delivered up by Cartimandua, the queen of the Brigantes, he did not subdue the Silures. Oyster Hill, near Hereford, the site of a Roman camp, received its name from him.—Proxima. "Nearest unto us," i.e., to Italy and Rome. How much of the southern part of the island is included in this expression can not be determined.—Veteranorum Colonia. This was at Camulodunum, now Colchester, the residence of Cynobellinus. Camulodunum means "the city of Mars" (Cassius among the Britons answering to Mars). It was called Colonia victoria, and was chosen for the station of the fourteenth legion. Compare Ann., xii., 32.

Cogidunum. Cogidunus is not mentioned elsewhere. He was, perhaps, a vassal of the sons of Cynobellinus.—Vetere ac jam pridem receptus, &c. "According to the old and long established custom of the Roman people, to have even kings as the instruments of slavery."—Didius Gallus. He held the command during A.U.C. 804-810.—In ulteriora promotus. "Having been pushed forward into the more remote regions." Apparently into the territory of the Silures.—Fama aucti officii. "The credit of having extended the bounds of his administration," i.e., of having enlarged his province.—Veranius. This commander made some incursions into the territory of the Silures, and would no doubt have pushed his conquests farther, had he not been cut off by a premature death. Consult Ann., ii., 56, 74; iii., 10, 13, &c.

Subactus nationibus. "In the subjection of tribes," not "after the rebellious tribes had been subdued," as some erroneously translate it. The past participle has a similar force in Ann., xvi., 31: "Nero virtutem iis nam ascesciderc concepivit, interfecit Thraseas Pato." "Nero wished to destroy virtue itself by killing Thrasea Pato."—Monem insulam. The Mona of Tacitus is now the Isle of Anglesea, whereas the Mona of Cæsar is the Isle of Man. The Mona of Tacitus was the chief seat of the Druidical religion in Britain, and was on this account attacked by Paulinus, who wished to put an end, by these means, to the influence exercised by the Druid priesthood in stirring up the Britons against the Roman power. Paulinus took the island, and destroyed the groves in which human sacrifices were accustomed to be offered. For a spirited sketch of the affair, consult Ann., xiv., 30.

Vires. Tacitus says that the island was powerful in its inhabitants (incolis validam).—Terga occasioni patefacti. "Laid open to a surprise the settlements behind him." Tacitus alludes to the revolt of the Britons under Boudicea, of which an account is given in Ann., xiv., 31, as well as in the two following chapters of the present work.

CHAP. XV.—Interpretando. "By commenting upon them."—Ex facili. "Easily." This expression has been formed after the model of such phrases as ex inopinato, ex insperato, ex abundanti (Quintil., iv., 5, 15); ex aequali
The same idiom occurs in Greek, καὶ τοῦ ἐμφανεῖς (Herod., iii., 150); ἐξ ἀελπίων (Soph., Aj., 715), &c.—Singulas sibi olim, &c. "That formerly they had only one king for each nation." Observe the force of singulas here; one king for each nation; not merely one king, which would have been singula regem.—Saviret. The subjunctive, as indicating the sentiments of the speaker, not those of the writer.—Æque...aque. So pariter...pariter. (Ovid, Met., xii., 36.) ὁμοίως...ὁμοίως are used in the same manner.—Altarius manus, centuriones altarius, &c. "That the officials of the one, the centurions of the other, mingled violence and insults," i.e., treated them with mingled violence and insult. The first altarius refers to the procurator, and by manus are meant his under-officers; the second altarius refers to the legatus. Compare Walch, ad loc.

Exceptum. "Excepted from," i.e., unviolated by.—Spoliæ. Compare note on saviret.—Tanquam morti tantum, &c. "As if ignorant only how to die for their country."—Nescientibus agrees with illis understood in the preceding clauses.—Quantum. "How mere a handful." One of the MSS. has quantulum, the correction of some copyist, who was ignorant that tantus, quantus, and the like, are employed to express diminution as often as enlargement.—Sic Germaniae excussisse jugum. By the overthrow of Varus, and the slaughter of his legions. The plural form Germanias has reference to the Roman subdivisions of that country. Consult notes on chap. i. of the Germania.—Et. "And yet."—Non oceano. As the Britons were.

Divus Julius. This expression seems rather strange in the mouth of a barbarian; but the Roman writers were not so scrupulously exact in such matters as modern criticism requires.—Rexcessisset. Compare note on saviret, above.—Impetus. "Of impetuous feeling."—Qui detinerent. "Since they detained." The subjunctive with the relative, because containing the reason of what preceded.—Quod difficilimum fuerit. "What has ever been most difficult." The subjunctive as in saviret, before mentioned.—Perro. "In fine."—Audere. "To dare to put them into execution."

CHAP. XVI.—Boadicea. The name is variously spelt, Boudicca, Boodicea, Boudicca, Boadicea. The last form has most authority in its favor. She was the wife of Prasutagus, king of the Iceni, a tribe inhabiting the eastern coast of Britain. She put an end to her own life A.D. 61. The story of her wrongs is given in Ann., xiv., 31.—Suumae bellum. So Ann., ii., 45, and "praelium sumere," Hist., ii., 42. Compare the Greek πόλεμον ἡμνυτο (Thucyd., iii., 39).—Espugnatis praesidii. Camulodunum was taken and destroyed by fire. Londinium was also taken, and Verulamium soon after experienced a similar fate. In these places nearly seventy thousand Romans and Roman allies were put to death with cruel tortures.—In barbaris. "Usual among barbarians."—Ira et victoria. "Anger and the license of victory." No bendiady, as some imagine.

Quod nisi Paulinus, &c. "Had not Paulinus, therefore," &c.—Veteri patientia. "To its ancient subjection." The forces of Suetonius amounted to only about ten thousand, while those of the Britons under Boadicea are
said to have been two hundred and thirty thousand. About eighty thousand Britons are said to have fallen in the battle, and not more than four hundred Romans. Boadicea would not survive this irreparable calamity, but put an end to her life by poison. This victory finally established the Roman dominion in Britain. (Ann., xiv., 31–37.)—Tenentibus arma pleisque. “Although many still retained arms,” i. e., remained in arms. Compare note on pleisque, chap. i.—Propius agitabatur. “Affected more nearly.”

Egregius. “Though exemplary.”—Durius. “With too much severity.”—Petronius Turpilianus. Sent A.U.C. 815. He was put to death by Galba (Hist., i., 6, 37). From this time forward, Britain, as far as Anglesea, may be considered as under the Roman dominion.—Delictis hostium novus, &c. “New to the offences of the enemy, and on that account milder to their repentance,” i. e., unacquainted personally with the excesses of which the foe had been guilty, and therefore the more disposed to treat them mildly on their repenting. Compare “novus doloris” (Sil. Ital., vi., 254): “firmus adversis” (Agric., xxxv.).—Compositis prioribus. “The previous disturbances having been alloyed.”—Trebellio Maximo provinciam tradidit. At what time is uncertain: probably in A.D. 64. Trebellius’s flight took place in A.D. 69 (Hist., i., 60; ii., 55).—Nullis experimentis. For nulla experimenta.—Comitate quadam curandi, &c. “Retained in subjection the province by a certain courtesy in governing.” Curare is not unfrequently used by Sallust and Tacitus in the sense of “governing,” “commanding,” &c. Thus, “in ea parte curabat.” (Sall., Jug., 60): “Qui proconsul Asiame curaverat.” (Ann., iv., 36.)

Vitius blandientibus. “Through the seductive influence of our vice,” i. e., the seductive charms of luxury. Literally, “our vices coaxing (them into this state of feeling).”—Et interventus civilium armorum, &c. Namely, in order that the empire might not be harassed by foreign wars at the same time that it was torn by intestine convulsions.—Sed discordia laboratum. “Trouble, however, was occasioned by mutiny.”—Lascivae. “Began to grow insubordinate.”—Indecorae atque humiliae. “Dishonored and abused.”—Precario. Consult notes on chap. xliiv. of the Germania.—Praefuit. Scil. exercitus.—Ac velut pacti, &c. “And, as if they had stipulated, the army for unbridled freedom, the general for personal safety,” &c. With pacti supply sunt.—Vettius Bolanus. Consult chap. viii. This governor arrived in Britain between April and May, A.D. 69. During his administration the circumstances happened which are recounted elsewhere by Tacitus (Hist., iii., 45).—Disciplina. “By any severity of discipline.”—Petulentia castorum. “Insolence in the camp.”—Et nullis delictis invitus, &c. “And, hated for no crimes, had procured for himself affection in lieu of authority,” i. e., had made himself loved rather than feared.

Chap. XVII.—Et Britanniam recuperavit. “Recovered Britain also,” i. e., restored it to the benefits of a firm and wise administration of affairs at Rome. Vespasian placed the Roman world once more upon a firm basis, after it had been shaken to its centre by the civil contest between Otho and
Vitellius. — Recipercunt. The earlier form of recipercunt. — Magni duces, egregii exercitus. “Our generals (in that island) were men of great abilities, our armies were excellent.” — Petilius Cerealis. Already mentioned in chap viii. — Brigantium. The Brigantes inhabited what are now the counties of York, Westmoreland, Durham, and Lancaster. — Aut victoria amplectus, &c. Observe that victoria amplecti in “to subdue,” but belle amplecti “to over-run.”

Et cum Cerealis quidem, &c. “And although Cerealis, indeed, might have obscured (by his own abilities) the administration and fame of another successor, yet Julius Frontinus also, a man of great talents, sustained the burden (of competition), as far as was permitted,” i.e., the conduct and reputation of Cerealis were so brilliant that they might easily have eclipsed the splendor of a successor, and yet Julius Frontinus supported the arduous competition as far as circumstances would admit. (Compare Wes, ad loc.) Alter, although it is commonly synonymous with ἀριστεύς, sometimes stands for ἀριστεύς τυφλός, and is even occasionally, as here, equivalent to διάλογος. The reason why Tacitus expressed himself on this occasion so cautiously may probably be owing to the fact that Frontinus was still alive. In Hist., iv., 71; v., 21, he uses greater freedom.

Quantum licebat. As far as was permitted by the times in which he lived, when to appear eminent was dangerous; and it was dangerous, especially for the governor of so important a province, even in the time of Vespasian. Frontinus lived till A.D. 106, and was an augur at the time of his death. He was the author of a work upon the art of war (Strategemata), and of another upon the Aqueducts of Rome, the superintendence of which was intrusted to him during the reigns of Nerva and Trajan. — Validamque et sagamorem, &c. Since the victories of Suetonius Paulinus, from about A.D. 62 to 75, we hear nothing of the struggles with the Silures. But that the subjection of this wild mountain tribe had not yet been accomplished is shown not only by Frontinus’s expedition, but by Agricola’s enterprise against Mona.—Super. “Besides.”

Chap. XVIII. — Hunc Britanniam statum, &c. “Found this condition of Britain, these vicissitudes of warlike operations,” i.e., found Britain in this state, as resulting from the fluctuating fortune of the contests which have just been mentioned. Vices here marks a result, not what was passing at the time.—Media jam aestate. This was in A.D. 78. — Cum et militis, &c. “When both our own soldiers, as if all onward movements had been given over, were turning their attention to enjoyments free from care, and the enemy to the seizure of the opportunity thus offered them.” Literally, “were turning themselves.” Middle voice.—Ordovicium. The Ordovices inhabited the counties of Flint, Denbigh, Caernarvon, Merioneth, and Montgomery. — Alae in finibus suis agentem, &c. “Had destroyed, almost to a man, a troop of horse acting within their confines.” The ala was the body of cavalry belonging to a legion, in number generally about three hundred. The period between the departure of Frontinus and the arrival of Agricola,
when the island was without a governor, probably afforded the opportunity for this occurrence.

_Ut quisbus bellum volentibus est._ **“Since a war was what they wished for.”** Compare the Greek idiom, of which this is an imitation, ὁς πάλιμος βουλομένως ἔτη. (Kidner, G. G., 559, 3, ed. Jelf.) The regular Latin form of expression would have been _vi qui bellum volentem._ — _Prebere assensum, &c._ That is, some did the one, some the other; though all were for war. The infinitives here are historical.— _Numeri._ **“The various divisions of the forces.”** The term _numerus_ is here employed in its military sense, a meaning which appears to have come in during the reign of Augustus. It is well explained by Torrentius (ad Suet., Vesp., 6): **“Est militare vocabulum, non solum pro catalogo seu breviculo militum, quam etiam mentionem vocant, sed pro ordinibus ipsius turmisque et cohortibus militum.”** Compare Bötticher: **“die Truppenabteilungen.”** Walch renders it **“die Cohorten,”** but this is too limited.— _Tarda et contraria bellum inchoature._

“Circumstances which delay and thwart one who is about to begin a war.” Referring to what immediately precedes.—_Custodiri suspecta._ **“That the suspected parts of the country should be watched merely,” i. e., those parts where the inhabitants were suspected of an intention to throw off the Roman yoke.

_Contractisque legionum versilis._ **“And having drawn together the veterans of the legions.”** Vesiiliis is here put for _vesillariis._ From the time of Augustus, those veterans who had served sixteen campaigns were released from their military oath, but were retained, till their complete discharge, under a _flag_ (vesillum) by themselves. They were free from all other military duties, except to render assistance in the more severe battles, to guard the frontiers of the empire, and to keep in subjection those provinces that had been newly conquered, and were, therefore, more disposed to revolt. There were _vesillarii_ attached to each legion, and it would appear that they amounted in number to five hundred. (Ann., iii., 51.) When there was any necessity, they were detached from their legions, and sometimes, as in the present instance, were all united into one body.

_In aquam._ **“Into the plain.”**—_Erèsit aciem._ **“Led his force in battle array up the mountain.”**—_Instandum fames._ **“That renown must be followed up.”**—_Cessissent._ **“Should have turned out.”** For _cessissent._

_Cujus possessione._ Observe the omission of the preposition _a._—_Ut in dubiis consilii._ **“As in the case of plans the issue of which is doubtful.”** The meaning appears to be, that Agricola had had some intention of invading Mona previous to his campaign against the Ordovices; but, as the result of that campaign was doubtful, he had not provided vessels; and he had not had time to do so after the conquest of the Ordovices, when he had fully determined to invade the island.—_Ratio et constentia, &c._ **“The ability and resolution of the general transported his forces across.”** Supply _copias._—_Auxiliarium._ These must have been Britons, as appears from what immediately follows.—_Et patrius ndanti usus._ **“And the mode of swimming was the peculiar one of their country.”**
Qui cessit, qui rescindatur, &c. "Who expected a (Roman) fleet, who expected ships, who expected the (difficulties of) the sea," i.e., the difficulties which would be opposed to the progress of the Romans by the intervening straits.—Invictum. "Insuperable." —Officiorum ambitum. "The compliments of office," i.e., efforts to procure the homage and flattery of the inhabitants.—Expeditionem aut victoriam, &c. "Call the having curbed those already conquered an expedition or a victory."—Ne laureatis quidem, &c. "He did not even follow up his victory with bay-decked dispatches." Supply litteris after laureatis. According to Roman usage, after any successful battle had been won, or a province subdued, the successful commander forwarded to Rome a dispatch decked with leaves of bay, this tree being regarded by the Romans as the peculiar emblem of victory.—Æstimantibus. "Men considering." Absolutive absolute, and an imitation of a well-known Greek idiom.

CHAP. XIX.—Animorum prudens. "Being well aware of the tone of feeling."—Per alia experimenta. "By the experience of others." More closely, "by the trials which others had made."—Escidere. "To eradicate."—Domum suam. "His own household," i.e., his own suite (military family) and attendants.—Nihil publica rei. "He transacted no public business." Supply agere, the historical infinitive.—Non milites adeclare. "He promoted no recruits (to the ranks of the legion)." Tacitus is here speaking, not of levying soldiers, but of the promotion of recruits to the honor of serving in the legion, that is, of becoming regular soldiers. The term milites, in its full force, belonged only to the legionary troops. The senate thought much of the honor of serving in the legion, and frequently endeavored to obtain it through private favor, or on the recommendation of the centurions.—Essue. Equivalent here to possuire, a meaning deduced naturally enough from the literal signification of "to follow out."

Commodare. "He applied." There is no need of regarding this as an instance of zeugma, with Walch and others. The meaning we have here given to the verb, and which is closely allied to its literal one, will suit equally well both veniam and severitatem.—Frumenti et tributorum, &c. "He mitigated the increase of the supply of corn and of the taxes by an equalizing of burdens," i.e., he took care that all the inhabitants should be rated fairly, according to their property; so that the poor might not have to contribute more than the rich. Munus is the amount at which each one was assessed. In the term tributa Tacitus refers to poll-taxes and taxes upon property. These were increased, and in some cases doubled by Vespasian.—Circumcision. "All those exactions having been abolished."—In quas In quartum repetita. "In devises for private gain." The meaning is, that Agricola put an end to all those devices for enriching themselves, which had been practiced by the inferior officers of government, and were esteemed heavier burdens than the taxes themselves.

Namque per ludibrium, &c. "For they were compelled, in mockery, to sit by the closed granaries, and to buy, besides, their own corn, and to sell
it out again at a (small) fixed price." From the provinces, at least during the time of the republic, and from Sicily, the Romans procured corn in three different ways; namely, by means of the frumentum decumanum, ematum, and astimatum. The frumentum decumanum was the tenth part of the produce of the aeger publicus or decumanus. It was exacted from the cultivators without payment, and had to be carried down to the sea, but was generally purchased or contracted for by the revenue-farmers, who were then called decumani, and who either sent it to Rome or sold it in the provinces. The ematum frumentum was corn which was furnished in compliance with the orders of the proconsul, to supply the wants of the armies or of the capital, and for which a fixed price was paid, at first from the public treasury, and afterward from that of the emperor. When the governor of the province was in league with the decumani, the latter, by means of such edicts as those mentioned by Cicero (in Ver., ii., 3, 13), got all the corn in the country into their power, as in the case of the Britons alluded to in the text, who were compelled to purchase it back from the Romans at a high price, both for their own consumption, and in order to furnish the ematum frumentum, for which they were paid only the small fixed price.—Ulto. Compare the explanation of Wex: "noch ebendrein, noch danu;" and consult Bötticher, Lex. Tac., s. v.

Devorsia itinerum, &c. "By roads and distant parts of the country were appointed," i. e., as the quarters unto which the corn was to be carried. Tacitus here refers to the frumentum astimatum, as it was termed. The provincial magistrates had money given them from the treasury, or from the emperor's purse, for the purpose of buying corn for their own use, at a valuation fixed by the senate, and this corn was to be carried to wherever place they chose. They might either exact the corn, or else a certain sum for that and for the expense of its conveyance. Now, corrupt and fraudulent magistrates always appointed some place at a great distance, and away from the common route, unto which the corn was to be conveyed, and then commuted in money with the farmer, at a heavy loss to the latter and a great profit to themselves. (Ascon. in Ver., 29.)—Deferrent. Supply frumenta.

Quod omnis in proutu erat. "What offered itself in abundance to all."

Pausis. The governor of the province and his officials.

Chap. XX.—Hac comprimendo. "By suppressing these abuses."—Egregiam famam paci circumdedit. "He threw around peace an excellent reputation," i. e., he established a very favorable idea of peace. Compare the Greek idiom, περιτεθναι τινι ατμιαν (Thucyd., vi., 96).—Qua. The antecedent is paiz. The Britons were despised and oppressed in peace just as much as in war, and therefore the former was no less dreaded than the latter.—Tolerantia. "Connivance." More literally, "sufferance," i. e., suffering oppression to be exercised, and secretly sharing in the spoils. We have given here tolerantia, the emendation of Rhenanus, as far superior to intolerantia ("oppression"), the MS. reading.

Sed ubi eustas advenit. During this summer Agricola seems to have pen-
strated to the Solway Firth. That he did not proceed further appears from the subsequent chapters. In chapter xxii., the expression Tertius expediti-

On the expression tertius expediti-

Milites in agrumine, &c. Some editors read milites, others milites. Both of

Loca castris ipse copera. Many traces of these encampments still remain;

two in particular, situated in Annandale, called Burnswark and Middleby,

Est, quoque agrum. "Had acted on an equality (with the Romans)," i.e., had maintained their ground, and preserved their independence against the encroachments of the Roman power.

Contrast the meaning of this passage are extremely doubtful. We have given the explanation of Walther as the most satisfac-

tory.

Chap. XXI. Sequens hiems. This was in A.D. 78–90. Saluberrimis

conscitiae. "In most wholesome measures."—In bellis faciis. "Prone to

war."—Ut tempora, fora, domus exstruetur. Julius's house, or house (the

house of Julius Agricola), and Arthur's oven, in Stirling, near the mouth of the Carron, are said to have been built under the direction of Agricola. As we soon afterward find Eboracum an important city, the residence of the British governor, and sometimes of the emperor himself, it is not unlikely that Agricola founded the city about this same time, in the country of the Brigantes, to promote the civilization of this wild tribe.—Ita honoris amulation, &c. "In this way an honorable rivalry supplied the place of compulsion," i.e., in this way he excited a spirit of honorable rivalry, which had all the force of compulsion.

Jam vero principium, &c. The same line of policy was pursued by Au-

gustus (Suet., Aug., 48) and by other Roman emperors (Ann., ii., 2; xi., 15). Perhaps Agricola established schools, as Caligula did in Gaul and Belgium.
CHAP. XXII., XXIII.] AGRICOLA.

—Et ingenio Britannieor, &c. "And he gave the preference to the natural talents of the Britons over the laborious efforts exerted by the Gauls," i.e., over the mere learning of the Gauls. Some suppose that antefero here means "to cause to excel," but without any necessity. Gauls frequently found their way to Britain, and ingratiated themselves with the princes of that country, to the exclusion of the more talented but less cultivated natives.—Ut. "So that."—Elloquentes concupiscerent. "Began now to desire its eloquence," i.e., were now ambitious of becoming eloquent in it. In their communications with the governor, and in judicial proceedings, the Britons would be required to use the Latin tongue.—Habilitus nostri honor. "Our mode of dress began to be held in honor." Supply erat.—Delinitions vitiorum. "The blamishments of vicious pleasures."—Humanitas. "Refinement."—Cum. "When, in reality."

CHAP. XXII.—Tertius annus. The time meant is A.D. 90.—Novas gentes. Those, namely, between the Solway Firth and the Firth of Tay, in Annandale, Clydeedale, Tweeddale, Berwick, Lothian, Stirling, Menteith, Perth, and Fife, through which ran a Roman road.—Tasum. The Taus was not the Tweed, which does not form an estuary, but the Tay. Ceresalis had before this penetrated to the Tweed.—Quamquam confictatur. "Though having to struggle with."—Castellis. The remains of some of these are still to be seen between Ardch and Innerpeffery. The principal one was at Ardch, and so situated as to command the entrance into two valleys, Strathkenn and Strathern, thus illustrating the remark made immediately after this by Tacitus, respecting the skill displayed by Agricola in choosing advantageous situations for his forts.—Inu patione et fugis desertor. "Or was abandoned through capitulation and flight."

Annais copias. "By supplies of provisions for a whole year." Some, less correctly, refer this to supplies of fresh troops.—Intrepidae. "Passed without alarm." Supply erat.—Irritia. "Being baffled."—Pensare. "To make up for." The simple verb for the compound compensare.—Justa pellebentur. "They were alike pressed hard."—Per alios gesta, &c. "Greedily intercept (the glory of) things achieved by others," i.e., with a greedy desire of distinction. Avidus has here, by a poetical usage, the force of an adverb. (Zumpt, § 682.)—Incorruptum facti, &c. "He had (in Agricola) an impartial witness of what was done," i.e., of his achievement.—Acceper in consicicie. "Somewhat harsh in his reproaches," i.e., in reproof, when reproving any one.—Injuicundus. "Austere."—Secretum et silentium ejus. "His reserve and silence," i.e., his reserved and silent manner.—Odioso. "To cherish secret hatred."

CHAP. XXIII.—Quarta estas. A.D. 81.—Obtinendi quis percurrerat. "In securing the country which he had overrun." Supply loca. Observe that obtine is used here in its common signification of "to hold against another," "to secure the possession of," &c. Compare the remark of Gronovius: "Obtinere est perseverare in tenendo; quod Galli dixerat mantenir."
It is used in a different sense, however, in Ann. xv. 8: "Percurrando qua obtinere non poterant."—Pateretur. "Had allowed."—Invenitur. Supply fuisse.—Terminus. "A limit (to our conquests)." This limit would have been found in that part of the island described immediately after as lying to the south of the Firths of Clyde and Forth. Here ancient Britannia ended and Caledonia began. It was in this same quarter that the rampart of Antonius was subsequently erected by Lollius Urbicus, the imperial legate.

Clota et Bodotria, &c. "The estuaries of Clota and Bodotria, carried back deep into the land by the tides of opposite seas," &c. The reference is, as already remarked, to the Firth of Clyde and the Firth of Forth.—Respecta. Observe that re has not unfrequently the force here assigned it in composition; as in repastus, "placed far back." Compare, also, Horace's redacta vallis (Epod., ii., 11).

Atque omnis proprius sinus tenebatur. "And the whole bend of the coast, in the more immediate neighborhood (of the isthmus), was (likewise) occupied (with forts)." As regards the force of sinus here, consult notes on chap. i. of the Germania. The chain of forts across the isthmus was sufficient to prevent any irruption of the enemy by land; while, to check their attempts by sea, in which way the Britons made their incursions in later times, Agricola had fortresses built east and west in the adjacent region, which were united with the main chain. It is this adjacent region, to the east and west of the isthmus, that Tacitus means to indicate by the expression "proprius sinus." The work now called Graham's Dykes was erected by Lollius under the Antonines, but coincided with Agricola's line, which ran from Old Kirk-Patrick on the Firth of Clyde, to Abercorn on the Firth of Forth.

CHAP. XXIV.—Quinto anno. A.D. 83.—Nave prima transgressus. "Having crossed over in the first ship," i.e., having crossed the estuary of the Clota (Clyde) in the first Roman fleet that had ventured narrowly to examine this part of the coast. Agricola might have marched his forces through the isthmus without having recourse to ships, but probably the appearance of a fleet would be more calculated to strike terror into the nations along the coast.—Eamque partem Britanniae, &c. The reference is to Carrick, Galloway, Wigtown, and perhaps also to Argyle, Annan, and Bute.—Copias. "With troops."—In spem, &c. More because Agricola hoped at some future time to achieve the conquest of Ireland, than because he dreaded any interruption from that quarter.—Medio inter Britanniam, &c. Compare chap. x.—Opportuna. "Lying commodiously."—Valentissimam imperii partem, &c. "Might unite the most powerful portion of our empire by great mutual advantages," i.e., might form a very beneficial connection between the most powerful parts of our empire, namely, Britain, Gaul, and Spain, by means of commercial transactions, and an interchange of their respective products.—Miscerit. In Greek we should have had & with the optative.

A great deal of unnecessary trouble has been taken by commentators with
the sentence of which this word forms part. Melius does not mean "better
(than those of Britain)," but "better (than the soil, climate, &c.)," which
are alluded to vaguely, and without any precision, in the words "haud mul-
tum differunt." Compare Ritter, ad loc.—Unum ex regulis. "One of the
petty kings."—Sepe ex eo audivi. Some take eo to mean this petty king,
and accordingly conclude that Tacitus was at this time in Britain. But
there can be little doubt that it refers to Agricola.—Arma. Supply essent.

CHAP. XXV.—Æstate, qua sextum, &c. This was in A.D. 63.—Officii.
"Of his government."—Amplexus. "Having embraced (in his plans)."
The fuller and more Augustan form of expression would have been ad sub-
igendum animo et cogitatione complexus.—Civitates trans Bodextrum sitas.
The reference is to the eastern parts of Scotland, north of the Firth of Forth,
where are now the counties of Fife, Kinross, Perth, Angus, &c.—Infesta.
"Infested by." Taken in a passive sense. A much inferior reading is
infesta hostilia exercitu, where infesta itinera must be rendered "hostile in-
roads," and infesta taken actively.—Portus classe exploravit. Agricola's
plan was apparently this, that the fleet should support the army, which
probably kept near the coast; and, in case the latter met with too powerful
an opposition at any of the passes, should land troops in the rear of the enemy.

In partem virium. "As a part of his forces." Virium is here equivalent
to copiarum.—Egregia specie. "With imposing display."—Impelleretur.
"Was urged on."—Misti copiis et latitiae. "Mingled together in forces and
in joy," i.e., mingled together in joyous groups. We have followed in this
explanation some of the best editors. Others, however, refer copiis to the
camp-stores of provisions; but this is far less natural.—Attollerent. In the
sense of estollerent.—Adversa. "The hardships."—Vicius oceanus. We
have adopted here the emendation of Lipsius. The common reading is
actus oceanus, "the ocean swelled by tempests." But vicius oceanus is far
more spirited, and is also more in unison with militari jactantia immediately
following. Compare, also, "domitus oceanus" (Suet., Claud., 17), and
"epolia oceani" (Suet., Cal., 46).

Secreto. "The secret retreat."—Ad manus et arma. "To action and to
arma."—Paratu magno, majore fama, &c. "With great preparation, with
the still greater fame (as is usual with reports concerning what is unknown)
that they had commenced hostilities." The infinitive oppugnasse depends
on fama, as Walsh correctly remarks; and, according to this same com-
mentator, the meaning of the passage is the same as if Tacitus had written
Magisque id fama celebrante "en oppugnarunt Britannii ulterior Romana ca-
tella."—Castella. Some forts in Fife, Perth, and Strathern, the remains
of which still exist; manifestly, from what follows, not the line of fortifications
between the Firths of Clyde and Forth.—Specie prudentium. "With the
air of prudent advisers," i.e., under the mask of prudence.—Hostes pluribus
agminibus irrupturos. "That the enemy intended to bear down upon him
in several bodies."—Et ipse. "He himself also."
NOTES ON THE [CH. XXVI.—XXVIII.

CHAP. XXVI.—Universi nonam legionem, &c. Brethier, following Gordon (It. Sept., p. 32), places the scene of this occurrence in Fife, where the remains of a Roman camp are found at Lochore. We must not suppose, however, that all the remains of Roman intrenchments in this part of the country are to be referred to the time of Agricola; many were built under the Antonines and Severus. After a careful examination of the whole subject, Walch comes to the conclusion that the ninth legion, which the enemy, altering their plan, fell upon with their whole force, must have been posted farther northward than Fife, in Angus, or perhaps Mar. If Agricola had been in the district of Fife, which is hardly eight miles broad, he would probably have immediately sought the enemy at the entrenchments.

Assultans. "To charge."—Propinquus lucus. "At daybreak."—Ancipiti male. The battle in front and rear.—Securi pro salute, &c. "At ease respecting their safety, they (now) vie with each other for glory." Observe here the force of the preposition de, and compare the explanation of Walther: "Illi de gloria certabant non pro gloria, i.e., ad gloriam parandam, non ut paratum tuentur."—Ereupera. This refers to the Romans in the encampment, who, not content with holding their ground, now rushed forth and drove back their assailants, who were received in the rear by the forces of Agricola that were now near the gates.—Utrque exercitus. The ninth legion in the camp, and the troops that had come to their aid.—Debellatum fort. "The war would have been ended."

CHAP. XXVII.—Cujus constantia, &c. "The army elated by the intrepidity and fame of this achievement." Observe that cujus refers back to victoria in the previous chapter. Lipsius reads conscientia for constantia, on conjecture (a reading afterward actually found in one of the MSS.), and which Ernesti, Dronke, and others have adopted. This, however, as Walther correctly remarks, wants spirit.—Inixium. "Inaccessible."—Continuo cursu. "By one continued career."—Modo cauti, &c. Consult chap. xxv.

At Britannii, &c. "The Britons, however, thinking (that it had been brought about) not by valor, but (merely) by a fortunate concurrence of circumstances, and by the skill of the (Roman) commander." After rati supply evenisse. Commentatores generally think that there is something corrupt in this sentence, and propose various corrections. There is no need, however, of any alteration. The passage is merely an elliptical one, in full accordance with the wonted conciseness of Tacitus.—Quo minus armament. "But armed." More literally, "so as not to arm."—Atque ista irritatis, &c. "And thus the parties separated with embittered feelings on both sides."

CHAP. XXVIII.—Cohors Usipiorum. Compare chap. xxxii. of the Germania. This cohort was probably a part of the forces stationed by Agricola in what is now Kintyre, Carrick, and Galloway. It would appear from Dio Cassius (Ixxvi., 20), that the course of their circumnavigation was from west to east, that is, they set out from the western side of the island, and coast-
ing along all that part of Scotland, abounding in intricate and dangerous navigation, passed round by the north.—*Magnum ac memorabile facinus. A daring and memorable enterprise.*

*Exemplum et rectores habeantur.* "Served as a pattern, and (at the same time) as controllers of their conduct."—*Liburniæ.* Supply naves, and compare notes on chap. ix. of the *Germania.*—*Adactis.* "Having been compelled to go on board."—*Et uno remigrante.* "And one (of the three pilots) escaping." Literally, "going back." One of the MSS. has *remigante*, which Lallemand, Oberlin, and some others adopt; but this, as Walch remarks, is neither Latin nor sense. The Latin idiom requires *gubernante*, since we say of a pilot, *nave gubernare, not remigare*; and then, again, the words *uno remigante* stand in almost direct contradiction to *animae per instigationem regendi navibus.*—*Rumores.* "The report of the affair," *i. e.*, of their mutiny and flight.—*Ut miraculum prævolebatur.* "They were carried along (the coast) as a kind of prodigy." Observe that *praevolebatur* is equivalent here to *preterevolebatur*. The inhabitants of the islands and shores on the west of Britain, along which the Usipii sailed, were astonished at the wonderful sight, and regarded it in the light of a prodigy.

*Ex inopia.* "To that degree of want."—*Infirmissimae.* Strict classical usage would require the ablative with *severeantur.* Compare *Zumpt,* 486.

—*Momente ductae.* "And then upon those drawn by lot."—*Atque ita circumventi,* &c. After they had reached the northern extremity of Scotland, they passed through the Pentland Firth toward the east, sustaining new encounters with the inhabitants of Caithness, Sutherland, Murray, Buchan, &c. Dio mentions that they nearly lighted upon the Roman camp.—*Suevis.* We must suppose that, either when attempting to reach their native country by land, after having arrived on the German coast, or when endeavoring to work their way round on the wrecks of their vessels, they were intercepted by some Suevi, and these, in turn, were captured by some Frisian pirates.—*In ostreum ripam.* The left bank of the Rhine is meant.—*Indicium tantum carus illustravit.* "The proof (thus afforded) of so extraordinary an adventure made objects of notoriety."

**CHAP. XXIX.**—*Initio estatis.* This was the commencement of a new summer, A.D. 84. The expression *cadem estate* (chap. xxviii.) shows that Tacitus had finished his regular account of Agricola's proceedings during the previous year, and that the narrative of the adventures of the Usipii is to be looked upon as a kind of supplement. Some editors, however, supply *septimae* here, which, when abbreviated into *vii.,* might be absorbed by the letters *VIT* at the close of the last chapter.—*Neque ambitioe subit.* "He neither endured with an ostentatious firmness," *i. e.,* he did not affect a stoical indifference in order to excite the admiration of others.—*Rursus.* "On the other hand."—*Et in locis.* Observe that *et* has here the force of *sed.* (Bötticher, *Lex. Tac.,* p. 178.)

*Quæ.* "In order that it." Equivalent to *ut ut*, and hence followed by the subjunctive.—*Magnam et incertam terrorem.* "An extensive and du-
bious alarm.” That is, the fleet would touch at many and various points, and the foe would thus be left in uncertainty as to each successive place of attack.—Explores. “Those who had been tried,” i. e., whose allegiance had been tested.—Mentem Grampianum. In the ancient Scottish tongue this ridge was called Grantsbein, now the Grampian Hills.—Fracti. “Dispirited.”—Crudas ac viridis secentus. “A pale and vigorous old age.” Compare Verg., Æn., vi., 304. —Sue decoru. “Their honorary distinctions,” i. e., the trophies won from enemies, not, as Ernesti thinks, the rewards they had received for their valor.—Calgaucus. The more correct form of the name, as restored from MSS. The common text has Galgacus.

CHAP. XXX.—Causas belli et necessitatem nostram. “The causes of the war and our present necessity,” i. e., the motives that necessarily impel us to war.—Magna animus. “A strong persuasion.”—Expertes. “Free as yet.” Supply usus.—Praetium atque arma. “Battle and arms.” By no means synonymous, as some suppose. Prætium marks the beginning of the conflict, and arma the maintaining of it gallantly by arms and prowess.—Priorum pugna. In which Calgacus and his followers had taken no part. In ordinary prose the whole sentence would have run thus: “Priorum pugnarum ipsa sita est in nostris membris,” and the general idea is this: In all the battles which hitherto been fought against the Romans, our countrymen may be deemed to have reposed their final hopes and security in us.—Nobilissimi. The Caledonians looked upon themselves as an indigeneous race, and therefore styled themselves the noblest sons of Britain. Compare Caesar, B. G., vi., 12: “Interior pars ab ipsis colitur, quae natos in insula ipsa memoria pröditu.”—In ipsis penetralibus. “In its very inmost recesses.” As in the penetralia of a dwelling all that was most valued was preserved, so here, in the very heart of Britain, in the very sanctuary, as it were, of the land, dwelt the noblest and bravest of her sons.

Recessus ipsa ac sinus fama, &c. “Our very remoteness, and the bosom of fame have, up to this day, defended.” The expression sinus fama is a poetical one, and means that the Caledonians are the cherished ones of Fame, whom she is rearing for future distinction. They have been hitherto in sinus fama conditi, that is, screened from observation by the nursing bosom of Fame, until the day of maturity and glory, now near at hand, shall have arrived. Various other explanations have been given of this passage, but they are all unsatisfactory.—Nunc terminus Britanniae patet, &c. The first part of the sentence, terminus Britanniae patet, gives the reason why their remoteness of situation will no longer defend them; and the latter part, omne ignotum pro magnifico est, shows in like manner why their former fame will no longer preserve them from aggression; for the Romans, who, when at a distance, magnified their strength, from knowing little concerning it, will, now that they are near, conceive a less formidable opinion concerning it.

Sed nulla jam ultra gens, &c. The connecting idea between this and the previous sentence is purposely suppressed by the writer, from motives of brevity, and must be supplied by the reader: “Some one here may say,
"Let us then ask the aid of other nations; but there is now no nation beyond us."—*Et infestiores Romani*. "And (on the other side are) the Romans, more hostile (even than these)," i. e., even than the waves and rocks.

—*Raptores*. "The plunderers."—*Et mare*. "The ocean also."—*Opes atque inopiaem*. "Wealth and indigence," i. e., wealthy and indigent communities. Equivalent to *opulentos atque inopes*.—*Imperium*. "Empire."

**CHAP. XXXI.**—*Hi per deletus, &c.* Britons are traced in Illyricum, Gaul, Spain, and elsewhere. So we find Sigambri in Thrace (*Ann.*, iv., 47), and Ligurians in Numidia (*Sall.*; *Jug.*, 100).—*Bona fortunaeque in tributum egerunt, &c.* "They consume our goods and property in taxes, the produce of year after year in contributions of corn." We must not confound *egerunt* here (from *egero*) with *egerunt* (from *ager*), as some have very strangely done. As regards the force of *egerunt* here, compare *Quintil. Declam.*; v., 17: "Census in easqueias egerere," and consult *Walch, ad loc.*—*Annos*. Employed here for *proventus annorum*.—*Silvis ac paludibus emuniendis*. "In making roads through woods and over marshes." *Munire* is used properly when a piece of work is performed by a number of persons, to each of whom a portion is allotted. The root is the same as *murus*, "a task." Hence *munire viam* is not "to fortify a road," but simply "to make one."—*Verbera inter ac contumelias*. Observe the anastrophe of the preposition here, after the manner of the poets, an arrangement admitted also, though less frequently, by other writers besides Tacitus, but chiefly, like him, of the silver age. So we have "*insulae inter Germanosque*" (*Hist.*, v., 19): "*ripam ad Euphratis*" (*Ann.*, vi., 37): "*hostem propter*" (*Ann.*, iv., 48).

**Britannia servitutem suam, &c.* Namely, by paying tribute, and supplying the Roman armies with food. *Pascere* is properly used with reference to cattle.—*Et conservae*. Observe that *et* has here the force of *etiam*, which some give as a reading.—*In hoc orbis terrarum vetere fuscatus*. "In this old slave-service of the world," i. e., amid the troop of nations subjected from of old to the Roman power.—*Novi nos et villae*. Equivalent to *nos tamquam novi et villae*—*Quibus exercendis reservarum*. "For bestowing our labors upon which we may be reserved." We have given *exercendis* here a general signification, which suits equally well all three nouns that precede. In strictness, however, there is a zeugma in the term, since *exercendis* properly applies only to *arae et metalla*, "the working of fields and mines," while in connection with *portus* it refers to the collection of customs and port-duities for the benefit of others.

**Brigantes, femina duce, &c.* Camden substituted *Trinobantes* here for *Brigantes*, from *Dio Cassius* (lxxi., 1), and *Ann.*, xiv., 31; and in this he has been followed by several editors. But the alteration is unnecessary. The insurrection of the Britons against Suetonius Paulinus began with the Iceni, and their queen Boadicea. With the Iceni were united the Trinobantes, *et qui alii, nondum servio victi, resumerent libertatem occulto coniurationibus popigerant* (*Ann.*, xiv., 31). By these we can not well understand the Silures, in whose territory Suetonius was posted; and accordingly we
must look to the northern tribes above the Iceni. The wide extent of the
Brigantes, the loose connection of some of the tribes with their queen, Car-
tismandua, and their fondness for warlike adventures, render it not unlikely
that some of the southern divisions of this race took part in the insurrection
of their neighbors.

Et libertatem non in praemissis latuiri. “And who have not now, for the
first time, to win our freedom.” The words libertatem latuiri are to be ex-
plained in the sense of carrying off a prize. Compare “plus flagiti et per-
iculi latuere” (Ann., vi., 34), and exostouevon dóvov (Thucyd., ii., 12).—Non
extendentes. The employment of non for nonius is not unfrequent. Compare
Cic. in Verr., iv., 7: “Quis vestrum ijgitur nauseat, quanti hac ostentatione?
In suatione signum annum non magnum HS. CX. millibus venire non vidit
imus?” and Virg., Æra., ix., 144: “At non vidimus mentia Troya, Neptuni
fabriosta manu, consideris in igne?”—Seposuerit. “Has reserved (for her
defence).”

—Diversissimis gentibus. As, for example, the Britanni, Batavi, Tungri,
Galli, Itali, &c. Compare chapters xiii., and xxxvi. —Nisi si. Consult note
on “nisi si patria sit,” chap. ii. of the Germania.—Pudet dicta. Instead of
pudet dicere.—Locut dominationi aliena, &c. “Although they afford their
blood unto a foreign dominion, yet for a longer period its foes than its sub-
jects,” i. e., although they are now shedding their blood in support of a for-
eign yoke, &c. Observe that commodare has here its proper signification,
namely, “in gratiam abicius aliquid praebere,” and consult Bötticher, Lex.
Tusc., e. v.—Motus et terror est, &c. “It is fear and terror (that retains),
feebly bonds of attachment,” i. e., that retains them in loyalty and affection
(fides et affectu tenet).

Aut nulla plerisque patria, aut alia est. “Most of them have either no
country, or else a different one from this,” i. e., one far away. The mean-
ing is as follows: the greater part are either the betrayers of their country,
as the Britanni; or are fighting in a foreign land, as the Batavi, Tungri,
Galli, &c.—Circum tropidos ignorantia. Some editors take circum tropidos
here to be equivalent to circum trepidantes, or tropide—circum vagantes, while
others strike out circum. But this last would be equivalent to saying, qui
non somum omnino tropidi sunt ignorantia, versus atiam ignorant, quae in calid,
&c., apparent. Most probably some such word as locorum, cierum, or regi-
onum has been lost before circum, and circum must then be taken as in Am-
xii., 55: “Duri circum loci.” The words may then be translated, “dis-
mayed through their ignorance of the surrounding country.”

Nostras manus. “Our own hands,” i. e., numbers ready to unite with us.
He alludes not merely to the Britons, but to the Gauls also, and the Ger-
mans. —Tamquam super Usipii, &c. Compare chap. xxviii.—Senem colo-
nie. Only one colony is, in fact, meant. Consult note on “trucidati vet-
erani, incensa colonie,” chap. v.—Ægra et discordantia. “Disaffected and
distracted.”—Hic dux, hic acerbitus. “Here there is a leader, here an army,”
i. e., here on our side. *Ibi,* in the next clause, means on the side of the Romans, where tributae, working in mines, &c., await the Britons if vanquished. Compare Wex: "Hic exercitus estis cum duce; hinc si fugeritis, servi eritis, ad poenas damnete et nullo in numero habite."—In hoc campo est. "Depends upon this field," i. e., upon your exertions in the coming fight.

CHAP. XXXIII.—Exception orationem. "They received this harangue." The verb *excipere* is used in the same manner by Livy (xxiv., 31): "Excipies clamor ab aliis." Compare also Ann., ii., 38: "Hec plures per silentium aut occultam murmure excipere."—Et barbari moris. "And, as is the custom of barbarians." Supply *ut est.* Some editions have *ut barbari moris,* but this can only refer back to *alacres,* and such a general assertion, as Ritter remarks, would be untrue, since in some cases the harangue of a leader would be listened to with dejected feelings.—Jamque agmina. Supply *apparentem.*—Audientissimi cuyjuque procursus. "Through the hurrying to the front on the part of each most daring one." This assigns the reason why the armorum fulgores were seen, and there ought, therefore, as Walch remarks, to be a comma after *agmina.*—Instruebat acies. "The army (of the Caledonians) was being drawn up in line."—Coercitum. "Capable of being restrained." This has here the force of an adjective in *illi:* So, "Genus mobile, infidum, neque beneficio neque metu coercitum." (Sall., Jug., 91.)

* Militem adhortatus.* This perfect participle is in meaning equivalent to a present participle. Compare Hist., ii., 96, "insectatus," Ann., i., 40, "complexus," &c. Grammarians call this usage the employing of the perfect participle *doplotor,* or indefinitely.—Octavus annus est. It was, in fact, only the seventh summer since he had arrived in Britain. But he probably includes the year 77, in which he was appointed governor, though he did not arrive in Britain till A.D. 78. It is possible, however, that *octavus* (viii.) may be a mistake of the copyist for *septimus* (vii.).—Virtute et auspiciis imperii Romani," &c. "Through the energy and auspices of the Roman empire, you have by your fidelity and perseverance been conquering Britain."—Veterum legatorum. For priorum legatorum.—Terminas. Governed by *egressi.*—Non fana nec rumore. "Not by widely disseminated accounts, nor by mere uncertain rumor." For the distinction between *fama* and *rumor,* consult Doederlein, Lat. Syn., v., p. 233.—Et nota virtuque in operto. "And your wishes and your valor have now free scope."—Silvas evasisse. "The having made our way through forests."—Pulchrum ac decorum in frontem. "Is glorious and full of honor to an army marching against the foe."—Prox is here equivalent to "acies, qua adversus hostem progrediitur" (Veget., iii., 14); and *pulchrum in frontem* is for *pulchrum fronti.* The common form of expression in Latin is *pulchrum, juvandum,* gratum mihi, but Tacitus uses "*grata in vulgus*" (Ann., ii., 59). So other writers say, "dissimili suis," but Tacitus has "haud dissimili in domum*" (Ann., ii., 39).

Jama pridem mihi decretum est. "I have long since come to the conclusion," i. e., it has long been a principle of action with me.—Neque exercitus,

CHAP. XXXIV.—Constitisset. "Had been standing in array (against you)," i. e., were now standing.—Nunc. "As matters now are, however." —Decores. "The military honors you have won."—Forto noctis. "Under the stealthy covering of the night."—Clamores. "By a mere about."—Si cæterorum Britannorum fugacissimi. "These, in respect of the rest of the Britons, the greatest fugitives of all." Observe here the peculiar and apparently illogical construction of ceterorum with the suprative, and which we have endeavored to soften down in transalating. It is in fact, however, a Greek idiom imitated in Latin. Thus we have (Soph., Ant., 100), κάλλιστον τῶν προτέρων φάζον; and (Theocrit., i., 1), ἄξιον ὄψιται τῶν προγενεσίων πολέμων, &c. Compare Wes., ad loc.

Fortissimum quodque animal robore, &c. "Each fiercest beast is laid low by the strength, the timorous and weak ones are put to flight by the very noise of the band; so," &c. There is a species of zeugma here, and with robore we must supply pellitum, in the sense of cæditur. The old reading in this passage was ruere, for which we have given robore, which seems to be called for by the very opposition indicated by sone.—Religius est numerus, &c. "There remains only a number of cowardly and timid men, who, as regards your having at length found them, have not opposed you, but have (merely) been overtaken because they were the last," i. e., whom you have found at last, not because they opposed you, but because, being the last, they have been overtaken and caught by you. The expression quæ quod tandem inveniésēs non restiterunt is an imitation of the Greek idiom, for qui, quod tandem inveniéstis eos, non restiterunt.

In his vestigis. "In this place where they are standing."—In quibus ederit. "In order that you might, in this same place, show forth unto the world." Equivalent to ut in iis (i. e., vestigii) ederitis. — Transigite cum expeditionibus. "Bring (now) your expeditions to a close," i. e., complete them. Compare Germ., chap. ix.: "Cum spe votoque uxorix semel transiit."—Imponite quinquaginta annis magnum diem. "Crown the fifty years with one glorious day." He is speaking in round numbers; from the expedition of A. Plantius it was only forty-two years.—Approbate reipublicæ. "Prove to your countrymen."

CHAP. XXXV.—Et alloquentes adhuc Agricola. "Both while Agricola was yet addressing them."—Instinctos. Compare chap. xvi.: "His atque talibus invicem instincti."—Medium aciem firmarent. "Formed a strong centre." Firmarent is here equivalent to firmando firmarent. Under the expression medium aciem Tacitus includes all the infantry between the two bodies of cavalry.—Cornibus afferrentur. "Were poured upon the wings," i. e., were spread out and formed the wings.—Pro valle. "Before the intrenchments," i. e., in the rear of the auxiliaries. Some make pro vallo mean
here "on the rampart," but this is justly condemned by Wex, who remarks, "At toto legiones non posseunt in vallo stare, sed ante vallum illis steterunt."—Ingenio...decus...bellanti. Equivalent to ingenio duci decus si bellaret.—Citra Romanum sanguinem. "Without any effusion of Roman blood."

Ut primum agmen aequo, &c. "That the first line stood upon the plain, the others, as if linked together, rose one above the other along the ascent of the mountain."—Media campi. "The intervening space (between the two armies)." The space between the van of the Caledonians and the Roman line.—Coviniarius. "The charioteers." Singular for the plural, as in eques immediately after. Coviniarius signifies the driver of a covinus (Celtic Kwoain), a kind of car, the spokes of which were armed with long sickles, and which was used as a war chariot chiefly by the ancient Belgians and Britons.—Eques. The cavalry of the Britons is meant (for they had both charioteers and horse), not that of the Romans. Simul et latera. Geaner, without any necessity, reads et in latera. The preposition is understood.—Didicis ordinibus. "Having extended his ranks." Compare Duxer, ad Latinos, v., 28.—Perrectior. "More drawn out," i.e., weaker.—Promtior in aequali. Tacitus also uses promtior alicui. Thus, Ann., iv., 60: "Mater promtior Neroni erat." Older writers commonly have promtus alicui.—Pedes ante se verum constitu. "He took his station on foot before the ensigns."

CHAP. XXXVI.—Constantia. "With steadiness."—Arte. "With dexterity."—Ingentibus gladiis, &c. "With huge swords and short targets." These targets (cestae) were small and round, and made of the hide of a quadruped. The broad-sword and target long remained, even in modern times, the peculiar arms of the Scottish Highlanders.—Excuter. "Struck aside." According to Vegetius (i., 4), the Roman recruit was instructed "plagam prudenter evitare, et obliquis victibus venientia tela deflectere." This is what Tacitus expresses here by the words evitare and excuter.

Ad mucrones aequalis. "To the sword-point and a hand-to-hand fight." The Britons struck with the edge of their swords (casem); the Romans, on the contrary, and the allies that were armed after the Roman fashion, used their shorter weapons for both cutting and thrusting (casem et punctum). On the present occasion, the Batavi and Tungri were ordered to rush into close quarters and employ the thrust, which would place their opponents completely at their mercy. Compare Vegetius, i., 12, and Brotier, ad loc.—Quod et ipsius, &c. "A movement that was both familiar unto themselves, from long experience in warfare, and embarrassing to the foe," &c. The small shields of the Caledonians did not cover their bodies, and their huge swords, moreover, were not easily wielded at close quarters.—Compleatum armorum, &c. "The thrusts of the Roman weapons, and a close fight." According to Erneis, compleatum armorum is "pugna qua fit conminus et conserendis manibus." Brotier also understands it in this sense, making it equivalent to the French "la mêlée." If, however, this interpretation were correct, compleatum armorum would have the same meaning as in aero pugna.
which immediately follows, that is, *pugna cominus*. But as in *arco pugnam* refers, apparently, to manus preceding (*ut rem ad mucrones ac manus adduceret*), so *complexus* may refer to *mucrones*, and it will then merely mean the blows or thrusts of the Roman weapons.

*Miscere ictus, ferire umbonibus, &c.* Observe the air of rapidity and animation which the succession of infinitives imparts to the narration.—*Erigere aciem.* Consult note on “erexit aciem,” chap. xviii.—*Æmulazione et impetus.* “Through emulation of their example, and their own native impetuosity.”—*Festinatio victoriae.* “In their eager pursuit of victory.” Observe that *festinatio* here follows the active meaning, which *festino* and *propere* nearly always have in Tacitus. Compare *Ann.*, xiii., 17; *Hist.*, iii., 25.

*Equitum turnas fugere.* This is the reading of all the early editions. Many editors have suspected the text of being corrupt, and have indulged in various emendations, all of which are perfectly unnecessary. By *equitum* Tacitus means the cavalry of the Britons put to flight by the Romans, and the expression *turnas*, which has misled so many commentators, may be applied to the British as well as to the Roman horse. Thus Tacitus elsewhere (*Ann.*, xiv., 34) writes, “*Britannorum copias passim per catervas et turnas exsulebant.*”

*Coviserii peditum se praelio miscuerer.* While the cavalry of the Caledonians, on their defeat by the Roman horse, fled from the scene of action, the charioteers, in like manner repulsed, retreated to their own infantry. By *peditum*, therefore, the Caledonian foot-soldiers are meant, not, as some think, the Roman.—*Densis tumen hostium agminibus, &c.* “We are now, however, entangled among the crowded bands of the enemy, and the inequalities of the ground.” By *hostium* are here meant the Caledonians themselves, not the Romans. On retreating to their own infantry, the charioteers, who had occasioned some consternation by their first shock, now became of little, if any service; for the crowded bands of their own countrymen, already thrown into confusion by the charge of the Batavians and Tungris, as well as the inequalities of the ground, since the Romans were now making their way up the acclivity, prevented them from using their chariots freely.

*Minimeque equestris, &c.* The true reading of this passage is extremely uncertain. The one which we have given is adopted by Bro tier and others, and appears to give the best sense. When the charioteers had reached their own infantry, and were struggling with their vehicles in the midst of this disorderly throng, the confused appearance thus presented was very different, according to our author, from that which a battle of horse usually presents; for, keeping their footing with difficulty on the declivity, they were every moment either impelled downward by the mere weight of the bodies of the horses, or were dragged about by the affrighted steeds in utter disorder, encountering friends and foes alike.

*Chap. XXXVII.*—*Vacui spernebant.* “Were regarding with contempt while thus disengaged.” Observe that *vacui* gets its force here from *pugnas emancipat*, which precedes. Some, less correctly, give it the meaning of “free.
from apprehension."—*Ni id ipsum veritus Agricola; &c.* "(And they would have accomplished their object), had not Agricola, having apprehended this very movement," &c. As regards the elliptical usage of *ni* here, compare note on *agitatse C. Caesarem, &c.*, chap. xili.—*Ad subita bellis retentas.* "Held in reserve for the sudden emergencies of battle."—*Accurrerant.* Dronke writes *accurrerent.* The reduplicated form, however, occurs only once in Tacitus, in *decucurrit* (Ann., ii., 7).—*Transvectaque praecipio ducis, &c.* "And the squadrons having then, by order of the general, been moved across the field from the front of the battle," &c., i. e., having been ordered to wheel from the front.

*Tum vero patentibus locis, &c.* Imitated from Sallust (Jug., 101), "*Tum spectaculum horribile campis patentibus,* &c." Observe the animated effect produced in both passages by the series of historical infinitives, and the omission of the connecting conjunction.—*Eodem, oblatis alius, trucidare.* "Slaughtered these same, as others came in their way." More literally, "as others offered themselves." By *eodem* are meant those who had been taken.—*Catera.* "Crowds."—*Inermes.* "Though unarmed."—*Est aliquando.* "At times." An imitation of the Greek *ετυμω δέ.* An inferior reading is *et aliquando.*—*Ira virtusque.* Supply erant.

*Quodni frequens ubique, &c.* "And had not Agricola, who was every where present, ordered some strong and lightly-equipped cohorts to encompass the ground after the manner of a hunting-circle, and, if any where there were thickets, a part of his cavalry to dismount and make their way through these, and, at the same time, another part on horseback to scour the more open woods, some disaster would have been encountered through excess of confidence." Observe the zeugma in *persultare,* by which the verb acquires three different meanings in three successive clauses.—*Indaginis modo.* The term *indago* refers to that mode of hunting in which the hunters formed a complete circle round a large space of ground; and, gradually contracting it, drove all the animals together into the centre, where they fell an easy prey to their darts.—*Sicubi actio erat.* Supply loca.

*Compositos formis ordinibus.* "Arranged in close order."—*Agminibus.* "In bands."—*Vitabundi invicem.* "Mutually avoiding each other."—*Saties.* "Satiety (of slaughter)." We may supply *cedendi.*—*Sezaginta.* Some editions have *quadragninta.* The change is very slight, XL for LX.—*Ferocia.* "The impetuosity."

**CHAP. XXXVIII.**—*Gaudio praedaque late victoribus.* "Was rendered gladsome to the victors by the joy of success and by plunder."—*Miscere ... separare.* "They arranged some plans together, then deliberated by themselves." Tacitus means, that sometimes they conferred together; and again, at other times, deliberated with themselves, and consulted for their individual safety. With *separare* supply *alia, i. e., consilia.*—*Frangit aspectu pignorum suorum.* "Were broken down in spirit at the sight of their pledges of affection," i. e., their wives and little ones.—*Concitarer.* "Were roused to fury."—*Sevisse in.* "Laid violent hands upon."
Secreti collae. "Deserted hills." Compare "secretum mutis" (chapter xxv.): "longinquitas et secretum" (chap. xxxi.).—Ubi incerta fugae vestigia, &c. "When it was ascertained that the tracks of flight were all uncertain," &c.—Spargi bellum nequibat. "The war could not well be spread (throughout the country)."—Horestorum. Richard of Cirencester places the tribe of the Horesti in the peninsula of Fife. All that appears with regard to their situation from the narrative of Tacitus is, that they lay somewhere between the Grampian Hills and the previously conquered nations to the south of the Forth.—Circumvoxi Britanniam. This was more for the sake of conquest than of discovery. Hence the expression employed immediately after, data ad id vires, "a sufficient force was given him for that purpose."

Ipse transitus more. "By the very slowness of his march through them."
—Secunda tempestas ac fama. "With favorable weather and fame," i. e., both favored by prosperous gales, and bearing along with it the fame of the Roman arms.—Tractabulsum portum. Where this harbor was is not known. Brotec seeks to identify it with the portus Rutupinus or Rutupensis, the modern Sandwich; others with Portsmouth or Plymouth; but Mannert's opinion is probably the true one, that it was near the Firth of Tay, and that the fleet only sailed along enough of the coast to prove that Britain was an island. (Mannert, Geogr., ii., p. 67.)

CHAP. XXXIX.—Nulla verborum jactantia auctum. "Unadorned by any pomp of words." We have given auctum, with Ritter, Wex, and others, the very happy emendation of Lipsius, instead of actum, the reading of the common text. The Latinity of such an expression as tertum cursum epistolae aegre is extremely doubtful.—Incitae conscientiae. "He was conscious." More literally, "there was in (his bosom) a consciousness."—Falorum e Germania triumphum. This refers to his first fictitious triumph over the Catti, in A.D. 84. After this, in the following year, he triumphed over the Daci, Marcomanni, and Quadi.—Emitis per commercia, &c. He purchased a number of slaves, and attired them like Germans, having also caused their hair to be dyed in imitation of the ruddy locks of that nation, and then paraded them in triumph through the streets of Rome as so many real captives. Caligula had set him the example. (Suet., Cal., 47.)

Id sibi maxime formidolosum. Supply putabat or exstaminabat from incitae conscientiae. Observe, moreover, that formidolosum is here passive, "to be apprehended."—Frustra studia fori, &c. Domitian thought that it was of no use for him to have put an end to the study of eloquence and polite literature, and to have banished those who excelled in such pursuits (compare chap. ii.), if some one should obtain popularity by his success in war.—Et estero atqueque facilius, &c. "That all other accomplishments, moreover, whether more or less easily, are capable of being concealed from view (by their possessor); that the talents of an able commander, (however), form an attribute of empire." More literally, "are imperial," i. e., mark their possessor as a fit individual to attain unto empire. In earlier Latinity, the
clause would have run as follows: _et cetera, utcumque sit, facilis dissimulari._

_Qudquae _saeva cogitationis indicium erat, &c._ "And, what was a sure indication of some malignant intent, having brooded over them for a long time in his wonted privacy." More literally, "having sated himself with his wonted privacy." The allusion is to that love of solitude which became the most confirmed of all the habits of Domitian, and in which he indulged either for the purpose of plotting mischief against others, or of gratifying his own vicious propensities. Compare _Suet., Dom._, 3._—_Impetus _fama._ "The first impulse of public opinion."—_Britanniam obtinebat._ "Held the command of Britain."

CHA. XL._—_Triumphalia ornamenta._ Since A. U. C. 735, after Agrippa's victory over the Cantabri, the honor of the triumph itself belonged to the emperor and to the princes of the imperial family. Other generals were forced to be contented with the mere insignia of the triumph, namely, the bay chaplet, the toga prætexta, the trabea triumphalis, triumphal statue (illustris), curule chair, ivory sceptre, &c. In the expression _quidquid pro triumpho datur_ are included public sacrifices and thanksgivings.—_Multo verborum honore cumulata._ "Loaded with much complimentary language," i.e., together with a profusion of complimentary expressions.—_Additque insuper opinionem._ "And he causes, also, the expectation to be entertained." The common text has _addique, for which we have given the emendation of Muretus, which has been adopted by Ernæus, the Bipot editor, Oberlin, Bekker, and many others._—_Majoribus._ "For persons of more than ordinary distinction." Equivalent here to _illustrioribus._ Compare _minores_ in _Ann._, xvi., 8; _Hist._, iv., 85. The province of Syria embraced a very large portion of the East, and formed one of the most important and opulent of foreign commands.

_Es secretioribus ministerii._ "Of the number of those employed in confidential services."—_Codicii._ "Letters patent." Literally, "tablets." These were secured with a thread and seal, thus forming in the present instance an imperial dispatch.—_Ut si in Britannia forset, &c._ Agricola was immediately recalled; but the suspicious Domitian feared that he might maintain his post by force; and the sending of this confidential agent with letters patent, conferring on him the government of Syria, was merely a device to draw him away from Britain. If Agricola were already on his way to Rome, that would be unnecessary; and, accordingly, the freedman, meeting Agricola on his journey, returned to Rome without delivering the letters.—_In ipso freto oceani._ The Straits of Dover.—_Es ingenio principis._ "In accordance with the character of the prince."

_Successori suo._ The successor of Agricola was probably Sallustius Lucullus, who, as Suetonius informs us, was put to death by Domitian for permitting certain licences of a new construction to be called "Lucullean." (_Suet., Dom._, 10.) The possession of the Highlands was lost after Agricola was recalled.—_At ne notabilis celebritate, &c._ "And lost his entrance into
the city might be too conspicuous through the rank and numbers of those going out to meet him."—Amicorum officio. "The salutation of his friends."
—Brevi osculo. "With a slight kiss." To salute with a kiss was an ordinary custom, on the part of both sexes, among the Romans. The warmer the friendship, the heartier, of course, was the salutation. Under the emperors the custom still continued, and the prince was wont to receive with a kiss the more distinguished of those who sought an audience. This, however, soon became the brev osculum, or slight ceremonious salutation, amounting to a mere matter of form; and in some cases even this was not given.—Turba servientium. "With the servile throng," i.e., of courtiers, &c.

Ut militare nomen temperaret. "That he might soften down the glare of military reputation."—Otiosos. "Those who lead lives of Inaction." As otium is commonly used in opposition to bellum, so by otiosi here are meant the mere men of peace, if we may so express it, or, in other words, mere civilians.—Tranquilitate atque otium penitus suscit. "He gave himself wholly up to tranquillity and inaction," i.e., to a life of tranquil ease.—Cultu. "In his mode of life." Cultus here has a general reference, and is not to be restricted to mere attire.—Facilis. "Affable."—Uno aut altero amicorum comitatus. "Accompanied by one or two friends." Comitatus is here used passively, as in Cicero, De Or., iii., 6: "Eodem est instructo ornatuque comitata."—Per ambitionem. "By the appearance which they make in public." Compare the explanation of Brotiere: "Ex vita splendore et numeroso comitatu."—Quarantur famam. "Called in question his renown," i.e., missed the splendor and display which they had looked for in one so renowned, and therefore began to doubt the very existence of that renown itself.—Pauci interpretarentur. "Few could interpret his conduct," i.e., few understood his motives.

Chap. XLI.—Crebro per eos dies, &c. Among the enemies of Agricola may be mentioned M. Regulus, Veiento, and Publius Certus. Their accusations were made in secret, and hence absens accusatus. Domitian himself, however, felt the gross injustice of these charges, and therefore acquitted Agricola at once, without either notifying him of these accusations or calling upon him for any defence; and hence absens absolutus est.—Crimen. "Crime against the state."—Laesi cujusquam. "From any private individual who had been injured by him."—Laudantes. "Eulogizers." Every word of praise bestowed upon Agricola would excite, of course, the jealousy of the tyrant.

Sileri. "To be passed over in silence."—Tot exercitus, &c. This refers to the wars with the Daci, Marcomanni, and Quadi, in the years 86-91, which ended with Domitian's second mock-triumph. The Romans, however, were in fact defeated, and Domitian was obliged to conclude peace with Decebalus, king of the Daci, on very humiliating terms.—Tot militares viri, &c. "So many men of military character, together with so many cohorts, defeated and taken prisoners." Compare Lucret., iv., 1008: "Reges expugnare," and Liv., xxiii., 30: "Obsessos fames expugnavit."—De limita
imperii. This, in all probability, must be looked for in the line of Roman forts still visible between Peterwarsdien and Beza, on the Teis. Compare Mannert, iv., p. 170.—Ripa. The right bank of the Danube, as far as the Quadi and Marcomanni.

Funeribus et cladibus. "By losses of leaders and overthrows of armies." Funeribus refers back to the militares viri previously mentioned, and cladibus to the forces under their charge.—Cum inertia et formidine reorum. "With the indolence and pusillanimity of those who were now accused (of incapacity)," i. e., by the voice of the people. Reorum here is a conjectural reading; the MSS. have eorum. The term reus is frequently used, not merely in a strictly legal sense, in opposition to accusator, petitor, actor, but with a more extended meaning. (Walch, ad loc.)

Dum optimus et quies libertorum, &c. "While each best one of his freedmen, through affection and fidelity, the worst through malignity and envy, kept urging (to the choice) a prince prone of himself to follow the worse advisers." Dum is more usually followed by the present tense; but there is nothing in the conjunction itself which necessarily requires this, and the imperfect, as here, is sometimes found with it.—In iapsam gloriam praecps agebatur. The idea intended to be conveyed by these words is, that Agricola's virtues, which were maliciously magnified by his enemies, raised his reputation and glory; but that this very glory was the cause of his ruin.

CHAP. XLII.—Quo proconsulatum Asia, &c. "In which he was to draw lots for the proconsulate of Asia and Africa." Et has here, in fact, a disjunctive force, two distinct proconsulates being made the subject of lot, and the two senior consuls casting lots for the same. Some editors have conjectured aut for et, but this is unnecessary, since both provinces were, in fact, equally drawn for.—Occiso Civico. The reference is to Civica Cerialis, who, according to Suetonius (Dom., 10), was put to death in his proconsulate of Asia, on the charge of meditating a revolt.—Consilium. "A lesson," i. e., a warning.—Exemplo. "A precedent."

Cognitionum principis peritii. "Well acquainted with the secret intentions of the prince," i. e., his wish that Agricola should not accept the foreign government, and his intention to prevent him.—Occultius. "Somewhat distantly."—In approbando eausatione. "In making good his excuse (to the emperor)," i. e., his excuse for not accepting the proconsulate.—Non jam obscuri. This is a correction for non tam obscuri, and answers infinitely better to primo occultius. Besides, ita, not tam, would be required.—Paratus simulationes, &c. "Prepared with hypocrisy, having assumed a stately air." Compare Cic., ad Att., ix., 13: "paratus peditatu."—Agi sibi gratias passus est. Obliging persons to return thanks for an injury was a refinement in tyranny frequently practiced by the worst of the Roman emperors.—Neerubuit beneficii invidia. "Nor did he blush at the invidious nature of the favor," i. e., nor did he blush with shame that Agricola should be made to receive as a favor so marked an injury. Observe that invidia is here put for res invisiosa.
Salarium. This was an allowance for the maintenance of the governor. The word is derived from sal, meaning, properly, money given for the purchase of salt. Compare Horace (Sat., i., 5, 48): "Parvoi prædent ligna salmques quo debent." It was first granted by Augustus, and amounted sometimes to two hundred and fifty thousand drachmas, or over forty thousand dollars. During the empire we find instances of the salarium being paid to a person who had obtained a province, but was nevertheless not allowed to govern it. In this case the salarium was a compensation for the honor and advantages which he might have derived from the actual government of a province. Agricola's case would fall under this head.—Ne queas vestrum videretur emisse. "Lest he might seem to have purchased what he had forbidden," i.e., lest it might seem a bribe for what he had in reality extorted by his authority.

Proprium humani ingenii est. "It is a principle of human nature."—Irrevoceabilior. "More implacable." Equivalent to implacabilior, a use of the term hardly found in any other writer (Bötticher, Lex. Tac., p. 277).—Sciens, quibus morie est, &c. "Let those know whose customs it is to admire unlawful things," i.e., to admire every opposition to control. Illicita here refers to the contumacia and insania libertatis jactata, frequently assumed by Stoics in those times; as, for example, when Helvidius Priscus openly celebrated the birth-day of Brutus and Cassius. Consult Dio Cassius, lxxvi., 12, 13, 15.—Ex laudis excedere, &c. "Attain unto the same degree of praise as that to which many, through abrupt and dangerous paths, but without any benefit to their country, have brilliantly attained by an ambitious death." Observe that incalculaberes is equivalent here to classem deponentes. By abrupts is meant what Tacitus elsewhere (Ann., iv., 20) calls abrupta contumacia, opposed to deformis obsequium.

CHAP. XLIII.—Fines vitæ, &c. The death of Agricola was, as his biographer plainly hints in what follows, either immediately caused or certainly hastened by the emissaries of Domitian, who could not bear the presence of a man pointed out by universal feeling as alone fit to meet the exigency of times in which the Roman arms had suffered repeated reverses in Germany and the countries north of the Danube. Dio Cassius (lxxvi., 20) says expressly that he was killed by Domitian.—Eternitas eorum, &c. The epigram of Antiphilus (Antehl. Bresl., ii., 180) is commonly supposed to refer to him.—Vulgoque seque, &c. "The common people too, and that same populace who are in general indifferent about the affairs of others." Populus enters here on vulgus, and the expression his atid agens populus is employed to delimit the character of the lower classes. These were now, contrary to their usual habits, deeply interested in the situation of Agricola. Compare West, ad loc: "Haus bevaalig terdesen, ischifigst, gedankenlost, theilnablenlos, mitil curaen res, quaer dignum est, ad quaer result subjacent." Nobis nihil comperit, &c. "For my own part, I can not venture to affirm that any thing has been found by us for certain." Supply esse after nihil
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comporti, and refer nobis to the family and friends of Agricola. The clause is very obscurely worded, so much so, indeed, as to lead to the suspicion that the text has been corrupted. Various emendations, therefore, have been suggested by different editors, but all more or less unsatisfactory.—Crebrius quam as more, &c. "More frequently than accords with the custom of sovereigns, who pay visits merely by formal messages." Literally, "the custom of sovereignty, visiting by means of messages."—Medicorum intimi. "The most confidential of the physicians (of the palace)."—Inquisitio. "A prying (into the progress of his disorder)."

Momenta deficientis. "The successive moments of the sinking man," i. e., the successive stages of the death-struggle. Compare Bötticher: "die Stadien des Todeskampfes."—Per dispositos curores. It appears that Domitian was at this time at his Alban villa, or certainly absent somewhere from Rome.—Sic accelerari qua tristis audiret. "That tidings which he could hear with sadness were thus accelerated," i. e., that so much pains were taken to accelerate information which could prove other than acceptable.—Coheredem optimae usori, &c. This, of course, would be the best way of securing to his family a portion of his property. Compare Ann., xvi., 11.—Pissima. "Most dutiful," i. e., most devotedly affectionate.—Laretum cum velit honore judicioque. "He was delighted therewith as if it had been an honorable testimony in his favor." Honore judicioque is, by hendiadys, for judicio honorifico.

CHAP. XLIV.—Natus erat Agricola, &c. The early editions, down to the time of Ursinus and Lipsius, have Caio Cas. ter. cons., which these editors enlarged to Caio Caesare tertium cons., and from that period tertium consulate has remained the common reading. But Caligula's third consulate was in the year U.C. 793; the consulate of Colleantus and Priscus in 846. According to this, therefore, Agricola would have died in the fifty-fourth year of his age, being fifty-three years, two months, and ten days old. To get over this difficulty, some suppose that Tacitus wrote IV, and not LV; others, that he wrote primum instead of tertium. The first consulate of Caligula was in 790, so that the latter supposition is the more likely of the two, and we have accordingly followed it in the text. If, then, we take 790 as the year of Agricola's birth, he would be fifty-six years, two months, and ten days old, and, accordingly, properly in his fifty-seventh year. But sexto et quinquagenesimo anno mortuus est may mean that he died either before or after the completion of his fifty-sixth year. Suetonius (Aug., 26) says of Augustus: "Consulatum vicesimo atatis anno invasit." This was when Augustus wanted thirty-six days of having completed his twentieth year. Livy (Ep., 119), on the contrary, says "Nonum decimum agens," of a youth who was above nineteen years and ten months old. Now Agricola was praetor under Nero, and therefore before June 9th, 821. According to Dio Cassius (lii., 20), he must have then completed his twenty-ninth year. Taking the extreme case, if he was praetor after August 23d, 820, he must have been born in 791: But this is impossible, as Caligula was not consul in that year;
and, accordingly, we can only suppose that he was born in 790, and thus he would be quassor after the completion of his twenty-fifth year, tribune after his twenty-seventh, prator after his twenty-ninth, and consul after his thirty-ninth year.

_Habitus ejus._ "His personal appearance."—Decentior quam sublimior fuit. "He was rather well-made than tall."—Nil habet in vultu, &c. "There was nothing in his countenance to inspire awe; a sweetness of expression was its prevalent characteristic." Literally, "abounded."—Medio in spatio, &c. According to Tacitus himself elsewhere (Dial. de Or., 17), an integra aestas, or full and complete period of human life, was one hundred and twenty years. _Quantum ad gloriam._ "Yet, as far as glory was concerned," i.e., if his life be measured by the glory to which he attained.

_Implererat._ "He had fully enjoyed." Equivalent to plene assicuus erat. Compare the Greek usage in the case of ἄνωθεν (Homer., Od., v, 208), and ἄνωθεν ἐρισται (Lucian, Q. H. C. S., 8).—Speciosa contigerat. "A handsome fortune had fallen to his lot." Dio Cassius (lxvi, 30) errs in saying that Agricola lived for the remainder of his life in dishonor and want (ἐν τε ἄθυμα καὶ ἐν ἐνδέαφ. This is contradicted by his not asking for the proconsular allowance, and by what Tacitus says in chap. vi.—Futura effugisse. "In having escaped from impending evils."

_Nom sicuti durare, &c._ "For, as he used, in our hearing, to divine from auguries, and to express the desire by many a wish, that he would still be continuing to exist amid the present radiance of a most blissful age, and would behold Trajan emperor," &c. The common text has quod augurio votisque, &c. We have rejected quod, however, as suggested by Walch and others. The use of durare and videre for se duraturum and visum may be defended from "ratusque dedecus amolori" (Ann., xiv., 14), and "nusquam ess (pecunias) tuitis sanctiusque deponere credentibus" (Liv., xxiv., 18). Observe, moreover, the zeugma in ominabatur, and compare the explanation of Walch: "et auguriae ominabatur et votis concupiscerat." The omens here alluded to, and which were said to have foretold the elevation of Trajan to the imperial throne, are spoken of by Dio Cassius (lxvii, 12) and Pliny (Paneg., 5, 94). They occurred in A.U.C. 844, and Agricola died in A.U.C. 846.

CHAP. XLV.—_Non vidit Agricola, &c._ "Agricola did not live to see the senate-house besieged." Consult Ann., xvi., 27; Suet., Dom., 10, 11; Dio Cass., lxvii., 12.—_Tot consularium cades._ Consult Suet., Dom., 10, 15._Feminarum exilia et fugas._ As, for example, Annia, Fannia, Gratilla, Flavia Domitia, and Pontia Domitilla._Una adhuc victoria, &c._ "As yet, Carus Mctius was estimated by merely a single victory." He was one of the most notorious informers under Domitian. Since as yet, however, but one victim had fallen beneath his accusations, no one could at that time estimate the mischief which he was shortly about to bring upon the nation. Hence his power to injure was as yet rated comparatively low.

_Et intra Albanam arcem, &c._ "And the counsels of Messalinus resound—
ed (as yet) only through the Alban villa, and Massa Bebius (himself) was even at that time among the accused." The ara Albena was Domitian's villa, which he built on the Via Appia, at the foot of the Alban Mount. Hither he frequently summoned the senate and pontifices. Catullus Messalinus was an informer, concerning whom see Juvenal, iv., 113, seq., and Dio Cassius, lxvii., 1. The meaning of Tacitus is, that Messalinus had not yet ventured to become an open and public informer at Rome, but that his accusations were as yet secret ones, and confined to the privacy of the Alban villa. Massa Bebius or Bebius was one of the most infamous informers of the latter part of the reign of Domitian. He was one of the procurators in Africa, A.D. 70; and afterward governor of Bética, in which province he was guilty of great extortion. On his return to Rome, he was accused by the provincials, and condemned the same year that Agricola died, A.D. 93; but he seems to have escaped punishment through the favor of Domitian, and from this time became one of the informers and favorites of the tyrant.

Nostra manus. "Our own hands," i.e., the hands of one of our own body, or, in other words, a senator. As Publicius Certus, a member of the senate, had seized upon Helvidius and led him to prison, Tacitus imputes the crime to the whole senatorial order, himself included. Tacitus took his seat in the senate as a man of praetorian rank, after A.U.C. 841, and he uses the expression nostra manus, therefore, although absent from Rome at the time when the arrest in question took place. Compare Plin., Ep., ix., 13, and Suet., Dom., 10, where this affair is alluded to.—Nos Maurici Rusticius visus, &c. "The spectacle of Mauricetus and Rusticus struck us with horror, Senecio bedewed us with innocent blood." This sentence affords a peculiar instance of the figure zeugma, where perfudit, as understood in the first clause, becomes equivalent to horrore percult. Mauricetus and Arulenus Rusticus were brothers, united not only by the ties of natural affection, but by the virtues of their private character. They were cruelly separated in the sight of the senate, when Rusticus was hurried away to execution, and Mauricetus ordered into banishment. (Hist., iv., 40; Ann., xvi., 26.)—Seneocio. Consult notes on chap. ii.

Videre et adspici. "To behold (him), and to be observed (by him)." The peculiar meaning of adspici, by which it rises in strength above videre, is worthy of notice. The reference is to the searching and suspicious look of the tyrant, and his watching the expression of every countenance in order to detect, if possible, some ground of accusation.—Subscriberentur. "Were made subjects of accusation against us." Others take the word to mean simply "were secretly noted down," but this wants force in the present instance, however well it might answer in other passages. The evil complained of here was encouraged under Tiberius (Ann., iv., 30), Caligula, Claudius, and Nero; was repressed under Vespasian and Titus (Hist., iv., 44), but reached its height under Domitian.

Cum denotandis tot hominum palloribus, &c. "When that savage countenance, with its settled redness, &c., never tired in noting the pallid looks,
of so many spectators." Domitian's complexion was of so deep a red, that nothing could add to his natural color, and he was therefore said by the younger Pliny (Pen. ii. 48) to be a man of unblushing impudence.—Quod . . . . munieret. The old reading was a quo, which might perhaps mean a quo auxiliis potens se munieret.

Opportunitate mortis. "In the seasonableness of thy death." Compare Cic. de Orat., iii., 3, where the same expression occurs in speaking of the death of the orator Crassus.—Constantis et libens. "With firmness and cheerfulness."—Temquam pro virtutis portione, &c. "As if, so far as lay in thy power, thou wast bestowing innocence upon thy sovereign," i. e., as if, so far as lay in thy power, thou didst wish, by thy calmness and serenity, to show that Domitian was guiltless of thy death. The expression pro virtutis portione means, literally, "for (i. e., in proportion to) a man's share."

Pitiisque. The allusion is to Tacitus's wife. This is a correction for filiique. Agricola's sons were both dead.—Assidere valetudini. "To sit by thy sick-bed." Literally, "by thy sickness."—Nobis tam longas absentias conditione, &c. "To us wast thou lost four years before, by the circumstance of so long an absence." Observe that ante quattuor annos is for quattuor annos. So "multos ante annos," for multos annis ante. (Ann., xiv., 9.) It appears that Tacitus and his wife, at the time of Agricola's death, had been four years absent from Rome, on what account we are nowhere informed.

Omnia . . . . superfluere honori tuo. "Every mark of attention . . . . was abundantly rendered unto thee, their honored object." Literally, "all things, &c., abounded for thy honor," i. e., for honoring thee and making thy last moments peaceful and comfortable.—Compositus et. "Thou wast laid to rest," i. e., thy ashes were gathered into their last resting-place, the funeral urn. The verb componere, like the Greek περιττέλεσθαι, is especially used in this sense. (Orelli, ad Horat., Sat., i., 5, 20.)—Aliquid. The reference is to his daughter, and her husband, Tacitus.

CLoV. XLVI.—Sit quid pius munibus locis: "If there be any abiding-place for the shades of the virtuous." The religious opinions of Tacitus partook of the character of his age. He had no strong convictions, no settled belief of a moral government of the world; his love of virtue, and his abhorrence of vice, were purely moral; they had no reference to a future existence. (Compare Ann., iii., 16; vi., 22.) On the present occasion, in this, one of his earliest productions, he hopes, rather than expects, that the souls of the departed may still live, and be conscious of what is passing on earth; but in his latest writings there are no traces that his hopes or his wishes had ever ripened into a belief.

Ab infirmitate desiderio. "From weak regret."—Et immortalibus laudibus, &c. The text here is very uncertain. We have given the reading of the best editions. The common text has temporalibus laudibus . . . militum decemviris. Consult Walther, ad loc.—Æmulatur. "By an imitation of thy example."—Fideliter. "The affectionate duty."—Familiisque ac figuris animi,
Ac. "And ever embrace in thought the glorious features of his mind rather than those of his person." There is a hendiadys in famam ac figuram. Muretus conjectured formam for famam; but, in the first place, this is against all the MSS., and, in the next, such a collocation as formam ac figuram, though Ciceronian, is not in accordance with the historical style of Tacitus. (Welch, ad loc.) Ritter conjectures faciem for famam.

Non quis intercedendum, &c. "Not because I think that we should prohibit those resemblances (of the departed)." Literally, "that we must put our veto upon." The verb intercedo, here employed in its figurative sense, refers properly to the interposing of a veto, or the prohibiting a thing on the part of a magistrate who has the right to do so.—Per alienam materiam et artem. "By means of any foreign material, and through another's skill," i. e., through the skill of the artist.—Manuerumque est, &c. "And is destined to remain, in the hearts of men, in the eternal lapse of ages, in the fame of achievements." Fama rerum is only another designation for history.
NOTES

ON

THE ANNALS.
NOTES ON THE ANNALS.

BOOK I.

CHAP. I.—Urbem Romam... habuer. These words form an hexameter line. In Tacitus there are several, and they often occur in other prose writers. Generally speaking, however, they are not so much the result of any actual intention on the part of the writer as of the emphatic arrangement of the sentence. Hexameters in prose militate against good taste, and were regarded as faults by the ancient critics. Compare Cic. de Orat., iii., 47, 182; Id. Orat., 56, 189; Quintil., ix., 4, 72.—Habuer. “Held,” i.e., governed.—Ad tempus. “For a time,” i.e., either for a short time, to meet some pressing emergency, or for an indefinite period, whenever and as long as seemed necessary. The dictatorship, however, could not regularly be held for a longer period than six months.—Decemviralis potestas. “The decemviral office.” Potestas must be taken here in its strict sense of delegated or official authority, for the decemvirs were, in fact, at the head of the state in the third year also (B.C. 449), but then with usurped power.—Ultra biennium. In point of fact, it lasted a few months beyond the two years. But during the last seven months of their power, they maintained themselves by force.

Tribunorum militum. Military tribunes, with consular authority, were created from A.U.C. 310 to 388, though not uninterruptedly.—Cinna. Cinna held the consulship four times, from A.U.C. 667 to 670.—Sulla. Sulla continued dictator from A.U.C. 672 to 675. He was the first who was invested with the dictatorship for any lengthened period. Caesar was the first who was made perpetual dictator.—Cæsar. “Merged.”—Nomine principis. He was content with the title of princeps, in which there was nothing that savored of the despot or tyrant; being aware that the names of king and dictator, since the expulsion of Tarquin and the assassination of Caesar, had become equally odious. Henceforth princeps and principium were used as equivalent to imperium.

Veteris populi Romani. The reference is to the time of the republic, up to the battle of Actium and the beginning of the rule of Augustus.—Decora ingenia. “Writers of handsome talents.” Doederlein thinks that Tacitus refers in particular to Asinius Pollio, Titus Labienus, and Crementius Cordus.—Deterrentur. Men of high principle and honor would not stoop to flattery, and, on the other hand, could not dispense with it in their writings without danger.
Tiberii Caiiique, &c. We have here the limits of the period embraced by the Annals. By Caius is meant Caligula, whose historical name was Caius Cæsar. — Res. "The histories." — Falsa. "Were full of falsification." Supply erant.—Et extrema. "And these connected with the close of his life."—Et cetera. What is called above Caiiique et Claudii ac Neronis res. — Studio. "Partiality." — Quorum causas, &c. "The incentives to which I have far removed from me," i. e., from the incentives to which I stand far aloof.

CHAP. II. — Cassis. They fell by their own hands. (Dio Cass., xlvii., 46.) — Publica arma. Forces intended to carry on war against foreign enemies, under the sanction of the senate and people. The individuals mentioned immediately after bore arms, not for the state, but for their own aggrandizement.—Pompeius opud Sicilian oppressus. "After Pompeius had been crushed off Sicily." The allusion is to Sextus Pompeius, younger son of Pompey the Great, whose fleet was defeated with great loss off Naulochus, a naval station on the northern coast of Sicily, between Mylace and the promontory of Pelorus, B.C. 36.— Exuto. "Having been stripped of his forces." Octavianus bribed twenty legions to desert from him. (Vell. Paterc., ii., 80.) — Interfecto Antonio. By himself. (Suet., Aug., 17.) — Cæsar. C. Julius Cæsar Octavianus.

Posito triumviri nomine. This was the only triumvirate which was properly and truly so called. It was a magistracy with supreme authority, with which Octavianus, Antony, and Lepidus were invested for five years by the senate and people. The full title was Triumviri reipublicae ordinanda. The other triumvirates, of which we read, were called so ironically; for Marius, Sulla, and Cinna, and again Caesar, Pompey, and Crassus, only privately entered into a league to unite their power, and neither received their authority by any public decree, nor made use of the name triumviri.

Consulam se foras. "Styling himself consul." From 31 to 23 B.C. he held nine consulships in succession. (Suet., Aug., 26.) — Tribunicio jure contentum. But the tribunician authority was in reality an instrument of great power in the hands of the emperors, as it had been in former times, and was frequently conferred upon them for five years by new decrees, and by them on their colleagues and successors in the government.—ANNOTA. "By a distribution of corn." This was done on some occasions gratuitously, on others at a low price.—Dulcedine otii. Augustus shut the temple of Janus three times. (Suet., Aug., 22.)

Munia . . . . trahere. At the same time, in accordance with the advice of Mecenas, he retained the names and dignities of the principal magistracies, that the people might be deceived by an empty show of liberty. The emperors themselves were released from the obligations of most of the laws, though not of all.—Per acies. "In battles." Principally in those of Philippi and Actium.—Opibus et honoribus. Supply tanto magis at the beginning of the clause, and observe that opibus and honoribus are ablatives. (Wolf, ad loc.)
Ilium rerum statum. Three words of similar ending. Consult notes on chap. xxiv.—Certamina potestium. Dating back as far as the times of Marcius and Sulla.—Turbabetur. "Were interrupted in their execution."
The laws which were meant to protect the provincials against persons in office were those de pecunia repetundis.

CHAP. III.—Suebiae dominitione. "As supports to his rule." The dative is here elegantly employed for the ordinary genitive. So "rector juveni" (i., 24); "dona templis" (ii., 60); "causas bello" (ii., 64). Tacitus means, ut essent subsidia dominationis si honoribus extollerentur.—Sororis filium. Son of Octavia, by C. Claudius Marcellus, who was consul in B.C. 50. Augustus had no children besides his daughter Julia.—Admodum adolescentem. His death took place in the seventeenth year of his age, A.U.C. 731, in the baths of Baiae; the suspicion of which fell upon Livia, who, as was supposed, wished to advance her own sons, Tiberius and Drusus. (Dio Cass., liii., 33.)—Pontificatu. The office of pontifex was conferred upon Marcellus by Augustus, as it was upon Nero, the son of Germanicus, by Tiberius (iii., 29). The emperors, from Augustus to Gratianus, kept the office of Pontifex Maximus to themselves.

Marcus Agrippa. M. Vipsanius Agrippa, the son-in-law of Augustus, was consul in A.U.C. 717, 726, 727, and consul suffectus in A.U.C. 735. He was also prefect of the city from the year 734, and was united with Augustus in the tribunician power from 736.—Geminatio consulatur. "By two successive consulships." These were in A.U.C. 726 and 727, along with Augustus, to whom he was indebted for them. In 717 he was elected by the free votes of the tribes. (Suet., Cæs., 76; Vell. Patr., ii., 90, 96.)—Generum sumat. Julia, who had been betrothed to Marcellus, was given to him in marriage. (Suet., Aug., 63.) Of this marriage were born Caius and Lucius Caesar, Agrippa Postumus, Julia (iii., 24; iv., 71), and Agrippina (chap. xxxiii.).

Privignos. "His step-sons." They were the sons of Livia.—Imperatoris nominibus. "With the title of imperator." Not as he bore in permanence the name, but in the ancient way, namely, the being saluted as imperator by the legions.—Integra etiam tum domo sua. "His own line being even then entire," i. e., though there had even then been no diminution in the members of his house.—Induserat. "He had already adopted." Supply adoptione.—Principes juvenutis. They were so called as leaders of the centuriae equitum. After Augustus, the appellation of principes juvenutis implied a title to the succession to the throne. Caius was born A.U.C. 734; Lucius, A.U.C. 736. (Dio Cass., liv., 18.)—Destinari. In the sense of designari.

Ut Agrippa vita concessit, &c. Agrippa died B.C. 12; Lucius Caesar, A.D. 2; Caius, A.D. 4; Drusus, B.C. 9.—Eunctem ad Hispanianas exercitus, &c. L. Caesar died at Massilia (Marseilles); Caius at Limyra, in Lycia. A monument erected to their memory, on the confines of the Ubii and Treveri, was discovered in the last century at a place called Junkerhaat.—Livia
does. Livia was endeavoring to secure the succession to her two sons, Tiberius Nero and Drusus. The latter died in the thirtieth year of his age, in consequence of a fall from his horse, by which he fractured his leg.—Nero. Tiberius.

Filius. He was adopted by Augustus A.D. 4.—Collega imperii. In A.D. 12.—Consors tribunicia potestatis assumitur. This was done three times. First, in B.C. 6, for five years; when thirty-six years of age; the second time in A.D. 4, also for five years; the third time in A.D. 13, in perpetuity.—Ostentatur. He was sent as imperator, now to this army, now to that one. (Wolf, ad loc.)—Obsecratus artibus. "By the secret machinations."—Nepotes unicum. "His only surviving grandson." That is, after the death of Caius and Lucius.—Agrippam Postumum. Agrippa Postumus, the son of Agrippa and Julia, was born after the death of his father, and adopted by Augustus on the same day as Tiberius.—Planasiam. Planasia, now Piænae, lay between Corsica and the coast of Etruria. Agrippa was banished to it in A.D. 7. Instead of Planasia, Suetonius (Aug., 65) mentions Surrentum; and the scholar on Juvenal (vi., 158), Sicily. This deportatio is insulam, generally a desert island, was a more severe punishment than the relegatio, and involved the loss of liberty, citizenship, and property.—Robore corporis stolidus ferocem. "Stupidly priding himself upon his strength of body."—Compertum. "Convicted."

At hercula Germanicum, &c. The at, "and yet," is employed here because, considering how much he was under the influence of Livia, one would not have expected that he would have placed beside Tiberius so dangerous a rival. The addition of the oath hercula, which may be rendered freely "strange to say, though true," calls attention more fully to the unexpected nature of the transaction, and, at the same time, vouches for the accuracy of the account.—Per adoptionem. Hence Tiberius (though the uncle) is frequently called the father, and Drusus the younger (though the cousin) is styled the brother of Germanicus.—Filius juvenis. Drusus, his son by his first wife, Vipsania. (Suet., Tib., 52.)—Sec quo. "But (he did this) in order that." After sed supply its faciebat.

Abolenda infamia. "For the sake of blunting out the disgrace (contracted)." Supply causa, and consult Madvig, 4417; Obs. 5.—Cum Quinctilio Varo. This was in A.D. 9. Compare chap. iv.; Vell. Paterc., ii., 117; Dio Cass., i., 18.—Juniore. Those between the ages of seventeen and forty-six were commonly called jure deras, juvenes, or adolescentes; those between forty-six and sixty, seniores; and those above sixty, senes, and sometimes seniores. Again, peric miornres are those under fourteen; peric majores, those between fourteen and eighteen. Marcellus, at the beginning of this chapter, is called admodum adolescens when seventeen years old.—Rem publicam. With a stress on the last word; the state, in which all have their share; the commonwealth, which, in and after the civil wars, became the booty of individuals (res privata).

CHAP. IV.—Vere. "Being completely changed."—Moris. "Roman
spirit," i. e., the spirit of ancient institutions.—Exsula aequalitate. "Political equality being entirely laid aside."—Ægro et corpore fatigabatur. Observe that et has here the force of etiam.—Incessum disserere. "Began to talk idly about." Observe the force of incessum here. These speeches could lead to nothing, because the old libertas was out of the question, and the principatum was absolutely necessary to the being of the state.—Imminentes domino, &c. "Pulled to pieces, in various surmisings, (the characters of) the masters that impended over them." Observe the peculiar meaning of differentia here, and how exactly it tallies with a well-known English idiom, used in the same sense of handling a person’s character rather roughly.

Agrippam. Agrippa Postumus, the grandson of Augustus.—Ignominia accensum. "Exasperated by contumely." Alluding to his banishment.—Maturum annis. He was now fifty-five.—Spectatum bello. "In his expeditions in Germany. Consult ii., 26.—Claudia familiae. Compare Suét., Tib., 2.—Quamquam prementur. "Whatever endeavors may be made to repress them."—Hunc et prima, &c. Observe that et has here the force of "even."—Congestus . . . triumphos. Compare Suét., Tib., 9, 17, 20.—Eovolam egit. Not, indeed, by public edict of the emperor, or decree of the senate, but in point of fact; since, at a later time, notwithstanding his supplications, a return to Rome was not granted by Augustus. His residence in Rhodes lasted from 6 B.C. to 2 A.D. Some editors propose to write eovol for eovolam, saying that eovolam ager means only "to feign being an exile." This, however, is not the case; such phrases as pricipem, consulam ager, are of frequent occurrence, implying the actual performance of the duties attendant upon those stations. Still, however, eovol egit might very well be used.

Aliquid. "Any thing else." For aliud quicumque.—Meditatum. "Had he practiced."—Muliebri impotentia. "With all a woman’s ungovernable spirit," i. e., with the ungovernable spirit peculiar to her sex.—Duobus . . . adolescetibus. Drusus the actual son, and Germanicus the adopted son of Tiberius.—Interim. "For a while." Equivalent here to aliquando.—Quandoque. "At some time or other." Equivalent here to quandoque.

CHAP. V.—Grevescere valetudo Augusti. "The illness of Augustus grew daily more serious."—Scelus uxor is suspectabat. Livia was suspected of having given some poisoned figs to her husband. (Dio Cass., lvi., 29, 30.)—Incesserat. "Had gone abroad."—Electis conscias et comites uno. "Having singled out a few to whom he communicated his purpose, and with but one companion." Observe that electis belongs merely to conscias.—Fabio Maximmo. This was Q. Fabius Maximus Africanus, who was consul 10 B.C. He is described as the only companion, though in any case several accompanied Augustus, because he alone attended the emperor throughout the journey, and especially was present at the interview with Agrippa Postumus.—Speraque ex eo. "And that the hope (arose) from this circumstance."

Marcia. Marcia was the daughter of Marcus Philippus, Augustus’s stepfather. Plutarch relates the whole story (Περί ἀδελεχτίας, p. 508, A),
but calls Fabius Φοίλιος.—Gnarus id Caesar. "That this became known to the emperor." This passive use of gnarus is only found in Tacitus. (Bötticher, Lex. Tac., p. 223.) Ignarus, however, is used passively by Virgil, Ovid, and Sallust. For gnarus, in this passage, Muretus conjectured gnatum to be the true reading.—Quae si morte. "By a violent death." Questa does not determine whether by suicide or in some other way. The latter supposition, however, is most probable.—Quod fuisse. Observe the force of the subjunctive; "for having been as she herself said."

Ingensus Illricum. Augustus had sent him thither a few days before his death. (Suet., Aug., 97, 98.)—Properis matris literis. Observe the similarity of ending, and compare notes on chap. xxiv.—Satis compostum est. Velleius Paterculus, the lavish eulogizer of Tiberius, asserts (ii., 123) that the latter found Augustus still alive; and Suetonius (Tit., 21) affirms that the former spent an entire day in private with the dying monarch. Dio, however, prefers to doubt with Tacitus (Dio Cass., iv., 31).—Apart urbe. Nolam. The preposition apart is often employed by Tacitus, as in the present instance, with the meaning of "in," not "by," or "beside" a place. (Bötticher, Lex. Tac., p. 64.)—Nolam. Nola was one of the most ancient towns in Campania, lying twenty-one Roman miles to the southeast of Capua.—Acibus namque custodit, &c. Agrippina adopted a similar plan on the death of Claudius, in order to secure the throne for her son Nero. (Ann., xii., 68.)

Chap. VI.—Inermum. Another form is inermis. So there are two forms, semerus and semernis (iii., 39), exanimus and exanimis, &c.—Quamvis formatur animo. "Although steeled in bosom for the task," i. e., although he had steeled his bosom for the task.—Presecripiisset. Observe the force of the subjunctive. Augustus had enjoined it on the tribune, as he, Tiberius, alleged.—Quaodoque. "Whenever." For quandocunque.

Duravit. Supply se. —Nuntianti. The proper word here would have been resuntianti, and the re might have been absorbed by the last syllable of the preceding word; but Tacitus, who imitates the phraseology of the poets, not unfrequently uses simple instead of compound verbs.—Sallustius Crispus. The grand nephew of the historian Sallust, and adopted by him. He was intimate with Augustus, and from him the as Sallustianum received its name (ii., 40; iii., 30).—Codicillos. "The warrant." Consult notes on Agricola, chap. xl.—Ne reus subderetur. "Lest he should be substituted as the accused party."—Justa periculoso. "It being alike dangerous."—Ficta seu vera promeret. If he exculpated Tiberius, and took the responsibility upon himself, he ran the risk of being condemned by the senate; if, on the other hand, he accused Tiberius, he would render himself obnoxious to his displeasure.

Ne vulgarentur. "Should not be made matters of public notoriety."—Resolverit. "Relax."—Eam. For talem.—Ut non alter, &c. "That the account can not balance in any other way than if it be laid for examination before a single individual," i. e., can only be balanced by being audited by
a single person. We have here a metaphor taken from accounts. The phrase ratio constant is used when the debtor and creditor sides of an account balance one another; and rationem reddere aliqui is to lay an account before some one for examination. Hence the meaning here is, that the account passes as all right only if the ruler himself has the examining or auditing of it, because many things must be done such as he alone can approve, or allow to pass, for whose advantage they are done.

Chap. VII.—At Rome, &c. Tacitus refers to what was passing in the capital while Tiberius was coming thither slowly with the corpse of Augustus. The words escubia, arma, &c., farther on, show his actual presence in Rome.—Ne lati. Supply videreust. Compare remarks of Bötticher on the style of Tacitus, p. xlii. of this volume.—Tristiores primordio. "Too sorrowful at the commencement of a new reign."—Questus. "Lamentations," i.e., for the death of Augustus.

In urbe Tiberii Caesaris juraver. "Took the oath according to the formula dictated by Tiberius," i.e., took the oath of allegiance to him. This phrase was originally used of soldiers, who swore fidelity to their general. The oath of allegiance was first taken under Julius Caesar, and afterward under the emperors, as commanders-in-chief of all the armies in the empire. The formula of it was, "Non me liberosque meos cariores habebo quam principem." (Suet., Cass., 84; Cal., 15.) The juramentum in acta principum, spoken of in i., 72, and iv., 32, is different; it implied confirming the acts and decrees of the emperors. This oath was first taken upon the death of Julius Caesar, to ratify his acts; and next after the battle of Actium, to honor Augustus. Under the emperors, it was renewed at the commencement of each year. (Dio Cass., Ix., 10.)

Seius Strabo. The father of Aelius Sejanus (chap. xxiv.). He had the government of Egypt granted to him.—Caius Turranius... prefectus... annona. He was the first who bore this office. This magistracy was made an ordinary one by Augustus, who held it himself till shortly before his death, when he appointed Turranius (xi., 31; Suet., Aug., 37).—Pratoriam cohortium prefectus. These prefects were first appointed by Augustus. They were two in number. At this time there was probably no prefect of the city. Taurus Statilius was dead, and Piso was not appointed in his room until after an interval of some years.

Nam Tiberius... incipietat. Not as if he had given orders to that effect; but by his inactivity he made it necessary for the consuls, as the first officers of the state, to take the initiative.—Tributiones potestatis praelectione. "Under the title of the tribuniciun authority." The title (TR. POT. XVI.), i.e., tributiones potestatis anno sexto decimo, stood after his name, at the head of the address with which the edicts, like letters, began.—Ponuit. For proposuit, as in iv., 27.—Sub Augusto accepta. Compare chap. iii.

Consulturnum. Supply patres,—Neque abscedere a corpore. These words must be regarded as parenthetical. Tiberius means to say, that filial respect prevented his leaving the corpse of his parent, and that the assembling of
the senate was the only one of the tribunial or senatorial duties which he could bring himself to perform.—\textit{Usurpare}. “That he took upon himself.”

\textit{Signum}. “The pass-word.” Called also \textit{tessera}. In the time of the emperors, this \textit{signum} was given by word of mouth. Compare xiii., 2; \textit{Suet.}, \textit{Cal.}, 58; \textit{Ner.}, 9—\textit{Cetera aura}. “The other appendages of a court.” These were the lictors, the fasces bound with bay, and whatever else served to distinguish the emperor.—\textit{Adopto}. Taken passively.—\textit{Essepectare}. “To wait for it.”

\textit{Dabat et famae}. “He allowed report also to have some influence with him.” After \textit{dabat} supply \textit{aliquit}. Hence the literal meaning is, “he gave somewhat to report also,” \textit{i.e.}, he had an eye to his own reputation or character.—\textit{Per usurium ambitum, &c.}. “Through the intrigues of a wife, and by adoption from a dotard.” The allusion is to Livia and Augustus.—\textit{Ad introsiciendes}. “For penetrating into.”—\textit{Inductam dubitationem}. “That this irresolution had been assumed by him.” A metaphor borrowed from the stage, where the phrase is \textit{personam inducere}, “to assume a character,” \textit{i.e.}, to play a part.—\textit{In crimen detorquens}. “Warping into a ground for (future) accusation.”—\textit{Recondetabat}. “He kept storing up in his bosom,” \textit{i.e.}, against a day of vengeance.

\textbf{CHAP. VIII.—Passus.} Supply \textit{est}. It is wanting in all the MSS., but, strictly speaking, ought to be inserted in the text, and is actually introduced by Nipperdey.—\textit{De supremae Augusti}. “Concerning the last duties to be paid to the corpse of Augustus.”—\textit{Virgines Vestae}. It was a common practice to deposit wills and other documents of importance, as well as money, in temples, especially in that of Vestae. The treaty between Antony and Augustus was deposited there.—\textit{Assumebatur}. The imperfect here implies, that Augustus had only expressed a desire that she should be adopted. From this time forward, in coins and inscriptions, she is called Julia, not Livia (i., 14; iii., 64; \textit{Ovid, Fast.}, i., 532).—\textit{In opem secundam, &c.}. “In the second degree of succession, his grandchildren and great-grandchildren.” Drusus, Germanicus, and the three sons of the latter. (\textit{Suet., Aug.}, 101.)—\textit{Sed jactantia gloriaque ad posteros}. “But (he did this) out of vain-glory and for future renown.”

\textit{Legata non ultra, &c.} “The legacies were not beyond the measure of a citizen,” \textit{i.e.}, did not exceed what might have been looked for from a citizen.—\textit{Populo et plebi, &c.} “To the public treasury and to the poorer citizens forty-three million five hundred thousand sestercii.” Supply after \textit{quinque}, at the end of the clause, \textit{centena millia sestertiorum}. Literally, “four hundred and thirty-five times a hundred thousand sestercii.” Of this sum forty millions were to be given to the \textit{populus}, the remainder to the \textit{plebs}. The sum bequeathed to the \textit{populus} came into the \textit{errarium}; that bequeathed to the \textit{plebs} was distributed among the poorer citizens. For, though the citizens who received distributions of corn, &c., are elsewhere called \textit{populus} as well as \textit{plebs}, yet when, as here, the two words are distinguished, the usage of the language requires us to understand by the former the people
collectively; by the latter, the lower orders of the people. What Tacitus expresses by plebs, Suetonius expresses by tribus, meaning the order appointed for the distribution, namely, to the poorer members of each tribe (and, as there were thirty-five tribes in all, each tribe would receive one hundred thousand sesterces), for a bequest could not be made to any tribe for corporation purposes. Under the empire, tribus became almost synonymous with plebs, as meaning the lower orders.

**Singula sestertiorum millia.** "A thousand sesterces each." Sestertiorum is the contracted genitive plural for sestertiorum, i.e., sestertiae.—Legionarius, &c. The MS. reading here is legionarius aut cohortibus, for which we have given the lection in the text, on the authority of the best editors. Some read ac for aut.—Cohortibus civium Romanorum. By this are meant the cohorts which belonged neither to the praetorians nor to the legionsaries, though they ranked in all respects with the latter; the only point of difference being that they did not belong to any legion.

**Ex quae maxime insignes visi.** "Of which the most noteworthy appeared (to be the following)." Compare the explanation of Wolf, "visi sunt hi qui statim ponuntur." All that we have to do, therefore, in this much-contested passage, is to supply est after visi.—Ut porta triumphalis, &c. Instead of writing consequit after Asinius, Tacitus contents himself with consequer after Arruntius, as referring in the plural to both speakers. The Porta triumphalis was not a gate, properly speaking, but an arch on the Campus Martius.

**Addebat.** "Proposed to add." The imperfect marks only the attempt.—Messala Varus. Son of the famous orator Messala Corvinus.—Sacramentum in nomen Tiberii. "The oath of allegiance to Tiberius." This is equivalent to the sacramentum in verba, though it is not exactly the same thing. The latter implies that the imperator dictated the words of the oath; the former merely that his name was inserted in it. The soldiers renewed their oath of allegiance to their general every year.—Ex sola species aduandae, &c. "This was the only form of flattery which remained," i.e., which had not been exhausted. It was flattery under the cloak of free-spokenness.

**Reminisc.** "Finally granted their request." Remittere, in its original sense, implies letting go, or letting loose, a cord that has been tightly stretched. Here it implies that, after a show of resistance, Tiberius suffered himself to be prevailed upon to grant their wishes.—Arrogantiae moderationes. His arrogance was shown in his regarding the honor as one rendered only to himself, and therefore pretending for a while to decline it; and with this was coupled a show of moderation, in giving his consent to a measure which he might have forbidden at once.—Campo Martis, sede destinata. The allusion is to the mausoleum built by him in the Campus Martius, between the bank of the Tiber and the Via Flaminia, called (iii., 4 and 9) "sumulus Augusti" and "sumulus Casarum." In a grove behind it was the ustrina, or the place where the corpses were burned.

**Diem illum crudi, &c.** "That day of slavery as yet crude, and of liberty un unsuccessfully sought to be reclaimed," i.e., that memorable day when the
wound of slavery had not yet healed, and the recovery of freedom had been attempted without success.—Oecocius Caesar. Equivalent to Oecocius Caecern. Compare "Oecocius Augusti praepeos" (i., 49).—In repugnans. "Against the state," i. e., for its enslavement.—Stiliss. "Forsooth." Ironical.—Tuendum. Taken passively.

CHAP. IX.—Vena. "Things of no importance."—Idem dixit, &c. Here and in the Dist. de Or., 17, his reign is dated from his first consulship, Aug. 19th, B.C. 43. Others reckon from the battle of Actium, Sept. 2d, B.C. 31; others, again, from his seventh consulship, when the imperium was confirmed to him by the senate, and the cognomen of Augustus was given him, B.C. 27.—Fasisisset. The subjunctive, as giving the assertion of another, not of the writer himself.—Numerus consularum. He was consul thirteen times. Valerius Cervus, six times; Caius Marius, seven times.—Nomen imperatoris. "The title of imperator," bestowed, according to the ancient custom, on account of victories gained by himself personally, or by his generals.

He. Supply adjacent.—Parentem. His adoptive father, Julius Caesar.—Per bonas artes. "By means strictly commendable."—Dum interfectores, &c. "Provided he might take vengeance upon the murderers of his father," i. e., of Caesar, as above. Dum marks the condition upon which these concessions were made.—Secordis semeritis. "Had become enfeebled by sloth." Senatos implies the loss of strength and vigor.—Nea regno tamen, &c. "That the government, however, had been established by him, not in the form of a kingdom or a dictatorship, but merely under the title of prince."

—Mari occisum. "By the ocean." Oceanus is sometimes used as an adjective. Compare Cæs., B. G., iii., 7: "Mare oceanum."

Legiones, provinciæ, &c. These words refer to the greater centralization of the military and provincial administration, the former of which he took entirely, the latter in the chief provinces, under his own supreme direction; to the suitable posting of standing armies and fleets, the fixing of single military stations, the making of roads, and the establishment of government couriers, of the two last of which Suetonius speaks (Aug. 30 and 49).—Modestiam. "A moderate exercise of authority."—Urbs ipsa magnificus ornata. Augustus introduced great improvements into all parts of the city, and both erected many public buildings himself, and induced all the leading nobles of his court to follow his example. So greatly had the appearance of the city improved during his long and prosperous reign, that he used to boast that he had found Rome of brick and had left it of marble. (Suet., Aug., 28.)

Cic., Phil., iv., 2.—Simulatem Pompeianum, &c. "An attachment to
the Pompeian party had been signed by him." Compare Suet., Aug., 10,
12.—Jus preteris. He became propror. (Cic., Phil., v., 16, 45.)—Ab-
tulerat. When nouns of different numbers and genders form the subject
of a sentence, the number and gender of the predicate are commonly de-
termined by those of the nearest noun of the subject.—Occupassisse. "He
had seized upon."

Invito senatu. The dative. It rested with the senate, which at that time
directed all things, whether it would admit Octavianus, in spite of the legal
impediments, as a candidate for the consulship.—Accoperit. Muretus con-
jectures accoperat, but this would make it a direct assertion on the part of
Tacitus, not one merely on the part of the speaker.—Ne ipsis guidem, &c.
These words refer to both the proscriptions and the divisions of lands. The
triumvirs themselves could never praise them, but could only seek to excuse
them under the plea of necessity.—Sine Cassi et Brutorum cinis, &c.
"That the deaths of Cassius and the Bruti were, it must be admitted, offered
(as sacrifices) to a father's enmities," i. e., to his father's hatred of them.
By the Bruti are meant M. Junius Brutus and Brutus Albinus.—Remittere.
"To give up."—Pompeium. Sextus Pompeius, son of Pompey the Great.
been entrapped." The treaty of Brundisium was made 40 B.C., that of Ta-
rentum 37 B.C. Tacitus mentions them in the inverse order, for the pur-
purpose of connecting the former with the marriage of Antony and Octavia,
which was meant to strengthen the league.

Lollianas Varianasque clades. "That there were the disastrous over-
throws of Lollius and of Varus." M. Lollius was defeated in B.C. 16, in
Westphalia. Quintilius Varus was overthrown by the celebrated Arminius,
B.C. 9.—Verones, Egnatius, Iulius. The plural is frequently used in this
rhetorical way for the singular. Varro Murzana and Egnatius Rufus formed
conspiracies against Augustus, the former 29 B.C., the latter 19 B.C. An-
tonius Iulius, son of the triumvir and Fulvia, was convicted of adultery with
Julia, and was also suspected of aiming at the supremacy.—Abducta Neroni
asse. To the nominative here we must supply a commemorabatur from the
preceding negative expression. Tiberius Nero, 38 B.C., seemingly of his
own free will, resigned his wife Livia to Augustus. She was then pregnant
with her second son Drusus. (Vell. Patr., ii., 79; Suet., Tib., 4.)—Q.
Tullii. Of this individual nothing is known. Some suspect here an error in
the text.—Vedii Pollonis. Vedius Pollio was a Roman knight, and a
monster of debauchery. He fattened his lampreys with slaves thrown alive
into his ponds. (Sen. de Clem., i., 18; Id. de Ira, iii., 40; Plut., H. N.,
23, 30.)

Cum se templis, &c. Not by the Roman citizens, but by the provincials,
as Nipperdey correctly remarks, and that, too, only in connection with Roma.
For so it is to be understood, when Suetonius (Aug., 52, 59) and Dio Cas-
sius (li., 20) relate that Augustus permitted this only in the provinces, not
in Rome and Italy. This religious worship, therefore, must not be com-
founded with the divine honors paid to Augustus by the whole state after his decease. Observe that velites is an invidious exaggeration; in truth, he only permitted it.—Comparationis determina. "By a comparison the most worthless." It is not the comparison, in fact, but the conduct of Augustus himself which is thus stigmatized, for giving them such a successor merely for the sake of comparison, and as a foil to himself.

Postularet. For the third time. Consult notes on chap. iii.—Honors. "Complimentary."—De habito, cultura, et institutione ejus. "Concerning his carriage, and personal habits, and principles." Compare the account given of him by Suetonius: "Iucundum servum rigida et obstipit; adducto fere vultu, plerumque tacitu: nullum aut rarissimum cism cum proximus sermone, coque tardisse, nec sine multo quedam digitorum gesticulatione." (Suet., Tib., 68.)—Quae esprofaret. For us as esprofaret.

CHAP. XI.—Celestes religiones. "Divine worship." In the Calendarium Amsterninum, these celestes honorcs are said to have been decreed on the 19th of September.—Varia. "Evasively." More literally, "in varying tone."—Sua modestia. "His own consciousness of incompetency." Not the incompetency itself.—In partem curarum. "To a participation of his (public) cares."—Non ad usum. Not as, because of the antithesis understood, sed ad phares, which in fact follows in a different form.—Munia rei publicae exsecutuor. "Would discharge the functions of the public administration."

Dignitatis quem fidei. "Of dignity of sentiment than of sincerity."—Suspensa. "Undecided."—In incertum. "In uncertainty." The accusative with in, as denoting the result, actual or intended. Equivalent, in fact, to "so that there resulted," &c.—Effigiem Augusti. This was in the palace on the Palatine Hill, in which the senate assembled. Compare ii., 37.—Labellum. "The imperial register." Suetonius calls it rationarium or breviarium imperii. (Suet., Aug., 28, 101.)—Recitari. By Drusus. (Die Cass., Ivi., 33.)

Opes publicae. "A summary of the public resources."—Tributae. "Direct taxes," i. e., taxes upon persons and property.—Vestigalia. "Indirect taxes," i. e., money raised by the customs, tithes, and letting of the public lands.—Necessitates. "The necessary public expenditures." Livy (xxiii., 48) uses the word in the same sense.—Terminae. The Euphrates, the Danube, the Rhine, and the Ocean.—Mares. According to Dio Cassius (Ivi., 33), Augustus himself expressed a fear that, in attempting to extend their conquests, they might lose what had been already acquired.

CHAP. XII.—Ad insinas obstestationes procumbente. "Stooping to the most humiliating importunities." Procumbenti is here used figuratively, and yet does not exclude the actual genuflections mentioned by Suetonius (Tib., 24).—Quaequamque pars. Tiberius made a three-fold division of it: the first section comprising Rome and Italy; the second, the armies; the third, the provinces. (Die Cass., Ivi., 2.)—Asinius Gallus. The son of C. Asin-
ius Pollio, the friend of Augustus and Horace, who was prefect of Gaul in B.C. 42, consul in B.C. 40, and proconsul in B.C. 39. Asinius Gallus, the son, was consul in B.C. 8.—Percius. "Confounded."—Collecto animo. "Having recovered himself."—Pudori. "Modesty."—Cui escusari mallet. A construction which does not elsewhere occur.—Laudem. As laus here denotes a laudatory speech, it takes the ablative with de.

In toga. "In a civil capacity." Compare Ann. xi., 7.—Ideo. "Even thus."—Vipsania. Her mother was the daughter of Atticus, the friend of Cicero. Tiberius was obliged to part with her, when, upon the wish of Augustus, 11 B.C., he married Julia, that emperor's daughter. Vipsania was the mother of the younger Drusus.—Civilia. "What suited the condition of a subject."—Ferociam. "The haughty spirit."

CHAP. XIII.—Post quæ. Tacitus frequently uses the relative in this manner. Cicero or Livy would have used postea.—Promtum. "Enterprising."—Pari fæma publice. "Of equal reputation with the people at large." His reputation with the people was as high as his personal qualities.—Suffecturi. "Though they would be able to fill it."—Imperes. "Though unequal to it."—M. Lepidum. M. Âemilius Lepidus, son of Âemilius Paulus, was consul A.D. 6. Some editors have erroneously substituted here the name of Manius Âemilius Lepidus, the son of Q. Lepidus, who was consul A.D. 11, and afterward proconsul of Asia; a man of no wealth, and of bad character.—Avidum et minorem. "Was aspiring, but of inferior talents." Ët is frequently thus used where we should have expected sed.—Arruntium. Arruntius was consul in A.D. 6, and was an orator and an historian. He killed himself in A.D. 37.

Ca. Pisonem. Not the consul in B.C. 23, but his son. Consul in B.C. 7, with Tiberius, who, in A.D. 17, made him governor of Syria.—Omnesque præter Lepidum, &c. Observe the employment of omnes for only two, since the words of Tacitus refer merely to the account that Augustus had named Lepidus, Asinius, and Arruntius. Tiberius had no hand whatever in the fall of Piso.—Non adesse caput reipublica. Although Tiberius seemingly hesitated to be the head of the state, he did not choose that any man should seriously believe that he was not so, and that another should obtain the post of princeps.—Quod relationi consulum, &c. "Because he (Tiberius) had not, by the right of the tribunician authority, put his veto on the motion of the consuls." The consuls had moved that Tiberius should assume the principatus, which of course was the occasion of this discussion, as Tacitus takes for granted the reader will understand.

Genus adverteretur. There is a tendency to put the dative after middle verbs; but advolvi seems to have come to signify nothing more than "to embrace."—Augustam. Livia. Consult notes on chap. viii.—Curatissimus. "Most earnest." In the sense of accuratissimus. Post-Augustan Latinity.

CHAP. XIV.—Moderando seminorum honores. "That public honors in the case of females ought to be bestowed with moderation."—Ceterum.
Consult notes on chap. x.—Muliebre fastigium. "The elevation of a woman."—Ne licentem quidem, &c. Livia was allowed, however, to employ a lictor when she acted as priestess of Augustus. (Dio Cass., lvi., 46.)—Araque adoptionis. This must be referred to the adoption of Livia (chap. viii.). Altars were frequently thus erected to perpetuate the memory of some remarkable event.

Proconsularis imperium. Tacitus means a perpetual proconsular imperium, which would give the young prince a title to the throne. Three years before this, in A.D. 11, Germanicus had been invested with the proconsular imperium for carrying on war, before he had filled the office of consul. (Dio Cass., lvi., 25.)—Candidatos preste, &c. Whoever wished to be candidate for an office intimated his wish to the emperor, who named to the senate or the consuls those who had given in their names to him. If he passed by any, this was a tacit command for that person to desist. He might, therefore, have named more than twelve, even if he chose to have only this number elected; that he nominated no more than were of late elected was a token that he meant to abide by that number.—Obstrinxit. The following se belongs to the accusative, with the infinitive. Another se is understood with obstrinxit.

Chap. xv.—Tum primum, &c. The election of all the magistrates now passed over to the senate from the people; or, in the words of Tacitus, the assemblies for electing magistrates were transferred from the Campus Martius to the senate. Compare Vell. Patrec., ii., 126: "Summata e foro sedition, ambitio campo."—Studiis. "In compliance with the wishes."—Inani rumore. "According to idle rumor." There was a rumor that the people complained, but the people did not.—Tenuit. "Clung to the privilege conferred upon them." With the exception of those who sought the questorship, all candidates for office were senators. Hence the language of the text, libens tenuit.—Moderante. "Restricting himself."—Ambitu. "Cons- vassing."

Inter qua. For interea; like post qua, above, for postea.—Fastis additi. "Being added to the calendar," i. e., being recognized as yearly games to be solemnized by the state. In the old calendars, we find the 12th of October (a. d. iv Id. Oct.) marked as the day of their celebration.—Utrque. This sentence depends upon decretum est, which must be understood from decreta. —Curru. The pretors, in presiding at the games, had, besides the triumphal robe, or toga picta, the chariot also. Compare Juv., xi., 191.—Anna. The MS. reading is annum, which gives no sense. Some alter this to annua, others to annum; the former is the better correction. The pretors would be elected annually, as a matter of course; and the position of the word would render annum unnecessarily emphatic.

Chap. xvi.—Seditio incessit. "A seditious spirit came upon."—Munatus princeps. For mutatio principis.—Licentiam turborum. "Impunity for disturbances."—Ostendebat. "Seemed to promise."—Junio Blaso. Blas-
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...was acting as legatus pro praetore. Compare chap. xviii. — In the accession. — Ob justitium aut gaudium. "On account of the public mourning (in the one case), or the public joy (in the other)." The justitium was on account of the death of Augustus; the gaudium on account of the accession of Tiberius. Muretus, Wolf, and other critics, suppose the words aut gaudium to be an interpolation.

Teatrulium operarum. "Of theatrical factions." The term opera is applied in the Latin writers to men hired for any purpose. So the gladiators employed by Clodius are called Clodia opera (Cic., ad Att., i., 13, 14; iv., 3). The opera theatralis were persons hired to back some particular actor, and hire the others. Frequent disturbances arose in the theatre from the contests of rival parties of these opera. — Et misere casus, &c. "And well qualified, from his experience in theatrical party zeal, to stir up bodies of men," i.e., the bad passions of a crowd. — Condicio. Supplyutura sit. — Et diuersa metiuribus. "And when the better disposed had retied to their respective quarters." — Promtis jam et aliis, &c. "When other ministers of sedition also were now at hand (to second his designs)."

CHAP. XVII. — Passio centuriionum, pasciitribus tribunis. In every legion there were sixty centurions and six tribunes. A legion contained ten cohorts, thirty maniples, and sixty centuries. — Aequore. In the oratio directa, eadembus. (Medvig, § 105). — Nutentem. "Trottering on his throne." — Tricena aut quadragesima stipendia. Formerly the regular period for military service was ten years for the cavalry, and sixteen or twenty for the infantry, and one who had served that number of years, between the ages of seventeen and forty-six or fifty, was called emeritus or veteranu. But in A.D. 13, Augustus fixed the period of service for the praetorian soldiers at twelve, and for the rest at sixteen years. Seventeen years afterward, the term was altered to sixteen years in the case of the former, and twenty in that of the latter. Percennius here exaggerates the length of their service.

Recto. A conjectural reading, first given by Beroaldus, and followed subsequently by many editors. In the MS. there is a s at the end of one line, and tentes at the beginning of the next. Some, therefore, read tendentes, and this word is applied to soldiers in a tent (tendentes tentoria). — Alio vocabulo. They were called vexillarii. — Eosdem labores. This hardship was afterward alleviated. Compare chap. xxxvi. — Adhuc. "In addition to this." — Utiges paludum vel inculta montium. "Swampy fens or mountain wastes."

Dum in diem cessibus. In the first ages of the republic, the soldiers served at their own expense. In A.U.C. 347, it was decreed that they should receive pay from the public treasury (Liv., iv., 59). This amounted at first to three asses and a third a day. (Niebuhr, Rom. Hist., iii., p. 439, transl.) The centurions received twice, and the cavalry three times that sum. Caesar doubled the pay of the soldiers (Suet., Cat., 26). — Hinc westem, arma, &c. From this it would appear that when the pay of the soldiers was doubled, the law of Gracchus, ordaining that clothes should be given gratis.
to the soldiers, was abrogated. This law, however, would appear to have been revived by some of the succeeding emperors. (Compare Lamprid., Alex., 40.) The soldiers, however, had to provide themselves with arms. (Liv., i., 43.)

Exercitus estates. "Laborious summers."—Ut singulos denarios merent. The denarius was originally ten pounds of ass (bronze). In the time of the second Punic war, when the ass was only an ounce, the denarius was equivalent to sixteen asses; and the assemina, which was two and a half asses, when the denarius was ten asses, still maintained its proportion to the denarius, and was valued at four asses. After the reign of Augustus, the value of the denarius was twelve asses. In the case of the soldiers, however, the denarius retained its original value: though their pay was nominally a denarius a day, they received only ten asses. (Plin., H. N., xxxiii., 3.)

Bino denarios. According to Dio Cassius (liii., 11), the senate decreed that the praetorian guards should receive twice as much pay as the rest of the forces. According to this, they received twenty asses a day. Either, then, Perennius uses the word denarius, according to the military valuation, and therefore in a sense different from that which it bears in the previous sentence, or else he intended his auditors to understand him as speaking of the ordinary denarius, in order to make the matter more flagrant. It is probable, also, that though their pay was twenty asses, the emperor allowed them two ordinary denarii.

Post sedecim annos. Augustus, when obliged to court the favor of the praetorian soldiers, fixed the term for military service at twelve years in their case, and sixteen in that of others. (Dio Cass., liv., 25.) But in A.D. 758, the time was altered to sixteen years in the former case, and twenty in the latter; and, at the same time, their pay was increased. (Dio Cass., lv., 23.)—Non obstetiri. "Were not sought to be disparaged."—Apud horridas gentes. "(Serving) among savage nations."

CHAP. XVIII.—Adstrepetat vulgus. "The crowd shouted assent."—Exprobrantes. "Pointing reproachfully to," i. e., pointing to and telling of in bitter reproach.—Ut tres legiones in unam miscere agitaverint. "That they proposed to incorporate the three legions into one," i. e., in order to make it impossible to separate them, and to distinguish which of them was most concerned in the mutiny. This incorporation would have been an act of impiety: the siga were objects of religious reverence, and at night were placed in a kind of shrine or temple. And, besides, the throwing away of their standards would have been a violation of their military oath, by which they bound themselves never to desert them.

Asumulationes. "By a feeling of jealousy."—Alio vertunt. "They turn their thoughts in a different direction." Observe the middle force of verto. —Signa cohortium. There is a dispute whether we are here to understand the standards of the maniples, or are to suppose that the cohorts had standards distinct from those of the maniples. In former ages, when the army
was drawn up by maniples, without any distinction of cohorts, there were of course, no standards for the cohorts. But when it became the custom to arrange the legion by cohorts, standards to mark the different maniples would be unnecessary. Hence Vegetius (ii., 13) mentions the standards of the legions and cohorts, but says nothing of any standards for the maniples; and Germanicus (chap. xxxiv.), when bidding the soldiers depart to their maniples, orders "Signa preferrat, ut id saltem discerneret cohortes."

Congerunt coepit. "They bring together pieces of turf," i. e., in order to form a tribunal. The tribunal in the camp was generally of turf, but sometimes, in a stationary camp, of stone. From it the general addressed the soldiers, and here the consuls and the tribunes of the soldiers administered justice. When the general addressed the army from it, the standards were placed in front, and the army stood around it in order.—Sedes. "The place of the speaker."—Properantibus adventit. " Came up to them while hurrying on the work." Properantibus is the dative.—Retinebat singulos. "Tried to hold them back individually." Observe the force of the imperfect.—Incolamis. "While alive."

CHAP. XIX.—Aggerebatur. "Was all the while getting brought."—Pectori. Tacitus frequently uses the dative, where other writers would have employed ad with the accusative.—Pervicacia. "By his importunity."—Veteres. "The soldiers of old."—Tum nova. "Things so novel in their character."—Parum in tempore. "That it was most inopportune."—Tenderent tentare. "They meant to try to gain." Tenderent is for the indicative future of the oratio directa; just as the subjunctive of the pluperfect takes the place of the futurum exactum. (Madoig, 404.)

Filius Blassi. Compare chap. xxix.; iii., 74; and vi., 40.—Legationes ea fungeretur. "Should discharge that office of delegate."—Proveniissent. "Should have been forthcoming," i. e., should have succeeded.—Orator. "As the advocate."—Obtinuissent. Expressing mere possibility, and hence equivalent here to obtinere potuissent.

CHAP. XX.—Nauportum. Nauportum was a town of Pannonia, on a river of the same name, a tributary of the Savus. It fell into decay after the founding of Emona, now Leibach, which was only fifteen miles from it.—Consellunt. It is doubtful whether this means "tear to pieces," or "tear up from the ground;" the latter is probably the signification here. The word commonly used, however, for "to tear up" is evellere.—Municipii instar. Not merely an oppidum, because Roman citizens dwelt there.—Retinenter. "Trying to restrain them."—Prefectum castrorum. The prefect of the camp is an officer not spoken of before the times of the emperors. He is first mentioned in the reign of Augustus. There was one to each legion. According to Vegetius (ii., 10), it was his duty to attend to all matters connected with the making of a camp, such as the vallum, fossa, &c., and also the internal economy of it.—An libenter ferret. "Whether he bore with pleasure," i. e., bow he liked.
Revocabat. "Strove to recall." The force of the imperfect.—*Intentus operis ac laboris.* "Intent on heavy work (in the case of the soldiers)," i.e., looking sharp after the labor of the soldiers. *Intentus operis ac laboris* would have implied that he was himself engaged in the labor. Observe the hendecasyllabic *in operis ac laboris*. We have given *intentus* here with some of the best editors. The M.S. has *intus*, which makes no sense. Many editors suggest *etus*. The expression *vetus, "inured to," would imply that he had for a long time endured heavy toil, and was doing so still, which meaning does not suit this passage.—*Toléraverat.* "He had once endured it himself."

Chap. XXI.—*Nam etiam tam, &c.* At a later period of the mutiny, the centurions were forced to flee (chap. xxiii.); the remaining well-disposed persons did not dare to act.—*Manipularium.* "Of the common soldiers.* Manipularis* is the common soldier of the legion, in opposition to the officers of the legion; *gregarius* to the officers of the whole army; *legionarius* to the allies.—*Centurium.* The maniple is not invoked, because the second century (two centuries forming a maniple, as already remarked) would not add much to the successor.—*Nihil reliqui faciunt.* "They leave nothing untried."—*Perruoverant.* The employment of *peruove* with the accusative of the affection is a late usage. Observe, moreover, the historic present, *faciunt*, followed by the imperfect subjunctive.—*Sibi jam miscent.* Observe the force of jam, denoting that the mutiny had at last reached such a pitch that they allowed even deserters and criminals to join them.

Chap. XXII.—*Flagrantior.* "Blazed forth with greater fury." Supply *erat.—His innocentibus et miserrimis.* Those who had just been released from confinement.—*A Germanico exercitu.* This was actually at the same time in an uproar (chap. xxxi., seqq.). But Tacitus makes it an invention of Vibulenus's that the German army was putting forward the same demands; for, if intelligence to that effect had been received, this was too important to have been omitted by Tacitus.—*De communitibus commodis.* The common interests of the German and Pannonian armies. —*Gladiatores suos.* The procurators and other provincial magistrates were accustomed to maintain bodies of gladiators for the purpose of exhibiting public shows while abroad. As these expensive exhibitions led to acts of extortion, and the oppression of the provincials, the practice was forbidden by Nero (xiii., 31). In the present instance, moreover, these gladiators might serve as a sort of body-guard, to protect the general against the violence of the soldiers, which perhaps explains what follows: "*quos in exitium militum,* &c.

*Ubi.* Not "whither," but "where," because the person throwing the corpse is represented not as flinging it to a distance from the place where he was, but as throwing it down at the place itself. It is the same, therefore, as saying, "Where have you left it flung away?" —*Sepultrura incident.* We should have expected the accusative, but the ablative is not unfrequent. Compare notes on chap. xxxiii., of the *Germania.*—*Dum.* For
annum modo.—Hi. This is the reading of Muretus and Lipsius. The MS. has ii.

**Chap. XXIII.**—Incendebat hæc. "He rendered these words still more inflammatory."—Disjectis. "Those having been pushed aside." Supply his. —Quit e servitio Blasi event. "Who formed a portion of the slaves of Blæsus."—Familium. "Slave-bond."—Haud multum ab exitio, &c. Observe the employment of the imperfect indicative after ni with the subjunctive. The expression is, in fact, an elliptical one; the full form being, "haud multum ab exitio legati abierant, ut revem exitio ille occupiisset." Compare Zumpt, § 519, b. In English, however, we commonly render it at once by the pluperfect subjunctive.

*Prefectum castrorum.* Consult notes on chap. xx. —Cedo alteram. "Give me another." (Zumpt, § 223.)—Fracta vite. The centurions’ badge of office, with which they inflicted corporeal punishment, was a vine sapling.—Praetium ingenium. "His prompt capacity."—Sirpicum. Sirpicus is a nickname, just like Cedo alteram. The meaning, however, is obscure: it may be connected, as Nipperdey remarks, with sirpære, "to twist," or "plait," whence sirpiculius, "a platted basket;" or with sirpe, the plant which produces the assafetida. As an actual proper name it nowhere occurs.—Ni . . . interjecisset. "And they would have come to open collision, had not," &c. Consult notes on chap. xiii., of the *Agricola.*

**Chap. XXIV.**—Abstrusum. "Reserved."—Tristissima quæque. "All events of a most disastrous nature."—Nullis satis certis mandatis. Observe the similarity of ending, on which we have already remarked.—Ex re consulturum. "To take measures according to the exigencies of the case."—Robora Germanorum. "The flower of the German troops." After the defeat of Varus, Augustus had dismissed his German guards; but it appears that Tiberius had again taken them into his service. (Suet., Aug., 49.)—Aelius Sejanus. This is the individual who afterward became the confidant and prime minister of Tiberius. Consult iv., 1.—Straboni patri. He was joined with his father, Seius Strabo, in the command of the pretorian guards. As regards Strabo, consult chap. vii.—Rector juveni, &c. "Is also sent) as governor to the young prince, and a pointer out of dangers and rewards unto the rest." Pointing out, namely, what dangers would await the rebellious, and what rewards would be bestowed upon those who returned to their duty. This is Wolf’s explanation, and appears to be the most natural. Nipperdey and others, however, explain the passage differently. According to them, he was to show the rest who were sent with Drusus, how they should bear themselves in dangers, and what rewards they were to expect; and he was to show the latter even in his own person, since, though of low birth, he had risen to a position of the highest dignity.

*Per officium.* "To show respect."—Neque insignibus fulgentes. "Nor glittering with military decorations." These would be the ornaments of
their arms, the adornment of the standards with bay and flowers, &c. —
Sed ilius deformi. "But in disfiguring want of cleanliness."

**Chap. XXV.** — *Stationibus.* The term *stationes* is used, specially to de-
note the advanced posts thrown forward and in front of the gates. — *Stabat
Drusus.* "There stood Drusus." — *Retulerant.* Because the most, and es-
pecially the leaders, who stood in front in order to overlook the multitude,
were obliged to turn round. — *Vocibus truculentis straperat.* "Spoke loud, in
tones of fierce insolence." — *Murmur incertum.* "A hollow and inarticulate
murmur." — *Diversis motibus.* "According to the different impulses."

*QuiBUScum . . . toleraviesset.* In the years 12–9 B.C., and again 6–9 A.D.,
against the Pannonians and Dalmatians. Observe the employment of the
subjunctive to denote the sentiments and language of another, and not of the
writer. — *Quaem neque gratiae, &c.* "Who it was fitting should be regarded as
devoid neither of clemency nor severity." A covert exhortation so to de-
mean themselves that they should not have to expect punishment. The
odium of menace is adroitly avoided by putting forward the senate, and by
a mixture of hope from the clemency of that body.

**Chap. XXVI.** — *Perferret.* Because, in giving him the instructions (chap.
xxiii.), it was supposed that he would have to go to Rome to execute them.
— * Arbitrium senatus et patriae.* "The power of deciding vested solely in the
senate and his father," i.e., that it belonged only to the senate and his father
to determine these matters. — *Augendis stipendii.* The gerundive to denote
a destination or purpose. (Modvig, 415, 2.) — *Benefaciendi.* "Of allevi-
a ting their grievances." — *Filios familiarum.* These, being in patria potestate,
possessed, according to the Roman law, no property, and therefore also had
no right to give away any thing. In the present instance, the term is em-
ployed figuratively, to denote their incapacity for granting any demands.—
*Sub dominis.* "Under the control of many masters." — *Sine arbitro.* "With-
out any mediator," i.e., without any one to whom to appeal.

**Chap. XXVII.** — *Uti.* "As often as." Joined here with the subjunctive,
occurreat, to denote a repeated act. This is the practice of later writers.
The older ones, such as Cicero, Caesar, and Sallust, commonly use the in-
dicative. (Modvig, 359.) — *Manus intentantes.* "Stretching out their
hands toward them in a menacing manner." — *Causam discordiae, &c.* Ap-
positions to entire sentences or phrases (here manus intentantes) stand in
the accusative when the verb of the sentence or of the phrase denotes an
action. The accusative is dependent on the general notion of the *facere*
implied in the verb, and denotes as well the effect as the purpose of the ac-
 tion, just as with many verbs there is a double accusative. Tacitus has
carried this opposition to the same length as the Greeks (Matthies, 432, 5;
Kümmel, 500); Cicero uses it more sparingly.

*Ca. Lentulo.* His full name was *Ca. Cornelius Lentulus Cassus Gatuli-
cus.* He was consul in B.C. 1, and in A.D. 6 was sent into Africa, where h
defeated the Gaetuli, whence his surname. His son of the same name, a poet and historian, who was consul A.D. 26, was put to death by Caligula, after having been governor of Upper Germany for ten years. Caligula feared his great popularity with the soldiers.

_Ante alias._ To be construed with _atate et gloria belli_, not, as Nipperdey maintains, with _firmare._ — _Firmare Drusum._ "To be encouraging Drusus," _i.e., to resist the demands of the soldier._ — _Militia flagitia._ "Flagrant violations of military duty." — _Dигрением cum Cæsar_. &c. Drusus accompanied him, in order to betake himself to the camp of his troops. But he was hindered from proceeding by the tumult: hence, chap. xxviii., _quosque filium imperatoris obsidebimus?_ Drusus had come into the camp of the legions with only a part of his escort, the before-mentioned _prætoriani militès_ and _amicis Cæsaris_, and below, _multitudinis qua cum Druso adverterat._ That the troops accompanying Drusus had a camp by themselves Tacitus has not mentioned, only because it would be understood, of course, that neither the camp of the legions would hold them, nor would these have admitted them.

CHAP. XXVIII.—_Languescere._ According to the calculations of Petavius, this eclipse happened September 26, A.D. 14. — _Accipiescat._ We have adopted here the emendation of Wopken, approved of by Wolf. The common text has _acceptit_, _ac_, &c., but the presence of _ac_ disturbs the sentence, and produces an anacoluthon. Some editors read _acceptit_ merely, and throw out _ac_. Others have _acceptit, hanc._ — _Quæ pergerent._ "Which they were striving after." _Pergerit_ is here used with the accusative, just as _festinat_ (iv., 28; vi., 40, &c.) and _properat_ (i., 18; ii., 6, &c.). There is nothing surprising in _pergō_ being used with an accusative, when we remember that it is a compound of _per_ and the transitive verb _rego._ (Bötticher, _Lex. Tac._, p. 19.) There is no need, therefore, of changing _qua_ to _qua_, as Nipperdey does, nor of reading, with others, _peterent_ instead of _pergerent._ — _Aeris sono._ According to the popular belief, that the moon was aided by such noises in resisting the evil influence that was acting upon her, and in regaining her light. — _Ut sunt mobiles_, &c. "As minds once stricken with terror are prone to superstition." — _Aversari._ "Regard with aversion." There is a dispute whether _aversari_ or _adversari_ is here the true reading. It makes very little difference in the sense of the passage. _Adversari_ is sometimes used with the dative, as in chap. xxvii.; ii., 67; iv., 37; and sometimes with the accusative, as in _Hist._, i., 1, 38; iv., 84.

_Inclinatione._ "Change of mind." — _Vigiliiis, stationibus, custodiis._ The abstracts for the concretes. The _stationes_ (already mentioned in chap. xxi.) consisted each of one cohort and a troop of cavalry, and were posted, as before remarked, at the several gates of the camp. They were changed at mid-day ( _Lev._, xliv. 33). — _Neronibus et Drusis._ The imperial family was derived from both gentes, and bore both names. — _Ut novissimi in culpam._ Of course, these speeches were not held in presence of the ringleaders. Again, the speakers could not address themselves exclusively to those who
were actually the last to join the insurrection. But they denote all present as such, to make the guilty believe that their guilt was not known, and that they had, therefore, nothing to fear from the restoration of order.—Pratam gratiam, &c. "You may merit favor on your individual account instantly, you may instantly receive it."

CHAP. XXIX. — Orto die. From the arrival of Drusus to the present time, a day and a night have elapsed.—Nobiliitas ingenii. "With innate nobleness of feeling," i.e., from the impulse of a noble heart.—Modestim. "Submission."—Escipierit. Imperfect of the subjunctive in the oratio oblique. (Madvig, § 404.)—Ornatibus. "On their entreaty," i.e., that he would write to his father. When the subject to the ablative absolute of a participle or adjective is a pronoun (as ilis ornatibus), unless the pronoun be emphatic, it is not expressed. This use of the ablative absolute is some what rare, however, in more ancient authors.—Idem Bleare. Supply mentally qui ante missus est. Consult chap. xix.—L. Apronianus. Distinguished, by the apposition which follows, from his father. He is the person mentioned at iii., 21, with the surname of Cassianus.—E cohorte Drusi. "Of the suite of Drusus." Elsewhere they are called comites or contubernales. They consisted of the private friends or relations of the general, or of young men of rank whom he took with him on his own account. There were often different grades among these comites. Compare Suet., Tib., 46.

Opperiendos. That is, ere they advanced to final measures; for to go away before the return of the legati was not thought of till later. Compare the conclusion of chap. xxx.—Comitate. "By courteous treatment."—Modicum. "That was not in extremis."—Praetum ad severiora. "Readily inclined toward measures of severity."—Exstra eadem. Executions took place outside the camp, behind the porta decumana, just as outside the walls of cities.

CHAP. XXX. — Vis futuri signa. This was looked upon as a portent, the standards being objects of religious worship.—Frustra. "To no purpose."—Hebescere sidera. Alluding to the recent eclipse.—Castra infasuta temperataque. "An ill-starred and polluted camp."—Soluti piaculo. "Freed from their guilt by some expiatory atonement."—Epistolas. Here used in the plural to denote a single letter. This is a late usage of the plural, and arises from the analogy of litera. Compare ii., 70, 78; iii., 59; Hist., iii., 63. It is of very frequent occurrence in Justin.—Desolatus. "Left alone."—Satis concederant. "Had become sufficiently settled."

CHAP. XXXI. — Germaniae legiones. In each of the two German provinces were four legions. Those in Germania Superior formed the exercitus superior; those in Germania Inferior, the exercitus inferior.—Vi sua cuncta fracturis. "Intending to manage all things by their own strength," i.e., who thought they had force sufficient to carry all things their own way.—Oui nomen superiori. Consult notes on chap. xxxiv., of the Germania.—C.
Silius and Cæcina were both legati pro praetore.—Regimen summae rei. "The command in chief."

Agendō Galliarum censum. This census was for the purpose of apportioning the tribute and taxes. It was first taken by Augustus (Liv., Epit., 134; Dio Cass., liii., 23). Besides the tribute, the Gauls were subject to both a poll-tax and a property-tax. The charge of taking the census was looked upon as a distinction, and was entrusted to persons of high rank.

In rebiem proletus est. "Broke forth into open outrage."—Prima. This legion, in an ancient inscription, is called Germanica.—Ubiorem. The Ubii were brought over from the right to the left bank of the Rhine by Agrippa. A colony of veterans was sent to the Oppidum Ubiorem by Agrippina, the daughter of Germanicus, and wife of Claudius. Consult notes on chap. xxviii., of the Germania.—Vernacula multitudine. That the "vernacular multitude" means those born in Rome, is shown by the addition super acto in urbe detecta. In itself, the phrase might equally well denote the Roman citizens born in the provinces; as in Hirtius, Bell. Alex., 53, a legion in Spain, consisting of Roman citizens born there, is called vernacula. The great bulk of the native population of the capital was, as in all great cities, the very dregs of the Roman people; but still, in the term vernaculis, in and of itself, there is nothing contemptuous. The rest of the soldiers were levied in the other parts of Italy, or the neighboring provinces, or by long residence on the Rhine had become domesticated there. The levy here meant was held five years before, after the overthrow of Varus.

Impellere. The MS. has implere, but impellere is probably the right word, and is given by some of the best editors.—Maturam. "In due season."—Ora. "Faces."—In suum cognomentum adscivi imperatores. "That commanders of armies were admitted to their appellation." The appellation meant is Germanicus. Observe that cognomentum here, as frequently in Tacitus and the poets, is not the "surname," but a name attached to a person or thing, "an appellation;" for, in the case of the legions, Germanicus is not surname, but name or appellation; it becomes surname only for the imperatores. Observe, moreover, that by imperatores are here meant the members of the imperial house, who have borne an imperium, and who, according to ancient custom, have been saluted imperatores. The cognomen Germanicus was granted by the senate to Drusus, the brother of Tiberius, and his descendants. By imperatores, therefore, in the present passage, we must understand Drusus himself and his son Germanicus; for, though Tiberius himself sometimes bore this title, it was too unusual with him to ad mit of his being thought of in this place.

Chap. XXXII.—Nec legatus obtiam ibat. That is, Cæcina did not oppose them as Blesus opposed the Pannonian legions.—Plus fum. "Of the majority."—Constantiam. "All firmness of spirit (on his part)."—Lymbathi. "Transported with fury." The term is properly applied to persons supposed to be driven mad by the water nymphs (μυφέληται), whose appearance in water was thought to terrify them, and inspire them with a
horror of that element. It is then figuratively applied to persons transported with rage or fury generally.—Sosagenes singules. The soldiers considered what had been done to individuals of them to have been done to all, as what is done to any part of the body is done to the whole. Therefore, as sixty centurions inflicted chastisement upon the legion, so now each centurion was chastised by sixty soldiers, by way of making each of them feel what hitherto the legion had felt. How many blows each soldier gave is quite indifferent, and therefore it was not necessary that all the centurions should be killed by the beating they received.

Consules lanistaesque. "Torn and mangled."—Caes C. Caesaris. Caespes was assassinated by Charis, Sabinus, and others, on the 24th of January, A.D. 41. — Tum adolescens. He was above thirty years old at the time.—Jus obstimat. "Retained any authority."—Praemus usus. "Present necessity," i.e., the exigency of the moment.—Militares animos altius conjectantis. "To those who penetrated more deeply into the spirit of the soldiery." Observe that conjectura aliquid does not denote here, as usually, to form a conjecture concerning the existence of a thing, but to guess at its nature, property, or qualities. Altius denotes the deeper penetration of the surmise.—Equalitate et constantia. "Uniformity and regularity."—Regi. "That they were under the command of a single individual."

Chap. XXXIII.—Neptum ejus. Agrippina was the daughter of Julia, Marcellus's widow, and Agrippa. Consult notes on chap. iii.—Plures. Nine (Suet., Cal., 7).—Patru avaeque. Tiberius and Livia.—Acriores quis saeque. Because the thought of the person hated makes the hater feel ashamed of his own baseness, and at the same time degraded, because he is obliged to conceal his anger, and can not do what he wishes.—Potius foret. Observe that fore, with the perfect participle of passive and deponent verbs, corresponds to the futurum exactum. Compare Madvig, § 410; Obs. 2.

Civile. "Such as became a citizen."—Oscus. "Reserved."—Mulieres offensiones. "Female animosities," i.e., such as spring from petty womanish jealousies.—Noveralibus Liviam, &c. "With all a step-mother's rancor on the part of Livia toward Agrippina." Livia was step-mother to Agrippina's mother, Julia. But Julia, being in exile, was as good as dead (she actually died in this year, chap. iii.); Livia became a kind of stepmother to the daughter.—Atque ipsa Agrippina, &c. "And there was Agrippina herself, a little too irritable in disposition." Supply accedebat. The mulieres offensiones were principally on Livia's part; but Agrippina herself, by her passionate temper, was somewhat in fault.—Nisi quod castitate, &c. As her chastity restrained her from all vicious indulgence, her love for her husband from all that might have grieved him, her strong passions could show themselves only in what was good.—Quamvis indomitum animum, &c. "She always gave a good direction to her spirit, though unyielding."
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CHAP. XXXIV.—Sequence. A Belgian community, between Mount Jura and the Arar, or Sabre.—Proximas et Belgarum, &c. Like agro et corpore, chap. iii.—In verba ejus. Consult notes on chap. vii.—Tumultus. "The mutiny."—Raptim. "With all dispatch."—Descenderes in manubus. "To depart into maniples," i. e., to separate and range themselves in maniples. —Sic melius audirens. "That they would hear better as they were," i. e., intermingled. This is commonly translated, "that they would thus hear his reply better," making responsum a noun, and not a verb (responsum scil. est). But the former interpretation agrees better with what follows. Germanicus, giving way to them on this point, orders "vesilla praeferrri, ut id saltem discernat cohortes." To follow the standard, and to stand by it, was the bounden duty of every soldier. According to this last order, therefore, the three vesilla of each cohort are to be set together, and to these the soldiers of the cohort are to gather themselves.

Venerations. Because the object of his panegyric was a god.—Postit. "He turned away."—Ape Germanicis. This was after the death of his brother Drusus; first, 9 and 8 B.C.; then 4 and 5 A.D.; and lastly, after the defeat of Varus, 9-11 A.D.

CHAP. XXXV.—Modestia militaris. "Military subordination."—Exspectrant. Compare notes on chap. xviii.—Indiscrptis vocibus. "With mingled outcries."—Pretie vacationum. "The prices paid for exemptions from duty." The centurions in the Roman army were very badly paid, and endeavored to make up for that by exactions from the soldiers.—Proprie eos minimus. Opposed to indicrretis vocibus, and denoting that particular stress was laid upon what follows.—Materia. Timber, stakes for the vallum, &c. —Lignorum. "Fire-wood."—Sia qua alia. Making roads, bridges, canals, &c.—Adversus. "As a remedy against."—Neu mortem in istem laboribus, &c. "And not to give unto them to die in those same toils, but an end of a service so rigid, and a comfortable retreat." Observe here the very unusual zeugma in orabant, as if daret were expressed with mortem, and what follows. According to Ritter, Tacitus would seem by this violent construction to wish to imitate the atrociissimus clamor of the veterans.

Legatam. "Bequeathed."—Feuistas in Germanicus omnius. "With cries of happy omen to Germanicus." These fausta omnia, and the offer that follows, they connect with their demand of the legacy, in order to show Germanicus that in the latter they have no wish to annoy him. It is Tiberius's money that they want; to Germanicus they wish all that is good, and are ready to make the whole empire his. With promtus supply se esse. So, farther on, moriturum for se moriturum esse. Cicero would hardly have omitted the pronoun.—Scelere. "By their guilt," i. e., their treason.—Deferebat . . . ni. Consult notes on chap. xxiii.—Quidem singuli. "Some standing apart."—Spatium. "A pause." While the soldiers in their surprise hung back, and turned toward Calusidius.

CHAP. XXXVI.—Ubiorum oppidum. Afterward Colonia Agrippinensia,
now Cologne. — Galliarum. Gallia Belgica and Gallia Lugdunensis. — Si emitteretur ripa. "If the bank of the river were left unguarded," i.e., by the legions drawing off to Gaul.—Suscipit. Historical infinitive, for the imperfect.—Periculosa severitas. Supply etsi in this and the succeeding clause.—Inter se. "And compared them with one another."—Resacturus. "Should receive a qualified discharge." Resacturus elsewhere denotes final discharge; but here it means the putting out of the ranks, and into the reserve.—Sub vesillo. "Under a standard of their own."

CHAP. XXXVII.—In tempus conflictis. "That these things were fabricated to meet the exigencies of the moment."—In hiberna cautis. That is, until they each reached their winter quarters.—Non obsceseres, &c. They demanded immediate payment, not only for themselves, but for the first and twentieth legions also, as appears from what follows.—Contrata ex viae. "Collected from the travelling funds." Vici etiam here means, not the money allowed by the state to those who were going into any of the provinces, but the money which they had brought on their own account, to provide for the expenses of the journey.

Fisci de imperatoris repiti. "The money-bags extorted from their general."—Inter signa interque aquas. Just as money was frequently deposited in temples, so in the army it was kept by the standards, which were looked upon as sacred. The signifer kept the accounts.

CHAP. XXXVIII.—Cenoia. Consult chap. xxxv., of the Germania. —Præsidium agitantes, &c. "A party of veterans belonging to the disorderly legions, who were then in garrison."—Præenti supplicio. "By the immediate punishment."—Mensibus. Borghesi maintains that we should read here M. Ennius, which, however, we may be allowed to doubt.—Bono exemplum. "With good example," i.e., in regard that by this act he set a precedent which might be advantageously followed in like emergencies.—Consensu jure. The right to inflict capital punishment upon the common soldiers belonged to none under the rank of legatus pro praetore. Compare Dio Cass., liii., 23.—Postquam intus latebra. "When his retreat afforded no security."—Non violari. "Was not outraged."—Et nihil ausus. "And yet having dared to do nothing."

CHAP. XXXIX.—Legati ab senatu. Mentioned in chap. xiv.—Regresseum. From the upper army. Compare chap. xxxviii.—Ararm Ubiorum. This altar was probably erected to Augustus, like that at Lugdunum (Suet., Claud., 2). Not far from Bonn is a hill called Godesberg, which is probably the site of the altar of the Ubii. That this altar was somewhere near Bonn is pretty certain. The name Godesberg seems to indicate that the place was the seat of a religious worship of some kind.—Missi sub vesillo. "Discharged (but retained) under a standard of their own."—Monatum Plancum. He had been consul the year previous, A.D. 13, and was a son of the famous orator Plancus, from whom there are letters extant among the Epistles of Cicero.
Vexillum. This was the purple flag by which the signal for battle was given, and which was always in the keeping of the general. When it was hung out, the soldiers were at liberty to make use of their arms. — *Extrectum cubili.* "Forced to leave his couch," not, as some render it, "dragged out of his bed." — *Castra prima legionis.* The two legions encamped apart from each other, with a common *vallum,* as the Pannonian legions. Compare chap. xvi.— *Religiones esse tutebat.* "He endeavored to protect himself by the sanctity in which they were held." — *Rarum.* "A thing of rare occurrence." The accusative in apposition with what precedes. Compare notes on chap. xxxvii.

*Nosecabantur.* "Were able to be distinguished."— *Fateam increpans rabiem.* "Telling them in the language of rebuke, that their furious outbreak was brought about by the special agency of Heaven," i.e., as a punishment upon them. With *fateam supply esse,* and observe that *inrepsans* is equivalent here to *inrependo dicens.* — *Facunde miseretur.* "He laments in eloquent terms." — *Attonita.* "Awed."

CHAP. XL.— *Ex in metu.* "In this alarming crisis." — *Arguere.* "Blamed." — *Obsequia, &c.* Supply erant. — *Fatum perniciosum.* Caeus Cæsar (Caligula), afterward emperor, born A.D. 12.— *Ave.* Of the two persons to be sent to Tiberius, the young child stood nearest to him, since, as adoptive father of Germanicus, he was *avus* to the child. — *Aspernantes.* "Spurning the idea of leaving him." — *Degenere ad pericula.* "Degenerate for facing dangers." — *Perpulit.* *Governus uxorum.* — *Incedebat.* "Moved slowly along." — *Profuga.* "A fugitive." — *Nec minus strenue.* Supply erant.

CHAP. XLI.— *Non florentis,* &c. "The appearance of Cæsar, unlike that of a commander flourishing in the full enjoyment of power, and in his own camp," &c. Literally, "of Cæsar not flourishing, nor in his own camp." — *Non centuriones,* &c. Supply habentes. — *Treveros.* Gauls. Their capital, the modern Treves.— *Et externa fidei.* "And to the protection of strangers." i.e., aliens, foreigners. Observe the change to the dative, the idea literally being, "for the purpose of obtaining the protection of strangers." — *Secer Drusus.* "There, too, was her father-in-law, Drusus." Supply erat, which is also to be supplied with the nominatives that follow.

In *castris genitus.* Tacitus here follows the popular opinion. That it is false, however, since Caligula was born at Antium, has been shown by Suetonius, *Cal.,* 8.— *Militari vocabulo.* "By an appellation such as the soldier is wont to give." The *caliga* was a strong and heavy shoe worn by the Roman soldiers. Hence the term *caligati* is applied by Suetonius (Aug., 25) to denote the common soldiers. — *Grant.* This verb denotes quite generally expressions of entreaty; special entreaties are expressed afterward, independently of this verb, by redirect, manere. The verb *obstantur* in its proper sense belongs only to *pars Agrrippinae occursantes*; to the other clause, *plurimi ad Germanicum regressi,* we must supply only the general notion of op-
position.—Recone dolore et ira. The older writers would have said recenti dolore et ira.

CHAP. XLII.—Liberos suos. Besides Caligula, the two now at Rome, Nero and Drusus. With the two latter we must supply from summovisse only the general notion of keeping aloof.—Quidquid istuc aeceris immittet. "Whatever this guilt of yours be that threatens us." Istuc is frequently used as the neuter pronoun in Plautus, Terence, and Cicero. Ernesti conjectured istuc.—Pietur. "May be done away." Not meaning that thereby the guilt of the crime, but only that the crime itself is removed or made to cease.—Tiberii suus. Agrippina, Germanicus being the adopted son of Tiberius.—Castui. "Gathering."—Filium imperatoris. Germanicus, who had been adopted by him.—Velle. Of the camp which the soldiers used against their general. The words refer as well to the occurrences in the casts aeternae as to the most recent tumult. On both occasions they would not have permitted him to withdraw. Compare chap. xxviii.

Hostium quoque jus ... gentium. All these three expressions denote the same crime, namely, that against the ambassadors. It is the rhetorical figure of the congeries verborum ac sententiarum idem significatim, a kind of amplificatio, when the same thing is denoted in different ways, so that it seems to be many. Compare Quintil., viii., 4, 26.—Divus Julius. This was in 47 B.C., before the expedition to Africa. Compare Suet., Caez., 70.—Quirites. This was the term usually employed in addressing Roman citizens in their civil capacity. The soldiers would, of course, look upon the peaceable citizen with contempt, and would, moreover, feel deeply mortified at having such an appellation applied to themselves.—Divus Augustus. This was in 30 B.C., when the veterans sent after the battle of Actium to Brundisium, while Augustus wintered at Samos, were making a tumult. His arrival restored quiet. Compare Suet., Aug., 17; Dio Cass., li., 3, 4.

Nec. Germanicus alone, whose mother Antonia was daughter of Augustus's sister Octavia, by the Triumvir M. Antonius. Tiberius was not descended from Augustus.—Ut nondum essetem, &c. "As, on the one hand, not yet equal to them, so, on the other, descended from them."—Hispaniae Syriaco miles. Because he was personally unknown to these.—Indignum erat. The imperfect indicative is often used of a thing which, in a certain case that does not actually hold, would be right and proper, or possible, &c., at the present time, as if to show the duty and obligation or possibility more unconditionally. (Madvig, t 349, e.)

Primane, &c. The question whether a thing does happen, when we know that it does, marks it to be so wonderful as to be quite incredible. The interrogative particle, as a general rule, is affixed to the words which have the emphasis, as here, because opposed to Hispaniae Syriaco miles.—Egregiam gratiam referitis? "Are you making this goodly return?" Ironical.—Duci vestro. Tiberius. Germanicus speaks here only of what they owe to Tiberius, because their treatment of himself was merely a consequence of their behavior to Tiberius.—Legato. The commanders in the army are
meant: Each legion had usually at the head of it a legatus, not to be con-
founded with the legatus pro praetore. To these legati nothing had been done, 
but they were no more free to go than was Germanicus. The ambassadors 
from the senate had met with worse treatment. Compare chap. xxxix.

Chap. XLIII.—Enim. Since he considers the danger to his life, caused 
by the behavior of the soldiery, as a proof that they are capable of wishing his 
death (precaria anima).—Melius et amansius ille. Supply fecit.—Tot flagiti-
orum exercitui meo conscius. Tacitus has formed this construction after that 
of the personal pronoun, to express that the guilt of the army presses upon 
Germanicus as if it were his own. Where mere participation of knowledge 
is meant, the phrase is, conscius aleris in or de re, or facti alterius conscius. 
—Offerentium. "Offering their services."—Istud. If istud be the right 
word here, it must have lost by this time its original meaning, as a demon-
strative of the second person.

Image. The person as present to their imagination, heightened by the 
more comprehensive tui memoria.—Hanc maculam. Not, as some think, the 
overthrow of Varus, but the mutiny which has just taken place.—Si legatos 
secatui, &c. What Germanicus says of the legati, and his wife and child, 
is to be taken figuratively; for, in point of fact, they had done both. To 
the senate they give back its ambassadors, when, by repentance and pun-
ishment of their crime they give it satisfaction for their offence; to Germa-
nicus his wife and son, when they return to such a course of behavior that he 
can resolve to let these remain in the camp.—A contactu. "From all con-
tact with the guilty," i. e., from their infectious touch.—Stabile. "Stable 
ground."

Chap. XLIV.—Ob imminentem, &c. "On account of her approaching 
delivery and the advance of winter." Observe that imminentem refers to 
hissem as well as partum.—Legatum legionis prae. Consult note on "le-
gatos," chap. xlii.—Pro concione. "After the manner of an assembly," i. e., 
as an assembly. In quite a different sense an orator speaks pro concione, 
"before an assembly," as at ii., 22.—Invidia. "The odium."—Rastam. 
Rastia is here meant in the more extended sense, comprehending not only 
Rastia proper, now the Grisons and the greater part of the Tyrol, but also 
Vindelicia, answering to part of Baden, Wurttemberg, Bavaria, and the northern 
portion of the Tyrol.—Suevae. By the Suevi are here meant the na-
tions forming the kingdom of Maroboduuus. Compare ii., 44. Those of 
them which bordered on Rastia were chiefly the Hermunduri.—Ceterum. 
"But in reality." Opposed to specie. Literally "for the rest," i. e., what 
remains after deducting species or "appearance," and, therefore, "in re-
ality." Compare notes on chap. x.

Centurionatum. "A muster of the centurions." The word centurionatus, 
except in this passage, occurs only in Valerius Maximus (iii., 2, 23), in the 
sense of "office of centurion," like decurionatus. But the other meaning 
here given to it is not less agreeable to the derivation. Various alterations
of the text have been proposed, but without any necessity.—Feciesset. According to his own statement. Hence the subjunctive.—Industrium. "His diligent discharge of duty."—Approbaverunt . . . objectivissim. Observe that here, where mention is made of a repeated act, we have in one clause the indicative, which in this case the older writers almost exclusively use, and in the other the subjunctive, which is most usual in the more modern style. (Medvig, 359.) Compare notes on chap. xlvii.—Sequebatur militia. "He was cashiered." This was the missio ignominiae.

CHAP. XLV.—Haud minor moles supererat. "No less great a mass of trouble remained."—Ferciam. "The outrageous conduct."—Savagesimum spud lapidem. "At the sixtieth milestone." More freely, "sixty miles off." The distance, of course, is computed from the Oppidum Ubiorum, where Germanicus then was.—Veterea. A town of the Gugerni, on the banks of the Rhine, between the Ubii and Batari, on the site of the modern Santen or Xanten. In the itinerary of Antonine (p. 370), the distance between Vetere and the Oppidum Ubiorum is made sixty-three miles.—Praetentia. Not their own, as Nipperdey maintains, but that of the others who had mutinied.—Imperium. "His authority."—Cursurus. Marking determination.

CHAP. XLVI.—In Illyrico. Properly in Pannonia. Compare chap. xvi., seqq.—Invaldita et inermia. Senate and people, in their totality, are here taken as parts or members of the general body of the state. Hence the neuter. Compare chap. livi.: "Ut, quod imbecillum est at sexu, statim captum aut trucidatum sit."—Cunctatione finta. Compare chap. xi., seqq.—Divorium adolescencium. Drusus and Germanicus.—Adulta. "Matured."—Severitatis et munificentia summum. "The supreme arbiter of rigorous punishment and liberal reward."—An Augustum potuisse. On this elliptical use of the accusative with the infinitive, consult Zumpt, 4 609.—Cavaillan. "Wresting from their intended meaning." Consult Forcellini, Lex., s. v.—Fomenta. "Conciliatory measures."

CHAP. XLVII.—Immutum aderente, &c. "Unshaken and fixed against these remarks was the resolve unto Tiberius, not to leave the capital," &c. Compare Virgil (Aen., iv., 15): "Si mihi non animo faram immotumque sedecet."—Diversa. "Conflicting considerations."—Quos igitur anteferet? This use of quos for utros is of rare occurrence.—Ac, ne postpositi, &c. "And it also proved a source of disquietude unto him, lest those who were not preferred might be exasperated by the affront." With ac supply angebat, from the angebant at the beginning of the passage, and observe that ac is introduced the better to distinguish the two grounds of anxiety; the difficulty of deciding, and the fear of the consequences that might ensue from that decision.—At per filios pariter adiri, &c. "Whereas they could be approached by him through his sons in an equal degree," the imperial dignity remaining meanwhile unimpaired;" i.e., whereas, by sending one of his
sons to each, he treated them both alike, without impairing the imperial dig-
nity.

Excusatum. Supply fore.—Impedimenta. “Wagons and beasts of bur-
den.” Compare Suet., Tib., 38.—Naves. Ships might be employed either
across the Mare Superum, or from Ostia to Massilia, as in the Britannic
expedition of Claudius (Suet., Claud., 17).—Prudentes fefellerit. “He imposed
upon men of sense.”

CHAP. XLVIII.—Si recenti exemplo, &c. “To see whether, through the
force of the late example, they themselves would consult for their own safe-
ty.” Compare iv., 49: “Exercitum ostendit si barbari praelium auderent.”—
Caecinam. It appears, therefore, that Caecina, after he had led the first and
twentieth legions to the city of the Ubii (chap. xxxvii.), had probably, after
the return of Germanicus (chap. xxxix.), gone to Vettera.—Aquiliferis. The
first centurion of the first maniple of the triarii had charge of the eagle of the
legion. He stood next in rank to the tribuni militum, and had a seat in the
military council.—Maxime sincerum. “Least disaffected.”—Causes et mer-
ita spectari. “Motives and merits were regarded.”—Fodietiumnum. “Most
depraved.”—Noscente. Not perhaps “knowing,” but “learning,” as in
chap. lxi., nullo noscente, “none recognizing,” or “being able to ascertain.”

CHAP. XLIX.—Diversa omnium, &c. “The character of all the civil con-
flicts that ever happened was different from that of this one.”—Discedunt in
partes. This accords with non praelio, non adversis e castris, only by a
zeugma, that is, by supplying the general notion of opposition; since in the
fight, and in the case of hostile camps, the parties are already divided. Ren-
der, therefore, “Not in fight, not from opposed camps (do they encounter
one another), but,” &c.—Simul quietos. “Reposing together.”—Bonorum.
“Of the well-affected.”

Non medicinam illud, &c. “Calling that, with very many tears, not a
remedy, but a massacre.” Observe the employment of illud here. In the
older style the attraction illam would have been indispensable. Tacitus has
neglected it here, and in i., 36: “Non enim preces sunt iustae, sed efflagita-
tio;” as also in iv., 19: “quasi aut Varro consul aut illud res publica esset;”
and xvi., 22: “secessionem jam id et partes;” &c.—Piaculum furoris. In ap-
position with eundi in hostem.—Sequitur. “Falls in with.”—Legionibus.
The four legions on the Lower Rhine.—Quarum. Referring as well to co-
hortes as to alae.—Modestia. “Sense of duty.”

CHAP. L.—Agitabant. “Were passing their time.” Frequentative of
agebant.—Attinemur. “We are held back.”—Agnimine propero, &c. “By a
forced march make their way through the Cassian forest, and cross the bar-
rier laid out by Tiberius.” The Cassian forest lay over against Vettera,
where Germanicus crossed the Rhine, in the neighborhood of Wesel. The
term scindit does not mean that they cut a way through this forest, but that
they go through it, and cross the limes. Upon the limes, which was a broad
dyke, they pitch their camp. To have actually broken a way through the
limes would have been a useless and mischievous labor, as it would have to
be closed again. The term caespitum is employed, not because the limes was
incomplete, but because it was capable of being made more complete. Com-
pare xi., 1: "(hortos) a Loculo caespst insignis magnificencia extollebat."—
Concedebus. "With piles of hewn timber," i. e., trees cut down and piled
up as barricades.

Saltus obscuros. "Gloomy forest grounds." A continuation probably of
the Silva Casia.—Incastrum. "Unguarded." Used passively, as in Livy,
xxv., 36. This road led to the Amisia (Ems), and the country of the Marsi;
the other, along the Luppia (Lippe) to the Cheruscii.—Ac solemnisbus epulis
ludicrnam. "And celebrated with a customary banquet and with sports." At
the banquet there were games, armor-dances, &c. Compare chap. xxiv.,
of the Germania.—Obstansia silvarum. Compare "occulta saltuum," and
"humido paludum," chap. ixi.; "aperta oceanis" (ii., 23); "angusta viarum"
(iii., 82), &c.

Marsorum. The Marsi here meant were situate between the Lippe and
the Ruhr, in the interior. They are mentioned in Strabo (vii., p. 444, A),
and appear as a highly important people in Tacitus, in this and the follow-
ning book, but nowhere afterward. The explanation probably is, that they
were not a nation, but a confederation of nations.—Stationes. "Parties of
armed men."—Antepositis. "Being stationed in advance."—Belli. "Of
"Other than the result of languor and remissness," i. e., one arising from
the languor and torpor of drunkenness, and without the restraints and pre-
cautions which are usual even in time of peace.

CHAP. LI.—Avidas. "Eager," i. e., to commence the onslaught.—Cu-
nesos. "Columns." Besides its literal meaning of a "wedge," cuneus is
applied generally, as here, to a body of troops drawn up in column. Com-
pare Hist., ii., 42; Curt., iii., 2.—Templum. Not a temple in our sense of
the word; for, according to Tacitus (Germs. ix.), the Germans had none, but,
as in Germ., xI., a sacred grove, with an altar, and the like appendages, for
worship. Compare iv., 73: "luem quem Baduennae vocant."—Tafanæ.
This deity is not spoken of except in the present passage, and in one in-
scription. There is nothing to guide us to the meaning or derivation of the
name, at which various guesses have been made, without arriving at any
very probable result.—Sine vulnere militis. Supply fuere.—Semissomnos, in-
ernos, aut palantes. "Men half asleep, (or else) unarmed, or (if armed) strug-
gling about singly." Three different classes are meant.

Bructeros . . . Usipetes. Compare Germ., xxxii., seq.—Tubantes: In the
southem part of the duchy of Westphalia, and the northern part of the coun-
try of Mark, on the southern side of the Lippia, or Lippe.—Saltusque. On
the Lippe, those which they entered immediately after crossing the frontier.
—Quod gnarum duci. Consult notes on chap. v., "gnarum id Cesari."—
Incassitique itinera et pratio. "And he advanced (in an order adapted at
once) for marching and fighting." The dative marks the object. There is no need of supplying paratus, as some do.—*Pars equitum, &c.* He is de scribendo the *agmen quadratum* of this period, an order intended to guard against an attack from any quarter.—*Auxiliares cohortes.* "Some cohorts of the allies." Not all, because others are mentioned as closing the rear.

*Donec agmen perrigere tur.* "Until the line of march was stretched out," and consequently weakened. This was done when they had defiled into the mountain forests.—*Leves cohortes.* Those whom above he calls *ceteri sociorum.*—*Obliterandas seditiones.* "Of obliterating the scandal of sedition."—Redigunt. "They drive back."—*Ecaseri silvas.* So, "anguisias isthmii evadit" (v., 10.), and "evacurum juvenam" (vi., 48).—*Fidens.* "Elated."

**CHAP. LII.** —*Quamvisset.* He had sought it, because Germanicus had acted in his name, and he was obliged to ratify his concessions.—*Reptulit ad senatum.* "He consulted the senate."—*Intentior.* "More in earnest."—*Fida.* "Sincere."—*Cunctaque, quae Germanicus inducserat, servavit.* "And he fulfilled all the concessions which Germanicus had made."—*Pannonicos exercitus.* "The Pannonian forces." The plural, because several legions.

**CHAP. LIII.** —*Julia.* The daughter of Augustus, married successively to Agrippa and Tiberius.—*Pandateria.* A small island in the Gulf of Puteoli, off the coast of Campania, now *Vendutum.* Another and more usual form of the name was Pandateria, as given by Strabo.—*Oppido Rheginorum.* The town of Rhegium is meant, the modern *Reggio.* The words *qui Siculum fretum accolunt* are added, to distinguish this place from *Regium Lepidum,* now *Reggio,* in the duchy of Modena.—*Ut imparum.* "As one unequal to her in birth," i. e., beneath her rank, because she was the emperor's daughter. Otherwise, the Claudian gens was quite upon a par with hers.—*Tam intima causa.* "So cogent a motive."—*Cur Rhodium abcederet.* Consult chap. iv.—*Post interfectum,* &c. She had no hope that Germanicus would rise against Tiberius.—*Longinquitatem exilii.* Since 2 B.C. She died A.D. 14. *Longinquitas* here refers to time.

*Sollers ingenio et prave facundus.* "Shrewd in point of intellect, and eloquent without principle."—*Contumacia et odii.* "Through the defiance and hatred with which he had inspired her toward him."—*Amotus Cericinam.* At the same time with Quinticius Crispinus, Appius Claudius, Seipio, and others of less note. (*Die Caesar,* iv., 10.) Cercina (now Chercara or Karkenah) was an island in the mouth of the Lesser Syrtis, off the northern coast of Africa.—*Quatuordecim annis.* Not as Julia fifteen years, probably because he was that one of her paramours of whom Dio Cassius (iv., 10) says, καὶ ἐπειδὴ καὶ δήμαρχος τις ἐν αὐτοῖς ἦν, οὐ πρότερον πρὶν διάρρηξε ἐκρίθη.—L. *Asprenate.* Asprenas was consul suffectus A.D. 6. He was legatus under Varus A.D. 9, and saved himself with his two legions. (Vell., iii., 120.) As an orator, Seneca (*Contr.*, v., *pref.*, p. 318, *ed. Bip.*) reckons
him among those "quorum fama cum ipsis extincta est," while from his brother, P. Asprenas, he cites much.

CHAP. LIV.—Sodalium Augustalium sacerdotio. "The religious order of the Augustalian brotherhood." They were called Augustales, and were instituted to take charge of the worship of Augustus and the Julian gens.—Retinendis sacris. "For preserving the rites." Tacitus in this passage corrects the view he had before expressed in Hist., ii., 95, that the sodales Titii were instituted by Romulus in honor of Tatius.—Claudius. Afterward emperor; brother of Germanicus.—Histrionum. Here, as almost invariably in these times, the term histriones is applied to the players of pantomime, which had all but superseded every other kind of acting.—Indulserat ci ludico. "Had countenanced that pastime."—Studiis. "Pursuits."—Civile. "Popular."—Morum via. "Turn of character."—Molliter habitum. "Humored."—Durioua. "Severer objects of attention."

CHAP. LV.—Druo Casare, &c. This was in A.U.C. 768, A.D. 15.—Memento bello. "While the war still continued."—Præcepit. "He anticipated it."—Dissidere hostem, &c. "That the enemy were divided into opposite factions between Arminius and Segestes." The expression here is the same as in verba partisendi, taking in with the accusative of the person or persons to whom the shares fall.—Arminius. The German name Hermann Latinized.—Crinima et innovio. Instead of saying, "guilty and innocent," or "guilt and innocence," Tacitus, aiming at variety and contrast, takes one term from the former, and the other from the latter mode of expression.—Consensu. "By the universal agreement."—Privatim. "By motives of a domestic nature."—Filiam. Thusnelda.—Gener invius inimici soceri. Instances of this kind of taatology are not uncommon. Compare "Fratri filio juveni patruus senex parere desiderabatur" (ii., 45); "Utinam ego potius filio juventi, quam ille patri semi cassisset" (iii., 16); "Fratrem ne deserere frater" (Virg., Aen., x., 600).

CHAP. LVI.—Tumultuarias catervas. "Some hastily-enrolled bands." The term tumultuarii is properly applied to soldiers raised hastily on some sudden or dangerous war breaking out (tumultus) in Italy or Cisalpine Gaul. Here it is used in a general sense.—Germanorum cis Rhenum colentium. The Ubii, Batavi, and Sigambri, the latter transplanted to the left bank. The Vangiones, Triboci, and Nemetes were probably not called because they belonged to the upper province.—Postique castello ... in monte Tauno. Mons Taunus is now called not only by its ancient name, but also die Höhe and der Heyrich. The fort mentioned in the text as having been first erected by Drusus, and afterward rebuilt by Germanicus, was not that on the Fulda (now Cassel), but was in the territory of Mattium; and some remains are still to be seen near Homburg.

L. Apronio. L. Apronius had distinguished himself in the Pannonian war, A.D. 6–9 (Vell., ii., 116). He had been consul suffixus in A.D. 8,
and he was now legatus of Germanicus, and with the same dignity as the military commanders of the two German provinces, namely, legatus pro pretore, as appears from the award of the insignia triumphi to all three (chap. lxxiii.).—Ad munitiones viarum, &c. "For repairing the roads and bridging the rivers." The munitiones viarum refer properly to the raising and strengthening of the banks, in order to guard against inundations. Compare notes on Agric., xxxi., where the phrase munire viam is explained. The proper meaning of munitio fluminum is the "damming up of rivers," but this is out of the question here.

Imbreque et fluminum auctus. The former were the cause of the latter; but, independently of that, they were feared, because in themselves they made the ways impracticable.—Adranam. The Eder. Mannert makes it very probable that Tacitus here has fallen into an error, and that for Adranam he ought to have written Loganam. The Logana is now the Lahne. (Mannert, Geogr., iii, p. 564.)—Quod illi moris, &c. "Which is their custom, as often as they have fled, more from craft than from fear."

CHAP. LVII.—Circumsedebatur. "He was besieged."—Quando. In the sense of quoniam, as in i., 44, 59; ii., 26.—Quanto quis audacia, &c. Tacitus frequently has, with quanto...tanto, in one member the positive of an adjectivé, &c., and in the other the comparative, where the earlier writers have in both clauses the comparative.—Rebusque motis potior. "And the more to be preferred in times of commotion."—Anno quo Germaniae desicere. This was in A.D. 9, and was shortly followed by the disaster of Varus.—Germaniae. Not the two Roman provinces on the left bank, nor yet those on the left, and the rest of Germany on the right bank, but simply the latter. The plural denotes the districts occupied by the several nations or tribes.—Aram Ubiorum. Consult notes on chap. xxxix.—Ruperat. "He had rent."—Gallicam in ripam. Although the two German provinces lay on the left bank of the Rhine, it is called, from the bulk of its population, the Gallia bank, in opposition to the right bank, which was entirely German.—Germanico pretium fuit, &c. "It appeared to Germanicus worth his while to march back." The full form would be opera pretium fuit, as used by the earlier writers.—Clientium. Compare Germ., xiii.—Victa in lacrimas. "Subdued to tears."—Intra sinum. "Within the folds of her dress," i. e., between her breast and waist.

CHAP. LVIII.—Simul Segestes ipse. "At the same time appeared Segestes himself." The generic notion of "appeared" is to be supplied from forebatur, at the close of the previous chapter.—Bona. "Well and faithfully kept."—Ex vestris utilitatis. "With reference to your interests."—Conduere. With this verb we must supply judicabam, from probabam, at the end of the sentence, which latter includes the notion of judging and deciding.—Reum faci. "I arraigned."—Consicio. "His accomplices."—Illas nos. Compare chap. iv. The wish that follows is added by him because he had taken part in the destruction of Varus, and in the later wars; to
which also the next sentence refers. — Deferi. He means by the Ger-

mans.

*ubi primum tuæ copiæ.* "As soon as an opportunity is afforded of con-

ferring with you." — Ob præmium. "With any view to reward." — Concilia-
tor. "Mediator," i.e., of peace and alliance with the Romans. — Quod ex

Arminius concepit, &c. That is, that she is the wife of Arminius, or the

daughter of Segestes. — Vetere in provinciæ. On the left bank of the Rhine.
The "New Province" would be that which the Romans, before the over-

throw of Varus, possessed on the right bank, as they had neither given up

their supposed right to this, nor abandoned the hope of regaining it. — Nomens

imperatoris. This was now given for the second time. Compare Orelli,

Inscrup. Rom., 656.—Ludibrio. "Mockery." The story, whatever it is, is

lost. In xi., 16, A.D. 47, the son of Arminius is spoken of as dead.

**Chap. LIX.** — Ut quibusque bellum invatis, &c. Compare notes on Agric.,

xviii.: "Bellum volentibus erat." — Unam mulierculam. "One poor woman,"
i.e., feeble and unprotected. — Redderet filio, &c. The common reading is

Redderet filio sacerdotium; hominem Germanus musquem satiis escusatus,

&c. But here hominem (meaning Segestes) is in its wrong place. Several

alterations have been proposed; but that of Wolf’s, which is adopted in the

text, is by far the best; it improves both sentences. Arminius speaks with

contempt of a Roman priesthood being bestowed upon a Cheruscan chief. —

Aliis gentibus ignotantia, &c. He means to say, that other tribes, who,

through their ignorance of the character of the Roman dominion, do not make

a strenuous resistance, may be more easily excused than those who have

experienced it, and do not make every effort to escape from it. — Nescia.

"Unknown."

Quando. In the sense of quoniam. Compare chap. lvii.—Delectus. For

carrying on the war in Germany. Compare Swet., Tib., 18; Vell., ii., 120,

—Imperium adoleasentulum. Germanicus. And yet Arminius himself was

not much older than the Roman prince. — Patriam, parentes. The slave of

right possesses neither. — Colonias novas. This is said with reference to the

old colonies planted by the Romans, for the purpose of protecting the con-

quered territory, and which had been destroyed after the victory of Armin-

ius.

**Chap. LXX.** — Sed contermina gentes. Supply etiam after sed. It is fre-

quently thus omitted. Compare Sall., Cat., 18: "Non consulisibus modo,

sed pliereque senatoribus." Sometimes we find the sed omitted, as in iv., 35:

"non modo libertas, etiam libido impunita." — Quadragesinta cohortibus Romanis.
The four legions of the Lower Rhine. The expression "forty cohorts" is

used merely for the sake of variety. — Bructeros. Compare Germ., xxxiii.

—Amisia. Not to be confounded with the Amisia, which falls into the

German Ocean. The river here meant separates Westphalia, Mark, and

Dortmund, and falls into the Rhine. — Podo. Probably C. Podo Albinova-

nus, of whose poetry we have a fragment remaining, on the voyage of Ger-
manicus down the Amisia to the ocean. Compare ii., 23; Ovid. ex Pont., iv., 10, 18.—Frisonum. Compare Germ., xxxiv.

Quatuer legiones. Those of the Upper Rhine.—Lacus. The lakes are now united in the Zuyder Zee. He entered them from the Rhine, by the Possa Drusiana, now the Yssel.—Prædictum. "Before mentioned." A usage frequent in Velleius and later writers.—L. Stertinius. He formed here the advanced guard of the army, moving from north to south.—Amisiam et Luppiam amnes inter. The collocation of the preposition, after two words combined by a copulative particle, is a modern usage. The preposition must be a dissyllable, with its first syllable long.—Teutoburgiensis saltu. The Teutoburgian forest is here meant. The locality of the field of battle where Varus was overthrown has not been determined with any certainty, though not a little has been written on the subject. Most writers have looked for the spot in the vicinity of Teutoburg, near Detmold, of Winfeld, and Varenholz (the wood of Varus).

CHAP. LXI.—Ageres. "Causeways."—Humido paludum. "Over the watery portion of the morasses."—Fallacibus. "Insecure."—Incident. "They enter upon."—Prima Varr castra. Germanicus came from the west, Varus had fallen back from the east. As the description here follows Varus's line of march, it appears that Germanicus had pushed beyond the first camp of Varus, for the purpose of reviewing the localities according to the order of the events.—Dimensis principis. From the marking out of the principis proceeded that of the entire camp, and the line of tents all led up to this.—Trium legionum manus ostentabant. "Showed the hands of three legions," i.e., that the hands of three legions had been employed upon it. In other words, showed that when the camp was formed the three legions were still entire.

Dein. This refers to some spot distinct from that just spoken of. This second camp was made on the second day, on some hill or other. Compare Dio Cass., lvi., 21. —Semiruto vallo. The circumstance that this vallum of the second camp was half fallen in, showed that it was not strongly made in the first instance.—Medio campos. "In the intervening portion of the plain." Not only between the two camps, but generally between the mountains and the forests.—Simul trunci, &c. To this supply from adjacibant only the general notion of proximity.—Ora. "Human skulls."—Legatos. The separate commanders of the legions.—Infelici. Because compelled to such an act. The act in itself is not hereby censured.—Inveniunt. Earlier writers would have employed invenissent after referebant.—Patibula. The patibulum was a piece of timber, forked above, to the arms of which the outspread hands were nailed, thus answering the same purpose as a cross.—Scrobis. In which they were tortured.

CHAP. LXII.—Romam quis aderat exercitus. Nipperdey compares this iteration of the same words, as in the beginning of the previous chapter, to the antistrophic responson in lyrical measures, and to be intended to ex-
press strong feeling. Of a similar character, as regards the indication of deep emotion, is the neglect of strict grammatical form in omnes ... consanguineus after trium legionum osea, and masti ... condebant after Romane ... exercitus.—Nullo noceente. "No one being able to ascertain."—In de\n\nterum trahentis. "Putting an unfavorable construction upon."—Formidolo\n\nsiorem. Used here in the rarer sense "fearful of." Elsewhere in Tacitus \n\nformidoloeus always occurs in the sense of "fearful," "to be feared by," \n\n&c.—Vetustissimae carminis, &c. By "endowed with most ancient cen\n\n\n
Chap. LXIII.—Campumque ... cribi. This is a phrase borrowed from \nthe Roman circus. When four chariots started from the carceres, if that \nwhich came through the first door-way won the prize, they said occupavit et \nvicit; if that which came through the second, successit et vicit; if that which \ncame through the third, cribuit (campum precedentibus) et vicit. Compare \nGronov., ad loc.—Colligi. "To keep close together."—Verti. "Wheeled \nabout."—Subsidiaria. "Forming the reserve of the cavalry." That they \nwere secii is shown by their being called simply cohortes, without mention \nof the contrary; always so to be understood in Tacitus, unless the context \nitself implies that the case was otherwise.—Trudebanturque. Both aquae \nand cohortes.—Ni Caesar, &c. Consult notes on chapters xxiii. and xxxv. \n—Productas legiones instruxisset. "Drawn out the legions in order of bat\n\n
Litore oceani. Compare "finibus Frisiorum," chap. lx.—Suum militem. \nThe legions of Germania inferior, which he usually commanded. Compare \nchap. xxxi.—Pontes longos. These pontes longi were discovered in 1818, \nbeneath the marshy soil in the province of Drenthe, not far from Caworda \nand Valthe, running from the forest of Weerdling to Ter-Haar. They con\nsist of gravel heaped up and held together by stakes and beams on each side. \nThe stakes have been worn away at the extremities by age, but still exist \nbeneath the surface.—Aggeratus. "Raised." More literally, "heaped up." \nCompare previous note.—Tenacia gravi cano. That is, the feet of those \nwho stepped upon them stuck in the clay.—In loco. Namely, where he was. \n—Ut opus et alii, &c. This omission of the first alii is rather violent. \nCompare Liv., iii., 37: "Virgis cadit, alii securi subjici." Primum is omit\nted in a similar manner in chap. lxvii.: "Ut hi, mos pedes," &c.

Chap. LXIV.—Stationes. "The outposts."—Laceconsult. In front; cir\ncumgredientur, on the flanks; occurring, the instant the Romans make a \nmovement in any direction, especially when they want to prevent those at\ntempting to get in their rear.—Uligine profunda. "Deep with ooze." Lit\nerally, "of deep ooze."—Gradum. The posture with the legs apart, as for \nstepping. Compare xiv., 37: "Legio gradu immota;" and Hist., ii., 35:
"stabili gradu.” Often de gradu deciever. — Inclinantes jam. The MS. has tam, changed by some editors into tum; but Wolf’s correction, jam, gives a much clearer sense. — Compare Germ., viii.

**Subjecta.** “The low grounds.” Supply loca. — Duplicatus militi labor. That is, they had to do all their work over again. — Medio montium et paludum. Before and behind were morasses, on both sides mountains. The plain in question he wished to reach on the following day, and, with a view to this, adopts the order of march which follows. On this plain he will, then, keep off the enemy until the main body of his army has passed. — Tenuem aciem. “A small army.” He intends, as just remarked, to take up a position there with only a part of his force, while the heavier portion of the troops, including the wounded and the baggage, pass on.

**Chap. Lxv.** — Nas per diversa inquis. “The night was a restless one (to both armies), but from different causes.” — Soror. A poetical word used by Lucretius and Virgil; by Tacitus also in iv, 48, and xiv, 36. — Resultantes. “Re-echoing.” — Invaldii ignes. “Feeble watch-fires.” — Voces. The cries of the sentinels. — Atque spes. This refers to the soldiers in general, as distinguished from the sentinels. — Diva quies. “A direful vision during his illness.” — Intendentis, scil. Vari, to drag Ceca in along with him. — Quamquam libera incurae. “Although with nothing to impede his attacking.” — Fossae. “Holes.” Natural holes or pits are here meant. — Utque talis tempore. Not a repetition of the us before hasere, but “as and as is natural at such a time.” — Adversum. “Towards.” — Eodem fato vincat. “Bound down by the same destiny.”


**Chap. Lxvii.** — Contractos in principia. The principia was the principal street of the Roman camp, stretching right across in front of the tents of the tribunes, and one hundred feet wide. In this part of the camp was the tribunal, near which the standards were deposited. — Temporar et necessitatis monet. “Warns them of the urgent necessity of the crisis.” — Hendiadys. — Consilii temperanda. “Must be guided by counsel.” — Donec expugnandi, &c. Dislocation of words from the usual order, where, however, no misunderstanding can result. Tacitus has other instances of similar transpo-
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section. Thus, "Ereptum jus logatia decendi in hostem" (xii., 54); and again, "Ardua retinenda Agrrippinam potentias co usque prorectam" (xiv., 2).—Quae in castris homesta. Their character for bravery, keeping their standards, in short, their honor as soldiers.—Equeo defici, &c. The fury of the enemy had been principally directed against the horses. Compare chap. lx.—Ut hi. Supply priorum.

CHAP. LXVIII.—Agebat. Equivalent, in fact, to the simple erat, though, grammatically we may supply noctem or tempus.—Inquisiometo. Compare chap. ix.—Lesta. "Acceptable."—Prorumt fossas. They break down forward the banks of the fosses, so as to fill them up. Now, as the banks form the foss, and without them it does not exist, what is done with them may be predicated of the whole foss.—Summa valli prensent. Compare Liv., ix., 14, 9: "Cum pars fossae explerent, pars vellerent vallum atque in fossae prourent."—Postquam hasere munimentis. Meaning that they were all upon the fortifications, and were wholly set on carrying them by storm, not that they were entangled or had stuck fast anywhere.—Æquis locis aequos deos. As we would say, "equal chances in a fair field."—Esecidum, scil. castro-rum.—Cogitanti. "Expecting."

CHAP. LXIX.—Pervaserat fama. "A report had spread."—Impossum Rheno pontem. As Cæcina, with the legions of the Lower Province, fell back from the Ems, this bridge must have been at Vetera, where was the winter camp of the fifth and twenty-first legions, two of those which Cæcina commanded. Lipsius is incorrect in referring this bridge to the country of the Treveri.—Induit. "Took upon herself."—C. Plinius. Pliny the elder. He wrote twenty books on the German wars, thirty-one of the history of his own times, from the point at which the narrative of Aufidius Bassus ceased, and several other works, including a celebrated Natural History. This last, in thirty-seven books, is the only production of his which has come down to us.—Laudes et grates habentem. The usual phrase for "to thank" is grates or gratias agere; whereas grates or gratiam habere is properly "to feel thankful." The plural gratias with habere occurs only in the connection gratias agere atque habere.

Non simplicies. "Were not without some hidden purpose," i. e., that there was some sinister design in all this anxiety on the part of Agrippina. —Quari. "Sought to be won."—Manipulos. The soldiers in camp or barracks, where those of the same maniple are more apart from the rest. This refers to ut quie inope, &c.; as signa, i. e., the soldiers, when drawn out, refers to stetisse opus praeceptum pontis.—Parum ambitioso. "With but small tokens (hitherto) of ambitious designs."—Gregali habitu. "In the uniform of a common soldier." Compare chap. xli.—Onerabat. "Aggraved."—Odias jacias. A metaphor from sowing seed.—In longum. To a time which does not arrive till long afterward.

CHAP. LXX.—Legionum, quae navibus &c. Compare chap. lx.—P. Vit-
ellio. Uncle of the future emperor, A. Vitellius. He was at this time a legatus. — Vaddeo. Because the fleet kept close in shore. — Reciproco. “When the tide ebbed.” — Sideret. Off this part of the coast the sea retires to a great distance at ebb-tide. — Sidere aquinociti. “By the influence of the equinoctial constellation.” From the preceding details of the events of this year, it is clear that the autumnal equinox is meant. The constellation is Libra. — Opplebantur. “Were completely inundated.” From this and several passages, it is clear that the coast was not then, as now, protected by banks of sand from the incursions of the sea.

Hauriuntur gurgitibus. “Are swallowed up by the eddies.” — Interfluent, occurrant. “Float among, come in contact with them.” — Subtracto solo. That is, they got out of their depth. — Adversante aqua. “The water opposing,” i.e., the noise of the water drowning all such cries. — Sapien ab rudi. “The one who possessed insight from him who was devoid of it,” i.e., who possessed sagacity to see how the case lay, from him who had none. The MS. has a prudenti. Hence some have conjectured ab imprudenti; others, inacienae a prudenti. The simplest and best correction, however, is ab rudi. — Sine utensilibus. “Without the ordinary necessaries of life.” By utensilia are here meant all the ordinary necessities of life, not merely what we call utensils, i.e., implements. Corn is a principal part of these essentials, and it is not to exclude it from them that it is specifically mentioned in ii., 60: “frumenti et omnium utensilium,” but to give it prominence by distinguishing it from the rest.

Usus. “The resource.” — Unsingim. There is some difficulty in this passage. The MS. has Visurgim, where manifestly there is some error; for Vitellius was marching from the mouth of the Ems to the Rhine; he could not come to the Weser. If the mistake was not made by Tacitus, but by the transcriber, the most probable correction is Unsingim, which would closely resemble it in the writing of the MSS., and might easily be corrupted, as the Visurgis was a river much better known to the Romans. The modern name of the Unsings is the Hunse or Hunsing: it runs by Gröningen. — Submersae. Supply suisse. — Neo fides salutis. “Nor was there any belief in their safety.”

CHAP. LXXI.—Jam Stertinius, &c. Stertinius, who was accustomed to lead cavalry and light troops (compare chap. lx.), had probably brought back from the Ems that part of the cavalry of which it is said (chap. ixiii.), “pars equitum litore oceani petere Rhenum jusae,” and, on his leaving the Ems, received the orders which he here executes. The matter is to be so conceived, that Segimerus, during the fightings of this year between Germanicus and Arminius, entered into negotiations with the former. As, however, the time and place did not seem favorable to his going over, a later time, and a place more to the south, were chosen for the purpose, for which reason Stertinius did not take him to Vetera, but to the city of the Ubii.

Filium. Named Sesithacus. Compare Strab., vii., p. 292. — Circumire saucios. At this time there were no infirmaries in the camps. Compare iv., 63.
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CHAP. LXXII.—Triumphalia insignia. Consult notes on chap. xl, of the Agricola.—Ingestum. "Pressed."—In acta sua jurari. Consult notes on chap. vii.—Non tamen idea, &c. "He did not, however, on that account, gain credit for a popular spirit."—Legem majestatis. "The law of treason." Supply leges after majestatis. The first law on this subject was that of Sulla (Cic. ad Fam., iii., 11). This was followed by two others; one brought forward by Julius Caesar, the dictator; the other by Augustus. By the former, those who were condemned for violence and treason were interdicted from fire and water. This was for the most part abrogated by Antony, after Caesar's death. The latter, which is treated of in the Digests, continued long in force, and was amplified and extended, as we find here, by Tiberius. After the time of Tiberius, the crimen majestatis might well be called "omnium accusationum complementum" (iii., 38). Impiety toward the emperor was included under it (vi., 47).

Sed alia in judicium veniebant. "But different questions were tried under it."—Populi Romani. The emphasis lies on this: "of the Roman people," not merely of an individual, as afterward in the case of an emperor. Observe, moreover, the seuagrum in misuisse.—Primum Augustus, &c. "Augustus was the first who took cognizance of libels, under the pretense of this law."—Libidine. "By the license."—Libido in Tacitus is libertas carried too far. It is equivalent to licentia or διψατι—An judicia majestatis redderentur. "Whether trials for treason should be had."—Carmina. Some of these effusions are given by Suetonius (Tit., 59).

CHAP. LXXIII.—Medicis. "Of moderate fortunes." They belonged to the Equites Augusticlavii, as distinguished from the Equites Illustres. The latter were those who had the privilege of wearing the latus clavus. To them belonged the sons of senatoris before they obtained any offices, and also those who possessed the fortune of a senator, and to whom in consequence the road to the offices of the state was open. On the other hand, the Equites Augusticlavii were those who were not sprung from senators, and who, from not possessing more than the ordinary fortune of an eques, were precluded from bearing the offices of the state.—Pratentata crimina. "The pretended crimes charged."

Dein repressum sit, &c. Under Tiberius there was no repression of the les majestatis. Caligula promised to stay it, but did not keep his word (Dio Cass., lix., 4). A stop was actually put to it by Claudius, which lasted until A.D. 52, the eighth year of the reign of Nero (Dio Cass., lx., 3). It was again stopped by Vespasian and Titus, but revived once more in full force by Domitian.

Qui per omnes domos, &c. Each several domus (this meant only the richer houses) had its collegium, consisting of the persons belonging to the domus, and of people who had not themselves a domus.—Numen Augusti. This is a conjectural reading; the MS. has nomen Augusti.—Ludus. Afterward called Ludi Palatini, from the place where they were held. They appear to have been scenic in their character. (Compare Suet., Cal., 56,
58.)—Venditionibus accedent. "Be comprehended in the sales." Literally, "be added to the sales."—Perinde estimandum quam. "Was to be regarded in the same light as."

CHAP. LXXIV.—Prastorem Bithyniae. Under Augustus it was arranged that some of the provinces should be immediately under the emperor, and others under the senate. The governors of the former, legati pro praetore, or, in the smaller provinces, procuratores, were nominated by the emperor; whereas, to the latter governors were sent by the senate, appointed by lot; to Asia and Africa, consular men; to the rest, men who had served as praetors. The governors of all senatorial provinces, however, bore the title of proconsul. To these senatorial provinces belonged Bithynia, and therefore we find elsewhere (xvi., 18) "proconsul Bithynia." Here, however, Tacitus has praetorem in reference to the actual relation, as Bithynia was properly a pretorian province, and was governed by a person who had been pretor. So xxv., 25: "Qui praetorum finitimas provincias regebant."

Majestatis postulavit. "Accused of treason." Connected with this, as appears, was a charge of extortion. Compare the end of the present chapter. Postulare is frequently used in reference to both public and private trials. In the former, it properly means to ask the pretor's permission for bringing an action against any one; in the latter, to ask his permission to impeach any one. From this it came to be equivalent to accusare.—Subscribente Romano Hispone. "Romanus Hispo supporting the charge." Subscribere is applied to both the principal and secondary accuser, from their signing their names at the bottom of the indictment. Romanus Hispo is found among those of whom the rhetorician Seneca has given sentences from controversiae.

Qui formam vitae init, &c. This relates to Crispinus, not to Hispo, as appears from what follows: "Marcellum insimulabat . . . addidit Hispo." The clause subscribente Romano Hispone is parenthetical.—Occultis libellis. "By secret informations."—Postremum. So xi., 2. Commonly ad postremum, as in xiii., 46; Hist., i., 39.

Sinistros sermones. "Defamatory discourses."—Inevitabile crimine. Consult notes on chap. xxvii.—Alia in statua, &c. Compare Suet., Tib., 58. This was common enough in the time of Pliny: "Surdo figurarum discrimine capita permutantur" (H. N., xxxv., 2).—Ad quad exarist, &c. This was an indignity offered to tyrants, and Marcellus, by this act seemed to charge Augustus with being such. In addition to which, as Augustus was a god, it was an act of impiety.—Palam et juratum. Usually only those, who first regabantur sententiam, gave their sentence by word of mouth (palam); and on the opinions thus brought before them the division (diacessio), or actual voting, then took place. An oath in the votings of the senate was likewise out of the usual course, being taken only on special occasions. The words quo ceteris eadem necessitas fieret are an addition of Tacitus.

Censebis. "Will you give your opinion."—Quantoque. Ernesti conjectured quaedque, but the alteration is unnecessary. Properly we should
have had a comparative in the second member as well as the first, but Tac-itus is very lax in the use of such phrases.—*Pamitentia patientia.* "Submissive from regret."—*Recuperatores.* "Commissioners" for estimating and recovering the damages, and making restitution to those who had been injured. This cause was tried in the senate, and not before the praetor, in compliance with the recommendation of Maccenas to Augustus, that all charges against senators, or their wives and children, should be brought before the senate. (*Diu Cass., lii., 31.*) On the other hand, the referring of the *repetundarum querela* to *recuperatores* was granted by the senate, when the person was not accused of having received a bribe for the perpetration of particular crimes; the action thus became one *privati juris,* and went merely to the recovery of the money taken.

**CHAP. LXXV.**—Cognitionibus. "With the judicial investigations."—*In cornu tribunalis.* "In a wing of the tribunal." The shape of the tribunal at first was rectangular, and this form continued as long as the basilicae were simply used as courts of justice. But when spacious halls were erected not only for the proceedings of the magistrates, but also for the convenience of traders as well as loungers, then the semicircular or receding tribunal was adopted, in order that the noise and confusion in the basilica might not interrupt the proceedings of the magistrates. In the centre of this semicircular tribunal was placed the curule chair of the praetor, and seats for the judices, who sometimes amounted to the number of one hundred and eighty, and for the advocates; while round the sides of the semicircle, called the wings (*cornua*), were seats for persons of distinction. It was on one of these *cornua* that Tiberius sat.—*Ne praetorem curuli depelleret.* "That he might not dispossess the praetor of his curule chair," *i. e.,* might not sit himself as presiding judge.

**Adversus ambitum.** "Against illegal influence (on the minds of the judges)," *i. e.,* so that illegal influences should avail nothing to sway the minds of the judges. This is explained by the addition *et potentium preces.* —*Libertas corrumpebatur.* Since the judges decided justly, indeed, yet not by their free will, but by the will of the emperor.

**Mote publica via.** "By the pressure of the public way." The downward pressure of the raised way for the street, and also of the aqueduct, forced inward the foundations of his house. The stones used for making the public roads and building the aqueducts were of an immense size and weight. The very carrying of them through the city was, as we learn from Pliny (*Pan., 51*), accustomed to shake the houses.—*Aerarium praetorum.* In B.C. 28, Augustus gave the charge of the *aerarium* to two prefects, whom he allowed the senate to select from among the praetors at the end of their year of office; but as he suspected that this gave rise to convassing, he enacted, in B.C. 23, that two of the praetors in office should have the charge of the aerarium by lot. They were called *praetores aerarii.* This arrangement continued till the reign of Claudius, who restored to the questors the care of the aerarium. Other changes, however, were from time to time made.
Subvenit...tribuit. From the fascus, or imperial privy purse, as in all cases of money given by the emperor, where it is not otherwise expressed. —Erogandes per honesta, &c. "Being fond of paying out money on fair occasions," i.e., of being liberal on fair occasions. Erogare is a word specially connected with the treasury.—Veniam ordinis. Permission to retire from the rank of senator.—Decies sestertium. "A million of sestercies." This was the senatorial census or fortune fixed by Augustus. Compare Dio Cass., liv., 17, 26. Suetonius (Aug., 41), incorrectly, has duodecies.—Confessione et beneficio. "To exposure and relief."

CHAP. LXXVI.—Auctus Tiberis, &c. These inundations were always considered ill-omened. To prevent them, Augustus widened the bed of the river. Trajan dug a canal from the Mulvian bridge through what is now called the Valle dell' Inferno, in order to draw off its waters. Aurelian secured the banks of the river with strong walls from the city to Ostia. The best plan was that of Julius Cæsar, which his death prevented him from carrying into effect, namely, to drain the Pontine marshes, and cause the Tiber to empty itself into the sea, by a broad and deep canal dug from the city to Tarraecina. (Suet., Jul., 44.)—Asinius Gallus. Compare chap. xiii. —Libri Sibyllini. These were consulted in the case of prodigies and calamities. They were kept in a stone chest, under ground, in the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus.—Remedium...mandatum. The curator alvei Tiberini (Suet., Aug., 37) seem only to have had the charge of cleansing the bed of the river.

Achaiaem ac Macedoniam. These were senatorial provinces. Consult notes on chap. lxxiv. The governors of these, as they also took with them another magistrate, the questor, were more expensive to the province. There was not only the maintenance of their more numerous train to be provided for, but also the various presents to the proconsul and questor, and their officers; illegal, indeed, but sanctioned by long usage: and for all this there was no remedy, so long as no gross and flagrant extortion was practiced. These burdens were increased by the usual yearly change of governors. Tiberius, on several occasions, displayed his concern for the interests of the provinces (iv., 15; Suet., Tib., 32).—Tradi Cæari. That is, they were made imperial provinces.

Vulgo. The MS. has vulgus. It is uncertain whether vulgo or vulgus is the true reading. Formidolosum is very commonly used in this passive sense. Some editors retain vulgus, and translate it as if we were introduced before formidolosum; but this is very forced. Others take formidolosum in the sense of "timid," agreeing with vulgus. But dicebatur will hardly allow us to suppose that vulgus is the subject of arguisse.—Et pater arguisse dicebatur. "And which his father was said to have blamed."—Varie traebant. "They construed in various ways." Equivalent to alii in meliorem, alii in pejorem partem traebant, i.e., vertebant, interpretabant.—Tristitia ingenii. "On account of the austerity of his turn of mind."—Materiem. For occasionem or opportunitatem.
CHAP. LXXVII.—Procimus prior anno. "In the year immediately preceding." Procimus is not without force here: all preceding years would be priores.—Prober. "Insult."—Ius virorum. "The right of scourging."—Quis divus Augustus, &c. Compare Suetonius (Aug., 45): "Coercitationem in histriones magistratibus in omni tempore et loco leges vetere permissem ademitt, praterquam ludis et scenae." That is, except during the games and on the stage. Exile and imprisonment were the modes of punishment which he allowed.

De modo lucarum. "Concerning the limitation of the pay of the actors." The term lucar properly means fees paid to those who took part in the religious services celebrated in groves. Here it signifies the pay of the actors. Theatrical exhibitions were considered partly of a religious character. The pay varied at different times; sometimes it was five, sometimes seven denarii per day. Several emperors, besides Tiberius, found it necessary to restrict the practice of giving immediate sums to actors.—Fautorem. "Of their partisans."—Spectantium immodestism, &c. "Of punishing the excesses of the spectators with exile."

CHAP. LXXVIII.—Colonia Tarraconensi. The ancient inhabitants of Tarraco, now Tarragona, in Spain, who were not Roman citizens, had erected an altar to Augustus while yet living. Here the colony of Roman citizens in that quarter is permitted to build a temple to him, and what is said of this example having been followed in all the provinces refers only to the cities of Roman citizens (colonies and municipia). For the provincials themselves had already every where built temples to him.—Centesimum rerum venalism. "A tax of one in the hundred upon all vendible commodities," i.e., one per cent. It is a mistaken assumption that this tax was levied only from the auctions, for neither does the general expression rerum venalism admit of this, nor would such a duty have been specially burdensome to the people. Compare ii., 42.

Militare erarium, &c. "That upon this tax depended the fund for the army." The militare erarium was founded by Augustus, A.D. 6, in consequence of the difficulty which was experienced in obtaining sufficient funds from the ordinary revenues of the state to give the soldiers their rewards upon dismissal from service.—Imparem . . . . dimitterentur. The sooner they were disbanded, the oftener would the state have to discharge its debts due to them.—Proximas seditionis male consulta. "The ill-advised regulations made in the case of the late sedition."—Sedecim stipendiorum finem. That is, the termination of the service at the end of sixteen years. —Ab' sita in posterum. Those who served in Italy, however, were still disbanded at the end of sixteen years. (Dio Cass., lvii., 6.)

CHAP. LXXIX.—Actum deinde in senatu, &c. The commission appointed above (chap. lxxvi.) now makes its report.—Clanis. Now the Chias or Chiana. A river of Etruria, rising from two small lakes, west of the Lake Trasimeneus (Lago di Perugia), and falling into the Tiber east of Vul-
sinii.—Arnum. The Arnum is now the Arno.—Interamnates. Interamna, now Terni, lay on the Nar (now the Nera), in Umbria.—In rivos diductus. It was proposed to draw it off by channels, so that the water would soak away into the land.—Reatini. The inhabitants of Reate, in the Sabine country, now Rieti. The lacus Velinus lay between Reate and Interamna.—Patris amnibus. "To the rivers of their respective countries." The meaning here given to patriis (belonging to one's patria) saves the necessity of changing sociorum to majorum, as some do.—Pisonis. Without prenomen, because the person here meant was mentioned just before (chap. lxxiv.).

CHAP. LXXX.—Poppeo Sabino. Consul in 9 A.D.—Additium Achaia ac Macedonia. In execution of the decree passed shortly before (chap. lxxvi.). For Moesia (south of the Danube, from the Savus to Thrace) was an imperial province. What follows also refers to the imperial provinces.—Jurisdictionibus. The smaller provinces, which, like Judaea, were administered by procurators.—Alii, &c. From traduntur the active is supplied.—Novae curas. "Of recurring care."—Invidia. "From a malignant feeling."—Ansiun. "Irresolute."—Quos egredi urbe, &c. Not that he had made up his mind at the time when he appointed them, not to let them leave the city, for that would be no hastatio. But, at the moment of giving them their commission, he did not let them go yet; and this went on (proeectus est) so long, that he never came to the point of allowing them to go.—Non erat passurus. "He was never willing to send."

CHAP. LXXXI.—Tum primum. Compare chap. xv.—Deinceps. During the remaining years of his reign.—Significatione. "Description." More literally, "mode of indicating them."—Ambitus. "By intrigues."—Suam ad id curam. That is, that he would take care of their interests.—Professos. "Had declared their intention (of becoming candidates)."—Si gratia aut merits conferrent. "If they had sufficient confidence in their interest or merits."—Inania. "Hollow."—Quantoque maior, &c. In seeming to leave matters free, his design, if he had any, was only to betray one or another into availing themselves of their seeming freedom of action, that so he might discover the daring ones, and be able to destroy them.—Infensus servitium. "A more remorseless servitude."
BOOK II.

CHAP. I.—Teuro. This part of the name is added by some one from a list of consuls, such as the Fasti of Antium (Gerhard, Archaeol. Zeitschrift, 1846, p. 291): Sienna Statilis Taurus, L. Scribonius. It is Tacitus's practice, except on special occasions, in mentioning men of importance, to give only two of their names; for insignificant persons, or persons universally known, he contents himself with a single one. Some editors, therefore, omit Teuro, while others enclose it in brackets.—Coss. The year indicated is 16 A.D.—Arsacidarum. The Arsacidæ was the name of the Parthian dynasty, from Arsaces, the founder of the Parthian empire.—Esternum. "A foreigner."

Nam Phraates, &c. Tacitus takes occasion of the expulsion of Vonones from Parthia and Armenia, which occurred in this year, to explain in detail, with a view to the better understanding of what he has to relate concerning both countries, the relations in which the Parthians, and, in respect of their connection with them, the Armenians also, had stood to the Romans, since the commencement of the rule of Augustus.—Quamquam . . . Romans. Under Marc Antony, B.C. 36. Compare Dio Cass., xliii., 23.—Venerantium officia. "Marks of reverence." Compare the language of the Monumentum Anicramus (tab. 5, 40): "Parthes trium exercitum Romanorum spolia et signa reddere mihi, supplicesque amicitiam populi Romani patere coegi" (B.C. 20).—Partemque prolis. His sons Serraspadanes, Rhodaspes, Phraates, Vonones, and the two wives and four sons of these.—Haud perinde, &c. These words assign the ground of his sending as hostages some of his own offspring; firmandae amicitia only gives the reason why he sent hostages at all.

CHAP. II.—Sequentium regem. Phraataces and Orodes. Compare Josephus, xviii., 2, 4.—Cesar. In this and the next chapter, Augustus.—Ad nova imperia. "At the commencement of a new reign."—Infectum. "Tainted."—Trucidantium Crassum. Crassus was defeated and slain in B.C. 53.—Estebantium Antonium. Consult notes on chap i.—Raro venatu. This and the following ablatives belong to accedebat.—Fastu. "His haughty contempt."

Vilissima utensiliwm, &c. "The most ordinary articles of domestic use secured under a seal." Literally, "a signet-ring." He imitated the Roman custom of sealing up every thing, to prevent pilfering by slaves. As regards utensilia, consult notes on i., 70.—Ignota Parthis virtutes, nova vitia. "Virtues unknown to the Parthians were to them new vices." Supply erant illis.—Perinde odium, &c. That is, every part of his manners, the
laudable as well as the bad, was subject to equal hatred, because foreign from their own.

CHAP. III.—Aperq Dahaes adultus. "Brought up among the Dahae." The Dahae were a great Scythian people, who led a nomad life over a great extent of country to the southeast and east of the Caspian. Their name still remains in the modern Dahistan.—Vacua. "Without a king."—Infida. "Wavering."—Artavades. Antony enticed him (34 B.C.) into his power, and kept him prisoner, because he thought he had been betrayed by him in the Parthian expedition (B.C. 36). He was put to death 30 B.C. by Cleopatra, to whom Antony had made him over. ( Dio Cass., xliv., 39; li., 5.) —Ejus filius. He was his eldest son.—Tigranes. A younger son of Artavades, taken prisoner with his father, and afterward in the power of Augustus. He was appointed in B.C. 20.—Tiberio Nerone. So the emperor Tiberius is named before his accession to power.—Quamquam sociatis, &c. That is, although they took partners of the throne and marriage bed from among themselves.—More externo. We find this custom among other Oriental nations, and also in the Greco-Egyptian line of the Ptolemies.

CHAP. IV.—Sine clade nostra. "Without loss on our part," i. e., without great expense of Roman blood.—C. Cæsar. Compare i., 3. He was sent to the East during his consulship, in 1 A.D.—Stirpem ejus haurd toleraveres. Compare the language of the Monumentum Ancyranum (tab. 5, 30): "Post ejus (Ariobarzania) mortem filio ejus Artavasdi (Armenian tradidi); quo interfecit Tigranem, qui erat ex regio genere Armeniorum oriundus, in id regnum misi." —Erato. Erato was the sister of a Tigranes, not otherwise known, who had probably overthrown Artavades. She had then already reigned some time after her brother's death. ( Dio Cass., lv., 10.)—Ubi munitari Artabanus. Tacitus puts the historical infinitive in the protasis when a finite verb follows dependent on the same particle. So with ubi, xii., 51; Hist., iii., 10; with postquam, iii., 26; with ut, Hist., iii., 31.—Creticus Silanus. Compare chap. xiii. —Excusam custodias circumdat. That is, invites him out of his dominions into Syria, and when he comes there sets a guard upon him.—In loco. Compare chap. lxviii.

CHAP. V.—Suetius. "Accustomed to his command," i. e., attached to him from habit.—Acriora. "The more ardent."—Praeiorum vias tractare. "Weighed with himself the different methods of bringing on battles." Literally, "the ways of battles." The reference is to the different possibilities of the management of war, so as to bring it to a pitched battle or battles, including, of course, the management of the battles themselves.—Tertium jam annum belligerantii. In 10 and 11 A.D., Germanicus had commanded on the Rhine under Tiberius as his chief; in 13 A.D. he succeeded to the command in chief; the war began in 14 A.D. According to Roman usage the current year is taken into the reckoning.

Acie et justis locis. "In regular battle, and in fit places," i. e., on ground
adapted to fighting. The reference, of course, is to such ground as Roman discipline would consider right and proper, not to forests and marshes, where the Germans would have the superiority, with their peculiar mode of warfare. — *Haud perinde.* "Not so much." — *Frontam ipsam possessas.* The possession of the sea is prompt for the Roman, because he can forthwith seize it with his fleet; the German knows it not, because he has never attempted to seize it, and from the want of a fleet, and his not knowing how to make one, is not in a condition to do so.

*Bellum maturius incipi.* The route by sea can be taken earlier in the year than that by land, since for the latter to be practicable in the forests and the sodden soil of Germany, a longer continuance of heat and dry weather must have preceded. The next words refer to the advantage of the route by sea, that the legions, once embarked, are not delayed by the necessity of carrying their provisions.—*Integrum.* "Without loss."

**CHAP. VI.—Huc intendit.** "To this object he directed his efforts."—P. Vitellio. Compare i., 70. — C. Antio. Probably the same individual who is mentioned in an inscription found in France (Ap. Orell., 1415).—Silius, &c. Nipperdey reads Apronius here instead of Anteius (compare i., 56), but the alteration is unnecessary. As regards Silius and Cæcina, compare i., 31.—*Alia breves, &c.* This and the other nominatives that follow, to the end of the sentence, are in apposition with *naves,* which precedes. The ordinary vessels of war were commonly of a long size, and were called hence *naves longae.* — *Latu uero.* "Broad amidships." — *Plana carinis.* "Flat-bottomed." — *Pontibus.* "With decks." Ships of this kind were usually called "*naves constructae,* and in Greek, *κατάφφρακτοι.* — *Augebantur alacritate,* &c. "Were made to assume a still more imposing and formidable appearance by reason of the eager spirit of the soldiers," i. e., the eagerness and alacrity displayed by them.

*Insula Batavorum.* Formed by the northern arm of the Rhine, or Rhine of Leyden, the Vahalis (Waal), before its junction with the Mosa (*Meuse*), the Vahalis and Mosa after their junction, and the ocean. This island now forms part of the province of South Holland.—*In quam conveniunt predicta.* "Was appointed as the place of rendezvous." — *Bellum.* "The seat of war." — *Continuus.* "Flowing on uninterruptedly." — *Qua prœvehitur.* "Where it flows by." Middle force. *Prœvehitur* for *pratervelitut.* Compare Hist., ii., 2.—*Ad Gallicam ripam.* "Along the Gallic bank."—*Verso cognomento . . . dicunt.* These words are parenthetical. The construction, broken off at *affluens,* is resumed at *mos id quoque.* As regards cognomen, consult notes on i., 31.—*Vahalem.* The ancient writers differ respecting the number of mouths by which the Rhine fell into the ocean. Caesar says that there are several, but most other writers speak only of two or three. According to Tacitus, the number was two; the western was called *Vahalis* till its union with the *Mosa,* when it took the name of the latter river; while the eastern, which formed the boundary between Gaul and Germany, preserved the name of *Rhenus.* — *Mosa flumen.* "For that of the River Mosa."
CHAP. VII.—Castellum Luppia fluminis oppositum. This fort can not be
the Aliso mentioned below, otherwise Tacitus would have given its name
here on the first mention. As the following words show, this castellum was
very near the sources of the Lippe. Aliso, on the junction of the Lippe and
the Aliso, which river can not be certainly identified, must therefore have
been more to the west.—Nuper. Compare i., 62.—Druus sitam. That is,
to his die Manibus.—Decussavit. “Marched in solemn procession.” They
marched three times. This ceremony was called decursio, and was perform-
ed in honor of a deceased emperor or illustrious commander, either round
the funeral pile or an altar erected to his memory.—Haud visum. “It did
not appear worth while.”

CHAP. VIII.—Foesam, cui Drusiana nomen. This was a canal, which
Drusus caused his soldiers to dig in B.C. 11, uniting the Rhine with the
Yssel. It probably commenced near Arnhem, on the Rhine, and fell into
the Yssel, near Doesberg.—Eadem aestus. Compare Suetonius, Claud., i.:
“Drusus Oceanum septentrionalarem primus Romanorum ducum navigavit.”
He also proceeded as far as the Ems. (Strabo, vii., p. 444, A.; Dio Cass.,
liv., 32.)—The prayer of Germanicus is, that Drusus would grant that,
through his example and the memory of his plans and exploits, Germanicus
and his army may have courage and perseverance to accomplish the same.
—Lacus. These lakes, as before remarked (compare notes on i., 60), are
now united in the Zuyder Zee.

Amisia. “At Amisia.” By Amisia is here meant a place on the left
bank (lavo amne) of the River Amisia, or Ems. This place, which is not
mentioned by any other ancient author, is perhaps the same as the town of
Amusia, noticed by Ptolemy (ii., 11), and the Amusia mentioned by Steph-
anus Byzantinus as a town of Germany. Compare Ledebur, Land u.
Volk der Brüchter, p. 180, seqq. Nipperdey, who thinks that the River
Ems is meant, regards Amisia and subesuit as marginal glosses, and makes
classis the subject of transposuit. The explanation which we have given to
Amisia saves the necessity of all this.—Quod non subesuit. “That he did
not carry his vessels higher up,” i.e., sail higher up.—Transposuit militem.
“He put the troops over (by bridges).” The error of Germanicus, accord-
ing to Tacitus, consisted in his not conveying the troops across in his fleet;
but it may be observed, in defence of the Roman commander, that the build-
ing of the bridge was a precautionary measure, in order to secure a speedy
retreat in case of failure in his military operations. The soldiers could cross
the bridge, on a retreat, in much shorter time than they could re-embark, and
after they had crossed, they could break down the bridges and hold the en-
emy at a distance.

Asturaria. These were connected with the river, and so near its mouth,
that the ebb and flow of the tide also acted upon it.—In parte ea. That is,
in the postremum auxiliarum agmen.—Dum insistent aquis. “While they
play with the waves,” i.e., sport with and show their contempt of them.—
Amisivarium. The MS. has Angrivarium, which most editions follow;
but the Angrivarii dwelt between the Visurgis (Weser) and the Elbe, and the next chapter shows that Germanicus had not yet crossed the Visurgis. The Angrivarii ("dwellers on the Elbe") were to the west of this river.—Sertinianus. Compare i., 60.

Chap. IX.—Cognomento Flavus. "By appellation Flavus." This was the name given him by the Romans, probably on account of the color of his hair, which was common to so many of the Germans. Many editions have Flavius, but this is a nomen gentilicum, and, of course, out of place here.—Pauca ante annos, duce Tiberio. Compare i., 34.—Tum permisiim. For conference with enemies the general's permission must always be obtained. We have retained the common reading, though an extremely awkward one, on account of the presence of tum at the beginning of the sentence. We may render "permission was thereupon given." Many fruitless attempts have been made at emendation. Nipperdey reads Tum permisiim, and supposes something to have fallen out of the text, which he completes as follows: "Tum permisiim imperatoris deducit a Sertinio, progressuque," viz., from the place to which he had been conducted.—Deformitas oris. His loss of an eye.—Servitii. "Of his (Flavus's) slavery;" not of slavery in general.

Chap. X.—Diversi. "In different straits." Referring to the purport of their speeches.—Conjugem et filium ejus. Compare i., 57.—Fae patriae. "The sacred claims of country."—Penetrates Germaniae deos. "The national gods of Germany." As every house has its Penates or dii penetrales, so the proper national gods are the dii penetrales of the whole nation. These are to all Germany what the Penates are to each household; and again, as the household deities were kept in the innermost part of the dwelling, so there is an allusion here to the sacred and retired groves where the penetrales Germaniae dei were believed to abide.—Præcœ ratrum. "Who joined in his prayers."—Imperator. As son of a chieftain. Flavius was marked out by his birth to be a commander of his people. The term imperator is used of barbarian commanders also in ii., 45; xii., 33: "Britannorum imperatores."—Pleraque Latino sermone interjaciebat. "He interlarded the greater part of his speech with Latin expressions."

Chap. XI.—Haud imperatorum. "Not becoming a commander."—E numero primipilares. "Of the number of the primipilares," i.e., those who had been chief centurions. Those who had been leaders of the first century of a legion (primipilares frimipilis, in the same signification as consularis from consul) received census as equites, and, if they continued to serve, were appointed to praefectures.—Eruptit. "Dashed through."—Sultibus. The ablative, and the construction is the same as in the phrase circumdare aliquid aliqua re. —Sevilia. "The fury."—Globo. "In a solid body."—Dessissemos irrumpeam. In the sense of "to break into a thing," so as to make one's way into it, to effect a lodgment, Tacitus constantly
gives to *irrumperc* the accusative without a preposition, a construction to which he is generally partial in verbs compounded with prepositions.

**CHAP. XII. — Silvam Herculi sacram.** Compare Germ., ii., ix., and xxxiv. — *Ignes.* The German camp-fires.— *Inconditi.* "Tumultuous."— *Incorruptum forest.* "Might be clearly ascertained (by him)." Literally, "might be uncorrupted," i. e., genuine, true.— *Lata.* "Agreeable in their nature."— *Secreti et incutuliti.* "By themselves and free from all restraint."— *Spem aut metum proferrent.* "They gave unreserved utterance to their hopes or their fears."

**CHAP. XIII. — Egressus augurali.* "Having gone out from the place for taking auspices." In every Roman camp, to the right of the general’s tent, was a place called *Augurali*, where the auspices were taken, &c. Germanicus passes out by this unusual way in order to escape observation.— *Vigilibus ignarum.* That is, where no sentinels were posted.— *Fruiteque fama sui.* "And listens with delight to what is said of himself."— *Decorem.* "His fine person."— *Eundem animum.* "The evenness of his temper."— *Perdas et ruptores pacis.* By their conduct to Varus. — *Pugna.* "An opportunity of fighting."— *Tertia ferme vigilia.* The Romans divided the night into four watches.— *Sine conjectu teli.* Because they did not come within reach of missiles.

**CHAP. XIV. — Lactam quietem.** Compare i., 65.— *Operatum.* "Engaged in sacrifice." *Operari* is "to set one’s self," or "to be set at work" and *operatus*, like *occupatus*, means "at work," "actively engaged," and is here, as frequently elsewhere, applied to a holy action, i. e., "during sacrifice," not "after he had sacrificed." We must not supply *esse* with *operatum*; the participle stands with *vidit*, just as does the infinitive, connected with it by *et.—Augusta.* Livia.— *Auctus.* "Elated."— *Addicentibus.* "Proving favorable." Literally, "assenting."— *Pravisa.* Supply *essent.* In the speech that follows, no mention is made of the things which had been wisely seen to beforehand (sapiencia pravisa); while of the *opta pugna* he mentions only a part. What he has not detailed he considered, because frequently occurring in warfare, to be not worth noticing.

**Ratio.** "Due circumspection."— *Perinde haber quam.* "Are managed in the same manner as," i. e., are as effectual as. With regard to the force of *haber* here, compare the German "handhaben," which is closely analogous to it.— *Harentia.* "Fitting." The reference is not only to the close-fitting armor of the Roman soldiery, but also to the form of the legionary shield, with the sides curved round so as to fit the body. The German shield, on the contrary, was flat. Compare chap. xxi.— *Nervo.* "With hide." Compare *Sil. Ital.* (iv., 293): "Subtextaque tegmina nervis."— *Tabulas.* "Boards."— *Primam utcumque aciem hastatam.* "That their first line was armed with pikes, no matter how." Observe the force of *utcumque*. The speaker does not choose to go into the account of the "how," and by this very
circumstance shows that there is but an indifferent account to be given of it.—Tela. "Stakes."


CHAP. XV.—Hoe esce Romanos, &c. Arminius calls the soldiers of Germanicus the most runaway part of the army of Varus, as if Germanicus led with him only the poor remains left by the Varian overthrow. In so saying, however, he thinks not merely of the few who had escaped of the three legions with which Varus was present in person, but also of the two legions whom Asprenas, their commander, the nephew of Varus, saved (Veill. Paterc., ii., 120).—Quorum pars, &c. They give their backs to the enemy, because, as soon as it comes to fighting, they will turn to flight. With these words those are described who had retreated in the preceding year with Cescina; and, in pars fluctibus, &c., those who had then retreated with Vitellius. Compare i., 63, seqq.—Boni. "Of success." More literally, "of any thing favorable."

Classem quippe, &c. The idea is this: their motive for having recourse to a fleet, and to the pathless regions of Ocean, was, that no one might oppose them as they approached, or pursue them when repulsed; but when they engaged hand to hand, vain would be the help of winds and oars after a defeat.—Aliud sibi reliquum, &c. The interrogative particle is wanting. Compare Madvig, * 450.

CHAP. XVI.—Idistaviso. The nominative, not the dative; for Tacitus, in this connection, has the dative only with adjectives (i., 31; ii., 8; Hist., ii., 43; iii., 6; Germ., xxxiv.); otherwise usually the nominative (i., 45; ii., 4, 80; iii., 21, 42; iv., 25, 28, 72; v., 1; vi., 28; xi., 4; xii., 13; xii., 12; xv., 45; Hist., iv., 26); rarely the genitive (iv., 50; xiv., 50; xv., 37; Hist., iv., 18). The plain Idistaviso was probably in the neighborhood of the Porta Westphalica, between Rintela and Hausberge. Grimm (Gramm. Introd., p. xlii.) explains the name by "Schimmerwiese," i.e., "Glimmermead;" the same writer, however, in his Deutsche Mythologie, p. 372, conjectures the true reading to be Idiisawiso, "Nymphenwiese," i.e., "Nymphas-meard."—Ripae fluminis. Here all the flat country is meant on the sides of the river, in opposition to the mountains; just as we, in the case of rivers bordered by mountains, speak of narrow and broad banks. These banks sedunt, "recede," as stretching inland, and therefore are broad; in other places they are opposed by projecting mountains, which do not allow them to spread out.—Pons tegrum. Of the last mentioned, namely, the Germans.

Campum, &c. The order of battle, according to the description here given, is to be conceived as follows: The wing next the river was in the forest, the other on the open plain, either because the forest nearer to the
river ran more out to a point, or the line of battle passed somewhat obliquely from the forest over the plain. On the wing which stood on the plain were, more forward, the hills which the Cheruscii had occupied.—Prætoriæ cohortes. *As Prætoriæ cohortes* is the standing expression in this age for the Prætorian guards regularly quartered in Rome, and as we can not suppose that the two cohorts here mentioned were formed by Germanicus out of his own army, after the example of the generals of the republic; and, moreover, as they do not occur before; Nipperdey thinks that they were sent this year from Rome, and that Tacitus did not think it worth his while to mention this circumstance in its place. Ritter, on the other hand, makes them to have been the united body-guard of Cæcina and Silius, whose two armies were now joined under Germanicus, and he therefore translates, "with both the prætorian cohorts." Nipperdey's view is that of Orelli, and appears the more correct.

*Ut ordo agminis in aciem, &c.* "That the order of march might form the order of battle when they halted." The before-mentioned bodies of troops (with the exception of the cavalry who were otherwise disposed of) were to form themselves behind one another in order of battle, just in the order in which they had marched.

**CHAP. XVII.**—*Valdissimos equitum, &c.* These were to charge in flank the Cheruscii and the wing which was beside them on the plain; Stertinius to fetch a compass round the wood (hence he afterward first dislodges the other wing out of the wood by attacking them from behind, and drives them over the plain); and Germanicus, with the infantry, will charge in front.—*Imperatorem advertere.* "Caught the eye of the commander."—*Propria legi- onum numina.* "The own guardian-spirits of the legions." *Numina* must not be rendered here "gods," for the eagles were never regarded in that light, but as sacred creatures in virtue of their relation to Jupiter.

*Medii inter hos, &c.* The wing which had stood beside the Cheruscii, but farther back, fled into the wood, the other fled out of the wood; the Cheruscii were forced down into the plain, so that the former portion of the fugitives came to be on one side of them, and the other on the other.—*Hae rupturus.* Soil. *Aciem Romanam.—Emissumque.* "And allowed to escape."—*Tranare Virgim conantes.* These were principally those who had fled out of the wood into the open plain.—*Moles ruentium.* "The mass of the rushing crowd."—*Incidentes.* "Falling upon them."—*Prorsus arbores affli- ere.* "The trees when felled dashed to the ground."

**CHAPS. XVIII. AND XIX.**—*In Romanos.* That is, with which to bind the Roman captives.—*Tiberium imperatorem salutavit.* In the ancient signification of the word. Consult notes on i., 3. Tiberius was thus saluted, because, under the empire, all wars were conducted under the auspices of the emperors.—*In modum tropaorum.* The custom of erecting trophies was borrowed by the Romans from the Greeks. It was more common, however, to erect some memorial of victory at Rome than on the field of battle.
Hand perinde quam. "Not in the same degree as," i.e., far less than.—

Abire sedibus. The employment of abire with the bare ablative is late Latinity. In the metaphorical sense, however, the construction "magistratu abire" (Tac., iv., 19; v., 11; xiii., 44) is found in Cicero, De Repub., i., 4-7: "Consulatu abiens." Livy has it frequently.

Postremo deligent locum, &c. The river was one of the tributaries of the Weser, or, more probably, of the Elbe. This river and the woods enclosed, except on one side, the plain which lay before the woods (toward the Romans). In the rear the woods were surrounded by a deep morass, except on the side farthest off from the river, next to the plain, where was the dam (agger). This was a partition or boundary dam; for in the engagement all the Germans were on the same side of the dam, in the forest. The Angri-varii dwelt on the north of the Cheruscii. Compare notes on chap. viii.—

Eusthenes. "Had elevated."

CHAP. XX.—Promus, occultus. "Their overt movements, their concealed measures." Promus refers to the infantry marshalled openly in the plain; occultus to the cavalry concealed in the neighboring groves.—Seio Tiberoni. Brother of Sejanus. He was consulsequent afterward, in 18 A.D. He seems, according to Nipperdey, to have taken the place of Apronius, who, at the beginning of this campaign, would appear to have returned to Rome. —Campumque. This lay before the planities mentioned in the previous chapter. The equus in silvis aditus (afterward plansa) is the one above that planities.—Emiteretur. "Might force their way up."—Permisit. Hence supply to sibi the general notion of "assigned" or "allotted," obtained by neutrum from permissit, which has otherwise the force of "committed."

Functores libratoresque. "The slingers and hurlers of lances." The libratores were those who attacked the enemy by hurling with their own hand (librando) lances or spears against them. During the time of the republic, they are not mentioned in the Roman armies.—Missa et tormentis hase. This was done by a third class of soldiers, quite different from the two just mentioned.—Collato gradu. "Foot to foot."—Utriusque necessitas in loco. That is, there was no room for either to retreat.

CHAP. XXI.—Artis locis. "In narrow places."—Colligeret. "Draw them in." Said of the drawing back of the spear, while one hand, advanced before the other, grasps the shaft and draws it back; properly, "gather in." The metaphor comes from this, that, in drawing back the spear, the movement is the same as drawing in and gathering up a rope.—Stabile praelium. "A stationary mode of fighting."—Scutum pectori adpressum, &c. The shield of the legionary soldier was four-cornered, and not flat, but, as before remarked, with the sides curled round so as to fit the body. With his short sword the Roman thrust, while the German had to heave his long broadsword for a cutting stroke.—Insidias capsulo. "Settling firmly on the hilt," i.e., firmly grasping the hilt of his sword.—Impromto. "Less active in his movements."—Ambiguit. "With doubtful success."
Chap. XXII.—Pro concione. "Before a public assembly." Compare notes on i., 44.—Conscientiam facti satis esse. "That the consciousness of what he had done was sufficient," i. e., of his own merit.—Amsivarios. Here, again, the M.S. has Angrivarius. But Germanicus was among the Angrivarii (chap. xix.), and therefore would have gone against them in person; for that he should have retired himself, and left Stertinius alone among the most powerful nations in the heart of Germany, is not to be thought of. It is also incredible, that of the principal nations fought with, Catti, Cheruscii, and Angrivarii, the only one to surrender should have been just the most remote (Angrivarii); and, in fact, the contrary appears from chap. xxvi.:

"Nec dubium habebatur labore hostes petendaeque pacis consilia numere, et si proxima estas adliceretur, posses bellum patrem." Compare chap. xlii. For the latter reason, Amsivarii must also be written in chap. xxiv., where, again, the M.S. has Angrivarii. Stertinius had already (chap. viii.) made an incursion upon the revolted Amsivarii; now he hastens in advance to effect their entire subjection, while the rest of the army returns by slower marches. Thus, by the mention of the Amsivarii we are suitably brought to the Ems, where we find the army in the beginning of the next chapter.

Chap. XXIII.—Estas jam adulta. "It being now midsummer." The ancients distinguished the three months composing each of the four seasons by particular epithets. Thus the first month of spring was called novum ver; the second, adultum ver; the third, prsecps ver. So, in the case of the summer months, we have estas nova, adulta, and prsecps. The same nomenclature was adopted in the case of autumn and winter. Compare Serv. ad Virg., Georg., i., 43.—Mille navium. Compare chap. vi.—Velas impelli. Immediately the sea is put in motion by the ship, not by the sails; but mediately by the sails, inasmuch as these put the ship itself in motion.—Incerti fluctus. "The billows rolling now in this direction, now in that."—Regimen. "The proper management of the vessels."—Officia prudentium corrupoebat. "Rendered unavailing the services of the skillful."

In austrum cessit. "Fell into the possession of the south wind," i. e., was swept by a south wind; because, as it were, its booty. The wind, however, came, as the following narrative shows, not quite from the south, but somewhat from the southwest.—Qui tumidis Germaniae terris, &c. "Which wind, as the natural consequence of the oozy lands of Germany, of its deep rivers, being made strong by an immense train of clouds, and rendered still harsher by the rigor of the neighboring north," &c. Observe that terris and amnibus are ablative; while immense novium tractus expresses the cause. The moist land and the rivers by their evaporation form enormous clouds, which give the winds their strength. The term tumidis, which some mistranslate "mountainous," means here, properly, "swelling with moisture." Compare Virg., Georg., ii., 324, "Vere tument terras."

Mutabat estus, &c. Before this, the set of the tide was against the wind, and so had, in some measure, counteracted its violence. Mutabat intransitively, as in xii., 29: "Disturnnate in superbiam mutans."—Manentes per
hares; etc. The interior of the ships was dripping wet from two causes; first, because the joints had given way, and let in the water through the sides; and then, because the waves broke over the deck.

Chap. XXIV.—Proserp. With this verb and associt, which follows, the object surpassed is omitted, because evident enough from the context, altis terris et alios cladere.—Litteribus. Ablative absolute. So mari immediately after.—Ut creaserit, etc. "As to be believed to be the last, and without any lands beyond," i. e., to be the limit of the world, and unbounded by lands.
—Insulas longius ulter. On the west coast of Schleswig, different from those mentioned in the previous chapter, which lie along the coast from the Weser to Holland.—Nullo illo hominum cultura. "There being there no trace of human culture."—Toleraverunt. The pluperfect in reference to the more recent portion of the past lying before the writer, namely, the time when they were brought off from the desert islands.

Scopulis. There are no rocks on the coast between the Ems and the Weser; it can only mean elevations in the line of the coast, or, in other words, earth-cliffs, which at a distance might appear as scopuli.—Oppeteret. Supply mortem.—Claude naves, etc. "The shattered ships returned, with but few oars remaining, or with garments spread for sails."—Ambiaserit. Consult notes on chap. xxii.—Regulis. "The petty kings of that island."
—Ambigues hominum et bellavum formae. "Ambiguous forms between man and beast."—Credia. "Believed to have been seen," i. e., fancied.

Chap. XXV.—Ad correndam. "To check them."—C. Silius, etc. The object of this expedition was to compel the Catti to inactivity by the presence of an army on their frontier. As it did not come to any active measures with them, nothing farther is related of the expedition.—Variana legioni aquilam, etc. One eagle, that of the nineteenth legion, had already been found (i. e., 60). A third was recovered in the reign of Claudius (Die Cass., ix., 8). The account given by Florus (iv., 12, 37) is incorrect, who makes two eagles to have still remained in possession of the Germans.—Essciadis. "Exterminates."


Acrius modestiam ejus aggregatur. "He assails his modesty with increased
importunity."—Cujus munia praesens obiret. "The duties of which he would have to discharge in person," i. e., the duties of which would require his presence at Rome. This was not the case afterward. Compare chapters xlii. and liii.—Materiem Drusi fratris gloriae. "Materials for the fame of his brother Drusus." Tiberius speaks as the adoptive father of Germanicus.—Hoste. Ablative absolute.—Nomen imperatorum. Consult notes on i., 3.—Et deportare lauream. "And (in this way) bear the bay (unto the capitol)." The deportare lauream or laureum was the principal act of the triumph, as the procession was to the capitol, and here the general deposited on the knees of Jupiter his bay-wreath, the branch of bay which he bore in his hand, and the bay with which the fasces were adorned. In the imperial times, the process was sometimes reduced to the summary act of merely bearing the bay to the capitol, without the other pomps of the triumphal procession. Here, however, a complete triumph is meant.

CHAP. XXVII. — De fortun. "Is accused."—Ordinem. "Progress."—Curatius. Compare note on curatissimus, i., 13.—Rem publicam exedere. "Freyed upon the state." The trade of the informers, who, under the show of friendship, collected matter of accusation against their unconscious victims, and even enticed and entrapped them into unlawful actions, is here referred to by Tacitus.—Ex intima Libonis amicitia. "Availing himself of an intimate friendship with Libo."—Facilem inanibus. "Lending an easy ear to impositions." For facilem aures praebentem inanibus. (Bötticher, Lex. Tac., p. 192.)—Chaldeaorum. Astrologers, called also mathematici.

Prosum Pompeium, &c. "That Pompey was his great-grandfather," &c. Pompey was his great-grandfather on the mother's side. Scribonia was the sister of his grandfather, and consequently his great aunt (amita magna). His father was adopted by the father of Livia, and therefore was called M. Livius Drusus Libo. In consequence of this adoption, the father of our Drusus Libo and Livia were brother and sister, and to our Drusus Libo the sons of Livia, namely, the Emperor Tiberius and his brother Drusus, were consobrini in the narrower sense; in a wider sense, so were also their sons and grandsons; consequently, all the living Cassares (Borghesi, ad loc.).—Necessitatum. "Embarrassments." More literally, "straits." He sought to raise money himself, and in his name.—Indiciis. "Evidences of his guilt."

CHAP. XXVIII. Et qui servi eadem noscerent. "And some slaves who would acknowledge the same things (with these witnesses)," i. e., would acknowledge these same things as known to them, when they should be put before them in the examinations. Nosceret is here employed in a narrower sense than ordinary, of one who avouches that he knows, since otherwise his knowledge is merely surmised.—Proprior usus. "A closer intimacy."—Congressus. "An interview."—Posse enim, &c. "For that his communications can come through the medium of the same Flaccus."—Tentatus, ut infernas, &c. "Who had been solicited (by him) to evoke by incantations
the shades of the lower world,” i. e., to raise ghosts.—*Senatus cognitionem.*
“A taking cognizance of the charge on the part of the senate,” i. e., that the senate take cognizance of the charge.

**CHAP. XXIX.**—*Vocem poscere.* “Solicited their intercession.”—*Prætri.*
The consul ordinarius of this year (A.D. 16), namely, L. Scribonius Libo. He is not marked by Tacitus as consul, because he had already laid down his office. For the *ordinarii* held office only till the 15th of July, and then the *suffecti* took their place. The judicial process took place later than this. Compare chap. xxxii.—*Tendens.* Metaphorically connected also with *supplæces voces.* Compare Virgil, *Æn.* iii., 176: “*Tendoque supinas ad caehum cum voce mansu.*” Similarly, *Hist.* i., 63.—*Libellus.* “The articles against him,” i. e., the written informations.—*Auctores.* Those who handed in the written charges, and were therein alleged as “witnesses.”—*Moderans.* “Restraining himself.” Supply *sibi.*

**CHAP. XXX.**—*Fonteius Agrippa.* Compare chap. lxxxvi. —*C. Vibius.*
C. Vibius Serenus, the father. Compare iv., 13, 28, seqq.—*Jus perorandi.*
“The right of delivering the principal speech for the prosecution.” It was made at the close of the examination on the evidence. —*Singillatim se crimina objectum.* “That he would bring forward the different charges one by one,” i. e., that he would not make a continuous speech, but bring forward the accusations separately, so that Libo would be allowed to defend himself upon each point as it was brought forward.—*Libellus.* “Papers (of Libo).”—*Quis.* Ablative.—*Si mollius acciperes.* Like our “to apply a milder term to them.”

*Unius tenen libello.* Supply *inesse* from the preceding *inerant.* On *additas* depends the other dative *nominibus.*—*Atroces.* In regard of their import, whether it was that to these marks there was ascribed a magical effect against the persons so denoted, or that Libo was said to have marked the persons for such as he had evil designs against.—*Agnoscentes servos.* Consult notes on chap. xxxviii.—*Questio.* “A putting of slaves to the question.”—*Actori publico.* “To the public steward.” The *actor publicus* was a state slave attached to the *exararium,* of whose duties nothing is known for certain, except that transfers of property to the *exararium* were made to him, because he, as a slave, could acquire property only for his owner, the state. In the same case as here, he appears in iii., 67; and the *actor publicus* of a municipium, in *Plin., Ep.* vii., 18, is mentioned in connection with the acquisition of a piece of land by the town.

*Posterunt diem.* That is, an adjournment till the next day.—*Quirino.*
We have given this form of the name with Ritter and others. Nipperdey, however, reads Quirinio, which would make the full name to have been *P. Sulpicius Quirinius,* and the individual in question to have had two gentile names, an anomaly which he seeks to defend from the *Fasti Prænestinii* (under the dates of the 6th of March and 28th of April) and from an inscription in Orelli, no. 623.
CHAP. XXXI.—Ipse opus excruciatum. The luxurious meal, taken in his feverishly excited condition, caused him the pangs of bodily indisposition.—Percussorum. "Some one to slay him."—Inserere gladium. "Put a sword into them."—Feralibus jam sibi tenebris. "Amid darkness which for him already was the darkness of death," because he did not live to see the light again.—Abstitit. "Retired."—Asservatione. "Formality."—Petiturum. Supply suisse. Tacitus omits it, when the preceding context, or the immediate sequel in the same sentence, leaves no doubt that the past time is meant.

CHAP. XXXII.—Praterea extra ordinem data. Before it came to be their turn, in the regular course of the legal requirements, to hold this office. In any case they all had the same number of years remitted to them, and it is therefore probable that they did not all take office as praetors in one and the same year, since the time which, by law, they would have to wait would not be the same for all. In this year, which soon came to an end, none of them held this office. From the complaint of Vibius, "suum tantum studium sine fructu suisse" (iv., 29), it appears that of the accusers he alone was a Roman knight.—Cotta Messalinus. Son of the celebrated Messala Corvinus. Compare notes on i., 8.—Esse quae est comiteretur. The imagines were brought out at funerals. The image of Libo was of course destroyed.—Pomponii Flacci. He was then consular desinatus.

L. P. et Gallus Asinii. The MS. merely has L. P. et Gallus Asinius, and it has been generally supposed that under the letter P. there lurks some name which has come down to us only in this mutilated state. Various conjectures have, therefore, been formed, some making P. stand here for Piso, others for Patus, &c. We have given the ingenious emendation of Lipsius, to which Hermann inclines, and which refers to three of the name of Asinius, the letters L. P. being two pronomina.—Authoritates. "The suggestions."—Mathematica. "Astrologers," called also Chaldei. Compare chap. xxvii.—Saxo. "The Tarpeian rock," on the west side of the capitol. It is frequently mentioned in this way without the addition of the adjective.—Extra portam Esquilinam. On the east side of the city. The Campus Esquilinus was the usual place for executions.—More prisco. More commonly more majorum; execution by the axe, when the criminal had first been beaten with the rods.—Advertere. For animadvertere.

CHAP. XXXIII.—Ministrandis cibis. "For serving up repasts."—Vestis Serica. A vestment made of transparent silk. The raw material was obtained from the Seres, a people of the far East, whose country, Serica, is supposed to have comprised Bucharia, Kotschei, and a part of northwestern China. It was brought to the island of Cos, and there manufactured into an article of dress. Compare Seneca, De Ben., vii., 9, 5.—Excessit. "Went beyond this," i. e., beyond the purport of the decree just mentioned. This decree, which was passed at the close of the proceedings, is mentioned at the outset in a cursory way, as is the speech of Fronto. Now the details
are given concerning the speech, and the proceedings to which it gave rise.


E postfastissimis meribus. “Followed naturally from the most primitive usage.” —Cuncta referri, &c. “That all things are to be estimated by reference to the state,” i.e., regulate themselves according to the state, depend upon the state. —Gliscere. “Rose in the splendor of their mode of living.” —Nimium aliquid ex medium, &c. “Was anything excessive or moderate, except according to the means of the possessor,” i.e., was there any standard of excess or frugality, but from the means of the owner. — Distinctos. From that of the other citizens. So to duoviri we must supply “their census,” namely, from the census of the other citizens. The senatorial census was fixed, under Augustus, at 1,000,000 sesterces. The equestrian census was 400,000 sesterces. — Sed ut locis, ordinibus, &c. “But in order that they may excel in place, rank, and honor.” Locis refers to seats in the theatre. In the circus they did not receive this distinction till a later period. — Ordinibus refers to the forming of two higher orders apart from the other citizens. — Tali qui ad requiem, &c. The true reading here is extremely doubtful. We have adopted that of Oberlin. — Nisi forte, &c. The accusative and infinitive, instead of a subjunctive sentence, the subordinate sentence of the oratio obliqua being treated just in the same way as the primary sentence.

Facilem assumam, &c. The meaning is this. The sentiments of Gallus met with a ready assent. Those who spoke were not ashamed to confess their vices, by clothing them in language which belonged to virtue, while those who spoke not sympathized with them from the similarity of their own habits. — Censure. “For correcting such matters,” i.e., for making such sweeping and general reforms. — Deseaturum corrigendi auctorem. “Will there be wanting one to correct the evil.”


Chap. XXXV. — Res prolatae. “The adjournment of city business.” Below, the phrase res dilates is employed. The former is the official phrase—
acology for the adjournment of city business, when the sittings of the senate and of the courts are prorogued. Compare Plautus, Capt., i., 1, 10: "ubi res praeate sunt, cum res homines sunt." Here, as appears from the words of Asinius Gallus, the adjournment occurred at a time which had been appointed for the dispatch of the public and private business of the inhabitants of the Italic towns and provincials before the senate and the courts.—Pretium foret. Compare i., 57.—Aequitatem at discerat. He played the game spoken of in i., 47.—Ob id magis agendum. "That they should attend to business the more on that very account."—Sua manus sustinere. "To discharge their functions." The Equites are mentioned in this connection, because part of the judges were taken out of the equestrian order.

Quia speciem, &c. As Piso had anticipated him in his display of liberal principles, he now turns slatterer.—Afluences provinciae. The influx of affairs from the provinces.—Audiens hoc Tiberio, &c. Observe that hoc is here the nominative to acta (sunt). Compare note on equestrandi hostes spe, &c., i., 67.—Acta. "Were debated." Literally, "were managed."

Chap. XXXVI.—In quinquennium, &c. Consequently, if the law were passed, the magistrates requisite for the next five years would be chosen all at once; in the next year after this election, those for the fifth year, and so on, constantly in the succeeding years; that is, in the year 1, those for years 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, all at once; in year 2, those for year 7; in 3, for 8; and so on perpetually.—Item hanc. That is, on their becoming legati legionum. The words qui . . . duodecim are added because others became legati legionum after the pretorship.—Principes duodecim, &c. The ground for this proposal was, that the legati legionum were nominated by the emperor, but the pretors were chosen by the senate. Now, in order that none of those whom the emperor chose to appoint as legati legionum, and whom he meant to raise to the pretorship at a later period, should be excluded from it after five years by the senate's not electing him, it was to be ruled that the emperor should nominate only so many candidates as there must be pretors appointed, so that the senate should be able to elect only those whom he nominated, and the emperor, without coming into collision with the senate's freedom of election, to nominate as legati legionum, up to the number of twelve, whomsoever he had a mind to appoint to that office.

Aecora imperii tentata. "That the secret resources of imperial power were invaded." Because the emperor thus became bound for five years, in the course of which many things might happen that would make other persons desirable for him, and because those elected five years in advance would thereby obtain a more independent position.—Quasi augeretur, &c. So it might seem, inasmuch as, according to that law, there would be magistrates chosen under his influence even after his death, for the pretors of four successive years would take office as his posthumous nominees; and he was to appoint all, whereas hitherto he had appointed only four.—Tec eligere, tot differre. These words refer to the first election, in which, be-
sides other officers, he would have had to single out sixty candidates for the praetorship alone.

Propinquus opus. The hope of success on a speedily recurring occasion. Quo cuique, &c. That is, whether they would continue to have the same sentiments, the same connections, and fortune.—Accessa designations. Strictly speaking, it did not last so long, as the elections did not precede the actual entering upon office by a full year.—Honorem per quinuennium agitent. “They play the man of office for the space of five years.” The actual bearing of office would be expressed by garum.

Chap. XXXVII.—Favorabili in specieum, &c. “By this speech, in appearance popular, he kept the imperial power free from encroachment.” Favorabili for gratios is the Latinity of the silver age.—Superbus. “Somewhat superciliously.”—Liberalitate decies sesterii. “By a gratuity of a million of sesterces.” This was the census of a senator. The true reading here is sesterii, not sesterium. As regards this peculiar form of expression, consult Zumpt, § 873.—Loco centumia. “In place of expressing his opinion on the subject under debate.”—Imaginem. The senate was held in the Bibliotheca Latina of the Palatium, where on round shields were the effigies of men distinguished in literature. Compare chap. lxxxiii., and Swet., Aug., 29.

Accipere. Because his grandfather was very rich. His father, also a Q. Hortensius, in his youth a loose liver, at first a Cassian, afterward joined Brutus and Cassius, lost his property in consequence, and was put to death after the battle of Philippi. (Vell., ii., 71; Plut., Brut., 28.) A different grandson of the orator Hortensius was the Hortensius Corbio mentioned, on account of his excesses, in Valerius Maximus, iii., 5, 4.—Tet consulum, tet dictatorum. Of Hortensii are found only a consul, 69 B.C., the famous orator; a consul designatus for 106 B.C.; and a dictator 286 B.C., Q. Hortensius. But the distinguished families into which the Hortensii married are reckoned in.

Chap. XXXVIII.—Inclinatio senatus, &c. Malevolent and haughty natures are wont to do just the opposite of what is wished, in order to mar others’ pleasure, and to let it be felt that their resolutions are independent of all influence.—Quantum pauperum est. “All that are poor.”—Res publica. “The public resources.”—Egregi aliquando relationem. “To depart occasionally from the question.”—Ut privata negotia, &c. “That we may here advance our private affairs, augment our private resources.” Observe the zeugma in augaeusam.—Invidia. “Odium.”—Istuc. The older style would have required the attraction istic. Consult notes on i, 49.

Ambitione. “By largesses.”—Compellatus. “Having been solicited so to do.”—Lega. “Condition.”—Si nullus ex se metus aut espec. “If there be no self-respect nor self-reliance.” More literally, “no fear or hope from one’s self;” i. e., if men are to have no fear of disgrace from their own aecoria, no hope of success from their own industria. Observe the employment.
of se, though no person has been named, equivalent to our "one's self."—
Ducena sestertia. "Two hundred thousand sesterces."

CHAP. XXXIX.—Ni maturi subuentum foret. "Had not speedy aid been
rendered."—Postumi Agrippae, &c. Compare i, 6.—Non servili animo.
"With no servile spirit," i. e., with a spirit that rose far above the condition
of a slave.—Patrata cade. Compare i, 6.—Præcipitii. "Perilous."—Fur-
asur cineres. That it might not be possible to produce them in proof of the
death of the true Agrippa.—Casam, Etruria promontorium. Because the
city of Cosa was on the promontory, it is somewhat inaccurately here called
a promontory. The correct name of the promontory was Cosanum Promon-
torium.—In dominum. The local direction of one object toward another
serves as a mean of comparison between the two, as does the holding one
thing to another, in reference to which Cicero says (De Inv., i, 44, 82),
"Similitudinem ejus rei, qua de agitur; ut eam rem, qua de judicatum est."
The expression in Tacitus is new.

Imperitissimi cujuque promtas aures. "The greedy ears of all the most
credulous."—Sed quia veritas, &c. "But, as truth is strengthened by ob-
servation and time, pretences by haste and uncertainty, he either left rumor
behind or else outstripped it." When the rumor of his presence got wind
in the place where he was, he went to another place; there he arrived be-
fore the rumor. Aut is used to denote that his whole activity was divided
between these two kinds of perpetual movement. For, as his presenting
himself at a place brought the rumor with it, so he nowhere stayed longer
than was necessary, just to show himself and make himself talked about.

CHAP. XL.—Ostiam. Ostia was at the mouth of the Tiber, and the har-
bor of Rome, from which it was distant sixteen miles by land.—Celebra-
bant. "Greeted him." Tacitus does not say expressly that he came to
Rome; but it is more natural to understand celebrabant for both clauses in
the same sense, and the following narrative shows that we must so take it;
for they could not possibly have got knowledge of "the unguarded night" so
long before as to have time to fetch soldiers from Rome to Ostia.—Servum
suum. The possessions of Agrippa came, on his banishment, to his adopt-
ive father, Augustus, in whose patria potestas he was. On the death of
Augustus they passed by inheritance to Tiberius.—Ambiguus. "Wavering
between."

Saluator Crispo. The same to whom Horace dedicated one of his odes
(Od., ii., 2). He was the grandson of the sister of the historian, was adopt-
ed by the latter, and inherited his great wealth. Compare i., 6, 6.—Con-
scientia. "Complicity," i. e., that they were privy to and sharers in the
conspiracy.—Pericula. "To share his dangers."—Noctem incustoditam.
"That the night was unguarded," i. e., that at night he was without guards.
Supply esse.—Clauso ore. "Gagged."—Quomodo tu Caesar. "Just as you
became Caesar," i. e., by deception and fraud.—Haud quasitum. "No en-
quiry was made."
NOTES ON THE [BK. II., CH. XLII., XLIII.

CHAP. XLII.—Arcus. "A triumphal arch."—Adem. Saturni. On the Forum Romanum, before the Capitoline Hill.—Recepta signa. "The recovered standards." Compare i., 60; ii., 25.—Fortis Fortuna. "Of Fortuna Fortuna." Forte Fortuna is evidently the name with Fortuna Virilia, which last name appears to have originated in a mistake, for the true name of the goddess is Fera, not Fortis, Fortuna. Compare Cic., Leg., ii., 11, 28; "Fors Fortuna, in quo incerti causae significatur magis" (Keightley, ad Ovid., Fast., vi., 776).—Hortis. The gardens of the dictator Caesar lay on the right bank of the Tiber, south from the Janiculum.—Boviitas. Boviitas was a town on the Appian Way, not far from Rome. As regards equus here, consult notes on i., 5.

Cecilie. The M.S. reading, Calio, is wrong. Consult Borghesi, ad loc. —Quinque liberes. Nero, Drusus, Caius (Caligula), Agrippina, Drusilla. Compare Suet., Cal., 7.—Aevumculum ejus Marcellum. Compare i., 3, 10, 42.—Breves et infestates, &c. "That the favorites of the Roman people were short-lived and unfortunate."

CHAP. XLII.—Ameliri. "To remove out of the way." This verb carries with it the idea of removing something that is burdensome. Its peculiarly ambiguous import in the present instance is worthy of notice, and shows that Tacitus is preparing us for the sequel of the story.—Archeleus. Not to be confounded with the ethnarch of Judea, the son of Herod the Great.—Quinquagesimam annum. This was in A.D. 14, to which Tacitus here goes back, as appears from what afterward is stated, "Ut ... imperium adeptus est." He received his authority B.C. 36, from Antonius. (Die Cass., xlix., 32.)—Rhodi agentem. Compare i., 4.—Florentes C. Caesar. Compare i., 3; ii., 4.—Intuta. "Unsafe," i.e., impolitic.

Versa. More usually eversa. Compare iii., 36, 54; xii., 45.—Cesarum sebole. Referring to C. and L. Caesar. Compare i., 3.—Elicit Archeleum. "He entices Archeleus (from his kingdom)."—Si intelligere crederetur, &c. "Dreadful violence, in case he should be believed to be aware of it."—Esceptusque immitt, &c. "And having been received with sternness by the prince." Literally, "by a stern prince."—Angore. "Distress of mind."—Nedum inimica. "Much less the deepest humiliation."—Regnum in provinciam, &c. It was decreed to be a province. For the carrying out of this decree, consult chap. i.—Fructibusque ejus, &c. "That by its revenues the tax of one in the hundred might be lessened, fixed it at one in two hundred for the future." That is, he reduced it from one per cent. to a half per cent. This was the tax which had been imposed on Rome and all Italy by Augustus, after the close of the civil wars. It was laid upon all vendible commodities. Compare i., 78.

Commagenorum. "Of the people of Commagene." Commagene was the northeasternmost district of Syria, bounded on the east and southeast by the Euphrates.—Cilicium. Philopator is called King of Cilicia, although he possessed only a part of this land; the next was a Roman province.
CHAP. XLIII.—Quae supra memoravi. Compare chap. iii.—Verger. "Was now on the decline."—Nondum satis adelewisse. "Was not yet sufficiently matured."—Qui sorte aut misere, &c. Consult notes on i., 74.—Creticum Silanum. Compare chap. iv. He had come by adoption from the family of the Junii Silani into that of the Ccillii Metelli, and his full name was Q. Ccillius Metellus Creticum Silanus. He was consul A.D. 7. The marriage contemplated between Nero and his daughter never took effect. Compare iii., 29.—Resurgentes in Africa, &c. After the battle of Pharsalia, B.C. 47 and 46. Compare Bell. Afr., iii., 16.—Accrpite ministerio. "By the most active services."—Donee ultra ambiretur, &c. He became consul in B.C. 23, with Augustus himself.

Planciae. Compare i., 39.—Liberos ejus. Dusus and Germanicus.—Et Planciam hauv dubie, &c. "Augusta, beyond doubt, had prompted Plancina to persecute Agrippina in the spirit of female rivalry." The sensitive of the gerund (insecundum) has here the force of an infinitive. (Böttcher, Lex. Tac., p. 221.)—Aula. The imperial court at Rome.—Proprium. "His own offspring."—Annunculum. "As his great uncle." Annunculum is used here for annunculos magnus, as in chap. iiii ; iv., 3, 75; xiii., 64; and so amita for amita magna above, chap. xxvii. As regards the relationship itself, consult notes on i., 42.—Pomponius Atticus. Consult notes on i., 12. —Levisiam. Compare ii., 84; iv., 3, seqq.

CHAP. XLIV.—Illyricum. Compare i., 5, 46.—Susurret. Intransitive. The simple verb for the compound, a new usage. Compare chap. iiii.—Studia pararet. " Might gain the affections."—Urbane hume lascivientem. "Wantoning amid the dissipation of the city." Compare iii., 37.—Melius haber. "Would be reformed."—Pretendebantur. "Were alleged as the pretence for sending him." The Suevi occupied the entire south of Germany (to the north of the Danube), and the east from the Elbe. The nations farther off, to the northeast, seem, however, not to have belonged to the kingdom of Maroboduus.—Dioceae Romanorum. This and vacui externo metu are coupled as two different remarks by ac, because externus metus et is meant to denote not fear of the Romans only, but of all foreign enemies. In what follows, et tum adds to the occasion which was always present, a second which was present just then.

Sed Marobodum, &c. "Maroboduus, however, the name of king rendered odious among his countrymen; while favor made Arminius a champion for freedom." More literally, " held in hatred," and "(held) as a champion for freedom." The meaning intended to be conveyed is as follows: Maroboduus was hated because of his kingly power; Arminius, on the other hand, was in favor, and caused it to be believed that he fought for freedom. Tacitus, however, did not believe this, but assumed that on this occasion (for here he is speaking only of this war) Arminius had interested motives. Compare chap. lxxxviii.

CHAP. XLV.—Seminones ac Langobardi. East of the Elbe, to the north-
ward of Bohemia.—Propellabat, ut, &c. Consult notes on i., 35.—Juveni. Compare chap. lxxviii. —Vagis incursibus. The ablative of the property to aequa; and to this, not to the verb, belong, therefore, the other additions. On diejectas per catervas, compare iii., 55.—Fugacem Marobodum. Compare Veill. Paterc., ii., 108: “(Gens Marcomannorum) Maroboduus duc, esse sedibus euis, atque in interiore refugiens, incinentes Hercyniae silvas campos incolumi. And again: "Marobodus ... statuist, avocata procul Romana gentis sua, eo progeridi, ubi, cum propter potentiorem arma refugisse, sua facerr potentiissima," &c.—Hercyniae latebris defensum. The Silva Hercynia is the Hartz, and the farther mountain chains, which divide Germany from west to east.—Qurum eventus. The issue of the several engagements respectively. The next words give the general result of the whole war.

CHAP. XLVI.—Illius consiliis. See, to the contrary, i., 68. —Vacuas. "Of their guard," i.e., rendered careless, from their apprehending no hostile attack. Supply metu. Nipperdey renders vacuas "without a master," because they were so remote from all communication with the Roman empire there, in the interior of Germany, that they were in a manner abandoned. This, however, is extremely forced.—Cum conjus, &c. Compare i., 57, seqq. —At se, &c. In A.D. 6, Tiberius was on the point of attacking Marobodus at one and the same time from south and west; but before it came to an action he was obliged to return, in consequence of the insurrection of the Pannonians and Dalmatians. To this it is to be referred when Arminius, in chap. xiv., calls Marobodus "prætiorum expelem," for with the neighboring Germans he had often been at war.

Max conditionibus aquis, &c. Marobodus, with wise moderation, availed himself of the embarrassments of the Romans to bind them to him by offering a league.—Charuscis Langobardisque. As with the former their old confederates are to be understood, so with the latter the Semnones.—Sperabatur. “Was expected.”—Perclusi. “Of his having received a severe blow,” i.e., having been worsted.—Transeugiis. “By successive desertions.”—Marocomannos. The Marcomanni dwelt in Bohemia.—Pacis firmae. He was to confirm the peace, not between the belligerents (for between them there was no peace to confirm, and against this is chap. lxiii.); but the peace hitherto enjoyed by the Roman provinces in those parts, lest perhaps the wars of the Germans among themselves should give rise to hostilities against the Romans. In this sense it is said also, chap. lxiv., “Legi tions Tiberio, quis pacem sapientias firmaverat.”

CHAP. XLVII.—Duodecim. A monument erected in honor of Tiberius at Puteoli, in the latter half of A.D. 30 (Orelli, 687), contains the names of fourteen cities; the two not mentioned here by Tacitus being Cibyra and Ephesus. The former was first struck by the earthquake in A.D. 23, and was assisted by Tiberius, as Tacitus elsewhere relates (iv., 13). Hence it appears that that monument comprises all the cities of Asia Minor which had suffered from the earthquakes during the reign of Tiberius, and had re-
ceived assistance from the emperor, down to A.D. 30; and as the account relating to Ephesus is no longer extant in Tacitus, this must have come after v., 5, and have been lost in the great hiatus there, along with the other missing occurrences of the years 29–31 A.D. Hence the earthquake of Ephesus would fall in A.D. 29.

_Asperrima in Sardianae luce._ "The destructive visitation, most severe against the inhabitants of Sardis." This city, the capital of the old Lydian monarchy, stood at the foot of Mount Tmolus, on the River Pactolus.—_Centes sestertia._ "Ten million of sestertii."—_Magnetes a Sipylo, &c._ "The inhabitants of Magnesia (seen) from Sipylos were treated as next in damage and in help," i.e., they were considered to have sustained next greatest damage, and received accordingly the next greatest help. There were two cities named Magnesia in Asia Minor, one situate at the foot of the northwestern declivity of Mount Sipylos, in the northwestern part of Lydia, and on the southern bank of the Hermus, famous in history as the scene of the victory gained by the two Scipios over Antiochus the Great, which secured to the Romans the empire of the east, B.C. 190; and the other in the southwestern part of Lydia, on the River Lethus, a northern tributary of the Meander. The former is the one here meant. It was called by the Greeks Μαγνησία αὐτὸν Σιπύλων (Sparkeim, p. 894), or Μ. πρὸς Σιπύλω (Ptol., 5, 2), or Μ. ἡ νησίδε Σιπύλω. The appellation in the text is formed from the first of these, and is well explained by Ritter: "_Magnetes a Sipylo sunt incolae ejus urbis, quae inde a Sipylo conspicitur._" Those who came to it from the west would give it this name on beholding it from the higher grounds of the mountain; those, on the other hand, who came to it from the east would call it Magnesia on Sipylos, or at the foot of Sipylos. Compare _Plin., H. N._, v., 29, and _Liv._, xxxvii., 44.

_Temmius._ The people of Temmus, in Ἑolis, on the western bank of the Hermus.—_Philadelphenes._ The inhabitants of Philadelphia, in Lydia, at the foot of Mount Tmolus, twenty-eight Roman miles southeast of Sardis.—_Ægeetas._ The people of Ἐγέη, to the north of Smyrna, on the River Hyllus.—_Apolloïdes._ The inhabitants of Apollonia, a city of Lydia, between Pergamus and Sardis.—_Hierocassarum._ In Lydia, between the Caicus and Hermus. Diana Portena was worshipped here.—_Myrimum._ Myrimum was on the western coast of Mysia.—_Cyrena._ Cyrene was the largest of the Ἑolian cities of Asia Minor, on the coast of the Sinus Cumaeus.—_Tmolus._ The town of Tmolus (of which Herodotus, i., 84, also makes mention) was situate near the mountain of the same name.—_Qui presentia spectaret, &c._ "To view their present condition and impart new life."—_Aletius._ The MS. has _Aletus_, which is not a Roman name (_Borghesi, ad loc._).

**CHAP. XLVIII.**—_Bona . . . petita in fascum._ Because it was maintained that none had a right to claim the inheritance. All property for which there was no owner fell to the _fascus_, or imperial privy purse.—_Æmilio Lepido._ With the pronomen _Marcus_. The supposition that _Æmilia Musa_ belonged to his house probably rested only on the name.—_M. Servilius._ M.
Servilius, consul A.D. 3, is mentioned also in iii., 22.—Neque suspicius. "And well authenticated."—Alius. Whom they ought properly to have inserted, or who would have been their heirs had they died intestate.—Appiam Appius. The cognomen, if correct, would be the most ancient example of the occurrence of the praenomen Appius as a nomen gentile, which it presupposes.—Q. Vitellius. An uncle of the afterward Emperor Vitellius.

Chap. XLIX.—Circum maxima. Between the Aventine and the Palatine. A. Postumius had vowed the temple before the battle at the Lake Regillus, B.C. 496. It was completed in 493 (Dion. Hal., vi., 17, 94).—Forum citrum. Outside the city, between the Capitoline and the river. In the same locality was also the temple of Spes (Liv., xxii., 62, 4). To the temple of Janus Tacitus adds the place, for distinction's sake from Numai temple of Janus, in the Forum Romanum.—Qui primum, &c. The naval victory of Duilius was gained B.C. 260.—A Germanico. Some editors read Germanico merely, the dative, instead of the ablative with the preposition a.—Attius. A. Attilius Calatinus, consul in B.C. 258 and 254.

Chap. L.—Adolescens. "Was growing in strength."—Apuleius Varilium. The M.S. has Varilium, but, as Borghesi remarks, it is not likely in her case that she had two gentile names. She was probably the daughter of Claudia Pulchra (iv., 52), daughter of Claudius Marcellus and Octavia, sister of Augustus. This Claudia Pulchra and her elder sister, married to M. Agrippa and Antonius Iulius, are both called Marcella by Suetonius (Aug., 63). Claudia Pulchra (Marcella the younger) seems to have been first married to Sextus Apuleius, and from this marriage sprang the Sextus Apuleius, consul of the year 14 A.D., whom Dio Cassius (iv., 29) calls a relation of Augustus, and the Apuleia here mentioned. Then Claudia Pulchra was married to Quintilius Varus (iv., 66), and from him, as her stepfather, Apuleia would seem to have taken the cognomen Varilia.

Illusisset. The subjunctive, as indicating what was alleged against her. —Casari consensa. "Though nearly allied to the emperor."—De adulterio, &c. The accuser had designated her adultery as lese majesty, because she was related to the emperor. Tiberius, however, would have this transgression to be dealt with according to the general laws concerning adultery.

—Lego Julia. By the Lex Julia de Adulteriis coarctandis (passed probably B.C. 17), a woman convicted of this offence was mulcted in half of her des, and the third part of her property (bona), and banished (relegata) to some miserable island, such as Seriphus, for instance.—Sceus. "Unbecoming ly." Equivalent to aliter quam decuit.—Eorum. Livia.—Exemplo majorum. These words refer merely to the circumstance of the execution of the sentence passed by the senate being transferred to the relations of the culprit. Compare Liv., xxxix., 18, 6.

Chap. LII.—Etiam tue Romae erant. Compare chapters xliiv. and liii.—
Haterium Agrippam. Compare i., 77. His father was probably the orator Q. Haterius (iv., 61). His relationship to Germanicus seems to explain itself by the cognomen; for probably he was related on the mother's side to M. Agrippa, father of Germanicus's wife.—Numerus liberorum, &c. The law meant here is the Lex Papia Poppaea de maritandis ordinibus. It provided that in the canvassing for offices, and the allotment of the senatorial provinces, the fathers of the greater number of children should have the preference. It also remitted to fathers of families a portion of the time which was otherwise required to elapse between the different offices; and where there was a certain number of children (probably three), allowed a longer tenure than the usual term of one year for the senatorial provinces. (Dio Cass., liii., 13.)—Quamque. "In the same manner as."

Chap. LIII.—Auxiliaria stipendia meruit. "Having served among the auxiliaries."—Per vesella et turmas. "Into companies of foot and troops of horse." Literally, "by means of standards and troops."—Mauros accolas. "The neighboring Mauri." Not the collective inhabitants of the kingdom of Mauritania, but that portion merely which dwell near them.—Successet. The simple verb, as before (chap. xli.,) for the compound, but here in a transitive sense.—Cinithios. Below the Lesser Syrtis.—In erdem. "Into the same measures."—Furius Camillius. Consul 8 A.D.; father of Camillus Scribonianus (vi., 1). Compare iii., 21.—Quod sub signis sociarum. "What forces of the allies were under arms." Opposed to those whom he might have been able to convene.—Ne belium metu studarent. That is, lest the enemy, from fear of the overpowering numbers of the Romans, should not let it come to a pitched battle.

Furio nomini. "For the Furian name." The entire gens Furia is meant. —Filiumque ejus Camillium. Probably Tacitus took the L. Furius Camillus, consul 349 B.C., and the consul of the same name in 338 and 335 B.C., for one and the same person; whereas, according to other accounts, the latter was a grandson of the famous M. Furius Camillus. (Liv., vii., 24, 28; viii., 13, 29.) Tacitus designedly adds Camillium; for he means here not the entire gens Furia (as above in Furio nomini), but of that gens only, the family of the Camilli. Of the gens Furius there also distinguished themselves as commanders P. Furius Philus and L. Furius Purpureus, who triumphed, the former in 223, the latter in 200 B.C.—Impune fuit. "Was not attended with any danger."

Chap. LIII.—Septuages annus. A.D. 18.—Nicopolis. Nicopolis was situated at the southwestern extremity of Epirus, on the point of land which forms the northern side of the entrance to the Gulf of Ambracia, opposite Actium. It was built by Augustus in memory of the battle of Actium. The same monarch built a temple of Apollo on a neighboring hill, and founded games in honor of the god, which were celebrated every fifth year.—Drusus. Compare chap. xli.—Ionii maris. The Ionian Sea lay to the south of the Adriatic, and began, on the west, at Hydruntum, in Calabria; and on
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the east at the Aeroceramian promontory, in Epirus.— Ut memoravi. Compare chap. xliii.— Ut uno tickete uteretur. As being among friends, where no imposing display of authority was needed.— Vetere suorum facta, &c. "Employing for display the ancient doings and sayings of their countrymen." As a pattern for their reception of Germanicus, they took what their own forefathers had done and spoken on similar occasions. Praefere, properly, "to bear before one's self," i. e., for display.

CHAP. LIV.—Julium. Suetonius (Cal., 7) calls her Livilla. She was married to M. Vinicius in 33 A.D., and was banished in 37 by her brother, Caligula. She was recalled by Claudius, but was afterward put to death by that emperor at Messalina's instigation. The charge brought against her was adultery, and Seneca, the philosopher, was banished to Corsica as the partner of her guilt.—Perinthum. Perinthus, now Erchli, was an important city of Thrace, on the Propontis.—Propontidis angustias. The Thracian Bosporus.

Sacra Samothracum. The island of Samothrace lay in the northern part of the Aegean Sea, opposite the mouth of the Hebrus, in Thrace, from which it was thirty-eight miles distant. It was the chief seat of the worship of the Cabiri, and was celebrated for its religious mysteries, called in the text sacra.—Hic. Troy was twice rebuilt. First by the Eolian colonists, but much lower down the plain than the old site. This is the Troja or Ilissus Vetus of most of the ancient writers, and was the city visited by Alexander. After the time of Alexander it declined, and a new city was built, still farther down the plain, below the confluence of the Simois and Scamander, and near the Hellespont. This is the Ilissus Novus, known to, and honored with various immunities by the Romans. This last is the one meant in the text.—Religus Asiam. "He sails again along the coast of Asia."

Colophena. Colophon was one of the twelve cities of Ionia, and stood about two miles from the coast, on the River Halesus, between Lebedus and Ephesus.—Clari Apollinis oraculo. The temple and oracle were at Clarus, a small town on the Ionian coast, near Colophon.—Mileto. Mileta, one of the greatest cities of Asia Minor, was the southernmost of the twelve cities of the Ionian confederacy, and was famed for its commerce and numerous colonies.—Litterarum. "Letters (of the alphabet)," "writing."—Per embages. "In enigmatical terms."—Maturum estium. "An early death."

CHAP. LV.—Quo propterius, &c. "That he might enter the sooner upon the execution of his purposes."—Turbido incecorum. "By his boisterous entrance."—Perstrigens. "Censuring."—Colluvium illam nationem. "That impure conflux of various nations." The thinning of the numbers of the ancient citizens, mentioned just before, had rendered necessary the admission of numerous foreigners. Besides, the Athenians had been in the habit of selling the freedom of the city for money. (Compare Demeoth., xapi svovrd£., 423, sqq.; Dio Cass., liv., 7.)—Coluissest. "He had treated."
As alleged by Piso, and therefore the subjunctive.—Mithradatis. In the first Mithradatic war, 87-6 B.C.—Antonii. In the battle of Actium, 31 B.C.

Propria ira. "From personal resentment."—Aре judicio falsi damnato-

rum. "Condemned by the Areopagus for forgery."—Cyclades. The Cy-

clades, a group of islands in the Ægean Sea, and so called because they lay in a circle (ἐν κύκλῳ) around Delos.—Et compendia maris. "And by a short course." Literally, "by short cuts over the sea."—Quibus inexactati-

onibus, &c. "With what bitter hostilities he was assailed."—Reperet in

abrupta. This refers only to Piso, the person afterward designated by the term inimici, being understood even here, after the analogy of the ordinary construction, when after several verbs connected by a copula, and all governing the same case, such a case follows, which is to be understood with all.

Severus. "Distinguished for strict discipline."—Vagum ac lascivientem.

"To range at large and commit every kind of excess."—Vulgi. "Of the common men."—Decursibus. "The manoeuvres." As these were connected with more or less of rapid movement on foot, the term decursus has a peculiar significance.

CHAP. LVI.—Sed praveri ad Armenias, &c. "But it was a more im-

mediate object of solicitude (with him) to direct his steps first to the Ar-

menians." Observe the middle force of praveri.—Ambigus gens, &c.

"This nation has been an inconstant one from of old."—Late praestata.

"Stretched far in front of," i.e., bordering with a large frontier upon.

Maximis imperiis. This belongs also to discordes. The Roman and Par-

thian empires are meant.—Discordes. "At variance with."—Insidias.

"Jealousy."—Amato Venone. Compare chap. 4.—Polemonis, regis Pontici.

Polemus is called King of Pontus in just the same way as (chap. xliii.) Phil-

opator, king of Cilicia. He was no longer living; his domain was under

the government of his and Archelaus's widow, Pythodorus.

Artaxata. The singular is used by Tacitus only in this connection with

the ablative of urbe here and in vi., 33. Otherwise he has always treated

the word as a neuter plural. Artaxata, the later capital of Armenia, was

built by Artaxias, under the advice of Hannibal, on a peninsula surrounded

by the River Araxes.—Approbantibus nobilitibus. Of the nobles, who, in this

despotically governed land, were alone of any account, it is expressly men-

tioned that they gave their approval: of the people it is only said that they

flocked round in multitudes, in token of their joy.

In formam provinciae redacti. Compare chap. xlii.—Q. Veraniun. Ver-

nianus and Servaeus were legati of Germanicus. They were set over the

countries named only for the purpose of carrying out the new arrangements;

this done, they returned to Germanicus. Cappadocia received a procurator of

equestrian rank, as were all procurators. Commagene was thrown into

Syria. What was done with the possessions of Philopator (chap. xliii.)
Tacitus does not say, probably because they were left to his house, and

not taken into the province (Borghesi, ad loc.).—Ad jus pratoris translatis,
They came under a proprtor, the legatus pro praetore of Syria; for the proprtor had ius praetorio. Compare i., 10; ii., 77; iv., 15.

Chap. LVII.—Filium. M. Piso. Compare chapters 76, 78; iii., 16, 18. —Cyrr. Cyrus or Cyrrhus was a city of Syria, founded under the Seleucids, and called after the city of the same name in Macedonia. It was the capital of the district Cyrrhesiae. —Ut votuli. Compare i., 35.—Clementor. "Of more than ordinary clemency."—Intendere veta, &c. "Aggravated real offences, kept heaping up fictitious ones."—Filios. There was only one son present (iii., 16). The other, therefore, they accused of intriguing at Rome against Germanicus.—Precibus contumacibus. Compare the explanation of Lipius: "Petebat quidem, ne ea qua reipublicae causa et ex instituto egisset, in suam contumaciem verteret; simul demonstrabat, si tamen id faceret atque indignaretur, eo id suumque deoque ferre, et Tiberio soli rationem actum reloadedem."

Atres ac dissertarii manifestus. "He was glib of tongue, and showed clearly that he dissented." On the construction of manifestus with the infinitive in place of the genitive, consult Bötticher, Lex. Tac., p. 265.—Na bataorum. An Arabian people, in the northwestern part of the peninsula originally; but in Roman times occupying nearly the whole of Arabia Petraea, along the northeastern coast of the Red Sea, on both sides of the Ælianitic Gulf, and in the Idumæan Mountains, where they had their celebrated rock-hewn capital, Petra.—Parsi. The object of Piso's speech was to censure the luxury and extravagance of the banquet, as more suited to Parthian than to Roman habits. Parthi here expresses more than Parthici or Partherum, denoting that he was by descent a Parthian.

Chap. LVIII.—Amicitiam ac fudus. Which Phrases had established with Augustus. Compare chap. i.—Accederet. Namely, the king. Compare what follows soon after: "De adventu regis et cultu sui."—Nec traheret. "And not to let him (Vonones) draw," &c. In Latin, it is common to entreat a person that something may be done or not done, when it is in his power to effect it, or to hinder it, where we would use a verb with the infinitive denoting the activity of the person entreated as "let," or the like. —Decur. "Grace." Ablative of decor.—Pompéopolis. Pompeopolis, originally Soli or Socea, was a city on the coast of Cilicia, between the Lamos and Cydnus. Pompey restored the place after his war with the pirates, and peopled it with the survivors of the defeated bands; and from this time forth it was called Pompeopolis.—Contumelia Pisonis. That is, it was meant also as a rebuff to Piso.

Chap. LX.—M. Silano, &c. A.D. 19.—Ægyptum. Consult notes on chap. lxix.—Cognoscenda antiquitatis. The genitive expresses the purpose of the action. Strictly speaking, it is joined to the verb as to a substantive, to denote the nature of the action, what it consists of. The construction is borrowed from the Greek, and as it is there found only with the infinitive,
so in Latin it occurs only with the gerund and gerundive. We find it in the Latin of the older writers, as in Terence, *Ad*. ii., 4, 6; not in the Ciceronian age (except perhaps in B. G., iv., 17, 10); but very frequently in Tacitus.—*P. Scipionis amulationes*. The elder Africanus. Livy (xxix., 19, 11) says that he walked about *cum pallio crepidaeque*. This explains what is meant by *pedibus istectis*, not strictly bare, but wearing merely the *crepida*, or slipper. Slippers were worn with the *pallium*, or Greek cloak, not with the *toga*.—*Quamvis flagrante adire*, &c. Implying that he ought to have dressed, like a Roman commander, in the attire of his country.

**Sponte.** With a genitive, occurs first in Lucan, *c. g.*, i., 99: "*Pasque fuit non sponte dicum;*" 234, "*Sponte dixit.*" In Tacitus, besides the present instance we find it in *iv.*, 7, 51; *vi.*, 31; *xii.*, 24; *xiii.*, 39, 42; *Hist.*, iv., 19.—*Equiribus Romanis illustribus*. So were called those Roman knights who possessed the senatorial fortune of a million of sesterces; and therefore were competent to become senators. Like the senators and their children, they wore the *latus clavus*, or broad purple border.—*Sepuvit Aegyptum*. "Placed Egypt aside by itself."—*Clastra terrae ac maris*. Compare *Hist.*, *Bell. Alex.*, 20: "*Tot Aegyptus maritimus accessit Phare, pedestri Pelusio, velut claustris, munita existimatur.*"

**CHAP. LIX.**—*Oppido a Canopo*. The collocation of the preposition between two words connected by apposition is an innovation upon the ancient style. Compare *iv.*, 43, "*Moniem apud Erycum,*" *xiii.*, 12, "*Usure ab Octavia,*" &c.—*Canopo*. The city of Canopus was near the westernmost mouth of the Nile, hence called the Canopic mouth, and was twelve geographical miles to the east of Alexandria. It had a great temple of Serapis, and a considerable commerce. The story of its Spartan origin is of course a fable. The Egyptian name was *Kahi-n-stub*, i. e., "golden ground."—*Qua tempestate*. "What time." The same form of expression occurs *iii.*, 38; *iv.*, 14; *vi.*, 34; *xii.*, 62; *Hist.*, v., 2.—*Menelaus*. According to the Greek legend, Menelaus was eight years wandering about the shores of the Mediterranean, on his return from Troy, before he reached home.—*Diversum ad mare*. A different part of the Mediterranean is merely meant.—*Dejectus*. Supply *est*. Nipperdey inserts this in the text.

**Proximum annis se.** Observe that *se* depends on *visum*, toward the end of the sentence. The mouth here meant is the Canopic, which was sometimes also called the *Heraclectis*, from the adjacent city of Heracléeon.—*Quem indigebat orsum apud se*, &c. Compare *Wilkinson*, vol. ii. (second series), p. 17, *seqq.—Cognomentum*. Consult notes on *i.*, 31.—*Veterum Thebarum*. Egyptian Thebes stood about the centre of the Thebaid, on both banks of the Nile, above Coptos, in the Nomos Coptites.—*Structis molibus*. "On vast erections." Commentators generally suppose that obelisks are here meant. It is more probable, however, that Tacitus refers to the walls of some of the stupendous structures at Thebes.

**Rhamesen.** By Rhameses is here meant the Sesostris of the Greeks, or Rameses II. of Egypt. Compare *Wilkinson*, i., p. 69, *seqq.—Legebantur et*
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indicia, &c. Kenrick thinks that Tacitus here refers to what is now termed the statistical table of Karnak, belonging to the reign of Thothmes III., the Pharaoh of the Exodus, and that the words of the Roman historian do not necessarily imply that the record of the victories of Ramses, and the table of tribute mentioned immediately after, related to the same sovereign (Kenrick's Anc. Egypt, vol. ii., p. 226, Lond. ed.).—Ustensilium. Consult notes on i., 70.

CHAP. LXI.—Memnonia sacerce aegyptiac. The Memnon of the Greeks and Romans was the Amenophis III. of the Egyptians.—Vocales sonum. The sound it uttered was said to resemble the breaking of a harp-string, or, according to the preferable authority of a witness, brass when struck, that is, a metallic ring. Wilkinson appears to have given the best explanation of the matter. Consult Anthen's Class. Dict., s. v. Memnonium.—Disjectas. Because, being raised from their natural level surface by the force of the winds, they are in different places heaped up in large masses.—Lacus. Maria. Augustiis et profunde altitude. In the southern part of Egypt, where the river is enclosed by a narrow rocky valley (augustiae).—Nullis inquirientium. spatii, &c. “Fathomable by no measures on the part of those seeking to ascertain it.” The spatii inquirientium are the additional lengths of the fathoming line, which the enquirers were obliged to use, yet without finding any bottom.

Elephantinae. Elephantine or Elephantia was an island in the Nile, with a city of the same name, opposite to Syene, and seven stadia below the Little Cataract.—Syene. Syene was situated on the eastern bank of the Nile, just below the Little Cataract, like Elephantine.—Claustro olim, &c. As the remotest point from Rome. By rubrum mare, which may denote either the Arabian or the Persian Gulf, the latter is here meant, as under Trajan (about 115 A.D.) the eastern frontier of the Roman empire was advanced to the northern part of that gulf.

CHAP. LXII.—Drusus. Compare chapters xliv.—xlvi.—Utque facta jam, &c. “And (by inducing them), now that the power of Maroboduus was broken, to persevere even unto his utter ruin.”—Getones. On the northern part of the Vistula, not to be confounded with the Gothini. Compare Germ., xliii.—Regiam. Strabo (vii., p. 290) calls the place Bovlaυσον, Ptolemy Μαπόσβουδος, supposed to answer to the modern Budweis. Compare “Boissheimum,” Germ., xxviii.—Jus commercii. In consequence of the alliance mentioned in chap. xliv.—Hostilem agrum. Tacitus calls the land so, in respect of the manner in which, notwithstanding the treaty, the Romans actually regarded it.

CHAP. LXIII.—Noricam Provinciam. Noricum lay between Rætia and Pannonia, the Inn and the Mur. It corresponded to the greater part of Styris and Carinthia, and a part of Austria, Bavaria, and Salzburg.—Præfuit. For præterfuit.—Ex memoria prioris fortuna. “From the recollec-
tion of his former fortune," i. e., as the recollection of his former fortune prompted him; that is, in a spirit suitable to his former fortune.—Fide quae veniesset. The more usual form of expression would be, eadem fide quae veniesset. Compare chap. lxxviii. "Curam exercitus eadem fide quo teneret repetivisse."

Violentiam. "The fierceness."—Estulit. "He magnified."—Revenit. Compare i, 58.—Insolentior. "Began to grow turbulent."—Hermundurorum. North from the Danube, in Bavaria and Thuringia.—Forum Julium. Now Freyja.—Barbari utrumque comitati. "The barbarians who had followed each," i. e., the barbarian followers of each.—Marum et Cusanum. The Marus is now the March; the Cusus, probably the Waag.—Quado-

erum. The Quadi were a powerful German people of Suevic race, in the southeastern part of the country, between Mount Gabreta, the Hercynian forest, the Sarmatian Mountains, and the Danube.

CHAP. LXIV.—Simul universiato, &c. As the appointment of Artaxias had already taken place at the end of the preceding year (compare chapters lvi. and lvii.), it appears that the affair of Maroboduus must have occurred quite early in this year, and only to this can simul here refer. The other matters related in chap. lxxiii. fell later in the course of the year, and are added only for the purpose of completing this part of the history.—Martis Utoris. This temple was built by Augustus in his own forum, between the Quirinal and the Capitol, in fulfillment of a vow for vengences on the murderers of Julius Caesar. In it were placed the standards delivered up by the Parthians.—Cessarum. "Of these two Caesars."—Bellum. "A war."—Ili mihi et amarum. To Cotys Ovid addressed the 9th Epistle of his second book "Es Ponto," whence it appears that he was a poet.—Societatis. "Of having a partner in power."—Subdola concordia egero. "They lived in hollow friendship."—Causa sello. Consult notes on i., 27.

CHAP. LXV.—Facilitate. "From a yielding temper."—Cuncta concedere- rent acciprentique. "Yielded and accepted every proposition."—Senciendo faderi. "To give solemnity to the league."—Sacra regni. "The religion of the kingdom," i. e., all that their land held in the highest reverence. Then follows in particular "the gods (penates) of the royal line."—Bast-

ernas Scythasque. North of the Danube, to which his kingdom extended along the Black Sea, east of Moesia. In later times Moesia extended to the Black Sea (Pisid., H. N., iii., 26, 149). The usual form of the name is Bast-

erna.—Transferret inviadam criminis. Namely, to Cotys, as it was natural that so long as he hung back from trial, he was regarded as guilty.

CHAP. LXVI. AND LXVII.—Pandus. Nipperdey, following an inscrip-

tion, writes the name Pandusa. This individual had succeeded in Moesia to Poppeus Sabinus, who, according to i., 80, at the end of A.D. 15, had been continued for a longer term in the proprietorship of that province, with Achaia and Macedonia annexed. Achaia and Macedonia Sabinae contin-
used to hold until his death, 35 A.D.—Plausitas semel artes. "The artful course he had once adopted." Literally, "which had once pleased him."—Pomponium Flaccus. He had already held a command in Messia, before his consulate.

Presidia Romana. "The Roman lines."—Travers. "Drew him," i.e., induced him to come.—Usure Cotyis. She was the daughter of Pythodoris, with regard to which latter female, consult notes on chapter lvi.—In Rheneatian. As respects this form of expression, consult notes on i., 55.—Trebillicius Rufus. Compare iii., 38; vi., 39. Perhaps he is the same with the person mentioned in an inscription Ap. Mar., 850, 10. (Borghesi, ad loc.)—Ptolemes. Ptolemy Epiphanes, who died 181 B.C. M. Aemilius Lepidus was Pontifex Maximus, and twice consul, 167 and 175 B.C.

Chaps. LXXVIII. AND LXXIX.—Memoravi. Compare chap. iviii.—Albae. The Albans dwelt in the Caucasus, on the Caspian Sea. In the same mountains, farther west, were the Heniochi; and thence, to the north, the Scythians.—Et consenatum, &c. Supply ad from the first clause.—Pyramus. The Pyramus, a large, deep, and rapid river of Asia Minor, rises in the Anti-Taurus range, and flows through Cilicia. It is now the Jihan.—Apparitio. As commander.—Conscientia ecclesis. Namely, his having aided him to escape.

Egypto. Tacitus, in the case of this and other names of countries and people, follows the usage of the poets, who employ the ablative in answer to the question "whence," without a preposition.—Costumelis. "Affronts," i.e., setting things to rights again, with attendant circumstances deeply insulting to Piso.—Abire Syria. The employment of abire with the bare ablative is new.—Antiochienus. Antiochia was the capital city of Syria, on the River Orontes, not far from its mouth. It was in a suburb of this, Epidaphne, that Germanicus now lay. Compare chap. lxxxiii.—Selecium. Seleucia Pieria, near Antioch, on the sea-coast.—Carmina et devotiones. "Charms and spells."—Semnati cineres. Ashes of half-burned portions of human bodies; human remains only partially reduced to ashes; hence tabo obiti.—Maleficia. "Instruments of sorcery."—Sacravi. "To be devoted."—Adversus. "The unfavorable symptoms."

Chap. LXX.—Infinitus liberis. He had with him Julia and Caligula. On the birth-year of the former, consult chap. liv.; on that of the latter, notes on i., 40.—Postisnum et uergere. Referring to Piso.—Non usque co defunctum. "Was not sunk so low," i.e., was not so far gone.—Epistolae. "A letter." Consult notes on i., 30.—Quo proprius regredietur. As one says prope, procul esse, so these adverbs are put to other verbs in the sense of "being in the neighborhood," "being at a distance," &c. Hence we may here translate, "in order that, being (thus) nearer, he might return."

Chap. LXXI.—Fesso corpore. "With drooping frame."—Si fato concedovem. That is, if I were dying in the course of nature.—Parentibus. His
mother, Antonia, (iii, 3), and his adoptive father, Tiberius. Even if he knew that the latter desired his death, he would not give utterance to such a surmise, as appears also from the mention of Tiberius in what follows.—

**Intra iuventus.** Consult notes on chap. lxxiii.—**Interceptus.** "Cut off."—**Relinquor.** "I deposit."—**Fratri.** His adoptive brother, Drusus. His own brother, Claudius, who was weak in understanding, and was held in contempt (iii, 18), could not be in his thoughts here.—**Acerbitasibus.** "Cruel persecutions."—**Spes mea.** That which I was called to become and to achieve.—**Muliebris fraudes.** Not as though he ascribed his death only to women (in fact, he has just said sceleris Pisone et Plancinae), but because poisoning is an unmanly crime.

**Locus.** "An opportunity."—**Prosequi.** "To show respect unto."—**Divi Augusti nepotem.** Consult notes on i, 3.—**Sex liberes.** Consult notes on chapters xli. and liv.—**Cum.** "On the side of."—**Scelens mandata.** Compare chap. xiii.—**Amissuros.** "That they will forego."

**Chap. LXXII. AND LXXIII.**—**Feroxiam.** "Her unyielding spirit." Compare i, 33.—**AEmulations potentiae.** "By a competition for the mastery."—**Metum.** "Danger to be feared."—**Comites.** "Urbanity."—**Venerabili.** "An object of reverential love."—**Magnitudinem et gravitatem, &c.** "The authority and dignity of the highest elevation," i.e., of his exalted station.—**Arrogantiam.** "The imputation of arrogance.

**Sine imaginibus et pompa.** "Without family images and display of any kind."—**Triginta annos.** Germanicus died in his thirty-fourth, Alexander in his thirty-third year.—**Suum insidiis.** "By the machinations of their own countrymen."—**Curiae libera.** "With offspring undoubtedly his own," i.e., by a chaste wife, so that he was sure of his paternity.—**Germanicas.** Consult notes on i, 57.—**Assecuturum.** Supply fuisse. Consult notes on chap. xxxi.—**Sepulturae.** Compare chapters lxxv., lxxxiii.; iii., 1, 4.

**Chap. LXXIV. AND LXXV.**—**Legatos.** "The commanders of the legions." Each legion, as we have before remarked, had a legatus at its head.—**Alii senatorum.** Because all legati had held the questorship, and therefore were senators. Consult notes on chap. xxxvi.—**Vibium Marsum.** Compare chapters lxxix.; iv., 56; vi., 47. He was consul suffectus 17 A.D.—**Ca. Sentium.** Consul suffectus 4 A.D.—**Div quaestum.** "It was long disputed."—**Tamen adversus receptos jam res.** The author, in his strict impartiality, censures it in the friends of Germanicus, that, in bringing together the proofs which were to bear out their charge, they took upon them to act in a way in which they were not authorized to act until the charge was regularly laid and received.

**Intolerans.** "Impatient."—**Pulcherrimo modo matrimonio, &c.** "Accustomed to be seen, during her late most happy union, among those who offered her their homage and congratulations," i.e., surrounded by these.—**Conium solum.** Coins, otherwise called Cocos, and more commonly Cos, was one of the islands called Sporades, off the coast of Caria, and at the mouth
of the Ceramic Gulf. It is now Steno.—Intemperanter. "With extravagant joy."—Gaudium. "His delight," which he had shown on receipt of the tidings. The words nceque...moderans are by no means superfluous; for though a person, on receipt of any particular tidings, may act extravagantly, it does not follow that he may not afterward moderate his behavior.


Contra, &c. "Against this Domitius Celer argued," i.e., against the speech of Piso.—Vix praterius. Consult notes on chapter lvi.—Propria mandata. "Special orders," i.e., from the emperor. Piso was not referred simply to the orders of Germanicus, but was empowered by the emperor, as legatus pro praetore of Syria, to act also on his own responsibility. As Tacitus (chap. xliii., and iii., 16) leaves it uncertain whether Tiberius had actually given Piso orders how to proceed against Germanicus, in these words also this is left unexpressed, but the words are purposely so chosen that they can also include this. Just so, Tacitus, in making M. Piso and Domitius scotou the allegation of the poisoning of Germanicus as a merely empty suspicion, does not himself mean to affirm that it was nothing more than that He merely regarded it as not proved. The speeches in this place leave the possibility of the poisoning an open question, as the speakers were not necessarily supposed to know any thing about it; which, at any rate, holds in the case of M. Piso; or they might think good, if they did know it, to conceal their knowledge.

In melius casura. "Would turn up in his favor."—Appellere. "To land (in Italy)."—Repiant. "May hurry to destruction."—Augusta conscientia. Compare chap. xliii.—Nulli. Used substantively in the plural is rare, as the singular nemo would express the same thing.

CHAP. LXXVIII. —Prontus ferocibus. "Ready for violent measures."—Epistola. Consult notes on i., 30.—Rebus novis. "For designs against the state."—Repetiviasse. "Had now sought to resume."—Lato mari. Having sailed past the islands as far as to the southernmost point of Rhodes (no great distance), he was to steer right across for Syria, so that the ship on both sides would be far from land, while Piso himself kept along the coast of the main-land. Compare chap. lxxix.—Desertores. Of the Syrian legions.—Vesitum triumnum. Consult notes on i., 17.—Regulis Cilicum. Consult notes on chap. xliii.

CHAP. LXXIX. —Prolegentes. Piso and his party, with the exception of Domitius.—Numuit Pisoni, &c. That is, he summoned Piso to Rome there to make his defence against the charge of having poisoned Germani-
Annals.

When the accuser had declared before the presiding judge of the court that he wished to accuse any one (nomen deferre), the charge could not at once be taken in hand, but a day was appointed (prætor diem prædictum) on which the parties had to appear. Cases of assassination, poisoning, and perhaps other criminal offences against individuals, in these times, were not tried by the senate itself as such, but by judges appointed from among the senators, probably by lot, who formed a court presided over by that prætor, whose duty it was to conduct the quaestio on that particular description of offence, and who held the trial in the Forum, quite in the manner of the ordinary courts. The contemptuous conduct of Piso is shown, first, in his rejecting as unauthorized the citation of Marcus, and then in his taking it for granted that a charge of poisoning Germanicus would be proceeded with in just the same way as if he had been accused of the same crime against any other individual: whereas Germanicus (chap. lxxx.) and his friends presumed that this crime, as being committed against a member of the imperial family, would be prosecuted in the senate; as, in fact, it was.

Laodicea. Laodicea ad mare (Laodicea ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάντας), on the coast, about fifty miles south of Antioch, and opposite the island of Cyprus.

Pacuvio. Compare Seneca, Ep., i., 12, 6.—Ne tentet. "Not to attempt to gain."—Imperatoris. Tiberius, not Germanicus. For the magnitudo (here "the might") applies only to the living; that of Germanicus, therefore, could only have worked through the memory, and this has been already mentioned. Sentius regards himself as an executor of the orders left by Germanicus, and so as representative of the emperor.

Chap. LXXX.—Tutissima e præsentibus. "The best measures of security under existing circumstances."—Cælenderis. On a lofty precipice, on the sea-coast. It was of Phænician origin, but was afterward colonized by the Samians. It was in Cilicia Trachea.—Tironem nuper intercepto. Mentioned in chap. lxxviii.—In numerum. So that, in point of number, they formed a legion. In a different sense we have, in Hist., i., 87, "in numeros legionis composuerat," i. e., so that they formed divisions of a legion, namely, centuries, maniples, cohorts.—Consistere in acie, &c. He only wants their presence in the battle-field for appearance’ sake, since they may rest assured that the soldiers on the opposite side will not fight against him.—Parentem. Compare chap. i.v.—Iure. "On principles of justice."—Pro munimentis. In the ordinary sense of pro, "in front of," different from pro muris in the next chapter.—Hinc militum, &c. "On one side was hardihood of troops, on the other ruggedness of situation," i. e., one side had the advantage in the hardy character of the troops, the other in the rugged and almost inaccessible nature of their position.—Sed non animus, &c. "But the latter had no spirit," &c.

Chap. LXXXI.—Pro muris. "In front, upon the walls." Different from pro munimentis in the previous chapter.—Saepe afflicendo. "By display-
ing the deepest affliction."—Captabant. "He strove to bring about."—Legiones aequae. Compare chap. lxxix.—Peti aegerem. Here, as always, "earth to be fetched for a mound," that is, to be cast into the trenches and against the walls, to make it easier to scale them. This, even during a fight, was nothing unwanted to the Roman legions. Compare Cas., B. G., v., 9, 6, where, after the enemy had been driven back into an intrenched wood, "Ipse ex silvis rari propugnabat, nostroque intra munitionem ingredi prohibebat. At milites legionis septima, testudine factae, et aeger ad munitiones adjecit, locum ceperunt (got footing), eosque ex silvis expulerunt."—Ingerere. "To pour."—Cui. "As to whom."

CHAP. LXXXII.—Ut ex longinquae. "As is natural in reports coming from a distance." Consult notes on i., 65.—Secretos sermones. Compare chap. xliii.—De Drus. The father of Germanicus. Compare Suetonius, Claud. 1. "Nec diissimulasse unquam pristinum se rei publicae statum, quendecque posset, restituerum. Unde exsistente nonnullus tradere aures suspectum sum Augusto, revocatunque ex provincia, et quin cumaretur, interceptum veni ne. Quod equidem magis, ac proptermitterem, retuli, quem quia verum aut veri simile putem." Such certainly was the opinion of Tacitus also, and not merely concerning the death of Drusus, but also as to his and Germanicus's thoughts of restoring the republic. He reports these things only as popular views and by.[...].—Civitatem ingens. "The popular spirit of their sons." Drusus was step-son of Augustus.—Interceptus. Namely, the persons spoken of, Germanicus and his father.

Sumtum justitio. A justitium was regularly announced by the consuls in accordance with a decree of the senate. Compare, as regards its nature, notes on i., 16.—Quaevis leviter audita. "The tidings, though unauthentic..."—Tempore aequo spatio. Hendiads, for temporis spatio.

CHAP. LXXXIII.—Satitari carmine. This most ancient song was quite unintelligible to that age. (Compare Hor., Ep., ii., 1, 86; Quint., i., 6, 40.) Merely his name was inserted beside some other name; or, if he had a whole verse given him, as we are informed that each several god invoked had his separate verse, which was named after him (Pestus, p. 3, ed. Müll.), it was his name with a burden, which was repeated with other names. To compose a verse in the ancient language was more than they were able to do at that time.—Sedes curules. A chair with a crown over it, in every place where the Augustales had their appointed sittings, at solemnities and spectacles. He belonged to their collegium.—Quoerere coronas. Civic crowns.—Luces circenses, &c. His image was to be borne along with those of the gods in the solemn procession which took place before the games.—Flamen. He was flamen of Augustus. His successor was his adoptive brother, Drusus (Orelli, Inscr., 211).

Amano. Mount Amanus was a branch of Mount Taurus, which runs from the head of the Gulf of Issus to the principal chain, dividing Syria from
Cilicia and Cappadocia.—Sepulcrum Antiochias, &c. "A cemophat at An-
tiochis, where his corpse was burned."—Epideiphns. Consult notes on 
chap. lxix.—Colerentw. Referring to statum.—Inter auctores eloquentiae. 
"Among the masters of eloquence." Germanicus was not only an orator 
of considerable repute, but also a poet. Of the Greek comedies mentioned 
by Sustonius, which he composed, we have no fragments left; but the re-
mai-nes of his Latin translation of the Phenomena of Aratus evince much 
skill in versification, and are superior in merit to the similar work of Cicero. 
We have also fragments of his Daccenecia or Prognostica, a physical poem, 
compiled from Greek sources. 

Cenemum. Namely, in the theatre, where the knights, like the senators, 
had their appointed places, and, as this passage shows, one censum was call-
ed junierum, the other oemerum.—Idibus Julii. In the solemn procession 
(transvectio) of the equestrian centuries, which took place every year on 
this day.

Chap. LXXXIV.—Duas virilis sexus. The one, Germanicus (Corp. 
Inscr. Gr., 2630), died 23 A.D.; on the other, Tiberius, consult vi., 46.— 
Modicus Penatibus. "In middling families."—Ad gloriam. "To his own 
glorification."—Auctus liberis. He had already a daughter (iii., 29); but 
of her, by reason of her sex, no notice is taken here, where political im-
portance is the point in consideration.

Chap. LXXXV.—Libido. "The licentiousness."—Quaetum corporis fa-
ceret. "Should become venal."—Eques Romanus. The prohibition relating 
to this order includes the like for the higher order of the senators.—Li-
centiam stupri vulgaverat. "Had openly declared herself a prostitute."— 
Utionem legis. By indictment, according to the Lex Julia de adulteriis. 
By this law, the husband of a wife taken in adultery was obliged to part 
from her immediately, if he would not himself be punished as a procurer; 
for the next sixty days he alone had the right of bringing her to trial; after-
ward he lost his prerogative. In the present case, the husband pleaded that 
the sixty days allowed him for consideration were not over.

Satis visum de Vestilis, &c. As to her husband, his plea was deemed suf-
ficient to arrest the proceedings against him. According to the existing 
laws, he was not punishable, even if after the sixty days he failed to bring 
her to trial; but as, in the proceedings against his wife, they went beyond 
the law as it then stood, so he had been called to account in an extraordin-
ary manner.—Seriphon. Seriphos was a small, rocky island, one of the 
Cyclades, lying between Cythnus and Siphnus. In Roman times it was 
noted for its poverty and wretchedness, and was consequently made a place 
of exile under the emperors.

Sacris Ægyptiis. The Egyptian rites here meant were those of Isis and 
Anubis.—Quatuor millia, &c. The greater part of these, however, were, 
according to Philo Judæus (p. 568, ed. Mang.), followers of Judaism.—Gra-
stitatem cali. "The unhealthiness of the climate." The western and south-
era parts of Sardinia were in ancient times, as they are at the present day, exceedingly unhealthy.—Vile desertum. "It would be a small loss."

Chap. LXXXVI. and LXXXVII. — Capiscum. "Was to be chosen." Capiscus is the technical word in such cases. — Septem et quinquaginta per annos. The ordinary period of service lasted for thirty years. During the first ten, the priestess was employed in learning her mysterious duties, being termed discipula; during the next ten, in performing them; and during the last ten, in giving instructions to the novices. At the end of this period they might return to the world, and even enter into the marriage state. Few, however, availed themselves of these privileges; those who did were said to have lived in sorrow and remorse; hence such a proceeding was considered ominous; and the priestesses for the most part died as they had lived in the service of the goddess.


Statuit. "He fixed." — Modio. The modius, the principal dry measure of the Romans, was equal nearly to two gallons English. — Divinas occupationes. "His divine employments." — Augustae et fabrics. "Difficult and dangerous."

Chap. LXXXVIII. — Scriptores senatoresque. This means the same persons: "people who at that time wrote and were senators." He adds the latter, because as such they might be supposed to have exact knowledge of the matter as it was transacted in the senate.—Qui omen est, &c. Usually, this is ascribed to the consul Fabricius, B.C. 278; by Claudius Quadrigarius (ep. Gell. iii., 8), to him and his colleague, Q. Æmilius. In Tacitus, however, the plural is certainly to be taken quite generally: this thing was characteristic of the ancient commanders generally.—Bello. "In the general issue of the war." — Duodecim potentiam. His power may be dated from the overthrow of Varus, 9 A.D.; and his death, which Tacitus mentions here, as the occasion led him to the subject, falls therefore in 21 A.D.—Colonia. In the masculine, here and in xiii., 47; xiv., 19.
BOOK III.

CHAP. I.—Nikii intermissa, &c. Tacitus does not begin with the names of the consuls, but adds them in chap. ii. in passing, because part of Agrippina's voyage, which he left in ii., 79, falls in the preceding year.—Corcyram. Corcyra, now Corfu, lay off the coast of Epirus. It is now one of the Ionian islands.—Calabria. By Calabria was meant the peninsula in the south-eastern extremity of Italy, extending from Tarentum to the Promontorium Iapygium.—Plerique. Here, as often in Nepos and Livy, and elsewhere frequently in Tacitus, "very many." Compare iv., 9, 20; xiii., 35; xiii., 25; Hist. i., 86, &c.—Illos. Namely, those who did it from attachment to the persons of Germanicus and Agrippina.—Brundisium. This port was the usual place for disembarkation from Greece and the East, and also the usual port for embarking for those quarters. It was connected with Rome by the Appian Way.—Fidicinium appulsu. On account of its excellent harbor. Appulsus for appulsui, old form of the dative.

Proxima maris. The parts of the sea lying nearest to the harbor, by people in boats and other small vessels.—Quaque longissime, &c. "And, as far as the eye could reach into the distance."—Turba. Supply erat.—Quid. For utrum. Consult notes on i., 47.—Duobus cum libris. Consult notes on ii., 70.—Idem omnium gemitus. "One simultaneous groan burst from all."—Prosimos, alios. "Relations, strangers," i. e., relations from strangers.—In dolore. This belongs to recentes.—Antebant. Namely, in their expressions of sorrow.

CHAP. II.—Magistratus. "The municipal authorities."—Calabria, Aquis aquilique et Campani. The funeral procession, as it moved along the Appian Way, would pass through these different districts of Italy.—Munera funerentur. On the construction of this verb with the accusative, consult Zumpt, § 466.—Incomta signa. "The military ensigns undecurled."—Fasces. As insignia of the proconsular dignity of Germanicus.—Colonias. All cities of Italy at that time were either colonies or municipia. Here the former name is not meant to exclude the latter, but for the sake of conciseness it is put for both, as, in fact, both stood upon a par in their relation to the state; namely, as both consisted of Roman citizens.—Trabeati. "Arrayed in the trabea." The trabea of the equestrian order was a toga ornamented with one or more horizontal stripes of purple. The trabea, on the other hand, which formed the sacred drapery of a deity, was entirely of purple.

Diversa. "Lay away from the route."—Tarraciam. Tarracina, more anciently called Anxur, was a town of Latium, situate fifty-eight milea
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southeast of Rome, on the Appian Way, and upon the coast.—Germanicus. Belongs also to ~strae. Which of Germanicus's children had been in the city will be seen in the notes on ii., 41 and 70.—M. Valerius. M. Valerius Messala, grandson of the orator Messala Corvinus, and son of the Valerius Messala who was consul 3 B.C. The year meant in the text is 90 A.D.—M. Aurelius. M. Aurelius Cotta. In the MS. he is called C. Aurelius Cotta, but the prenomen is fixed by the list of consuls appended to Dio Cassius's 57th book, and by Cassiodorus.—Diejecti. Applies merely to the people.

CHAP. III.—Auctores rerum. "The historians of the time."—Diurna actorum scriptura. "In the daily record of events." Called in xiii., 61, by its proper name, "diurna urbis acta." It appears to have been a species of gazette, published by authority of the government, during the later times of the republic, and under the empire. Compare Le Clerc, Des Journaux chez les Romains, Paris, 1848.—Utile insignis officium. "Any open part (in the funeral ceremonies)."—Cum. "Although."—Perscripti sunt. "Are there recorded."—Perferre visum. With non toleravit, instead of the simple videre, to mark the difficulty more strongly.—Facilius crediderim. This sudden, abrupt transition shows that the writer did not mean the other two suppositions to be taken in earnest. The connecting link is omitted. We may suppose parum hoc verisimilia.—Tiberis et Augustae. The dative, instead of the ablative with the preposition a. Consult notes on ii., 49.—Ut per marer. Supply videretur.—Attineri. In the sense of retinere, scil. domi.

CHAP. IV.—Tumulo Augusti. The mausoleum built by that emperor in the Campus Martius. Compare i., 8.—Vastus. "Desolate."—Itinerarium. "The streets."—Facies. It was the universal practice to carry torches at funerals.—Cum armis. In full equipment, because of the solemnity.—Per tribus. "Ranged according to their tribes."—Concidisse rempublicam. It was the popular belief, as before remarked, that Germanicus was in favor of the restoration of the republic.—Imperio. "Those who ruled over them."—Studia hominum, &c. "The warm interest of all classes enkindled in favor of Agrippina."—Antiquitates. "Of the good old times," i.e., of primitive virtue.

CHAP. V.—Quo publici funeris pompam requirerebat. "Who missed the pomp of a public funeral." The expression publicum funere means a funeral conducted on behalf of the state, and therefore also at the public charge. It was also called censorius funere, because it was the business of the censor to put out on contract (locare) what was required for it in the way of public structures, and the like. This latter name was retained from earlier times even under the empire, when the office of censor no longer existed, and the contract was managed by other officers. The ceremony of depositing the ashes of Germanicus in the tomb was performed, as is evident from the nature of the case, and from the foregoing narrative, on behalf of the state; there were, however, no complete obsequies, as these, unto the gath-
ering of the ashes, had already been performed at Antioch. Compare ii., 73.

Ticinum. Now Pavia. — Lecto. Scil. funebri. The funeral couch always stood in the vestibule. — Juliorumque. The images of the Claudian gens were brought out because Claudius Drusus belonged to it. The images of the Julian line were in like manner exhibited, because Drusus had passed into that line on his adoption by Augustus. There is no need, therefore, of our reading Léviorum with Lipseius, on conjecture, in place of Juliorum, although this is done by Muretus, Freimhemius, and Ernesti. — Deferat in foro, &c. If the deceased was of illustrious rank, the funeral procession went through the Forum, where lamentations were raised anew, and it stopped in front of the rostra, where a funeral eulogy was pronounced.

Decora. From decorus. — Prima. Scil. decor, which ought to have been rendered in his obsequies at Antioch. — Fratrem. Lipseius conjectures fratre, which some editors adopt. But the common reading fratem is the true one. They censure only Drusus, who, they consider, might have carried his point, if he had been disposed to go farther to meet the party. Claudius they pass by, as one whose will carried with it no weight whatever. Compare notes on ii., 71. — Patrem. Tiberius. — Propositoro efigiem. Especially in such a case as the present, where the corpse had already been reduced to ashes. — Et lacrimas, &c. What precedes is in apposition to veterum instituta; the words et lacrimas, &c., refer, on the other hand, to Tiberius and Drusus, who ought to have made arrangements for these other matters, and to have held the funeral orations. The meaning of sit is, “or to put it otherwise and more generally.” The addition is not meant to denote that they account tears as signs of real sorrow, but that, though in this case they would only have been feigned, they would, at any rate, have saved appearances.

Chap. VI. — Guerra in Tiberio fuit. Compare notes on i., 5. — Tum fragranti desiderio. “With such vehement regret.” — Idque et siti et cumque egregium, &c. “And that this was honorable both to himself and to all, if a proper limit were only observed,” i. e., and this expression of deep affliction was received by him as a mark of honor to himself, the near relation of Germanicus, and was also honorable to the feelings of those who so deeply mourned the death of that individual; only it should not be carried too far. Observe that adiceretur is here employed for adickeretur, but with precisely the same meaning. — Deoera. From decorus. — Principibus viris et imperatori populo. “Unto princes and an imperial people.” A gentle proof that the people had not shown themselves sufficiently penetrated by the feeling of the exalted position of Tiberius, but which is made to seem unintentional by placing the people themselves at the same elevation.

Et ex mareo solatio. “And that relief was obtained from mourning itself.” — Referendum jam. “They must now bring back.” — Amissa unica fides. Julia, 54 B.C. Compare Cic., ad Q. Fr., iii., 8, 3: “De virtutibus et gravitate Caesaris, quam in summa dolore adhibebisset, magnum in epistola tua
Notes on the [bk. III., ch. VII.—IX.

Augustus. Of the firmness shown by Augustus, consult Suet. Aug., 65.—Proin repetenter solemnia. "They should, therefore, return to their customary vocations."—Iudorum Megalesium. This festival was celebrated in honor of Cybele (μεγάλη θεός, whence the name Megalesia, Ludii Megalesii, or Megalesiac).—Suberat. The day of the celebration was the 4th of April.—Voluptates. "Their amusements."

Chap. VII.—Erat. "Being removed," i. e., being ended.—Reditum ad munia. "Men returned to their ordinary employments."—Petenda ulationes. The genitive expresses the purpose of the action. Consult notes on ii., 59.

—Vagus. "Roaming at large."—Arrogansi et subdola mora, &c. "He was undermining by contemptuous and artful delay the proofs of his crimes."—Ut diur. Compare ii., 74.—Venemuseque nodo crinium, &c. The nodus of the Roman females corresponded to the κρυφτής or κόρυφις of the Greeks. Poison was sometimes concealed in hollow hair-pins, to be used in desperate cases.—Nec ulla in corpore, &c. Consequently, it was quite possible that Germanicus also had been poisoned, although none of the usual post-mortem symptoms of poisoning were discovered on his body.

Chap. VIII.—Haud . . . quam. A union of two constructions, haud tam . . . . quam, and haud . . . . sed, the complete negation being a little mitigated by the following quam. With equiorem supply quam principem.—Trucem. "Implacable."—Quo integram judicium ostentaret. "In order that he might make a display of a fair trial," i. e., might make it appear that the trial would be a fair one.—Auget. "Honora."—Qua inacrantur. "Which were currently reported." Literally, "which were thrown out."—Precipium in dolore locum quam. Equivalent to sibi præcipuam doloris causam esse.—Insania. "Without any foundation." Enlarging on the meaning of falsa.—Hae palam. Supply respondit. And with secreto supply armem or colloque.—Prescriptae. "To have been dictated."—Semilibus tum articulis uteretur. "He practiced, on this occasion, the cunning of age."

Chap. IX.—Dalmatico mari. That part of the Hadriatic between Dalmatia, in Illyricum, and the coast of northern Italy.—Anconam. Ancona was in Picenum, on the coast, near the northern extremity.—Pleminium viam. Leading through Umbria. In its southern part lay Narnia, situated on a lofty hill, on the southern bank of the Nar, now the Nera, a tributary of the Tiber, into which it fell not far from Orculum.—Prasidio Africa. Against Tuscanae. It was the ninth legion, called Hispanica. —Ut. "How."—Ostentaviisset. The subjunctive, as indicating what others asserted.—Vitenda suspicione. Consult notes on ii., 59.—Consilia in incerto sunt. "Their plans waver."—Tumulo Casarum. Consult notes on i., 8.

—Dieque et ripa frequenti. "And at a time of day and on a part of the river's bank always marked by a crowd." Observe that frequenti belongs to both die and ripa, not merely to the latter. Compare Suet., Cal., 15: "Medio ac frequenti die."—Irretamenta invidebant. "The incentives to popular
displeasure."—Imminens. "Proudly overlooking."—Conscivium. "The
guests."—Celebritate loci. "On account of the frequented nature of the
locality."

CHAP. X.—Fulcinus Trio. Compare ii., 28.—Vitellius ac Veranius. On
Vitellius, compare notes to i., 70; on Veranius, notes to ii., 56.—Tendebant,
For contendebant.—Partes. Scil. accuseroris. That in this prosecution
Trio had of right no part.—Mandata. "The injunctions."—Dimissa ejus
causa delatione. "Having dropped the accusation in that cause."—Cognitionem
exciperet. "That he would take cognizance of the affair," i.e., would un-
tertake the trial in person. It was competent to the emperor, if he chose,
to judge any case of law that might occur at his own tribunal. He then
usually took to himself a council (consilium) of persons of rank, in whom he
had confidence. After acquainting himself, however, with the bearings of a
case thus brought before him, the emperor might, as in the present in-
stance, remit it to the senate. But for him frequently to avail himself of
this privilege of judging was considered to be contra bonos mores.

Studia. Scil. in Germanicum.—Contra. Supply sperans.—Conscientia
matrix. Compare ii., 43, 77, 82.—In datus credita. "Misrepresented."—
Moles cognitionis. "The heavy responsibility of the trial."—Qua quae ipse
fama distraheretur. "And by what imputations he himself would be as-
sailed."—Preces. "The deprecatory defence."

CHAP. XI.—Illyrice. Observe the absence of the preposition, according
to poetical usage, and compare ii., 69.—Ob receptum Maroboduam. "On
account of the receiving of Maroboduus (into Roman protection)." Compare
ii., 62, seq.—Prolato honore, &c. "Having postponed the honor, en-
tered the city (without that distinction)."—L. Arruntium, &c. In relation
to Arruntius and Asinius Gallus, consult notes on i., 13. L. Vinicius is the
uncle of M. Vinicius mentioned in vi., 15. The editions have here the
name of the latter, but he was too young in comparison of the other persons
here named. Suetonius (Aug., 64) calls L. Vinicius "clarus decorusque
juvenis," and he is often mentioned by the rhetorician Seneca.—Æsernium
Marcellum. Æserinus Marcellus was the grandson of Asinius Pollio.
Compare xi., 6, seq.—Sextum Pompeium. Tacitus mentions Sextus Pompeius,
also, in i., 7. He was related to Augustus (Dio Cass., liv., 29), and
was a friend of Ovid and Valerius Maximus, the latter of whom praises his
elegance.

Irisque. Because the participle petenti and the following ablatives abso-
lute contain two circumstances, they are connected, without regard to the
form of the sentence by quæ; the copula is used as if the form had been the
following: leo, cum... pateret iisque diversa excusaret, because the sense is
the same.—M. Lepidus. Compare i., 13.—L. Piso. Compare ii., 32.—Li-
vincius Regulus. Consul suffectus, A.D. 18.—Fides. "Fidelity."—Iis haud
alias intention, &c. Observe that haud alias belongs alike to intention and
to plus permisit.
NOTES ON THE [BK. III., CH. XII.—XIV.

CHAP. XII.—Meditate temperamento. "Of studied temperament."—Legatus. Legatus pro preposito of Hispania Citerior, as appears from chap. xiii., for Hispania Ulterior was a senatorial province. Compare notes on i., 79.—Asperasset. "Whether he had exasperated."—Integris animis. "With unbiased minds."—Nem si legatus, &c. "For if he who was the lieutenant of my son exceeded the limits of his commission, failed in proper respect to his commanding officer," &c. Observe the seuqna in eurait.—Sepemamque a domo mee. Namely, by revoking my friendship.—In eujus memores mutuius mortalium esse. That is, whoever the murdered man might be.—Erectus. Compare notes on i., 52.—Per ambitionem. "By sinister arts."—In meus. "By way of aggravation."—Contrateandum. "To be scanned." Compare Cic., Tusc., iii., 15, 33: "Incipit ad conspicuabiles totaque mentes contractendas varias velut pateret."—Difficile ilium per extraneos. "And for the report to be spread even among foreign nations."


CHAP. XIII.—Incemia. "Having no bearing on the present case."—Quod neque constat, &c. "Which neither, if proved, brought any guilt on the accused, in case he freed himself from recent charges," &c. Observe the double dative in nuae res.—Servius. Compare ii., 56. As the least important of the prosecutor, he is particularly mentioned in the matter of Piso only here and in chap. xix., but not in ii., 74; iii., 10, 17.—Vitellius. The speech of Vitellius is cited by Pliny, H. N., xi., 37, 187: "Negatur cremari possis (cor) in iis qui cardine morbe obierint; negatur et veneno intermixtis. Certa est et oratio Vitellii qua reum Pisonem ejus sceleris coercuit, hoc usus argumento, paleaque testatus non potuisse ob venenum cor Germanici Cesaris cremari."—Sera. "The orgies," solemnized as thanksgiving to the infernal gods. The accusers exaggerate the matter related in ii., 75.—Utque reus agi possit, &c. "And in order that he might be dealt with as a criminal, he was conquered in a regular battle," i.e., he had to be conquered, they were forced to defeat him, &c.

CHAP. XIV.—In ceteris trepidavit. "In every thing else faltered," i.e., was faltering in every article but one.—Obnixiam. "Given up."—Imperator. As in chap. xii.: "Obequium ergra imperatorin."—Cum super eum Piso discamperet. The usual place of the host was the first or highest on the third or lowest couch. On the present occasion, however, Germanicus would seem to have occupied the middle place on the lowest couch, and Piso the one immediately above him. The most honorable place at a banquet was the lowest on the middle couch, commonly called the locus consula-
vis.—_Infected. Scil. veneno.—_Familia. His own slaves must have known about the procuring of the poison, those of Germanicus who waited at the banquet (ministree) about the way in which Piso may have managed to introduce the poison into the viands handed about by them.

_Scripsisseant._ Before this word a hiatus occurs, which we have indicated by an asterisk. In this hiatus several particulars must have been embraced that are now wanting; especially, that Piso, at his own request, was allowed to have the whole matter brought on for discussion de novo. For in chap. xiii. it is related, that in the first instance it was settled that the prosecutors should speak for two days, and, after six days, the defendants for three days. Now, although the process of the prosecution and defence has been already related, we find in chap. xv. that a renewed accusation took place, to be followed by a fresh defence (reintegratae accusationem et tamquam defensionem in posterum meditaretur). The defendant seems to have grounded his petition for a discussion de novo (comperendiniatio) upon charges against Germanicus, which hitherto, out of forbearance, he had not gone into, and which were to justify his line of conduct (compare ii. 78); and thereupon the prosecutors, it seems, demanded (expostulantes, as in xii., 46; xv., 17, 53; Hist., i., 45; iii., 83) that his and Plancina's letters to Tiberius and Livius should be laid before the senate, which, it might clearly be foreseen, would contain such hostility toward, and such calumniaition of Germanicus, as could not fail to embitter the judges against him still more. The circumstance that in chap. xvi. there is again a hiatus, shows that in an older MS. part of a leaf was cut out, so that on both pages something was lost.

_Gemnonias._ "The Gemonian steps." Supply _scala_. The _Gemonia _(_scala_ were a flight of steps on the Capitoline, leading to the Forum Romanum. To these steps the bodies of persons executed were dragged and there exposed.—_Disvellebant._ They did with the statues just what they would fain have done with Piso himself. Therefore the expression is _disveller_ , not _stration_ or the like. Observe here the peculiar employment of the imperfect, indicating that they were in the act of doing this, and would have completed their intention had they not been prevented by Tiberius.—_Sequestratur._ Scil. _tribunus_.

CHAP. XV.—_Gratia._ "Interest in her behalf."—Quantum _Caasari in eam liceret._ "How far the emperor would allow himself to proceed against her." Supply _sibi_. The meaning is, how far he would venture, against the opposition of his mother, to bring Plancina to punishment.—_Medias._ "Were undecided." Literally, "were midway," i. e., between acquittal and condemnation.—_Si ita ferret._ "If fate would have it so."—Secretis _Augusta precise._ "By her secret solicitations of Livia."—_Dividere defensionem._ "To make a separate defence."—_Durat mentem._ "He steals his mind."—_Redintegratem accusationem._ Compare notes on previous chapter.—_Nullo._ For _nulla re._ Later Latinity.—_Ne, &c._ "Against being," &c., as in _prohibere me, _to prohibit the doing of a thing." The clause is objective to _obstinatum clausumque._
NOTES ON THE [BK. III., CH. XVI., XVII.

CHAP. XVI.—Libellum. "A bundle of writings." Libellus is here used technically, and does not mean, as it commonly does, a little book consisting of a number of pages.—Vulgaverit. The subjunctive, as giving the statement of others.—Destinatum. Supply Pisoni or ab eo.—Asseveraverim. "Will I venture to affirm."—Aperit sententiam. These words belong to the verb which is lost in the hiatus (perhaps quaveret). Then, besides other matters, the passage lost would contain the name of the person interrogated by Tiberius, probably one of the two sons of Piso.—Soperiter. "With prudence."—Inconsilium. "Somewhat confusedly."—Codicillou. "The letter." Alluded to in the previous chapter: "Pauca conscribit, obsignature, et liberto tradit."—Quattuor. "Since."—Alia pietate. "With less reverence."—Per . . . per. "By," belonging to rogo. Piso was consul with Tiberius 7 B.C. The forty-five years of his devotion to the imperial house are reckoned from his first entrance on public life.—Collegium consulatur. "My fellowship in the consulate."

CHAP. XVII.—Jusae. Supply faisae, and compare notes on ii., 31.—Cum pedere et flagiis disseruet. "He pleaded with a feeling of shame and with disgraceful impartiality." We have given flagiis here the meaning assigned to it by Bötticher (Lex. Tac., s. v.), namely, "acris turpique efflagitatio." Compare also Diderlein, Syn., ii., p. 142, seq.—Obtendens. "Alleging."—Quod pro omnibus civibus, &c. "What the laws guarantee in the case of every citizen."—Preinda. We have given the conjecture of Rhenanus, with Walther, Ritter, and Nipperdey. The reading of the MS. and the ordinary editions is perinda.—Tam feliciter experitas. "So successfully tried."—Imaginem cognovisse. "In the semblance of a trial." So Tacitus calls the proceedings against Plancina, because the decision in her case was already given by the speech of Tiberius, of which the decree of the senate could be but the echo.

Quam. Used here with angebatur, as elsewhere with malle, because in both words a comparative is implied. There is no need here of supplying potius or magis. The meaning is, "compassion became greater than hatred."—Aurelius Cotta. Compare chap. ii.—Et eodem sensu. That is, of giving their sentence, on the question being put. When one of the magistrates, whose duty it was (consul, tribune of the people, or, if the former were hindered, prætor), referebat, announced the subject for discussion, he passed by the magistrates who were in the senate (from the questor upward) is putting the question; but these had the right at any time to put in their word unsought, whereas the other senators might speak only when called upon (roga intestitales) by the referens.

Partem . . . pars. "The one half," . . . "the other," as in iv., 20. Hence, in chap. xviii., it is merely said, concessitque ei paterna bona, because, as there were but two children, that half of the father's property which should have been forfeited formed the patrimony of M. Piso. The five million sesterces were to be told down to him as a gift by the state, after it had confiscated his inheritance.—Pronomen mutaret. He took the pronomen
Lucius. This is the name of the consul of A.D. 27.—Eo:uta dignitate. He was a senator.

Chap. XVIII.—Bellum. He means that which terminated with the battle of Actium, 32 B.C., not that of 44 B.C. On account of the last named, he was declared an enemy (hostis judicatus est), and his name was erased from the public monuments (Cic., Phil., xiii., 12, 26), but was restored upon his victory in the triumvirate.—Juli Antonii. Consult notes on i., 10.—Ignominia. Therefore, from the expulsion from the senate, as well as from the relegatio.—Valerius Messalinus. Consult notes on i., 8.—Signum. Of the god in whose temple it was to be erected.—Martis Ultoris. Consult notes on ii., 64.—Cecina Severus. Consult notes on i., 31.—La Asprenas. Consult notes on i., 53.—Recentium seu veterum. "Of recent or ancient events," i.e., the events of our own or of early times."—Ludibria rerum mortalium. "Mockery in the affairs of mortals."—Veneratione. "Public veneration."—Queen. Claudius.
GEOGRAPHICAL INDEX.

A.

ABNONA MONS. Not in reality a single mountain, but that part of the range of hills covered by the Black Forest which lay opposite to the town of Augusta Rauracorum, now Augst. In later times it was sometimes called Silva Mariana. Here are the sources of the Danube.

ACHAIA. 1. The northern coast of the Peloponnesus, bounded on the north by the Corinthian Gulf and the Ionian Sea; on the south by Elis and Arcadia; on the west by the Ionian Sea; and on the east by Sicyonia. 2. The Roman province, comprising all the Peloponnesus, and all northern Greece south of Thessaly. It was formed on the dissolution of the Achaean League in B.C. 146, and hence derived its name.

ACROCEAUNIA. A promontory in Epirus, jutting out into the Ionian Sea, and forming the western extremity of the Ceraunii Montes. It is now Cape Linguetta. The coast in this vicinity was very dangerous to ships. The Acroceaunian promontory formed the dividing point on the coast of Greece between the Ionian Sea and the Adriatic.

ACTIUM. A promontory, and likewise a place, in Acarnania, at the entrance of the Ambracian Gulf, off which Augustus gained the celebrated victory over Antony and Cleopatra, September 2d, B.C. 31. At Actium there was originally no town, but only a temple of Apollo, which was beautified by Augustus, who erected the city of Nicopolis on the opposite coast, in commemoration of his victory. A few buildings sprung up around the temple at Actium, but the place was only a kind of suburb to Nicopolis.

ADRAVA. Now the Eder, a river of Germany, in the territory of the Catti, and near the modern Cassel. Consult notes on Ana., i., 56.

ADULA MONS. Generally supposed to correspond to the modern Mount St. Gothard, in the Alps; although some writers are rather in favor of the lofty mountain group about the passes of the Spitalen and S. Bernardino, and at the head of the valley of the Hinter Rhein.

ÆGÉE, or ÆGRE. A city of Asia Minor, to the north of Smyrna, on the River Hyllus, and in the neighborhood of Cyme and Temnus. It was of Æolian origin, and was one of the cities which suffered from the great earthquake in the reign of Tiberius (A.D. 17).

ÆSTUI. A people of Germany, consisting of several tribes (Æstuirum gentes), dwelling in the northeastern part of the country, on the southeast or east of the Baltic, and bordering on the Veneti. They were the occupants of the present coast of Prussia and Courland, as is evident from what
Tacitus says about their gathering amber. Their name is probably collective, and signifies the East men; and it is still preserved in the modern Esthem, the German name of the Esthonians.

Africa, as a Roman province, was the name under which the Romans, after the third Punic war (B.C. 146), erected into a province the whole of the former territory of Carthage. It extended from the River Tusca, on the west, which divided it from Numidia, to the bottom of the Syrtis Minor, on the southeast. It corresponds to the modern regency of Tunis. Another ancient name was Africa Propria.

Albâni. The inhabitants of Albania, a country of Asia, lying about the eastern part of the chain of Caucasus. They were a Scythian tribe, probably a branch of the Massagetae, and identical with the Alani. The Romans first became acquainted with them at the time of the Mithradatic war, when they encountered Pompey with a large army.

Albis. Now the Elbe, one of the great rivers of Germany. Tacitus places its sources in the country of the Hermunduri, but this is too far east. Dio Cassius (iv., 1) more correctly represents it as rising in the Vandallia Montes, the modern Riesengebirge. The Albis was the most easterly and northerly river reached by the Romans in Germany. They first reached its banks in B.C. 9, under Claudius Drusus, but did not cross it. They crossed it for the first time in B.C. 3, under Domitius Ahenobarbus. The last Roman general who saw the Elbe was Tiberius, in A.D. 5.

Aliso, or Alisum. A strong fortress in Germany, built by Drusus B.C. 11, at the confluence of the Luppia (now the Lippe) and the Aliso (now perhaps the Alme). Its site is supposed to be marked by the village of Elsen, about two miles from Paderborn.

Amânus. Now Almadagh, a branch of Mount Taurus, running from the head of the Gulf of Issus in a northeast direction to the principal chain, and dividing Syria from Cilicia and Cappadocia. There were two passes in it; the one, called the Syrian Gates, near the sea; the other, called the Armenian Gates, farther to the north.

Amisia. 1. A river in northern Germany, now the Ems. It was well known to the Romans, and Drusus fought on it a naval battle with the Bructeri, B.C. 12.—2. A river of Germany falling into the Rhine. Consult notes on Ann., i., 60.—3. A fortress on the left bank of the River Amisia or Ems, and corresponding perhaps to the modern Embden.

Amsivarii. A German tribe, whose name is supposed to mean "dwellers on the Ems." Consult notes on Ann., ii., 8.

Angôna. A town of Picenum, in Italy, on the Adriatic Sea, lying in a bend of the coast between two promontories. It was built by a Syracusean colony, about B.C. 392, and became under the Romans one of the most important sea-ports on the Adriatic.

Angoli, or Angolii. A German people of the race of the Suevi. Tacitus does not mention the part of the country which they occupied; but, according to Ptolemy, they were the greatest tribe in the interior of Germany, extending farther east than the Langobardi, and to the north as far as.
the River Albis. Subsequently, in connection with other tribes, they immigrated, under the name of Anglo-Saxons, into England.

**Angrivarii.** A German tribe dwelling on both sides of the Visurgis or Weser, and separated from the Cherusi by an agger, or mound of earth. The name is usually derived from Angera, that is, “meadows.” Towards the end of the first century they extended their territories southward, and, in conjunction with the Chamavi, took possession of part of the territory of the Bructeri, to the south and east of the Léppe; the Angaria or Engern of the Middle Ages.

**Ansibarii.** A tribe of Germany, the same probably with the Amsivarrii.

**Antiochia.** The capital of the Greek kingdom of Syria, and long the chief city of Asia, situate on the left bank of the Orontes, about twenty geographical miles from the sea. It was built by Seleucus Nicator, about B.C. 300. Under the Romans it was the residence of the proconsul of Syria.

**Apollonis.** A city of Lydia, between Pergamus and Sardis, named after Apollonis, the mother of King Eumenes. It was one of the twelve cities destroyed by the violent earthquake in the reign of Tiberius (A.D. 17).

**Apulia.** A province or region in the southeast of Italy, between the Apennines and the Adriatic, bounded by the Frrentani on the north, by Calabria and Lucania on the south, and by Samnium on the west. The Greeks gave the name of Daunia to the northern part of it.

**Aquæ Sextiae.** Now Aix, a Roman colony in Gallia Narbonensis, founded by Sextius Calvinus, B.C. 122. Its mineral waters were long celebrated, but were thought to have lost much of their efficacy in the time of Augustus. Near this place Marius defeated the Teutones and Ambrones, B.C. 102.

**Aquitania.** 1. The country of the Aquitani, in Gaul, extending from the Garumna (Garonne) to the Pyrenees, and from the Ocean to Gallia Narbonensis.—2. The Roman province of Aquitania, founded in the reign of Augustus, was of much wider extent, and was bounded on the north by the Ligeria (Loire), on the west by the Ocean, on the south by the Pyrenees, and on the east by Mons Cevenna, which separated it from Gallia Narbonensis.

**Aravisci.** A people of Pannonia, inhabiting the right bank of the Danube, whose language and customs were the same as those of the Osi; but it was uncertain whether the Aravisci had emigrated into Pannonia from the Osi, or the Osi had passed over into Germany from the Aravisci. Mannert makes the Aravisci to have dwelt in the easternmost angle between the Danube and Savus (Saône).

**Arii.** A German tribe supposed to have lived by the Sudeten Mountains, in the neighborhood of Arnoldorf and Arnseberg. Their name appears to contain the same root which we find in the names of many nations of the Indo-European family. According to Herodotus (vii., 61, seq.), the Medes were originally called Arii, and the Persians Artai. These names are identical with the Sanscrit word Arya, “honorable,” by which, in the an-
cients writings of the Hindoos, the followers of the Brahminical law are indicated. India proper is called in the most ancient Sanscrit works Aryas, "Holy Land." The same name was retained in the provinces of Ari and Ariana, whence the modern Persian name Iran is derived.

**Armenia.** A country of Asia, lying between Asia Minor and the Caspian. It forms a lofty table-land, backed by the chain of Caucasus, watered by the Rivers Cyrus and Araxes, and containing the sources also of the Tigris and the Euphrates, the latter of which divides the country into two unequal parts, which were called Major and Minor. Armenia Minor was made a Roman province by Trajan. Armenia Major, after being a perpetual object of contention between the Romans and the Parthians, was subjected ultimately to the revived Persian empire by its first king, Artaxerxes (Ardesbhir), in A.D. 296.

**Arnos.** Now the Arno, the chief river of Etruria, rising in the Apennines, flowing by Pise, and falling into the Tyrrhenian Sea. The whole length of its course is about 140 Italian or 175 Roman miles.

**Artaxata.** The later capital of Armenia Major, built by Artaxerxes, under the advice of Hannibal, on a peninsula surrounded by the River Araxes. After being burned by the Romans under Corbulo (A.D. 56), it was restored by Tirdates, and called Neroniana, in honor of the Emperor Nero, who had surrendered the kingdom of Armenia to him.

**Asciburgium.** An ancient place on the left bank of the Rhine, founded, according to fable, by Ulysses. It is supposed to correspond to the modern Aix, or the neighboring hamlet of Essenbusch or Orsco.

**Asia.** The Roman province so called was formed out of the kingdom of Pergamus, bequeathed to the Romans by Attalus III. (B.C. 130), and the Greek cities on the western coast and the adjacent islands, with Rhodes. It included the districts of Mysia, Lydia, Caria, and Phrygia, and was governed at first by propraetors, afterward by proconsuls. Under Constantine the Great, a new division was made, and Asia only extended along the coast from the promontory of Lecutum to the mouth of the Meander.

**Athens.** Now the Adige, or, as the Germans call it, the Etsch, rises in the Rastian Alps, receives the Atagis, now Eisach, flows through Upper Italy past Verona, and falls into the Adriatic by many mouths.

**Augusta Rauracorum.** Now Augst, the capital of the Rauraci, on the left bank of the Rhine, near the modern Basle. It was colonized by Munatius Plancus, under Augustus.

**Augusta Vindelicorum.** Now Augsburg, the capital of Vindelicia or Rastia Secunda, on the Licus, or Lech. It was colonized by Drusus under Augustus, after the conquest of Rastia, about B.C. 14.

**Aviones.** A tribe in the north of Germany, dwelling probably in Schleswig, on the River Ane, a tributary of the Eider, or in the duchy of Lauenburg.
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B.

BACTRIA, or BACTRIANA. A province of the Persian empire, bounded on the south by the range of Paropamisus, which separated it from Ariana; on the east by the northern branch of the same range, which divided it from the Sea; on the northeast by the Oxus, which separated it from Sogdiana; and on the west by Margiana. It was inhabited by a rude and warlike people, who were subdued by Cyrus or his immediate successors. It was subdued in the conquests of Alexander, and formed a part of the kingdom of the Seleucids, until B.C. 225, when Theodotus, its governor, revolted from Antiochus II., and founded the Greek kingdom of Bactria, which lasted until B.C. 134 or 125, when it was overthrown by the Parthians. This Greek kingdom extended beyond the limits of the province of Bactria, and included at least a part of Sogdiana. The capital was Bactra or Zara, now Balkh.

BAILE. A town of Campania, in Italy, on a small bay to the west of Neapolis, and opposite Puteoli. It was situate in a beautiful country, which abounded in warm mineral springs. The baths of Baile were the most celebrated in Italy, and the town itself was the favorite watering place of the Romans, who flocked thither in crowds for health and pleasure. The whole country was studded with the palaces of the Roman nobles and emperors, which covered the coast from Baile to Puteoli: many of these palaces were built out into the sea. The site of ancient Baile is now for the most part covered by the sea.

BASTARNÆ, or BARTHEMÆ. A warlike German people, who migrated to the country near the mouths of the Danube. They are first mentioned in the wars of Philip and Perseus against the Romans, and at a later period they frequently devastated Thrace, and were engaged in wars with the Roman governors of the province of Macedonia. In B.C. 30, they were defeated by M. Crassus, and driven across the Danube; and we find them, at a later period, partly settled between the Tyrras (Deanster) and Borysthenes (Dnieper), and partly at the mouth of the Danube, under the name of Polis, from their inhabiting the island of Peuce, at the mouth of this river.

BATÁVI, or BATAVI. (Quantity of the penult doubtful, but more frequently long than short.) A Celtic people, who abandoned their homes in consequence of civil dissensions, before the time of Julius Caesar, and settled in the island formed by the Rhine, the Vahalis (Waal), and the Moss (Meuse), which island was called, after them, Insula Batavorum. They were for a long time allies of the Romans in their wars against the Germans, and were of great service to the former by their excellent cavalry; but at length, exasperated by the oppression of the Roman officers, they rose in revolt, under Claudius Civilis, in A.D. 69, and were with great difficulty subdued. On their subjugation, they were treated by the Romans with great mildness, and were exempt from taxation. Their chief towns were Lugdunum (Leiden) and Batavodurum, between the Moss and Vahalis.
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BATAVORUM INSULA. An island in the Rhine, formed by the northern arm of that river, or Rhine of Leyden, the Vahalis (Vaal) before its junction with the Mosae (Mose), the Vahalis and Mosae after their junction, and the Ocean. This island now forms part of the province of South Holland.

BELGIA. One of the three great people into which Caesar divides the population of Gaul. They were bounded on the north by the Rhine, on the west by the Ocean, on the south by the Sequana (Seine) and Matrona (Marne), and on the east by the territory of the Treveri. They were of German origin, and had settled in the country, after expelling or reducing to slavery the former inhabitants. They were the bravest of the inhabitants of Gaul, were subdued by Caesar after a courageous resistance, and were the first Gallic people who threw off the Roman domination.

BITHYNIA. A district of Asia Minor, bounded on the west by Mysis, on the north by the Pontus Euxinus, on the east by Paphlagonia, and on the south by Phrygia Epictetus. It was possessed at an early period by Thracian tribes from the neighborhood of the Strymon, called Thyni and Bithyni, of whom the former settled on the coast, the latter in the interior. The earlier inhabitants were the Bibrices, Caucines, and Mygdones, and the northeastern part of the district was possessed by the Mariandyni. The country was subsequently subdued by the Lydians, and afterward became a part of the Persian empire under Cyrus. During the decline of the Persian empire, the northern part of the country became independent under native princes, who resisted Alexander and his successors, and established a kingdom which lasted till the death of Nicomedes III. (B.C. 74), who bequeathed his dominions to the Romans.

BODORIA, or BODERIA ESTUARIVM. An estuary on the eastern coast of Scotland, now the Firth of Forth.

BOII. One of the most powerful of the Celtic tribes, said to have dwelt originally in Gaul, but in what part of the country is uncertain. At an early period, they migrated in two great swarms, one of which crossed the Alps, and settled in the country between the Po and the Apennines; the other crossed the Rhine, and settled in the part of Germany called after them Boiemum (Bohemia), and between the Danube and the Tyrol. The Boii in Italy long carried on a fierce struggle with the Romans, but were at length subdued by the consul, P. Scipio, in B.C. 191, and were subsequently incorporated in the province of Gallia Cisalpina. The Boii in Germany maintained their power longer, but were at length subdued by the Marcomanni, and expelled from the country. We find 30,000 Boii taking part in the Helvetic migration; and after the defeat of the Helvetii (B.C. 58), Caesar allowed these Boii to dwell among the Edui.

BOVILLA. An ancient town in Latium, at the foot of the Alban Mount, on the Appian Way, about ten miles from Rome. Near it Olotius was killed by Milo (B.C. 52), and here was the sacraurium of the Julia gens.

BRIGANTIA. The most powerful of the British tribes, inhabited the whole of the northern part of the island from the Abus (Humber) to the
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Roman wall, with the exception of the southeast corner of Yorkshire, which was inhabited by the Parisii. The Brigantes, consequently, inhabited the greater part of Yorkshire, and the whole of Lancashire, Durham, Westmoreland, and Cumberland. Their capital was Eboracum (York). They were conquered by Petilius Cerealis in the reign of Vespasian.

BRITANNIA. The island of England and Scotland, called also Albion. The etymology of the word Britannia is uncertain, but it is derived by most writers from the Celtic term brîth or bît, "painted," with reference to the custom, on the part of the inhabitants, of staining their bodies with a blue color. The name Albion is probably derived from the white cliffs of the island. The Britons were Celts, belonging to that branch of the race called Cymry, and were apparently the aboriginal inhabitants of the country. Their manners and customs were, in general, the same as those of the Gauls; but, being separated more than the Gauls from intercourse with civilized nations, they preserved the Celtic religion in a purer state than in Gaul, and hence Druidism, according to Caesar, was transplanted from Gaul to Britain. The Britons also retained many of the barbarous Celtic customs, which the more civilized Gauls had laid aside. At a later period, the Belgæ crossed over from Gaul, and settled on the southern and eastern coasts, driving the Britons into the interior of the island. It was not till a late period that the Greeks and Romans obtained any knowledge of Britain. In early times, the Phoenicians visited the Scilly Isles and the coast of Cornwall for the purpose of obtaining tin; but whatever knowledge they acquired of the country they jealously kept secret, and it only transpired that there were Cassiterides, or "tin-islands," in the northern parts of the ocean. The first certain knowledge which the Greeks obtained of Britain was from the merchants of Massilia, about the time of Alexander the Great, and especially from the voyages of Pytheas, who sailed round a great part of Britain. From this time it was generally believed that the island was in the form of a triangle, an error which continued to prevail even at a later period. Another important mistake, which likewise prevailed for a long time, was the position of Britain in relation to Gaul and Spain. This will be found referred to in the notes on the "Agricola." The Romans first became personally acquainted with the island by Caesar's invasion. He twice landed in Britain (B.C. 55, 54), and though, on the second invasion, he conquered the greater part of the southeast of the island, yet he did not take permanent possession of any portion of the country, and after his departure the Britons continued as independent as ever. The Romans made no farther attempts to conquer the island for nearly one hundred years. In the reign of Claudius (A.D. 43), they again landed in Britain, and permanently subdued the country south of the Thames. The conquest of Southern Britain was finally completed by Agricola, who in seven campaigns (A.D. 78-84) subdued the whole of the island as far north as the Firth of Forth and the Clyde, between which he erected a series of forts, to protect the Roman dominions from the incursions of the barbarians in the north of Scotland. The Romans, however, gave up the northern conquests of Agricola in the reign of
Hadrian, and made a rampart of turf from the Ituna Estuarium (Selsey Bay) to the German Ocean. In the reign of Antoninus Pius, however, they again extended their boundary as far as the conquests of Agricola, and erected a rampart connecting the Forth and the Clyde. The Caledonians afterward broke through this wall, and, in consequence of their repeated devastations of the Roman dominions, the Emperor Severus went to Britain in A.D. 206, in order to conduct the war against them in person. He died in the island, at Eboracum, in A.D. 211, after erecting a solid stone wall from the Solway to the mouth of the Tyne, a little to the north of the rampart of Hadrian. After the death of Severus, the Romans relinquished forever all their conquests north of this wall. At a subsequent period, the Caledonians, who now appear under the names of Picts and Scots, broke through the wall of Severus, while the Saxons ravaged the coasts of Britain; and the declining power of the Roman empire was unable to afford the province any effectual assistance. Finally, in the reign of Honorius, Constantine, who had been proclaimed emperor in Britain (A.D. 407), withdrew all the Roman troops from the island in order to make himself master of Gaul. The Britons were thus left exposed to the ravages of the Picts and Scots, and at length, in A.D. 447, they called in the assistance of the Saxons, who became the masters of Britain.

The Roman dominions of Britain formed a single province till the time of Severus, and were governed by a legatus of the emperor. Severus divided the country into two provinces, Britannia Superior and Inferior, of which the latter contained the earlier conquests of the Romans in the southern part of the island, and the former the later conquests in the north, the territory of the Silures, Brigantes, &c. A new division was made, in the reign of Diocletian, into four provinces: 1. Britannia Prima, the country south of the Thames. 2. Britannia Secunda, Wales. 3. Maxima Caesariensis, the country between the Thames and the Humber. 4. Flavia Caesariensis, the country between the Humber and the Roman wall. Besides these there was also a fifth province, Valentia, which existed for a short time, including the conquests of Theodosius beyond the Roman wall.

Bructerii. A people of Germany, who dwelt on each side of the Amisia (Elbe), and extended south as far as the Lupias (Leppe). They joined the Batavi, in their revolt against the Romans, in A.D. 69. A few years afterward, they were almost annihilated by the Chamavi and Angvririi.

Brundisium. A town in Calabria, on a small bay of the Adriatic, forming an excellent harbor, to which the place owed its importance. The Appian Way terminated at Brundisium, and it was the usual place of embarkation for Greece and the East.

Brün. A German tribe living near the sources of the Viadurs (Oder) and Vistula, and extending as far as Briga and Crocor, or near to Troppau, in Silisia. In conjunction with the Daci, and afterward with the Marcomanni, they waged war with Trajan, M. Aurelius, and Commodus.

Byzantium. Now Constantinople, a city on the Thracian Bosporus, founded by the Megarians, B.C. 658. Its favorable position, commanding
as it did the entrance to the Euxine, soon rendered it a place of great commercial importance. In A.D. 330 a new city was built by its side by Constantine, who made it the capital of the empire, and changed its name to Constantinopèle.

C.

Cæsia Silva. One of the great forests of Germany, between Vetera and the country of the Marsi, that is, the heights extending between the Rivers Lippe and Yssel, as far as Coesfeld.

Calabria. The peninsula in the southeast of Italy, extending from Tarentum to the Promontorium Iapygium, and forming, in strictness, part of Apulia.

Caledonia. The northern part of Britannia. The name is variously derived; the best etymology appears to be that which deduces the appellation Caledonians from the Celtic Gaeil Dún, “the Gael (Gauls) of the mountains,” i.e., Highlanders. Xiphaninus, speaking after Dio Cassius, represents the Caledonians as having “neither walls, nor cities, nor tillth, but living by pasturage, by the chase, and on certain berries; for of their fish they never taste. They live in tents. Their state is democratical. They fight from chariots: their arms consist of a shield and short spear, with a brazen knob at the extremity. They use daggers also.” Vide Britannia.

Campania. A district of Italy, lying to the southeast of Latium, from which it was separated by the River Liris (Garigliano). It is a volcanic country, to which circumstance it was mainly indebted for its extraordinary fertility, for which it was celebrated in antiquity above all other lands. It produced corn, wine, oil, and every kind of fruit in the greatest abundance, and in many parts crops could be gathered three times in the year. The fertility of the soil, the beauty of the scenery, and the softness of the climate, the heat of which was tempered by the delicious breezes of the sea, procured for Campania the epithet Felix, a name which it justly deserved.

Camulodunum. A town in Britain, now Colchester. Consult notes on Agric., c. xiv.

Canopus, or Canobus. An important city on the coast of Lower Egypt, near the westernmost mouth of the Nile, which was hence called the Canopic mouth. It was twelve geographical miles east of Alexandria, and was the capital of the Nomos Menelaiotes. It had a great temple of Serapis, and a considerable commerce, and its inhabitants were proverbial for their luxury.

Cappadocia. A district of Asia Minor, originally including all the country east of the Halys, and north of the range of Taurus. It was afterward divided into two parts, the northern one becoming a separate province under the name of Pontus, and the southern one Cappadocia proper. Tiberius made Cappadocia a Roman province. The country was, in general, a sterile mountain region, but it contained some fine pastures, which supported abundance of good horses and mules.

Catti, or Chattii. One of the most important nations of Germany. Their name is connected with the old German word bat, or cad, “war,” and
their territory lay in the modern Hesse and the adjacent countries. The Catti were a branch of the Hermiones, and are first mentioned by Cesar under the erroneous name of Soevi. Although defeated by Drusus, Germanicus, and other Roman generals, they were never completely subjugated by the Romans; and their power was greatly augmented on the decline of the Cerusci. Their capital was Mattium, now Mainz.

Cauci, or Chauci. A powerful people in the northeastern part of Germany, between the Amisia (Elbe) and the Albia (Elbe), divided by the Visurges (Weser), which flowed through their territory, into Majores and Minores, the former west and the latter east of the river. They are described by Tacitus as the noblest and justest of the German tribes. They formed an alliance with the Romans in A.D. 5, and assisted the latter in their war against the Cerusci; but this alliance did not last long. They were at war with the Romans in the reigns of Claudius and Nero, but were never subdued. They are mentioned for the last time in the third century, when they devastated Gaul, but their name subsequently became merged in the general name of Saxons. Their ancient appellation is still preserved, however, in that of their harbor, Cuxhaven.

Celenderis. A city of Cilicia Trachis, on a lofty precipice on the sea-coast. It was of Phoenician origin, but was subsequently colonized by the Samians. The modern Chelendres answers to the ancient site.

Cercina. The larger of two islands off the eastern coast of Africa Propria, at the northwestern extremity of the Syrtis Minor. The other island was named Cercinitis. The modern name of Cercina is Cercheira, or Kerbala.

Chamavi. A people of Germany, who were compelled by the Roman conquerors to change their abodes several times. They first appear in the neighborhood of the Rhine, but afterward migrated eastward, defeated the Bructeri, and settled between the Weser and the Hars. At a later period they dwelt on the Lower Rhine, and are mentioned as auxiliaries of the Franks.

Chauari. A German tribe, allies or dependents of the Cerusci. Their position is uncertain. They dwelt to the north of the Catti; and in later times they appear between the Rhine and Mousus as a part of the Franks.

Cherusci. The most celebrated of all the tribes of ancient Germany. The limits of their territory cannot be fixed with accuracy, since the ancients did not distinguish between the Cherusci proper and the nations belonging to the league of which the Cherusci were at the head. The Cherusci proper dwelt on both sides of the Visurges (Weser), and their territories extended to the Hars and the Elbe. They were originally in alliance with the Romans, but they subsequently formed a powerful league of the German tribes for the purpose of expelling the Romans from the country, and under the chief Arminius they destroyed the army of Varus, and drove the Romans beyond the Rhine in A.D. 9. In consequence, however, of internal dissensions among the German tribes the Cherusci soon lost their influence. Their neighbors, the Catti, succeeded to their power.
CILICIA. A district in the southeast of Asia Minor, bordering to the east on Syria, to the north on Cappadocia and Lycaonia, to the northwest and west on Pisidia and Pamphylia. On all sides, except the west, it is inclosed by natural boundaries, namely, the Mediterranean on the south, Mount Amanus on the east, and Mount Taurus on the north. The western part of Cilicia is intersected by the offshoots of Taurus, while in its eastern part the mountain chains inclose much larger tracts of level country. Hence arose the division of Cilicia Trachéa or Aspera, and Cilicia Campesatria, the latter being also called Cilicia proper. The plains were settled by the Greeks after the conquest of Alexander, and the old inhabitants, who were principally of Syrian origin, were for the most part driven back to the mountains of Cilicia Trachéa, where they remained virtually independent, practicing robbery by land and piracy by sea, until they were put down by Pompey, who, having also rescued the level country from Tigranes, who had overrun it, erected this latter into a Roman province, B.C. 67-66. The mountain country was not made a province till the reign of Vespasian. The Cilicians bore a low character among the Greeks and Romans.

CIMBERCA CHERSONESUS. The modern Jutland. Vid. CIMBERI.

CIMBERI. The accounts of the ancients respecting the seats of the Cimbri, or Cimmerii, abound in uncertainties and contradictions. Strabo places them on the ocean, by the Elbe; Mela, in the islands of the Baltic; Pliny, to the east of the Elbe, and on the peninsula which took its name from them; Tacitus places them in the same quarter; Ptolemy, at the extremity of the Cimbric Chersonese. But, upon examination, it does not appear that they ever inhabited these parts. The Greeks first became acquainted with them on the northern coast of the Pontus Euxinus. They were driven from this quarter, and disappeared from the knowledge of the Greeks, who fabled that they dwelt on the shores of the Northern Ocean, in a land shrouded in perpetual night. Pytheas, who circumnavigated the greater part of the northwest of Europe, saw a large peninsula, where the long nights and intense cold in winter seemed to accord with the poetical descriptions of the land of the Cimmerii, and so assigned this country as their abode. In this he was followed by most of the ancient geographers. Strabo sets them down as one of the tribes with which they were best acquainted; although in the next sentence he acknowledges that all beyond the Elbe was totally unknown to the Greeks (vii., p. 451, ed. Cas., 294). No mention is made of the Cimbri in the expeditions of Drusus and Germanicus; and though the fleet of the latter discovered the Cimbric Chersonese of Pytheas, they found no Cimbrians dwelling in it, nor did it bear a name derived from that people. Ptolemy places them at the extremity of it, merely to fill up a gap, as he has no other tribe to fix in this locality. Their real country lay, probably, on the northeast side of Germany: it was on this side that they invaded Germany, and were opposed by the Boii, at that time the inhabitants of Bohemia. Βοίων τόν Ἐρέμων ὄρμιν ὄικείν. Τοῖς δὲ Κιμβρῶν ὀρμησάντας ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον τούτον ἀποκορυφησάντας ὑπὸ τῶν Βοίων ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰστρόν, κ. τ. λ. (Strabo, vii., p. 293, edit. Casaub.) Together with the Teu-
tones they entered Gaul, where they were joined by the Ambrones. With their combined forces they then invaded Spain, but were repulsed by the Celtiberi. The Teutones and Ambrones then made an irruption into Italy, where they were defeated by Marius (B.C. 102). A part of the Cimbri, who had gone into Helvetia, were there joined by the Tigurini; these made another attack upon Italy, and defeated Catulus; but were at last routed by Marius (B.C. 101). The remnant of them is said to have settled in Helvetia. Some of the Boii appear to have accompanied them in their invasion of Italy. Their name is still preserved in the national appellation of the Welsh, Cymry. It is very difficult to decide whether the Cimbri were a Germanic or a Celtic tribe. The two races were not carefully distinguished by the Romans: Tacitus called them Germans; but the Cymry certainly are not descendants of the Germans: their language is a Celtic dialect. In the war with Marius they were led by a Celtic commander, and the description of their arms points to the same origin. Yet we find them united with the Teutones. There is a similar difficulty in the case of the Belgae.

CINITHII. A people of Africa, on the coast, below the Syria Minor.

CLANIX. Now the Chiaca, a river of Etruria rising from two small lakes west of the Lacus Trasimenum, and falling into the Tiber east of Vulsinius. Its waters formed large marshes near Clusium.

CLAROS. A small town on the Ionian coast, near Colophon, with a celebrated temple and oracle of Apollo, who was hence surnamed Clarus.

CLOTA ESTUARIUM. The Firth of Clyde, on the western coast of Scotland. The name is sometimes written Glota.

COLONIA AGrippina, or AGrippinensis. The modern Cologne, on the Rhine, originally the chief town of the Ubii, and called Oppidum, or Civitas Ubiorum. It was a place of small importance till A.D. 51, when a Roman colony was planted in the town by the Emperor Claudius, at the instigation of his wife Agrippina, who was born here, and from whom it derived its new name. Such is the commonly received account. On the probability, however, of a colony having been established here at an earlier date by Agrippa, and of the colony sent out by Claudius being the second in the order of time, not the first, as well as for some remarks on the double name Agrippina and Agrippinensis, consult notes on Germ., c. xxviii. The inhabitants received the Jus Italicum. It soon became a large and flourishing city, and was the capital of Lower Germany.

CLOPHON. One of the twelve Ionian cities of Asia Minor, about two miles from the coast, on the River Halesus, between Lebedus and Ephesus. It was one of the most powerful members of the Ionian confederacy, possessing a considerable fleet and excellent cavalry; but it suffered greatly in war, being taken at different times by the Lydians, the Persians, Lysimachus, and the Cilician pirates. It was made a free city by the Romans, after their war with Antiochus the Great. Colophon was celebrated for the oracle of Apollo Clarus in its neighborhood. Vid. Claros.

COMMAGENE. The northeasternmost district of Syria. It formed a part of the Greek kingdom of Syria, after the fall of which it maintained its in-
dependence under a race of kings who appear to have been a branch of the family of the Seleucids, and was not united to the Roman empire till the reign of Vespasian. The district was remarkable for its fertility.

CORCYRA. Now Corfu, an island in the Ionian Sea, off the coast of Epirus. The ancients universally regarded it as the Homeric Scheria, where the Phaeacians dwelt. It is said also to have borne the name of Drepane, or "the Sickle," in early times, on account of its peculiar shape. It became rich and powerful by its extensive commerce, and founded many colonies on the opposite coast, Epidamnus, Apollonia, Leucas, Anactorium, &c. It exercised, moreover, such influence in the Ionian and Adriatic seas as to become a formidable rival to Corinth, its parent city, and a collision between the two became one of the proximate causes of the Peloponnesian war. The power of Corcyra subsequently declined, in consequence of civil dissensions. Corfu is at present one of the seven Ionian islands under the protection of Great Britain.

CORNWALL. A people of Britain, dwelling to the east of the Orдовices. They appear to have occupied what are now Cheshire, Shropshire, Stafford, Worcester, and Warwick. Their chief city was Deva, now Chester.

COΣ. A city of Etruria, near the sea, with a good harbor called Herculis Portus. Cosa stood on a promontory called Cosanum Promontorium. It was a very ancient place, and after the fall of Falerni became one of the twelve Etrurian cities. The Romans colonized it in B.C. 273, and in 197 it received an addition of one thousand colonists.

Couter, Coos, or Co. One of the islands called Sporades, lying off the coast of Caria, at the mouth of the Ceramic Gulf, opposite to Halicarnassus. It was colonized by ΑEolians, but became a member of the Dorian confederacy. Its chief city bore the same name, Coe, and stood on the northeast side of the island. Near it stood the temple of ΑEsculapius, to whom the island was sacred, and from whom its chief family, the Asclepiades, claimed their descent. Coes was extremely fertile. It was the birth-place of Hippocrates the physician, and the painter Apelles. The modern name is Stanco.

CUSUS. A river of Germany, one of the tributaries to the Danube on its left bank. Now probably the Waag.

CYCLADES. A group of islands, in the ΑEgean Sea, so called because they lay in a circle (ἐν κύκλῳ) around Delos, the most important of them. According to Strabo, they were twelve in number, but other writers make them more numerous. The most remarkable of them were Delos, Ceos, Cythnos, Rhenea, Siphnos, Cimolos, Naxos, Paros, Syros, Tenos, and Andros.

CYME. The largest of the ΑEolian cities of Asia Minor, stood on the coast of ΑEolis, on a bay named, after it, Cumæus Sinus (ὁ Κυμαίος Κόλπος), and had a good harbor. It was founded by a colony of Locrians. It was the mother city of Cumæ in Campania, in Italy.

CYERHUS, or CYRUS. A city of Syria, founded under the Seleucids, and called after the city of the same name in Macedonia. It is chiefly remarkable.
as the residence and see of Theodoret, who describes its poverty, which he did much to relieve. It was the capital of the district of Cyrrhestica.

D.

**Dacia.** As a Roman province, was bounded on the south by the Danube, which separated it from Moesia; on the north by the Carpathian Mountains; on the west by the River Tysia (Theiss); and on the east by the River Hierasus (Pruth); thus comprehending the modern Transylvania, Wallachia, Moldavia, and part of Hungary. The Daci were of the same race, and spoke the same language as the Getæ, and are therefore usually said to be of Thracian origin. They were a brave and warlike people. In the reign of Augustus, they crossed the Danube and plundered the allies of Rome, but were defeated and driven back into their own country by the generals of that emperor. In the reign of Domitian, they became so formidable under their king, Decebalus, that the Romans were obliged to purchase a peace of them by the payment of tribute. Trajan delivered the empire from this disgrace. He crossed the Danube, and after a war of five years (A.D. 101–106) conquered the country, made it a Roman province, and colonized it with inhabitants from all parts of the empire. At a later period, Dacia was invaded by the Goths; and as Aurelian considered it more prudent to make the Danube the boundary of the empire, he resigned Dacia to the barbarians, removed the Roman inhabitants to Moesia, and gave the name of Dacia (Aureliana) to that part of the province along the Danube where they were settled.

**Dahæ.** A great Scythian people, who led a nomad life over a large extent of country on the east of the Caspian, in Hyrcania (which still bears the name of Dakistan), on the banks of the Margus, the Oxus, and even the Jaxartes. Some of them served as cavalry and horse-archers in the armies of Darius Codomannus, Alexander, and Antiochus the Great, and they also made good foot-soldiers.

**Danubius.** Now the Danube; in German, the Donau; in Hungarian, the Duna. Strabo and Pliny make it rise in the chain of Mount Almoba. According to modern accounts, it originates on the eastern declivity of the Black Forest, about twenty-four miles from the banks of the Rhine. Its course is calculated to be about one thousand seven hundred and seventy miles before it enters the Black Sea, and it receives sixty navigable rivers, the largest of which is the Ænus (Ina), and one hundred and twenty smaller streams. The Romans first obtained some accurate information about this river at the commencement of the empire. Tiberius, in his campaign against the Vindelici, visited the sources of the Danube. This river formed the northern boundary of the empire, with the exception of the time that Dacia was a Roman province. In the Roman period, the upper part of the river, from its source as far as Vindobona (Vienne), was called Danubius, while the lower part, to its entrance into the Black Sea, was named Ister.

**Decumates Agrì.** Tithe-lands, the name given by the Romans to a part of Germany, east of the Rhine, and north of the Danube, which they
took possession of when the Germans retired eastward, and which they
gave to the Gauls, and subsequently to their own veterans, on the payment
of a tenth of the produce (decima). Towards the end of the first, or the be-
ginning of the second century of our era, these lands were incorporated in
the Roman empire.

DELPH. A small town in Phocis, but one of the most celebrated in
Greece, on account of its oracle of Apollo. It was situated on a steep de-
clivity on the southern slope of Mount Parnassus, and its site resembled
the coves of a great theatre. The government was an oligarchy, and was
in the hands of a few distinguished families of Doric origin. From them
were taken the chief magistrates, the priests, and a senate, consisting of a
very few members. Delphi was the principal seat of the worship of Apollo.
Besides the great temple of Apollo, it contained numerous sanctuaries,
statues, and other works of art. The Pythian games were also celebrated
here, and it was one of the two places of meeting of the Amphiectyonic
Council.

DEV. The principal town of the Cornavii, in Britain, now Chester. It
was situate on the Seteia, now the Dee. Here were the head-quarters of
the Legio XX. Vittrix.

DULIBIN. A German tribe, placed by Ptolemy on the eastern bank of
the Weser, in the southern part of Cauberg, and the western half of Grus-
kenhagen. This, however, was not the position in which Tacitus knew
them. He places them in the rear of the Chamavi and Angirviri, in what
was once the territory of the Bructeri; and their settlements, according to
this, would lie between the Emz and the Lippe, where the town of Dulgibi-
num (Dulmen) was situated. They belonged to the Cherusci, and were ap-
parently driven eastward by the same eruption of the Cauca as that which
expelled the Angrivari.

E.

ELEPHANTINE, or ELEPHANTIS. An island in the Nile, with a city of
the same name, opposite to Syene, and seven stadia below the Little Cat-
aract. It was the frontier station of Egypt towards Ethiopia, and was
strongly garrisoned under the Persians and Romans. The island was ex-
tremely fertile, the vine and the fig-tree never shedding their leaves; it had
also great quarries.

ELYSI. A German tribe, supposed to have dwelt at Oela, in Silesia.

EPIDAPHNE, or EPIDAPHNE. A suburb of Antiochia, so called from a
neighboring grove of bay-trees (δαφνη).

EUBEA. The largest island of the Ægean Sea, lying along the coasts
of Attica, Boetia, and the southern part of Thessaly, from which countries
it was separated by the Eubean Sea, called in its narrowest part Euripus.
Eubea was celebrated for the excellence of its pastures and corn-fields.
Under the Romans it formed part of the province of Achaia. The modern
name is Negropont.

EPIDOKOS. A German tribe, placed by some in Holstein, where Eatinum,
the River Eydora (Eyder), and Euding, are supposed to have taken their names from them. Others make them to have dwelt on the banks of the River Dose.

**EUPHRATES.** A great river of Western Asia, forming the boundary of Upper and Lower Asia, consisting, in its upper course, of two branches, both of which rise in the mountains of Armenia. The northern branch is the true Euphrates; the southern branch was called by the ancients Arasias. It joins the Tigris about sixty miles above the mouth of the Persian Gulf. The whole length of the Euphrates is between five hundred and six hundred miles.

**F.**

**FENNI.** A savage people, living by the chase, whom Tacitus reckons among the Germans. They appear to have dwelt in the farther part of Eastern Prussia, and to have been the same as the modern Fenns.

**FLORENTINI.** The inhabitants of Florentia (now Florence, or Firenze), a town of Etruria, on the River Arno (Arno). The place is supposed to have been founded by the Romans during their wars with the Ligurians. In the time of Sulla it was a flourishing municipium, but its greatness as a city dates from the Middle Ages.

**FÖRUM JULII, or JULIUM.** Now Frejus, a Roman colony founded by Julius Caesar, B.C. 44, in Gallia Narbonensis, on the River Argenteus and on the coast, six hundred stadia northeast of Massilia. It possessed a good harbor, and was the usual station of a part of the Roman fleet. It was the birth-place of the celebrated Agricola. This city must not be confounded with another of the same name, likewise a Roman colony, in the country of the Carni, northeast of Aquileia, and now Friuli, or Friuli.

**FORI.** A German tribe, whose name is connected with that of the River Fose, which flows into the Alpe near Zella. They were annihilated by the Langobardi.

**FOSA DRUSIANA.** A canal, which Drusus caused his soldiers to dig in B.C. 11, uniting the Rhine with the Yssel. It probably commenced near Arnheim, on the Rhine, and fell into the Yssel near Doesberg.

**FRACI.** A confederacy of German tribes, formed on the Lower Rhine, in the place of the ancient league of the Cheruscii, and consisting of the Sygambri, the chief tribe, the Chamavi, Amsvarii, Bructeri, Catti, &c. The name signifies "Free Men." They are first mentioned about A.D. 240. After carrying on frequent wars with the Romans, they at length settled permanently in Gaul, of which they became the rulers under their great King Clovis, A.D. 496.

**FRATUM SICULUM.** The narrow strait which separates Sicily from Italy, now Faro de Messina.

**FRIISI.** A people in the northwest of Germany, who inhabited the coast from the eastern mouth of the Rhine to the Amisia (Ems), and were bounded on the south by the Bructeri. Their territory answered to the modern Frisland, Grúningen, &c. Tacitus divides them into Majores and Minores.
the former probably in the east, and the latter in the western part of the country. The Frisii were on friendly terms with the Romans from the time of the first campaign of Drusus until A.D. 28, when the oppression of the Roman officers drove them to revolt. In the 5th century we find them joining the Saxones and Angli in their invasion of Britain.

G.

GÆTULI. The inhabitants of Gætulia, a name applied by the ancients to a portion of the interior of Northern Africa, lying south of Mauritania, Numidia, and the region bordering on the Syrtis, reaching to the Atlantic Ocean on the west, and of very indefinite extent towards the east and south. The Gætuli were a great nomad race, including several tribes, the chief of whom were the Autololes and Pharusii, on the western coast; the Durus, or Gætuli-Duræ, in the steppes of the Great Atlas; and the Melanogætuli, a black race, resulting from the intermixture of the Gætuli with their southern neighbors, the Nigrites. The pure Gætulians were not a negro, but a Libyan race, and were most probably of Asiatic origin. They are supposed to have been the ancestors of the modern Berbers.

GALLIA. A country of Europe, which, in the time of Augustus, was bounded on the south by the Pyrenees and the Mediterranean; on the east by the River Varus and the Alps, which separated it from Italy, and by the River Rhine, which separated it from Germany; on the north by the German Ocean and the English Channel; and on the west by the Atlantic; thus including not only the whole of France and Belgium, but a part of Holland, a great part of Switzerland, and all the provinces of Germany west of the Rhine. In B.C. 121, the southern part of Gaul was made a Roman province, after the defeat of the Allobroges. The rest of the country was subsequently subdued by Julius Caesar, after a struggle of several years (58–50). At this period Gaul was divided into three parts, Aquitania, Celtica, and Belgica, according to the three different races by which it was inhabited. The Aquitani dwelt in the southwest, between the Pyrenees and the Garumna (Garonne); the Celtæ, or Galli proper, in the centre and west, between the Garumna and the Sequana (Seine) and Matrona (Marne); and the Belgæ in the northeast, between the two last-mentioned rivers and the Rhine. The Roman colony first founded in the south of Gaul, and of which we have already spoken, is in Caesar's Commentaries simply called Provincia, whence comes the modern name of Provence. The rest of Gaul was sometimes called, in contradistinction to the province, Gallia Comata, from the long hair worn by the inhabitants, according to the Gallic custom, and because in the province Roman manners and customs prevailed. At a later period, the provinces of Gaul were still farther divided, until at length, under the Emperor Gratian, the number of separate districts amounted to seventeen.

GAMBRIVII. One of the early appellations of the German race, according to some authorities referred to by Tacitus (Germ., c. ii.). Various etymologies have been assigned for the name, but all unsatisfactory. Wach-
ter deduces it from *genus, "a man;" and *brug, "a bridge;" Longolius from *genus, and *bruch, "a marshy spot."

**Germani.** The Germans, the inhabitants of Germania. This word Germania was employed by the Romans to designate a country of much greater extent than modern Germany. They included under this name all the nations of Europe east of the Rhine and north of the Danube, bounded on the north by the German Ocean and the Baltic, including Denmark and the neighboring islands, and on the east by the Sarmatians and Dacians. It is difficult, however, to ascertain how far Germany stretched to the east. According to Strabo, Germanic tribes dwelt nearly as far as the mouths of the Borysthenes (Dnieper). Sometimes Germany proper was called Germania TransRhenum or Germania CisRhenum, after it had been inhabited by some German tribes which had crossed the Rhine, or had been brought over by Agrippa and Tiberius. The latter was also divided into Germania Superior or Prima, extending along the Rhine from Bingium, beyond Argentoratum; and Germania Inferior, or Secunda, reaching from Bingium to the sea.


The origin of the Germanic nations is involved in uncertainty. The inhabitants of the beautiful regions of Italy, who had never known a rougher country, could hardly believe that any nation had deserted its native soil to dwell in the forests of Germany, where severe cold prevailed for the greater part of the year, and where, even in summer, impenetrable woods prevented the genial rays of the sun from reaching the ground. They thought that the Germans must have lived there from the beginning, and therefore called them *indigene, or natives of the soil.* (Ger., 2.) Modern inquiries, however, have traced the descent of the Germanic race from the inhabitants of Asia; since it is now indisputably established that the Teutonic dialects belong to one great family with the Latin, the Greek, the Sanscrit, and the other languages of the Indo-European chain. Von Hammer calls the Germans a Bactriano-Median nation. He makes the name Germani, or *Germani,* in its primitive import, to have meant those who followed the worship of Buddha; and hence the Germans, according to him, are that ancient and primitive race who came down from the mountains of Upper Asia, the cradle of the human species, and, spreading themselves over the low country more to the south, gave origin to the Persian and other early nations. Hence the name Deschermania, applied in early times to all that tract of country which lay to the north of the Oxus. The land of Erman, therefore, which was situate beyond this river, and which corresponds to the modern Chorasia, is made by Von Hammer the native home of the Germanic race, and the Germans themselves are, as he informs us, called Deschermani, their primitive name, by the Oriental writers down to the fourteenth century. (Wien. Jahrb., vol. ii., p. 319. Compare vol. ix., p. 39.) Another remarkable circumstance is, that, besides the name referred to, that of the
modern Prussians may be found under its primitive form in the Persian tongue. We have there the term Pruschan, or Peruschan, in the sense of "a people." In Meninski (i., p. 533) we have Berussen and Beruschan, in the sense of "communitas ejusdem religionis;" while in Fergengi Schuri, Peruschan, or Peruschan, more than once occurs (vol. i., B., 182, &c.) Even the name Sachsen, or Sassan (Saxons), is to be found in the Persian tongue under the form Sassan, as indicating not only the last dynasty of the Persian empire (the Sassanidae), but also those acquainted with the doctrines of the Desaytin, the old Persian dialect of which is far more nearly related to the Gothic than the modern Persian to the German. In the Oriental histories, moreover, mention is made of the dynasty of the sons of Boia, in whom we may easily recognize the progenitors of the Boii; while traces of the name of the Catti may be found in that of Kat, in Chorasin. (Ferg. Schuri, B., 231.) Even as early as the time of Herodotus, the name of the Гермаун appears among the ancient Persian tribes (Herod., i., 125), while the analogies between the Persian and German are so striking as to have excited the attention of every intelligent scholar. And, besides all this, an ancient Georgian MS. of laws, not long since brought to light, proves conclusively that the Georgian nation had among them ordeals precisely similar to those of the early Germans, and also the same judicial forms of proceeding, and the same system of satisfactions to be paid in cases of homicide, according to the rank of the party slain. (Anaal. de Legislat. et de Jurispr., N. 40, Paris, 1829. Compare, on the whole subject, Kruse's Archiv der Germanischen Völkerstämme, ii., p. 124, seqq.) If these premises be correct, the commonly received etymology of the name Germani, which makes it equivalent to "war-men," or "warriors," falls, of course, to the ground. (Consult notes on chapter ii.) It may not be amiss, however, after having stated what appears to be the most probable view of the subject, to give a few other etymologies for the name Germani, each of which has its advocates. Thus, Althamer makes Germanus equivalent to "homo prorsus virilis," and the same, in fact, as Alaman, i. e., Ganz-Mann. Wackernagel, on the other hand, explains Germanus by Germannus, i. e., Volkgenosse. Luden thinks that the term Germania is nothing more than the German Wehrmann, and that there were several such Germania, or "confederacies" (Eidgenossenschaften), such as those of the Cherusei, the Catti, the Cauci, &c.; and hence the union of all of these would form what he terms "Gesammtgermanien." (Gesch. der Deutschen, i., p. 163.) And, finally, the name Germani is supposed by some to be derived from ger, which, according to them, appears in the French guerre, "war," and man. (Compare the etymological remarks under the article Teutones.)

2. Geographical Acquaintance with Ancient Germany.

Our information concerning the geography of ancient Germany is very scanty and uncertain. The Greek and Roman writers, from whom our knowledge of it is derived, knew very little about it themselves. A knowledge of the German Ocean, and the northern parts of Europe, had been ac-
quired, first by the Phœnicians and Carthaginians, who procured tin from the Cassiterides or from Britain, and amber from the shores of the Baltic (see c. 45); and in the year B.C. 400, by Himilco the Carthaginian, whose voyage has been described by the poet Avienus (Plin., ii., 67); in B.C. 230, by Hecateus and Philomen (Plin., iv., 13, or 27); and about the same time, by Ephorus and Clitarchus (Strab., vii., 2, 1, p. 293); by Timeus, Xenophon of Lampæacus, Sotacus, Nicias, Xenocrates, Mithradates, and especially Pytheas of Massilia, who, in the year B.C. 320, sailed to Thule, and thence into the Baltic. (Strab., i., 4; ii., 3, 4; iii., 2; iv., 4, 5. Plin., iv., 16, or 27, 30; xxxvii., 2, or 11.) The knowledge which the Romans possessed of Germany and the western parts of Europe was derived principally from the expeditions of Cæsar, Drusus Germanicus, Germanicus, and Ahenobarbus. Drusus Germanicus, the brother of Tiberius, made four expeditions into Germany, and dug the canal between the Rhine and the Chisala (Yssel). He was the first who navigated the German Ocean, but did not advance farther than the mouth of the Amisia (Ems), in the territory of the Cauci. Germanicus, the son of Drusus (A.D. 14–16), made four expeditions into Germany, and advanced still farther; he was shipwrecked on the territory of the Frisii (Ann., i., 49–52, 55–59, 60–71; ii., 5–26, 41–46). L. Domitius Ahenobarbus crossed the Elbe, and penetrated farther into Germany than any of his predecessors. (Ann., i., 63; iv., 44. Suet., Ner., iv.) Tiberius advanced to the Arctic Sea (Ann., ii., 26, 47; xii., 39. Dio., iv., 6, 8, 28; lvi., 25. Suet., Tib., 9, 17, 18, 20. Vell., ii., 97, 104–110, 120.) This expedition of Tiberius, however, Strabo (vii., 1, p. 291) and Tacitus himself (c. 34) attribute to Drusus Germanicus. On the south side of Germany the Romans made no conquests beyond the Danube; but they obtained some geographical knowledge through the journeys of the traders who procured amber from the shores of the Baltic, and from their wars with the Daci, Marcomanni, and other tribes on this frontier. Strabo wrote in the age of Tiberius, when the Romans possessed a more accurate knowledge of Germany than at any other time, through the expeditions of which we have just spoken. After this period the Romans were almost entirely shut out of Germany. Strabo, however, is exceedingly careless. He did not read even Cæsar's Gallic war with sufficient attention to understand it, and confuses almost every thing which he extracts from the accounts brought home by Pytheas. Our difficulties are, moreover, increased by the inaccuracy of the text. Pomponius Mela is worth nothing. Pliny, likewise, was very careless, as we see, even in what he says of Italy; we can not, therefore, look for much accuracy in his account of Germany. His work is principally valuable for the proper names. The imperfect character of the geographical knowledge which Tacitus possessed of Germany is manifest from his work upon the subject. Ptolemy has ventured to give a map of Germany, and to lay down the latitudes and longitudes of a number of towns and mouths of rivers. The greater part of these he never visited himself; and who, in that age, could have furnished him with the requisite information? Indeed, his map bears but a faint re-
semblance to the actual shape and features of Germany; and, in the majority of instances, it can with difficulty be determined whether the towns he mentioned existed at all. There is this additional disadvantage in his book, that he defines positions by numbers, which, of all things, are the most liable to alteration through the mistakes of the transcribers. One of the most valuable geographical monuments of antiquity, Antoninus's Itinerary, compiled under the direction of J. Caesar and Antony or Augustus, is available only for a few roads on the frontier. The Peutingherian Table is frequently of use in making maps; since, though the countries are excessively distorted, the distances between the towns laid down on it are given; but it is of scarcely any service in the case of Germany. Inscriptions and coins, again, which afford some of the best means of defining the situations of places, are of rare occurrence in Germany. But, in addition to all these difficulties and disadvantages, the wandering and unsettled character of the Germans themselves renders it totally impossible to lay down a map which should represent the relative positions of the tribes at any one period, or for any length of time, though we can generally determine the position which individual tribes occupied at some time or other. This is seen from the wide discrepancies between Tacitus and his contemporaries, and Ptolomy, and from such glimpses as history affords us of the migrations of several of the tribes.

Gētē. A Thracian people, called Daci by the Romans. Herodotus and Thucydides place them to the south of the Ister (Danube), near its mouths; but in the time of Alexander the Great, they dwelt beyond this river, and north of the Triballi. They were driven by the Sarmatians farther west, towards Germany. For their later history, vid. Dacia.

Gothini. A German tribe, supposed by some to have lived in Cracow, or on the banks of the Marus (March), as it is said that the Quadi imposed a tribute upon them. Others place the Gothini on the south of the Danube.

Gotōnes, Gothōnes, and Gothī. A powerful German people, who played an important part in the overthrow of the Roman empire. They originally dwelt on the Prussian coast of the Baltic, at the mouth of the Vistula, where they are placed by Tacitus; but they afterward migrated to the south, and at the beginning of the third century they appeared on the coasts of the Black Sea, where Caracalla encountered them on his march to the east. In the reign of the Emperor Philippus (A.D. 244–249), they obtained possession of a great part of the Roman province of Dacia; and, in consequence of their settling in the countries formerly inhabited by the Getē and Scythians, they are frequently called both Getē and Scythians by later writers. From the time of Philippus the attacks of the Goths against the Roman empire became more frequent and more destructive. In A.D. 272, the Emperor Aurelian surrendered to them the whole of Dacia. It is about this time that we find them separated into two great divisions, the Ostrogoths, or Eastern Goths, and the Visigoths, or Western Goths. The Ostrogoths settled in Moesia and Pannonia, while the Visigoths remained north of the Danube. The Visigoths, under their king, Alaric, in-
vaded Italy, and took and plundered Rome in A.D. 410. A few years afterward, they settled permanently in the southwest of Gaul, and established a kingdom, of which Tolosa was the capital. From hence they invaded Spain, where they also founded a kingdom, which lasted for more than two centuries, till it was overthrown by the Arabs. The Ostrogoths meantime had extended their dominions almost up to the gates of Constantinople; and the Emperor Zeno was glad to get rid of them by giving them permission to invade and conquer Italy. Under their king, Theodoric the Great, they obtained possession of the whole of Italy in A.D. 493. Theodoric took the title of King of Italy, and an Ostrogothic dynasty reigned in the country till it was destroyed by Narses, general of Justinian, A.D. 553.

**GRAMPIUS MONS.** Now the Grampian Hills, a range of mountains in Caledonia, separating the Highlands and Lowlands of Scotland. Agricola penetrated as far as these mountains, and defeated Calgacus at their foot. The name of the ridge in the ancient Scottish tongue was Grantzbain.

**H.**

**HELLUSII.** A German tribe, dwelling in the extreme north, of whom nothing certain is known. They probably inhabited Lapland. Consult notes on *Germ.*, c. xlvi.

**HELVECOTES.** A German tribe, who dwelt between Uckermark and Prignitz.

**HELVETII.** A brave and powerful Celtic people, who dwelt between Mount Jura, the Lacus Lemannus (*Lake of Geneva*), the Rhone, and the Rhine, as far as the Lacus Brigantinus (*Lake of Constance*). They were thus bounded by the Sequani on the west; by the Nantuates and Lépontii, in Cisalpine Gaul, on the south; by the Rstäi on the east; and by the German nations on the north, beyond the Rhine. Their country, called *Ager Helvetiorum* (but never *Helvetia*), thus corresponded to the western part of Switzerland. Their chief town was Arecentium (*Avenches*). They were divided into four Pagi, or cantons, of which the *Pagus Tigrinus* was the most celebrated. The Helvetii are first mentioned in the war with the Cimbri. In B.C. 107, the Tigrini defeated and killed the Roman consul, L. Cassius Longinus, on the Lake of Geneva, while another division of the Helvetii accompanied the Cimbri and Teutones in their invasion of Gaul. Subsequently, the Helvetii invaded Italy along with the Cimbri; and they returned home in safety, after the defeat of the Cimbri by Marius and Catulus, in B.C. 101. About forty years afterward, they resolved, upon the advice of Orgetorix, one of their chiefs, to migrate from their country, with their wives and children, and seek a new home in the more fertile plains of Gaul. In B.C. 58, they endeavored to carry their plan into execution, but they were defeated by Caesar, and driven back into their own territories. The Romans now planted colonies and built fortresses in their country (*Noviodunum, Vindonissa, Aventicum*), and the Helvetii gradually adopted the customs and language of their conquerors. They were severely punished by the generals of Vitellius, in A.D. 70, when they refused to
acknowledge the latter as emperor; and after that time they are rarely mentioned as a separate people. When Gaul was subdivided into a greater number of provinces under the later emperors, the country of the Helvetii formed, with that of the Sequani and the Rauraci, the province of Maxima Sequanorum.

Heniochi. A people in the range of Mount Caucasus, to the west of the Albanis, and north of the River Phasis. They were notorious as robbers.

Hercynia Silva, or Hercynium Jugum. An extensive range of mountains in Germany, covered with forests. Caesar describes it as nine days' journey in breadth, and more than sixty days' journey in length, extending eastward from the territories of the Helvetii, Nemetes, and Rauraci, parallel to the Danube, as far as the frontiers of Dacia. Under this general name Caesar appears to have included all the mountains and forests in the south and centre of Germany; namely, the Black Forest, Odenwald, Thüringerwald, the Harz, the Erzgebirge, the Riesengebirge, &c. As the Romans became better acquainted with Germany, the name was confined to narrower limits. Pliny and Tacitus use it to indicate the range of mountains between the Thüringerwald and the Carpathian chain. The name is still preserved in the modern Harz and Erz.

Hermönnes. According to some modern authorities, a name indicating the main or parent stem of the German race, occupying the central parts of the country. It is supposed to contain the root of the national name Germani, namely Herm-, or Gherm- (i.e., Hermin-ones, Germ-an-ones), by those who consider that name to be of Oriental origin. Consult remarks under the article Germania.

Hermunduri. One of the most powerful nations of Germany, belonging to the Suevic race, and dwelling between the Menus (Main) and Danube. They were bounded by the Montes Sudeti in the north, the Decumates Agri in the west and south, the Narisci on the east, the Cherusci on the northeast, and the Catti on the northwest. They were for a long time the allies of the Romans; but along with the other German tribes they assisted the Marcomanni in the great war against the Romans in the reign of Marcus Aurelius. After this time they are rarely mentioned as a separate people, but are included under the general name of Suevi.

Herthae Insula. An island in the Northern Ocean, according to Tacitus, sacred to Hertha, the goddess of the Earth among the ancient Germans, now most probably the Isle of Rügen, in the Baltic. Consult notes on Germ., c. x1.

Hibernia. The island of Ireland, also called by the ancients Ierne, Iverna, and Juverna. The name Hibernia appears to have been derived from the inhabitants of its southern coast, called Juverni by Ptolemy; to whom also the names Iverna and Juverna are to be traced. The original name of the island, however, was probably Bergien or Vergiom. It is mentioned by Caesar, and is frequently spoken of by subsequent writers; but the Romans never made any attempt to conquer the island, though they obtained some knowledge of it from the commercial intercourse which was
carried on between it and Britain. We have no account of the island except from Ptolemy, who must have derived his information from the statements of the British merchants who visited its coasts.

Hieroclesia. A city of Lydia, between the Caicus and Hermus. Diana Persica was worshipped here, and her rites are said to have been established at this place as early as the reign of Cyrus. This was one of the twelve cities of Asia Minor overthrown by the great earthquake in the reign of Tiberius.

Hispania. A peninsula in the southwest of Europe, now Spain and Portugal. The Romans, as early as the end of the second Punic war, divided this country into two provinces, separated from one another by the Iberus (Ebro), and called Hispania Citerior and Hispania Ulterior, the former being to the east, and the latter to the west of the river. In consequence of there being two provinces, we frequently find the country called Hispania in the plural. Augustus made a new division of the country, and formed three provinces, Tarraconensis, Bética, and Lusitania. The first of these derived its name from Tarraco (Tarragona), the capital of the province, and comprehended the whole of the northwest and centre of the peninsula. It was by far the largest of the three. Bética derived its name from the River Beutis (Guadalquivir), and was separated from Lusitania, on the north and west, by the River Anas (Guadiana), and from Tarraconensis, on the east, by a line drawn from the River Anas to the promontory Charetemus, on the Mediterranean. The province Lusitania corresponded very nearly in extent to the modern Portugal.

Horesti. A tribe of Britain, placed by Richard of Cirencester in the peninsula of Fife. All that appears with regard to their situation, from the narrative of Tacitus, is, that they lay somewhere between the Grampian Hills and the previously conquered nations to the south of the Forth.

I.

Iceni. A numerous and powerful people in Britain, who dwelt to the north of the Trinobantes, in the modern counties of Suffolk and Norfolk. Their revolt from the Romans, under their heroic Queen Boadicea, is celebrated in history. Their chief town was Venta Icenorum (now Caister), about three miles from Norwich.

Idistaviso. A plain of Germany, probably in the neighborhood of the Porta Westphalica, between Rinteln and Hausberge. Here Germanicus defeated Arminius. On the meaning of the name, consult notes on Ann., ii., 16.

Ilium. Consult notes on Ann., ii., 54.

Illyricum. Included, in its widest acceptation, all the land west of Macedonia, and east of Italy and Raetia, extending south as far as Epirus, and north as far as the valleys of the Savus and Dravus, and the junction of these rivers with the Danube. This wide extent of country was inhabited by numerous Illyrian tribes, all of whom were more or less barbarous. They were probably of the same origin as the Thracians, but some Celts were mingled with them. The country was divided into two parts: 1. Il-
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Lyris Barbara or Romana, the Roman province of Illyricum, extending along the Adriatic from Italy (Istria) to the River Drilo, and comprehending a part of modern Croatia, the whole of Dalmatia, almost the whole of Bosnia, and a part of Albania. 2. Illyris Graeca, or Illyria Proper, also called Epirus Nova, extended from the Drilo, along the Adriatic, to the Cerasian Mountains, which separated it from Epirus proper. It was bounded on the east by Macedonia, and embraced the greater part of modern Albania.

**INGEVEONES.** A name given, according to Tacitus, to one of the three great geographical divisions of the German race. It is thought by some to be the same with the native term Inbewohner, and to mean “the inhabitants of the inner coasts.” If this supposition be correct, the Latin form of the name ought to have the long penult, Ingavones. Compare Istaveones.

**INTEMELII.** A people in Liguria, on the coast, whose chief town was Albium Intemelium, now Vintimiglia.

**INTERARMA.** An ancient municipium in Umbria, situate on the River Nar (Nera), and surrounded by a canal flowing into this stream, whence its inhabitants were called Interamnates Nartes. It was the birth-place of the historian Tacitus, as well as of the emperor of the same name. The modern name is Terni.

**ISTAVEONES.** A name given, according to Tacitus, to one of the three great geographical divisions of the German race. It is thought by some to be the same with the native term Westbewohner, or “the inhabitants of the western parts of the country.” On this supposition the penult ought to be long in Istaveones. Compare Ingaveones.

**L.**

**LANGOBARDI, OR LONGOBARDI.** A German tribe of the Suevic race. They dwelt originally on the left bank of the Albis (Elbe), near the River Saaale; but they afterward crossed the Elbe, and dwelt on the eastern bank of the river, where they were for a time subject to Maroboduus in the reign of Tiberius. After this they disappear from history for four centuries. Like most of the other German tribes, they migrated southward; and in the second half of the fifth century, we find them again on the north bank of the Danube, in Upper Hungary. Here they defeated and almost annihilated the Heruli. In the middle of the sixth century they crossed the Danube, at the invitation of Justinian, and settled in Pannonia. Here they were engaged for thirty years in a desperate conflict with the Gepidæ, which only ended with the extermination of the latter people. In A.D. 568, Alboin, the King of the Langobardi, under whose command they had defeated the Gepidæ, led his nation across the Julian Alps, and conquered the plains of Northern Italy, which have ever since retained, by a slight corruption, the name of Lombardy. Here he founded the celebrated kingdom of the Lombards, which existed for upward of two centuries, till its overthrow by Charlemagne.

**Laodicea.** Called, for distinction' sake from other places of the same name, Laodicea ad Mare (ἐπὶ τῇ Θαλάττῃ), a city on the coast of Syria,
about fifty miles south of Antioch. It was built by Seleucus I., on the site of an earlier city called Ramitha, or Ἀρμύθε 'Ακτή. It had the best harbor in Syria, and the surrounding country was celebrated for its wine and fruits, which formed a large part of the traffic of the place. It was also an important city under the Roman empire.

Liburnia. A district of Illyricum along the coast of the Adriatic, separated from Istria on the northwest by the River Arvis, and from Dalmatia on the south by the River Titius, thus corresponding to the western part of Croatia and the northern part of the modern Dalmatia. The inhabitants, the Liburni, supported themselves chiefly by commerce and navigation. They were celebrated at a very early period as bold and skillful sailors, and they appear to have been the first people who had the sway of the waters of the Adriatic. Their ships were remarkable for their swift sailing, and hence vessels built after the same model were called Liburnica, or Liburnae naves. It was to light vessels of this description that Augustus was mainly indebted for his victory over Antony's fleet at the battle of Actium. The Liburnians were the first Illyrian people who submitted to the Romans. Being hard pressed by the Iapyges on the north, and by the Dalmatians on the south, they sought the protection of Rome at a comparatively early period. Hence we find that many of their towns were immunes, or exempt from taxes.

Liguria. A district of Italy, which, in the time of Augustus, was bounded on the west by the River Varus (Var) and the Maritime Alps, which separated it from Transalpine Gaul; on the southeast by the River Macra, which separated it from Etruria; on the north by the Po; and on the south by the Sinus Ligusticus, or Gulf of Genoa. The country is very mountainous and unproductive. The chief occupation of the inhabitants was the rearing and feeding of cattle. The numerous forests on the mountains produced excellent timber, which, with the other products of the country, was exported from Genua (Genoa), the principal town of the country. The inhabitants were called by the Greeks Ligyes and Ligystini, and by the Romans Ligures.

Limyra. A city in the southeastern part of Lycia, on the River Limyris, twenty stadia from its mouth. Here the young prince Caius Caesar, son of Agrippa and Julia, died of a wound which he had received in Armenia, A.D. 4.

Logana, or Logana. One of the tributaries of the Rhine, on its right bank, in Germania Magna. It is now the Lahn.

Londinium, or Londinium. The capital of the Cantii in Britain, situated on the southern bank of the Tamisus (Thames), in the modern Southwark, though it afterward spread over the other side of the river. It is not mentioned by Cesar, probably because his line of march led him in a different direction; and its name first occurs in the reign of Nero, when it is spoken of as a flourishing and populous town, much frequented by merchants, although neither a Roman colony nor a municipium. On the revolt of the Britons under Boadicea, A.D. 62, the Roman governor, Suetonius Paulinus, abandoned Londinium to the enemy, who massacred the inhabitants.
and plundered the town. From the effects of this devastation it gradually recovered, and it appears again as an important place in the reign of Antoninus Pius. It was surrounded with a wall and ditch by Constantine the Great, or Theodosius, the Roman governor of Britain; and about this time it was distinguished by the surname of Augusta, whence some writers have conjectured that it was then made a colony. Londinium had now extended so much on the northern bank of the Thames, that it was called at this period a town of the Trinobantes, from which we may infer that the new quarter was both larger and more populous than the old part on the southern side of the river. London was the central point from which all the Roman roads in Britain diverged.


LUPPIS. Now the Lippe, a navigable river in the northwest of Germany, which falls into the Rhine at Wesel, in Westphalia, and on which the Romans built a fortress of the same name.

LYGII. An important people in Germany, between the Viadus (Oder) and the Vistula, in modern Silesia and Posen. They were bounded by the Burgundiones on the north, the Gothi on the east, the Bastarnae and Osi on the west, and the Marsingi, Silingii, and Semnones on the south. They were divided into several tribes, the chief of which were the Manimi, Duni, Elysii, Buri, Arii, Naharvali, and Helveciæ. They first appear in history as members of the great Marcomannic league formed by Maroboduus in the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius. In the third century some of the Lygii immigrated with the Burgundiones westward, and settled in the country bordering on the Rhine.

**M.**

MACEDONIA. As a Roman province, comprised not only Macedonia proper, but also Thessaly to the south, and Illyricum to the west. The Roman province of Macedonia, accordingly, extended from the Ægean to the Adriatic Seas, and was bounded on the south by the province of Achæia. It was originally governed by a proconsul. Tiberius made it one of the provinces of the Caesars, but it was restored to the senate by Claudius.

MACEDONIÆ HYRCANII. The inhabitants of a city named Hyrcania, situated in the Hyrcanian plain of Lydia, to the southeast of Thyatira. It was one of the twelve cities which suffered from the violent earthquake in the reign of Tiberius. Compare Brotier, *ad Tac.* Ann., ii., 47.

MAGNÈTES. The inhabitants of Magnesia ad Sipylum, a city in the northwestern part of Lydia, in Asia Minor, at the foot of the northwestern declivity of Mount Sipylos, and on the southern bank of the Hermus. It is famous in history as the scene of the victory gained by the two Scipios over Antiochus the Great, which secured to the Romans the empire of the East, B.C. 190. It suffered, with other cities of Asia Minor, from the great earthquake in the reign of Tiberius; but it was still a place of importance in the fifth century.
MANIMI. A German tribe, supposed to have lived at the mouth of the
Nisse. It is impossible, however, to determine their precise position.
MARCOMANNI. A German tribe, of whom we first hear in the army of
Ariovistus, when he was at war with Cæsar and the Helvetians (Cæs., B.
G., i., 51), on the Rhine; then between the Main and the Neckar. After
Cæsar's death they dwelt between the Danube and the Drave, in Austria and
Hungary, till the Romans conquered Pannonia and the Noric Alps, when
they withdrew to the opposite side of the river, into the country formerly
occupied by the Boii, whom they expelled. This they did under the guid-
ance of Maroboduus, who, in his youth, had come to Rome and been edu-
cated at the court of Augustus. He raised his people to a high pitch of
prosperity, and formed a league including a great number of the Suevic
tribes, of which the Langobardi and Semnones were the most northerly.
His power had become formidable to Rome, and Tiberius prepared to in-
vade his dominions. But a sudden insurrection of the Pannonian and Dal-
matian tribes compelled Tiberius to conclude a treaty with him (Vell., ii.,
106-110; Ann., ii., 16). The Langobardi and Semnones having withdrawn
from Maroboduus, and attached themselves to Arminius, the chief of the
Cherusci, a war ensued between them. Inguisomerus, the uncle of Armini-
us, came over to Maroboduus, who was defeated, and compelled to retire
among the Marcomanni, and apply to Rome for assistance (Ann., ii., 44-46).
It appears that a peace was then concluded between them. Maroboduus
was soon after expelled by Catualda, and forced to take refuge in Italy: he
lived there, at Ravena, for eighteen years. Catualda was driven out by
the Hermunduri, and also fled to Tiberius for protection. The followers
of these two princes were settled beyond the Danube, between the Morava
and Gran, and Vanni, from the tribe of the Quadi, was appointed as their
king (Ann., ii., 62, 63; xii., 29, 30; Hist., iii., 5). Peace was maintained
between the Romans and the tribes along the Danube till the reign of Do-
mitian, when hostilities broke out, and continued almost uninterruptedly till
the destruction of the Roman empire (Dio, lxvii., 7; Plin., Pan., viii., 12).
For an account of the great Marcomannic war in the reign of M. Aurelius,
see Dio, lxviii., 9; lxxi., 3, 8-15, 20-33; lxxxii., 2. After the death of At-
tila, in whose army they served, they are not any more heard of.
MARAE DALMATICUM. That part of the Adriatic which lay off the coast
of Dalmatia, in Illyricum.
MARAE ADRIATICUM, or HADRIATICUM. Now the Gulf of Venice, or the
Adriatic. Its ancient name was derived from the town of Adria or Hadria,
between the mouths of the Padus (Po) and Athesis (Adige). The lower
part, to the south of Hydruntum (Otranto), in Calabria, and the Acrocer-
annian promontory, opposite, on the coast of Epirus, was called MARAE IONIUM,
or the Ionian Sea.
MARAE IONIUM. The Ionian Sea, a part of the Mediterranean between
Italy and Greece. It formed, in fact, the southern portion of the Adriatic,
and began on the west at Hydruntum (Otranto), in Calabria, and on the
east at the Acrocerannian promontory, on the coast of Epirus. Its name
was usually derived by the ancients from the mythic wanderings of Io; but it came in reality from the Ionian colonies, which settled in Cephalenia and the other islands off the western coast of Greece.

Mare Lycaum. That part of the Mediterranean which lay along the coast of Lycia, in Asia Minor.

Mare Rubrum. In its most general acceptance, the same as the Mare Erythreum of the Greek writers (ἡ Ἑρυθρὰ ἡλικίαι), namely, the whole expanse of sea between Arabia and Africa on the west and India on the east, including its two great gulfs (the Red Sea and Persian Gulf). At a subsequent period, the appellation Mare Rubrum became identical with that of Sinus Arabicus, or the Red Sea.

Mare Suevicum. Now the Baltic. Its southwestern part was called Sinus Codanus, often erroneously taken for the Baltic itself.

Marsi. A people of Germany, who appear to have dwelt originally on both banks of the Amisia (Ems), and to have been only a tribe of the Cherusci, although Tacitus makes them to have been one of the most ancient tribes in Germany. They joined the Cherusci in the war against the Romans, which terminated in the defeat of Varus; but they were subsequently driven into the interior of the country by Germanicus.

Massigni. A German tribe, who seem to have lived in the vicinity of the modern Warsaw. They are perhaps the same race with the Marsi, or else their descendants.

Marus, or Morus. One of the tributaries of the Danube, on its left bank, now the March. This stream became well known to the Romans in their war with Manobodua, king of the Marcomanni.

Massilia. Now Marseille, a Greek city in Gallia Narbonensis, on the coast of the Mediterranean, in the country of the Salysae. It was founded by the Phocceans of Asia Minor, about B.C. 600, and soon became a very flourishing city. It extended its dominion over the barbarous tribes in its neighborhood, and planted several colonies on the coast of Gaul and Spain. Its naval power and commercial greatness soon excited the jealousy of the Carthaginians, who made war upon the city; but the Massilians not only maintained their independence, but defeated their opponents in a sea fight. At an early period they cultivated the friendship of the Romans, to whom they always continued faithful allies. Accordingly, when the southeastern corner of Gaul was made a Roman province, the Romans allowed Massilia to retain its independence and its own constitution. Massilia was for many centuries one of the most important commercial cities in the ancient world. Its inhabitants had long paid attention to literature and philosophy; and under the Roman emperors it became one of the chief seats of learning, to which the sons of many illustrious Romans resorted to complete their studies.

Mattiaci. A people of Germany, who dwelt on the eastern bank of the Rhine, between the Main and the Lahn, and were a branch of the Catti. They were subdued by the Romans, who, in the reign of Claudius, had fortresses and silver mines in their country. After the death of Nero, they
revolted against the Romans, and took part with the Catti and other German tribes in the siege of Moguntiacum. From this time they disappear from history, and their country was subsequently occupied by the Alemani. Their chief towns were Aures Mattiacæ (Wiesbaden), and Mattiacum (Mainz).

Mattium. The chief town of the Catti, situate on the Adria (Eden). It was destroyed by Germanicus. The site answers to the modern Modena.

Miletus. One of the greatest cities of Asia Minor, belonging territorially to Caria, and politically to Ionia, being the southernmost of the twelve cities of the Ionian confederacy. It stood upon the southern headland of the Sinus Latmus, opposite to the mouth of the Meander. The adjacent territory was rich in flocks; and the city was celebrated for its woolen fabrics, the Miletia veliferi. At a very early period it became a great maritime state, extending its commerce throughout the Mediterranean, and even beyond the Pillars of Hercules, but more especially in the direction of the Euxine, along the shore of which the Milesians planted several important colonies. Miletus also occupies a high place in the early history of Greek literature, as the birth-place of the philosophers Thales, Anaximander, and Anaximenes, and of the historians Cadmus and Hecataeus. Under the Roman sway, it still appears as a place of some consequence.

Mesor, or Mesus. Now the Meis, a river of Germany, rising in the Montes Sudeti, flowing through the territory of the Hermunduri and the Decumates Agri, and falling into the Rhine opposite Moguntiacum (Mayence).

Mesor lacus. Now Birket-el-Keroen, a great lake on the western side of the Nile, in Middle Egypt, used for the reception and subsequent distribution of a part of the overflow of the Nile. It was believed by the ancients to have been dug by Moses, king of Egypt, but it is really a natural, and not an artificial lake.

Mesia. A country of Europe, bounded on the south by Mount Haemus, which separated it from Thrace, and by the ranges of Orbulus and Scordus, which separated it from Macedonia; on the west by the range of Scordus, and the Rivers Drinus and Savus, which separated it from Illyricum and Pannonia; on the north by the Danube, which separated it from Dacia; and on the east by the Pontus Euxinus, thus corresponding to the modern Servia and Bulgaria. This country was subdued in the reign of Augustus, but does not appear to have been formally constituted a Roman province until the commencement of the reign of Tiberius. It was originally only one province, but was afterward divided into two provinces (probably after the conquest of Dacia by Trajan), called Mesia Superior and Mesia Inferior, the former being the western, the latter the eastern half of the country. When Aurelian surrendered Dacia to the barbarians, and removed the inhabitants of that province to the south of the Danube, the middle part of Mesia was called Dacia Aureliana; and this new province was divided into Dacia Ripensis, the district along the Danube, and Dacia Interior, the district south of the latter, as far as the frontiers of Macedonia. In the reign of Valens, some of the Goths crossed the Danube, and settled in Mesia. These Goths
are sometimes called Mosso-Goths, and it was for their use that Ulphilas translated the Scriptures into Gothic, about the middle of the fourth century.

MOA. Now Anglesey, an island off the coast of the Orkneys, in Britain, and one of the chief seats of the Druids. It was invaded by Suetonius Paulinus, A.D. 61, and was conquered by Agricola, A.D. 78. Caesar (B. G., v., 13) erroneously describes this island as half way between Britannia and Hibernia. Hence it has been supposed by some critics that the Mona of Caesar is the Isle of Man; but it is more probable that he received a false report respecting the real position of Mona especially since all other ancient writers give the name of Mona to the Isle of Anglesey, and the name of the latter island is likely to have been mentioned to Caesar on account of its celebrity in connection with the Druids.

MOES. Now the Meuse, or Maas, a river in Gallia Belgica, rising in Mount Voguesus, in the territory of the Lingones, and falling into the Vahalis (Waal), or western branch of the Rhine.

MESTINI. The inhabitants of Mostene, a city of Lydia, in the Hycanian plain, to the southeast of Thyatira. It was one of the cities of Asia Minor, destroyed by the great earthquake in the reign of Tiberius, A.D. 17.

N.

NABATAEI. An Arabian people, who dwelt originally in the northwestern part of the Arabian peninsula. In the changes, however, effected among the communities of these regions by the Babylonian conquest of Judea, the Nabataeans extended westward into the Sinaiic peninsula and the territory of the Edomites, while the latter took possession of the southern part of Judea, which received from them the name of Idumea. Hence the Nabataeans of Greek and Roman history occupied nearly the whole of Arabia Petraea, along the northeastern coast of the Red Sea, on both sides of the Elanitic Gulf, and in the Idumean Mountains (Mountains of Seir), where they had their celebrated rock-hewn capital, Petra. At first they were a roving, pastoral people; but as their position gave them the command of the trade between Arabia and the West, they prosecuted that trade with great energy, establishing regular caravans. Sustained by this traffic, a powerful monarchy arose, which resisted all the attacks of the Greek kings of Syria. Under Augustus the Nabataeans are found as nominal subjects of the Roman empire. Under Trajan they were conquered by A. Cornelius Palma, and Arabia Petraea became a Roman province, A.D. 105–107.

NAHRVALLI. A German tribe dwelling between the Warta and the Vistula, near Petricaus.

NAR. Now the Nera, a river in Central Italy, rising in Mount Fiscelli, on the frontiers of Umbria and Picenum. It flows in a southwesterly direction, forming the boundary between Umbria and the land of the Sabini, and, after receiving the Velinus (Velino) and Telenus (Turano), and passing by Interamna and Narnia, it falls into the Tiber not far from Orciculum. It was celebrated for its sulphurous waters and white color.

NARISCI. A small but brave people in the south of Germany, of the Sue-
vic race, who dwelt to the west of the Marcomanni and east of the Her-
munduri, and extended from the Montes Sudeti on the north to the Dan-
ube on the south, thus inhabiting part of the Upper Palatinate and the coun-
try of the Fichtalgebirge.

Narnia. Now Narni, a town in Umbria, situate on a lofty hill, on
the south bank of the River Nar. It was originally called Nequium. It
was made a Roman colony B.C. 299, when its name was changed to Nar-
nia, after the river. This town was strongly fortified by nature, being ac-
cessible only on the eastern and western sides. On the west side it could
only be approached by a very lofty bridge, which Augustus built over the
river.

Naupactus. Now Ober (Upper) Leibach, an ancient and important
town of the Taurisci, situate on the River Naupactus (Leibach), a tributa-
ry of the Savus, in Pannonia Superior. The town fell into decay after the
founding of Emona (Leibach), which was only fifteen miles from it.

Nemeris. A people in Gallia Belgica, on the Rhine, whose chief town
was Novicomagus, subsequently Nemetes, now Speyer, or Spires.

Nervii. A powerful and warlike people in Gallia Belgica, whose terri-
tory extended from the River Sabis (Sambr) to the ocean, and part of
which was covered by the Silva Ardenua. They were divided into sev-
eral smaller tribes, the Centrones, Grudii, Levaci, Plemexii, and Geiduni.
In B.C. 58, they were defeated by Caesar with such slaughter, that out of
sixty thousand men capable of bearing arms only five hundred were left.

Nicomedia. A city at the southwestern extremity of Epirus, on the point
of land which forms the northern side of the entrance to the Gulf of Am-
bracia, opposite to Actium. It was built by Augustus in memory of the battle
of Actium, and was peopled from Ambracia, Anactorium, and other
neighboring cities, and also with settlers from Ætolia. Augustus also
built a temple of Apollo on a neighboring hill, and founded games in honor
of the god, which were held every fifth year. The city was received into
the Amphictyonic league in place of the Dolopes. It is spoken of as both
a libera civitas, and as a colony. It had a considerable commerce and ex-
tensive fisheries. It was made the capital of Epirus by Constantine, and
its buildings were restored both by Julian and by Justinian.

Nola. One of the most ancient towns of Campania, twenty-one Roman
miles to the southeast of Capua. It was founded by the Ausones, but after-
ward fell into the hands of the Etrurians, whence some writers call it
an Etruscan city. In B.C. 313 it was taken by the Romans. It remained
faithful to the Romans even after the battle of Cannes, when the other
Campanian towns revolted to Hannibal; and it was allowed, in consequence,
to retain its own constitution as an ally of the Romans. In the Social war
it fell into the hands of the confederates, and when taken by Sulla it was
burned to the ground by the Samnite garrison. It was afterward rebuilt, and
was made a Roman colony by Vespasian. The Emperor Augustus died at
Nola.

Noricum. A Roman province south of the Danube, which probably de-
rived its name from the town of Noreia. It was bounded on the north by the Danube, on the west by Rextia and Vindelicia, on the east by Pannonia, and on the south by Pannonia and Italy. It corresponded to the greater part of Styria and Carinthia, and a part of Austria, Bavaria, and Salzburg. Noricum was a mountainous country, for it was not only surrounded by mountains on the south and east, but one of the main branches of the Alps, the Alpes Norica (in the neighborhood of Salzburg), ran right through the province. In these mountains a large quantity of excellent iron was found, and the Noric swords were celebrated in antiquity. The inhabitants of the country were Celts, divided into several tribes, of which the Taurisci, also called Norici, after their capital, Noreia, were the most important. They were conquered by the Romans towards the end of the reign of Augustus, after the subjugation of Rextia by Tiberius and Drusus, and their country was formed into a Roman province.

Nutinhose. A people of Germany, dwelling on the right bank of the Albis (Elbe), to the southwest of the Saxones, and north of the Langobardi, in the southeastern part of the modern Mecklenburg.

Numidae. The inhabitants of Numidia, a district of Africa, answering to the modern Algiers. The Roman province of Numidia, however, corresponded merely to the eastern part of Algiers.

O.

Orkneys Insulae. Now the Orkney and Shetland Isles, a group of several small islands off the northern coast of Britain, with which the Romans first became acquainted when Agricola sailed round the north of Britain.

Ordoxes. A people in the western part of Britain, opposite the island of Mona (Anglesey), and occupying the northern part of modern Wales, or the counties of Flint, Denbigh, Caernarvon, Merioneth, and Montgomery.

Osi. A people of Germany, dwelling probably in the mountains between the sources of the Oder and the Gross. According to Tacitus, they were tributary to the Sarmatians, and also to the Quadi. The same writer makes them to have spoken the Pannonian language, and hence not to have been really a German race. Consult, however, notes on Germ., c. xxviii.

Ostia. A town at the mouth of the Tiber, and the harbor of Rome, from which it was distant sixteen miles by land. It was situated on the left bank of the left arm of the river. Ostia was founded by Ancus Marcius, the fourth king of Rome, was a Roman colony, and eventually became an important and flourishing town. In the civil wars it was destroyed by Marius, but it was soon rebuilt with greater splendor than before. The Emperor Claudius constructed a new and better harbor on the right arm of the Tiber, which was enlarged and improved by Trajan. This new harbor was simply called Portus Romanus, or Portus Augusti, and around it there sprang a flourishing town, also called Portus. The old town of Ostia, the harbor of which had already been partly filled up with sand, now sank into insignificance, and only continued to exist through its salt-works (salinae), which
had been established by Ancus Marcius. The ruins of Ostia are now between two and three miles from the coast, as the sea has gradually receded in consequence of the accumulation of sand deposited by the Tiber.

**Oxīōres.** A German tribe in the extreme North, named by Tacitus in connection with the Hellusii, and of whom nothing certain is known. They probably inhabited a part of Lapland.

**Pamphylia.** A belt of mountain coast-land along the southern shore of Asia Minor, between Lycia on the west, and Cilicia on the east, and on the north bordering upon Pisidia. It was intersected by rivers flowing down from the range of Taurus on the north, having a short course indeed, but several of them with a considerable body of water. The inhabitants were a mixture of races, whence their name Πάμφυλοι, "of all races." Besides the aboriginal inhabitants of the Semitic (Syro-Arabian) family, and Cilicians, there were very early Greek settlers and later Greek colonies in the land. Pamphylia was successively a part of the Persian, Macedonian, Greek-Syrian, and Pergamenian kingdoms, and passed by the will of Attalus III. to the Romans, B.C. 130, under whom it was made a province; but this province of Pamphylia included also Pisidia and Isauria, and afterward a part of Lycia. Under Constantine, however, Pisidia was again separated from Pamphylia.

**Pandateria, or Pandateria.** A small island in the Tyrrenian Sea, off the coast of Campania, to which Julia, the daughter of Augustus, was banished. It is now Ventotene.

**Pannonia.** One of the most important of the Roman provinces between the Danube and the Alps, separated on the west from Noricum by Mons Cetius, and from Upper Italy by the AlpesJuliae; on the south from Illyria, by the Savus; on the east from Dacia by the Danube; and on the north from Germany by the same river. It thus corresponded to the eastern part of Austria, Styria, Carinthia, Carniola, the whole of Hungary between the Danube and the Sav, Slovenia, and a part of Croatia and Bosnia. The Pannonians, sometimes called Pannonians by the Greek writers, were probably of Illyrian origin, and were divided into numerous tribes. They were a brave and warlike people, but are described by the Roman writers as cruel, faithless, and treacherous. They maintained their independence of Rome until Augustus, after his conquest of the Illyrians (B.C. 35), turned his arms against them, and they were shortly afterward subdued by his general, Vibius. In A.D. 7 the Pannonians joined the Dalmatians and the other Illyrian tribes in their revolt from Rome, and were with difficulty conquered by Tiberius, after a desperate struggle, which lasted three years (A.D. 7-9). It was after the termination of this war that Pannonia appears to have been reduced to the form of a Roman province, and was garrisoned by several Roman legions. The dangerous mutiny of these troops after the death of Augustus is described in the first book of the Annals. From this time to the end of the empire, Pannonia always contained a large number of Roman
troops, on account of its bordering on the Quadi and other powerful barbarous nations. In consequence of the large number of troops always stationed in this country, several towns were founded, and numerous fortresses were erected along the Danube. Pannonia originally formed only one province, but was soon divided into two provinces, called Pannonia Superior and Pannonia Inferior.

PARTHII. The Parthians, a warlike people of the East, especially celebrated as horse-archers. Their tactics, of which the Romans had fatal experience in their first wars with them, became so celebrated as to pass into a proverb. Their mail-clad horsemen spread like a cloud round the hostile army, and poured in a shower of darts; and then evaded any closer conflict by a rapid flight, during which they still shot their arrows backward upon the enemy. Parthia, or Parthiene, as a country of Asia, lay to the southeast of the Caspian, and east of Media. The Parthian empire, however, extended over Asia from the Euphrates to the Indus, and from the Indian Ocean to the range of Paropamisus, or even to the River Oxus; but on this northern frontier they had to maintain a continual conflict with the nomad tribes of Central Asia.

PERINTHUS. An important city of Thrace, on the Propontis, founded by the Samians, about B.C. 559. It was situate twenty-two miles to the west of Selymbria, on a small peninsula, and was built on the slope of a hill, with rows of houses rising above each other like seats in an amphitheatre. It is celebrated for the obstinate resistance which it offered to Philip of Macedon, at which time it was a more powerful place than Byzantium. Under the Romans it still continued to be a flourishing city, being the point at which most of the roads met leading to Byzantium.

PECUNI. Vid. BASTARNÆ.

PHILADELPHIA. A city of Lydia, at the foot of Mount Tmolus, on the little River Cogamus, southeast of Sardis. It was built by Attalus Philadelphus, king of Pergamus. It suffered greatly from earthquakes, so that in Strabo's time (under Augustus) it had greatly declined. In the reign of Tiberius (A.D. 17), it was almost destroyed by one of these visitations. It was an early seat of Christianity, and its Church is one of the seven to which the Apocalypse is addressed.

PICENUM. A country of Central Italy, forming a narrow strip of land along the western coast of the Adriatic; bounded on the north by Umbria, on the west by Umbria and the territory of the Sabines, and on the south by the territory of the Marci and Vestini. The Picentes were Sabine immigrants, but the population of the country appears to have been of a mixed character. A portion of the people were transplanted to the coast of the Sinus Pustanus, where they founded the town Picentia.

PLANASIA. Now Pisansia, an island between Corsica and the coast of Eturia, to which Augustus banished his grandson Agrippa Postumus, in A.D. 7.

POMPEIOPOLIS. Consult notes on Ann., ii., 59.

PONTES LONGI. Consult notes on Ann., i., 63.
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PROPONTIS. Now the Sea of Marmara, the small sea which united the Euxine and Ægean, and which divided Europe in this quarter from Asia. Its ancient name was derived from its position with reference to the Euxine, it being more fully described as ἡ πρὸ τοῦ Πόντου τοῦ Ἐβρείων θάλασσα, and also "vestibulum Ponti." It is of an irregular oval shape, running out on the east into two deep gulfs, the Sinus Astacenus (Gulf of Ismid) and the Sinus Cianus (Gulf of Mendarich), and containing several islands. Several important Greek cities stood on its shores, the chief of which were Byznàtium and Perinthus on the north, and Cyprus on the south.

PYRENEUS. Now the Jihos, one of the largest rivers of Asia Minor, rising in the chain of Antitaurus, and which, after running southeast, first underground, and then as a navigable river, breaks through the Taurus chain by a deep and narrow ravine, and then flows southwest through Cilicia, in a deep and rapid stream. It falls into the sea near Mallus. Its earlier name is said to have been Leucosyros, from the Leucosyri, who dwelt on its banks.

Q.

QUADI. A powerful German people of the Suevic race, who dwelt in the southeast of Germany, between Mons Gabreta, the Silva Hercynia, the Sarmatische Montes, and the Danube. They were bounded on the west by the Marcomanni, with whom they were always closely united; on the north by the Gothini and Osi; on the east by the Iazyges Metanasæ; and on the south by the Pannonians, from whom they were divided by the Danube. They probably settled in this district at the same time that the Marcomanni made themselves masters of Bohemia; but we have no account of their earlier settlements. When Maroboduus, and, shortly after, his successor, Catulda, had been expelled from their dominions, and had taken refuge with the Romans, in the reign of Tiberius, the Romans assigned to the barbarians, who had accompanied these monarchs, and who consisted chiefly of Marcomanni and Quadi, the country between the Marus and Cusus, and gave to them as King Vannius, who belonged to the Quadi. Vannius was expelled by his nephews Vangio and Sido; but this new kingdom of the Quadi continued for a long time afterward under Roman protection. In the reign of M. Aurelius, however, the Quadi joined the Marcomanni and other German tribes in the long and bloody war against the empire, which lasted during the greater part of that emperor's reign. The independence of the Marcomanni and Quadi was secured by a peace which Commodus made with them in A.D. 180. Their name is especially memorable in the history of this war, by the victory which M. Aurelius gained over them in A.D. 174, when his army was in great danger of being destroyed by these barbarians, and was said to have been saved by a sudden storm, which was attributed to the prayers of his Christian soldiers. The Quadi disappear from history towards the end of the fourth century. They probably migrated with the Suevi farther west.
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R.

RÆTIA. A Roman province, south of the Danube, which appears properly to have comprehended the whole country between this river and the north of Italy, and consequently to have included Vindelicia. Dio Cassius (liv., 22), in his account of the conquest of the Ræti and Vindelici by Drusus and Tiberius, only mentions the Ræti. Strabo often speaks of them (iv., p. 193; 206; vii., p. 449, &c.) as if they were only one people; and Tacitus, in several passages, appears to include Vindelicia in the province of Rætia. In the time of Augustus, however, these two countries formed two separate provinces, of which Rætia was bounded on the west by the Helvetii, on the east by Noricum, on the south by Gallia Cisalpina, and on the north by Vindelicia, from which it was separated by the Lacus Brigantinus, or Lake of Constance, and the River Oenus, or Inn. It included the greater part of the Tyrol, and the eastern cantons of Switzerland. The only town of importance in Rætia was Tridentum (Trent), on the Athasis (Adige), the capital of the Tridentini.

Rætian Alps. A part of the chain of the Alps, running through the greater part of the province of Rætia. These mountains extended from the St. Gotthard to the Ortler, by the pass by the Stelvio; and in them rose the Oenus (Inn), and most of the chief rivers in the north of Italy, such as the Athesis, Adda, &c.

Raudii Campi. A plain in the north of Italy, near Vercelli, where Marius and Catulus defeated the Cimbri, B.C. 101.

Ravenna. An important town in Gallia Cisalpina, on the River Bedesia, and about a mile from the sea, though it is now about five miles in the interior, in consequence of the sea having receded all along this coast. Ravenna was situate in the midst of marshes, and was only accessible in one direction by land, probably by the road leading from Ariminum. The town laid claim to a high antiquity. It was said to have been founded by Thebassians (Pelasgi), and afterward to have passed into the hands of the Umbrians, but it long remained an insignificant place, and its greatness does not begin till the time of the empire, when Augustus made it one of the two chief stations of the Roman fleet, the other being Misenum, on the lower sea. This emperor not only enlarged the town, but caused a large harbor to be constructed on the coast, capable of containing two hundred and forty triremes, and he connected this harbor with the Po by means of a canal called Paibus, or Augusti Fossa. This harbor was called Classes, and between it and Ravenna a new town sprang up, to which the name of Cesarea was given. All three were subsequently formed into one town, and were surrounded by strong fortifications. Ravenna thus suddenly became one of the most important places in the north of Italy. The town itself, however, was mean in appearance. In consequence of the marshy nature of the soil, most of the houses were built of wood, and, since an arm of the canal was carried through some of the principal streets, the communication was carried on to a great extent by gondolas, as in modern Venice.
The town, also, was very deficient in a supply of good drinking water; but it was not considered unhealthy, since the canals drained the marshes to a great extent, and the ebb and flow of the tide prevented the waters from stagnating. In the neighborhood good wine was grown, notwithstanding the marshy nature of the soil. When the Roman empire was threatened by the barbarians, the emperors of the West took up their residence at Ravenna, which, on account of its situation and its fortifications, was regarded as impregnable. After the downfall of the Western empire, Theodore also made it the capital of his kingdom; and after the overthrow of the Gothic dominion by Narses, it became the residence of the exarchs, or the governors of the Byzantine empire in Italy, until the Lombards took the town, A.D. 752. The modern Ravenna stands on the site of the ancient town.

Regium Lebidi, or simply Regium, also Forum Lebidi. Now Reggio, a town of the Boii, in Gallia Cisalpina, between Mutina and Parma, which was probably made a colony by the Consul M. Æmilius Lepidus, when he constructed the Æmilia Via through Cisalpine Gaul.

Revidomia. A people in the north of Germany, on the right bank of the Albia (Eithe), to the north of the Langobardi.

Rhegium. A celebrated Greek town on the coast of Bruttium, in the south of Italy, situate on the Fretum Siculum, or the straits which separate Italy and Sicily. The ancients derived its name from the Greek verb ἤργαμα "to break," because it was supposed that Sicily was at this place torn asunder from Italy. Rhegium was founded about the beginning of the first Messenian war, B.C. 743, by Æolian Chalcidians from Euboea, and by Doric Messenians who had quitted their native country on the commencement of hostilities between Sparta and Messenia. At the end of the second Messenian war, B.C. 668, a large body of Messenians, under the conduct of the sons of Aristomenes, settled at Rhegium, which now became a flourishing and important city, and extended its authority over several of the neighboring towns. At a subsequent period it was taken, after a long war, by Dionysius of Syracuse, and treated with the greatest severity. It never recovered after this its former greatness, though it still continued to be a place of considerable importance. It suffered greatly from an earthquake, shortly before the breaking out of the Social war, B.C. 90; but its population was afterward augmented by Augustus, who settled here a number of veterans from his fleet. The Greek language continued to be spoken at Rhegium until a very late time, and the town was subject to the Byzantine court long after the downfall of the Western empire.

Rhenus. Now the Rhine (in German the Rhein), one of the great rivers of Europe, forming in ancient times the boundary between Gaul and Germany, rose in Mons Adula (St. Gotthard), not far from the sources of the Rhone. It flows first in a westerly direction, passing through the Lacus Brigantinus (Lake of Constance), till it reaches Basilia (Basil), where it takes a northerly direction, and eventually flows into the ocean by several mouths. The ancients spoke of two main arms, into which the Rhine was
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divided on entering the territory of the Batavi, of which the one on the east continued to bear the name of Rhenus; while that on the west, into which the Mosca (Meuse) flowed, was called Vahalis (Waal). After Drusus, in B.C. 12, had connected the Flevo Lacus (Zuyder Zee) with the Rhine, by means of a canal, in making which he probably made use of the bed of the Yssel, we find mention of three mouths of the Rhine. Of these the names, as given by Pliny, are, on the west, the Helium (the Vahalis of other writers); in the centre, the Rhenus; and on the east, the Flevum; but at a later time we again find mention of only two mouths. The Rhine is described by the ancients as a broad, rapid, and deep river. It received many tributaries, of which the most important were the Mosella (Moselle) and Mos (Meuse), on the left; and the Nicer (Neckar), Mannus (Main), and Luppia (Lippe), on the right. Its length is stated differently by the ancient writers. Its whole course amounts to about nine hundred and fifty miles. The inundations of the river near its mouth are mentioned by the ancients. Caesar was the first Roman general who crossed the Rhine. He threw a bridge over the river, probably in the neighborhood of Cologne.

Rhôdes. New Rhodes, the easternmost island of the Ægean, or, more specifically, of the Carpathian Sea. It lay off the southern coast of Caria, due south of the promontory of Cynossema (Cape Aloupo), at the distance of about twelve geographical miles. Its length, from northeast to southwest, is about forty-five miles; its greatest breadth about twenty to twenty-five. It appears to have been first colonized by the Phœcians; and subsequently by the Dorians. Homer mentions the three Dorian settlements in the island, namely, Lindus, Ialysus, and Camirus. Rhodes soon became a great maritime state, or rather confederacy, the island being parcelled out between the three cities just mentioned. The Rhodians made distant voyages, and founded numerous colonies. In B.C. 406, the new capital, called Rhodus, was built, and peopled from the three ancient cities of Lindus, Ialysus, and Camirus. The Rhodians came into connection with the Romans, whose alliance they joined, in the war against Philip III. of Macedon. They also rendered important aid to the Romans in the Mithradatic war. They were finally deprived of their independence, however, by the Emperor Claudius; and their prosperity received its final blow from an earthquake, which laid the city of Rhodus in ruins, in the reign of Antoninus Pius, A.D. 155.

S.

Sabini. One of the most ancient and powerful of the communities of Central Italy. The different tribes of the Sabine race were widely spread over the whole of Central Italy, and were connected with the Opici, Umbrians, and those other tribes whose languages were akin to the Greek. The earliest traces of the Sabines were found in the neighborhood of Amiternum, at the foot of the main chain of the Apennines, whence they spread as far south as the confines of Lucania and Apulia. The Sabines may be divided into three great classes, called by the names of Sabini, Sabelli, and Samnites respectively. The Sabini proper inhabited the country between
the Nar, the Anio, and the Tiber, between Latium, Etruria, Umbria, and Picenum. This district was mountainous, and better adapted for pasturage than corn. The Sabelli were the smaller tribes, who issued from the Sabines, such as the Vestini, Marsi, Marrucini, Peligni, Frentani, and Hirpini. The Samnites, who were by far the most powerful of all the Sabine communities, were the inhabitants of Samnium. There were certain national characteristics which distinguished the whole Sabine race. They were a people of simple and virtuous habits, faithful to their word, and imbued with deep religious feeling. The form of government among them was republican; but in war they chose a sovereign ruler (Embratur), whom the Romans sometimes call dictator, and sometimes king. With the exception of the Sabines in Lucania and Campania, they never attained any high degree of civilisation or mental culture; but they were always distinguished by their love of freedom, which they maintained with the greatest bravery. Of this the Samnites were the most striking example. After the decline of the Etrurian power, the Sabines were for a long time the greatest people in Italy; and, if they had remained united, they might have conquered the whole peninsula. The Sabines formed one of the elements of which the Roman people were composed. In the time of Romulus, a portion of the Sabines, after the abduction of their wives and daughters, became incorporated with the Romans, and the two communities were united under the general name of Quirites. The remainder of the Sabini proper, who were less warlike than the Samnites and Sabellians, were finally subdued by M. Curius Dentatus, B.C. 290.

Samos. Consult notes on Ann., ii., 54.

Sardini. The inhabitants of Sardis, the capital of the old Lydian monarchy. This city stood on the southern edge of the rich valley of the Hermus, at the northern foot of Mount Tmolus, on the little River Pactolus, thirty stadia south of the junction of that river with the Hermus. On a lofty, precipitous rock, forming an outpost of the range of Tmolus, was the almost impregnable citadel, surrounded by a triple wall, and containing the palace and treasury of the Lydian kings. On the downfall of the Lydian monarchy, and the establishment of the Persian rule over Asia Minor, Sardis became the residence of the satrap of Lydia. The rise of Pergamus subsequently diminished its importance in a great degree, but under the Romans it was still a considerable city, and the seat of a conventus juridicus. In the reign of Tiberius (A.D. 17), Sardis was almost destroyed by an earthquake, but it was restored by the emperor's aid. It was one of the earliest seats of the Christian religion, and one of the seven Churches in the province of Asia to which St. John addressed the Apocalypse; but the apostle's language (Rev., iii., 1, seqq.) implies that the Church at Sardis had already sunk into almost hopeless decay.

Sardinia. A large island in the Mediterranean, lying in almost a central position between Spain, Gaul, Italy, and Africa. The Greeks, besides the ordinary name Σαρδώ or Σαρδών, called it also Ίχνωνα (Ichnusa), from its resemblance to the print of a foot (Ἰχνός). A chain of mountains
(Montes fessi) runs along the whole of the eastern side of the island, from north to south, occupying about one third of its surface; but in the western and southern parts there are numerous plains, intersected by ranges of smaller hills. This latter portion of the island, however, was in antiquity, as it is in the present day, exceedingly unhealthy. Sardinia was very fertile, but was not extensively cultivated, in consequence of the uncivilized character of its inhabitants. Still the plains in the western and southern parts produced large quantities of corn, a great portion of which was exported to Rome every year. The wool, also, of the island formed an important article of export. Sardinia likewise contained a large quantity of the precious metals. The Romans obtained possession of this island in B.C. 236, after it had long been in the hands of the Carthaginians. The inhabitants, however, of the mountains on the eastern side of the island were never completely subdued, and gave trouble to the Romans even in the time of Tiberius.

Seleucia Pieria. A city and fortress of Syria, founded by Seleucus, one month before the foundation of Antioch; namely, in April, B.C. 300. It stood on the site of an ancient fortress, on the rocks overhanging the sea, at the foot of Mount Pieria, about four miles north of the Orontes, and twelve miles west of Antioch. Its natural strength was improved by every known art of fortification, to which were added all the works of architecture and engineering required to make it a splendid city and a great sea-port, while it obtained abundant supplies from the fertile plain between the city and Antioch. The remains of Seleucus were interred at Seleucia, in a mausoleum surrounded by a grove. This city, however, had fallen entirely to decay by the sixth century of our era.

Semnoes. A German people, described by Tacitus as the most powerful tribe of the Suevic race, and who dwelt between the Viadus (Oder) and Albia (Elbe), from the Riesengebirge, in the south, as far as the country around Frankfurt on the Oder, and Potsdam in the north. The Romans first came in contact with them in the expeditions of Tiberius and the wars against Arminius, to whom, together with the Langobardi, they went over from Maroboduus; and then again in the time of Domitian, when a king of theirs, Masyus, whom they had driven out, came to Rome.

Sequani. A powerful Celtic people, in Gallia Belgica, separated from the Helvetii by Mons Jura, from the Ædui by the Arar (Sabine), and from the province Narbonensis by the Rhone. They inhabited the country called Franche Comté and Burgundy. They derived their name from the River Sequana (Seine), which had its source on the northwestern frontier of their territory. Their chief town was Vesontio (Besançon).


Silures. A powerful people in Britain, inhabiting South Wales. They long offered a formidable resistance to the Romans, and were the only people in the island who, at a later period, maintained their independence against the Saxons.

Sinus Codanus. Not the Baltic, as is commonly supposed, but the
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southwestern part of the Mare Suevicum, which last answers to the Bal-

SUEBONES. A German tribe, who seem to have lived near Lübeck, by
the River Schwerte.

SUEVI. One of the greatest and most powerful communities of Germa-
ny, or, more properly speaking, the collective name of a great number of
German tribes, who were grouped together on account of their migratory
mode of life, and spoken of in opposition to the more settled tribes. The
Suevi are described, by all the ancient writers, as occupying the greater
half of all Germany; but the accounts vary with respect to the part of the
country which they inhabited. Caesar represents them as dwelling to the east
of the Ubii and Sygambri, and west of the Cheruscis, and their country as di-
vided into one hundred cantons. Strabo makes them extend in an easterly
direction beyond the Albe (Elbe), and in a southerly one as far as the sources
of the Danube. Tacitus gives the name of Suevia to the whole of the eastern
part of Germany, from the Danube to the Baltic. At a later period, the
collective name of the Suevi gradually disappeared, and the different tribes
of the Suevic race were each called by their distinctive names. In the
second half of the third century, however, we again find a people called
Suevi, dwelling between the mouth of the Main and the Black Forest,
whose name is still preserved in the modern Swabia; but this people were
only a body of bold adventurers from various German tribes, who assumed
the celebrated name of Suevi in consequence of their not possessing any
distinguishing appellation of their own.

SUIONES. A German tribe, inhabiting the south of Sweden, which was
supposed by the ancients to be an island.

SURRENTUM. A town of Campania, opposite Capreae, and situate on
the Promontorium Minerve, which separated the Sinus Paestanus from the
Sinus Putolanus. It was subsequently a Roman colony, and on the hills
in its neighborhood was grown one of the best wines in Italy, which was
strongly recommended to convalescents on account of its thinness and
wholesomeness.

SYENE. A city of Upper Egypt, on the eastern bank of the Nile, just
below the first cataract. It has been in all ages the southern frontier city
of Egypt towards Ethiopia, and under the Romans it was kept by a garrison
of three cohorts. From its neighborhood was obtained the fine granite called
Syennite Lapis. It was also an important point in the astronomy and geo-
ography of the ancients, as it lay just under the tropic of Cancer, and was
therefore chosen as the place through which they drew their chief parallel
of latitude. Of course, the sun was vertical to Syene at the time of the
summer solstice, and a well was shown in which the reflection of the sun
was then seen at noon; or, as the rhetorician Aristides expresses it, the
disk of the sun covered the well, as a vessel is covered by its lid.

SYGAMBRi, SIGAMBRi, SUGAMBRi, or SIGAMBRI. One of the most pow-
erful communities of Germany at an early time, belonging to the Istevones,
and dwelling originally north of the Ubii, on the Rhine, whence they spread
themselves towards the north, as far as the Luppia (Leppe). The Sygambri are mentioned by Caesar, who invaded their territory. They were conquered by Tiberius in the reign of Augustus, and a large number of them were transplanted to Gaul, where they received settlements between the Menus and Rhine as Roman subjects. The portion of the Sygambri who remained in Germany withdrew farther south, probably to the mountainous country in the neighborhood of Mount Taunus. Shortly afterward they disappear from history, and are not mentioned again till the time of Ptolemy, who places them much farther north, close to the Bructeri and the Langobardi, somewhere between the Vecht and the Yssel. At a still later period, we find them forming an important part of the confederacy known under the name of Franci.

T.

Tarentum. An important Greek city in Italy, situate on the western coast of the peninsula of Calabria, and on a bay of the sea, about one hundred stadia in circuit, forming an excellent harbor, and being a portion of the great Gulf of Tarentum. The city stood in the midst of a beautiful and fertile country. It was originally built by the Iapygians; but its greatness dates from B.C. 706, when the original inhabitants were expelled, and the town was taken possession of by a strong body of Lacedaemonian Parthenios under the guidance of Phalanthus. Tarentum soon became the most powerful and flourishing city in the whole of Magna Graecia, and exercised a kind of supremacy over the other Greek cities in Italy. It carried on an extensive commerce, possessed a considerable fleet of ships of war, and was able to bring into the field, with the assistance of its allies, an army of thirty thousand foot and three thousand horse. The city itself, in its most flourishing period, contained twenty-two thousand men capable of bearing arms. The Tarentines eventually came into collision with the Romans, and were saved for a time by Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, who came to their help in B.C. 281; but two years after the final defeat of this monarch, and his withdrawal from Italy, their city was taken by the Romans, B.C. 272. In the second Punic war, Tarentum revolted from Rome to Hannibal (B.C. 212); but it was retaken by the Romans in B.C. 207, and was treated by them with great severity. From this time it declined in prosperity and wealth. It was subsequently made a Roman colony, and it still continued to be a place of considerable importance in the time of Augustus. The neighborhood of Tarentum produced the best wool in all Italy, and was also celebrated for its excellent wine, figs, pears, and other fruits. Its purple dye was also much valued in antiquity.

Tarracina, more anciently called Anxur. An ancient town of Latium, situated fifty-eight miles southeast of Rome, on the Via Appia and upon the coast, with a strongly fortified citadel upon a high hill, on which stood the temple of Jupiter Anxurus. It was probably a Pelasgian town originally; but it afterward belonged to the Volsci, by whom it was called Anxur. It was conquered by the Romans, who gave it the name of Tarracina, and it
was made a Roman colony B.C. 329. Three miles west of the town stood the grove of Feronia, with a temple of this goddess. The place is now called Terracina. The ancient walls of the citadel are still visible on the slope of Montecchio.

TARRACONENSIS COLONIA. Vid. Hispania, and consult notes on Ann., i., 78.

TAUNUS. A range of mountains in Germany, at no great distance from the confluence of the Menus (Maia) and the Rhine. Mount Taunus is now called not only by its ancient name, but also die Hohe and der Heyrich.

TENNUS. A city of Aeolis, in the northwestern part of Lydia (some say in Mysia), on the western bank of the Hermus, thirty miles south of Cyme. It was nearly destroyed by an earthquake in the reign of Tiberius, and in that of Titus (Pliny's time) it no longer existed.

TENCTERI. A people of Germany, dwelling on the Rhine, between the Ruhr and the Sieg, to the south of the Usipetes, in conjunction with whom their name usually occurs. They crossed the Rhine, together with the Usipetes, with the intention of settling in Gaul, but they were defeated by Caesar with great slaughter, and those who escaped took refuge in the territories of their southern neighbors the Sygambri. The Tencteri afterward belonged to the league of the Cherusci, and at a still later period they are mentioned as a portion of the confederacy of the Franks.

TEUTOBURGIENSIS SALTUS. A range of hills in Germany covered with wood, extending north of the Luppia (Lippe), from Osnabrück to Paderborn, and known at the present day by the name of the Teutoburger Wald, or Lipische Wald. It is celebrated on account of the defeat and destruction of Varus and three Roman legions by the Germans under Arminius, in A.D. 9.

TEUTONES, or TEUTONI. The name of the Teutones was made known to the ancients by Pytheas of Massilia (Marseilles), who, in the age of Alexander the Great, about 320 B.C., discovered a nation of that name in the Chersonesus Cimbria, and on the adjacent islands, or in the present countries of Holstein, Schleswig, Denmark, and perhaps also in the southern extremity of Sweden. It seems that they had long been settled there, for they lived in houses, and were acquainted with agriculture and commerce. Other traces of the name appear later. Among the Celtic tribes which invaded Greece and besieged Delphi, under the second Brennus (B.C. 278), there was a people called Teutobodisci, who afterward passed the Hellespont, and settled with the Celts in Galatia in Asia Minor. About a hundred and sixty years later, the Romans were attacked by the Cimbr and Teutones, who came from the same country, where they had been seen by Pytheas. When the Romans first heard the name of the Teutones, they thought that they were a single tribe. They did not know that it was also the general and ethnographic name of all those nations to which they afterward gave the designation of Germans.

Origin of the name Teutones.

The root of the word Teuton is thu or do, which originally represented
the idea of "activity," of "living, procreating, nourishing," and also of "taming, educating, and ruling." From this root are formed the following words, some of which are still used in the popular dialects: Teut, "God, creator, ruler, father, nourisher" (Thor, Tuisco); thut or thiud, "earth;" tot, dot, doke, "godfather;" tode, "nurse;" thiud, "father of the people;" "lord, ruler, king," in Gothic thiudan, in old Bavarian theodo; diet, "people," in old Swedish thiuis and thyd; thiudanar, in Gothic, "kingdom." (Fulda, Wurzel-Wörterbuch). The names of king and of people being both derived from one root, which expresses the notion of ruling, is a fact which proves that they belong to the language of a nation in which there was neither absolute monarchical power, nor absolute submission to their chiefs. This corresponds exactly to the political state of the ancient Teutonic nations, among whom the sovereignty was in the people, and the executive power of the chiefs or kings, although it was obeyed, was always regarded as derived from the people. The idea of ruling, expressed by the root Teut, explains why this word occurs so frequently in the names of the ancient Teutonic kings, dukes, or chiefs, such as Teutoboch, Theudorix, Diorix, Theodorix, Theodoric, Theodomir, Theodimir, Teutagon, &c. It is likewise contained in the general name of all the Teutonic nations, and in those of various tribes, as the Teutones, the Teutonicarii, Thiafali, and the Dithmarenses, or Dietmarises. It is visible in "Teutoburger Wald," the name of that range of wooded mountains which stretches from Detmold westward beyond Osnabrück, in which is situated the Grotenburg, formerly "Teut" or "Teutoberg," with the farm of Teutoburg, where Varus was overthrown by Arminius; in "Detmold," "Doesburg," "Duisburg," "Deutz," and in a great many other localities in Germany. Teuton is identical with Deutsche or Teutsche (in low German, Deutsch; in Dutch, Duitsch; in Danish, Tysk; in English, Dutch), which from the remotest time has been, and is still, the general name of that part of the Teutonic nations which we now call Germans, who considered the god or hero Tuisco as their common ancestor. There are no direct proofs of the word Teuton having had this extensive meaning in the earliest German history, but this is, perhaps, the result of the political state of the Teutonic nations, which were originally divided into numerous tribes, each of which became separately known to the Romans. In the twelfth, eleventh, and even as early as the tenth century, when the difference between Franks and Saxons was well marked in the German empire, these nations, each of which had its own language and laws, never objected to being called by the general name of Deutsche, or Teutones. At present there is no German tribe which has the particular name of Teutones; but, although the Germans are composed of two very distinct nations, the High Germans and the Low Germans, they call themselves Deutsche, and their language Deutsch, though they do not understand each other. (Penny Cyclopedia, vol. xxiv., p. 202.)

Thebais. The capital of Thebals, or Upper Egypt, and for a long time of the whole country, and reputed the oldest city in the world. It stood in about the centre of the Thebaid, on both banks of the Nile, above Coptos,
and in the Nome of Coptites. It is said to have been founded by Ethiopians; but this is of course only a form of the tradition (now much doubted), which represents the civilization of Upper Egypt as having come down the Nile. Others ascribed its foundation to Oaïris, who named it after his mother, and others to Busiris; but this is mere fable. It appears to have been at the height of its splendor as the capital of Egypt, and as a chief seat of the worship of Ammon, about B.C. 1600. The fame of its grandeur had reached the Greeks as early as the time of Homer, who describes it in terms of the greatest poetical exaggeration. Its extent was calculated by subsequent Greek writers at one hundred and forty stadia (fourteen geographical miles) in circuit; and in Strabo's time, when the long transference of the seat of power to Lower Egypt had caused it to decline greatly, it still had a circuit of eighty stadia. That these computations are not exaggerated is proved by the existing ruins, which extend from side to side of the valley of the Nile, here about six miles wide; while the rocks which bound the valley are perforated with tombs. These ruins, which are perhaps the most magnificent in the world, enclose within their site the four modern villages of Carnac, Luxor, Medinet Abou, and Gournou; the two former on the east, and the two latter on the west side of the river. They consist of temples, colossi, sphinxes, and obelisks; and on the west side of tombs, many of which are cut in the rock, and adorned with paintings, which are still as fresh as if just finished. These ruins are remarkable alike for their great antiquity and for the purity of their style. It is most probable that the great buildings were all erected before the Persian invasion, when Thebes was taken by Cambyses, and the wooden habitations were burned; after which time it never regained the rank of a capital city; and thus its architectural monuments escaped that Greek influence which is so marked in the edifices of Lower Egypt. Among its chief buildings the ancient writers mention the Memnonium, with the two colossi in front of it; the temple of Ammon, in which one of the three chief colleges of priests was established; and the tombs of the kings.

THULE. An island in the northern part of the German Ocean, regarded by the ancients as the most northerly point in the whole earth. It is first mentioned by Pytheas, the celebrated Greek navigator of Massilia, who undertook a voyage to Britain and Thule, of which he gave a description in his work on the Ocean. All subsequent writers who speak of Thule appear to have taken their accounts from that of Pytheas. According to Pytheas, Thule was a six days' sail from Britain, and the day and night there were each six months long. He further stated, that in Thule and those distant parts there was neither earth, sea, nor air, but a sort of mixture of all these, in which the earth, and the sea, and every thing else were suspended, and which could not be penetrated either by land or by sea. Many modern writers suppose the Thule of Pytheas to be the same as Iceland, while others regard it as a part of Norway, and others, again, take it to be the same with Mainland, one of the Shetland Isles. The Thule of Ptolemy, however, lay much farther to the south than that of Pytheas, and
is probably Mainland, while the Thule mentioned by Tacitus, in his life of Agricola, is in all likelihood Iceland.

Tiberis. The chief river in Central Italy, on which stood the city of Rome. It is said to have been originally called Albula, and to have received the name of Tiberis in consequence of Tiberinus, king of Alba, having been drowned in it. It has been supposed, however, that Albula was the Latin, and Tiberis the Etruscan name of the river. The Tiber rises from two springs of limpid water in the Apennines, near Tiferum, and flows in a southwesterly direction, separating Etruria from Umbria, the land of the Sabines, and Latium. After flowing about one hundred and ten miles, it receives the Nar (Nera), and from its confluence with this river its regular navigation begins. Three miles above Rome, at the distance of nearly seventy miles from the Nar, it receives the Anio (Teverone), and from this point becomes a river of considerable importance. Within the walls of Rome, the Tiber is about three hundred feet wide, and from twelve to eighteen feet deep. After heavy rains the river in ancient times, as at the present day, frequently overflowed its banks, and did considerable mischief to the lower parts of the city. (Compare notes on Ann., i., 78.) At Rome the maritime navigation of the river begins, and at eighteen miles from the city, and about four miles from the coast, it divides into two arms, forming an island, which was sacred to Venus, and called Insula Sacra (Isola Sacra). The left branch of the river runs into the sea by Ostia, which was the ancient harbor of Rome; but in consequence of the accumulation of sand at the mouth of the left branch, the right branch was widened by Trajan, and was made the regular harbor of Rome under the name of Portus Romanus, Portus Augusti, or simply Portus. The whole length of the Tiber, with its windings, is about two hundred miles. The waters of the river are muddy and yellowish, whence it is frequently called by the Roman poets flavus Tiberis. The poets also give it the epithets of Tyrrhenus, because it flowed past Etruria during the whole of its course, and of Lydus, because the Etruscans, according to some, were of Lydian origin.

Ticinum. Now Pavia, a city in Gallia Cisalpina, on the left bank of the Ticinus (Tessino). The Lombards, who made it the capital of their dominions, gave it the name of Papia, from which its modern appellation, with a very slight change of form, has been derived.


Tmolus. A celebrated mountain of Asia Minor, running east and west through the centre of Lydia, and dividing the plain of the Hermus, on the north, from that of the Caýster, on the south. At its eastern end it joins Mount Messogis, thus entirely enclosing the valley of the Caýster. On the west, after throwing out the northwestern branch called Sipylus, it runs far out into the Ægean, forming, under the name of Mimas, the great Ionian peninsula, beyond which it is still farther prolonged in the island of Chios. On its northern side are the sources of the Pactolus and Cogamus; on its southern side those of the Caýster. It produced wine, saffron, zinc, and gold.
TOULON. A town of Gallia Narbonensis, now Toulon. It was the capital of the Tectosages, and was situate on the Garumna, near the frontiers of Aquitania. It was a large and wealthy place, and contained a celebrated temple, in which great riches were deposited. In this temple there is said to have been preserved a great part of the booty taken by Brennus from the temple at Delphi. The town and temple were plundered by the consul Q. Servilius Caspio, in B.C. 106; but the subsequent destruction of his army, and his own unhappy fate, were regarded as a divine punishment for his sacrilegious act. Hence arose the proverb, Aurum Tolosanum habet.

TREVIRI. A powerful people in Gallia Belgica, who were faithful allies of the Romans, and whose cavalry was the best in all Gaul. The River Mosella flowed through their territory, which extended westward from the Rhine as far as the Remi. Their chief town was made a Roman colony by Augustus, and was called Augusta Treverorum, now Trier or Treves. It stood on the right bank of the Mosella, and became, under the later empire, one of the most flourishing Roman cities north of the Alps. It was the capital of Belgica Prima; and, after the division of the Roman world by Diocletian (A.D. 292) into four districts, it became the residence of the Caesar, who had the government of Britain, Gaul, and Spain. The modern city still contains many interesting Roman remains; they belong, however, to the later period of the empire, and are consequently not in the best style of art.

TRIBOCI, or TRIBOCCII. A German tribe, on the left bank of the Rhine and between that river and the Mediomatrici and Lerici. Their chief city was Argentoratum, now Strasbourg.

TRUTULENSIS PORTUS. Consult notes on Agric., c. xxxviii.

TURANTES. A German tribe, allies of the Cheruscii. They originally dwelt between the Rhine and the Yssel; in the time of Germanicus, on the southern bank of the Lippe, between Paderborn, Hamm, and the Arnsberger Wald; and at a still later time, in the neighborhood of the Thüringer Wald, between the Fulda and the Werra. Subsequently they are mentioned as a part of the great league of the Franci.

TUNXI. A German tribe, who crossed the Rhine, and settled in Gaul, in the country formerly occupied by the Adustici and the Eburones. Their chief town was called Tungri, or Adustica Tungrorum, now Tongern or Tongres, on the road from Castellum Morinorum to Colonia Agrippina.

TURONII, or TURÓNES. A people in the interior of Gallia Lugdunensis, between the Aulerci, Andes, and Pictones. Their chief town was Cassa-rudunum, subsequently Turôni, and now Tours, on the Liger (Loire).

U.

UBI. A German people, who originally dwelt on the right bank of the Rhine, but were transported across the river by Agrippa, in B.C. 37, at their own request, because they wished to escape the hostilities of the Suevi. They took the name of Agrippenses, from their chief town, Colonia Agrippina (Cologne).
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UBIQUITUM ARA. Consult notes on Ann., i., c. 39.

USIPETES, or USIPILI. A German people, who, being driven out of their abodes by the Suevi, crossed the Rhine and penetrated into Gaul; but they were defeated by Cæsar, and compelled to recross the river. They were now received by the Sygambi, and allowed to dwell on the northern bank of the Lippe; but we afterward find them south of the Lippe, and at a still later time they become lost under the general name of Alemanni.

V.

VARALIS. Vide RHENUS.

VANGIONES. A German tribe, dwelling on the Rhine, to the east of the Treveri, and north of the Nemetes. Their capital was Borbetomagus, afterward called Augusta Vangionum, and now Worms.

VARINI. A German tribe, placed by Ptolemy along the sea, from the mouth of the Trau to the Warne, which last doubtless took its name from them. They were afterward driven inland by Slavonian tribes, and united themselves with the Saxons. We find some traces of the Varini in Thuringia, others on the banks of the Elbe, and others in the neighborhood of the Rhine, where they were subdued by the Franks. They also appear on the south of the Danube, for they served as auxiliaries under Narses, in Italy.

VELINUS LACUS. A lake between Reata and Interamna, or, rather, the largest of several small lakes, formed by the overflowing of the River Velinus. In order to carry off these waters, a channel was cut through the rocks by Curius Dentatus, by means of which the waters of the Velinus were carried through a narrow gorge, to a spot where they fell from a height of several hundred feet into the Nar. This fall, which is one of the most celebrated in Europe, is known at the present day by the name of the fall of Terni, or the cascade Delle Marmore.

VENEDI, or VENEDÆ. A people in European Sarmatia, dwelling on the Baltic, to the east of the Vistula. The Sinus Venedicus (Gulf of Riga) and the Venedici Montes, a range of mountains between Poland and East Prussia, were called after this people.

VERULAMIUM, or VEROLAMIUM. The chief town of the Catuellani, in Britain, probably the residence of the King Cassivellaunus, which was conquered by Cæsar. It was subsequently made a Roman municipium. It was destroyed by the Britons under Boadicea, in their insurrection against the Romans, but was rebuilt, and continued to be an important place. It answers now to St. Alban's, or, more correctly speaking, to Old Verulam, near St. Alban's.

VETERA. Consult notes on Ann., i., c. 45.

VIA APPIA. The most celebrated of the Roman roads, called by Statius (Silv., ii., 2, 12) "Regina Viarum." It was commenced by Appius Claudius Cæcus, when censor, B.C. 312, and was the great line of communication between Rome and Southern Italy. It issued from the Porta Capena, and originally terminated at Capua, but it was eventually extended to the celebrated sea-port of Brundisium.
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Vindelicia. A Roman province south of the Danube, bounded on the north by the Danube, which separated it from Germany; on the west by the territory of the Helvetii, in Gaul; on the south by Raetia; and on the east by the River Óenus (Ienz), which separated it from Noricum; thus corresponding to the northeastern part of Switzerland, the southeast of Baden, the south of Württemberg and Bavaria, and the northern part of the Tyrol. It was originally part of the province of Raetia, and was conquered by Tiberius in the reign of Augustus. At a later time, Raetia was divided into two provinces, Raetia Prima and Raetia Secunda, the latter of which names was gradually supplanted by that of Vindelicia. It was drained by the tributaries of the Danube, of which the most important were the Licius or Licus (Loch), with its tributary the Vindo, Vinda, or Virdo (Werlach), the Isarus (Issar), and Óenus (Ien). The eastern part of the Lacus Brigantinus (Lake of Constance) also belonged to Vindelicia. The greater part of Vindelicia was a plain, but the southern portion was occupied by the northern slopes of the Alpes Rasticae. This country derived its name from its chief inhabitants, the Vindelici, a warlike people dwelling in the south. Their name is said to have been formed from the two rivers Vindo and Licus, but it is more probably connected with the Celtic word Vind, which is found in the names Vindobona, Vindomagus, Vindonissa, &c. The Vindelici were a Celtic people, and were closely connected with the Raeti, with whom they are frequently spoken of by the ancient writers, and along with whom they were subdued by Tiberius, as is mentioned above. The other tribes in Vindelicia were the Brigantii, on the Lake of Constance; the Licatii or Licates, on the Lech; and the Brenni, in the north of the Tyrol, on Mount Brenner. The chief town in the province was Augusta Vindelicorum (Augsburg), at the confluence of the Vindo and the Licus, which was made a Roman colony A.D. 14, and was the residence of the governor of the province.

Vistula. Now the Vistula, as it is called in English, but in German the Weichsel. An important river of Germany, forming the boundary between Germany and Sarmatia. It rises in the Hercynia Silva, and falls into the Mare Suevicum, or Baltic.

Visuris. Now the Weser. An important river of Germany, falling into the German Ocean. Ptolemy makes it rise in Mount Meliboeus, because the Romans were not acquainted with the southern course of the stream below Minden.
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