

THE
AGRICOLA & GERMANIA
of Tacitus

JOHNSON



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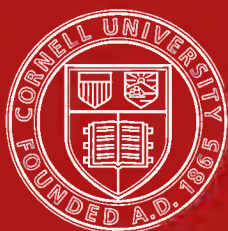
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THE
AGRICOLA AND GERMANIA

OF

CORNELIUS TACITUS,

WITH

EXPLANATORY NOTES AND MAPS.

Illustrated with Numerous Engravings.

BY

HENRY CLARK JOHNSON, A.M., LL.B.,

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A. S. BARNES & COMPANY.

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The Hon. Robert A. Lambertson, LL.D.,
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IN ACKNOWLEDGMENT
OF MUCH ACTIVE AND GENEROUS KINDNESS.

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PREFACE.

THE present edition of the *Agricola* and *Germania* of Tacitus lays no claim to critical research or independent investigation; its purpose being to assist ordinary students in the lower classes of our Colleges in the study of these masterpieces of Latin literature. In pursuance of this design, I have endeavored to thoroughly elucidate the text, by explaining the various difficulties (critical, grammatical, historical and geographical), which occur to the student, and to furnish much information on the character, customs and institutions of the early inhabitants of Britain and Germany, on the proper understanding of which the value of these treatises depends.

The text is the result of a careful collation of the editions most approved by scholars. It is based, however, upon that of Kritz, with variations therefrom when there seemed to be good reason, with constant reference to the authority of the best manuscripts.

The notes grew up in the class-room and consist of such explanations as I have deemed necessary to give to individual students in the course of several years' experience, so that, while they are, perhaps, rather diffuse, they contain nothing that I have not found to be needed by some one. Their basis is the commentary of the Rev. Percival Frost, M.A., of St. John's College, Cambridge, which was not selected because it

was regarded as of special merit, but because it was the one in use in the class when the notes were begun. To these notes there has been added from time to time matter from fifty-five other editions (a list of which is given herewith), until the commentary assumed the present form, in which it is hoped it will be serviceable to the learner.

The outline of the *Life of Tacitus* and the introductions are compiled from various treatises on Roman literature, and, it is believed, will furnish much interesting and valuable information.

The maps are taken from the School Edition of Church and Brodribb (London, 1869), and will prove valuable for the proper understanding of the geography of our author.

The grammatical references are, as in the other editions of this series, to the three grammars most largely used in American schools, Allen and Greenough, Gildersleeve and Harkness.

In conclusion, I avail myself of this opportunity to return my grateful thanks to Classical Professors and Teachers for the very favorable reception which they have given to my previous works; and to express the hope that this volume may also meet their approval and fulfill the only object for which it was prepared, that of furnishing a useful school-book and thus helping on the cause of sound and accurate scholarship.

HENRY C. JOHNSON.

THE LEHIGH UNIVERSITY, *May*, 1885.

THE LIFE AND WRITINGS OF TACITUS.

CORNELIUS TACITUS was probably born at Rome in the year 51, during the reign of Claudius, but neither the *place* of his birth, nor the *date*, is certainly known, nor is anything positively ascertained of his *parentage*. In fact, we have little or no information concerning his life except what he tells us himself, or what we may gather from the Epistles of his friend, the younger Pliny.

His *praenomen* is also a matter of doubt. It is commonly written *Gaius*, on the authority of Sidonius Apollinaris, but it is given as *Publius* in the best manuscript of the *Annals*, and it is a fact worthy of note than none of the ancient writers who mention Tacitus ever mention it.

The town of Interamna (now *Terni*) in Umbria has been named as his birthplace, but there is no evidence to prove this assertion, which is probably based upon the known fact that this town was in the third century the seat of the Emperor Tacitus, who occupied the throne for a few months after the death of Aurelian A. D. 275, and who claimed descent from the historian, and honored his memory by directing that ten copies of his works should be annually transcribed and placed in the public libraries. But even though the Emperor and our author were actually related, this would not establish the identity of their birthplace; nay the designation of Sejanus as *municipalis adulter*, in *An.* IV., 3, renders it improbable that the historian was born in a municipium. We should then assume that he was born at Rome.

The date of his birth is approximately fixed by several expressions used by the younger Pliny. That writer says (*Epist.*, VII., 20) that Tacitus and himself were nearly equal in age and rank

("aetate et dignitate propemodum *aequales*"). The question is how far *aequales* must be considered to be modified by *propemodum*. It would seem that it should be taken to imply considerable difference, as Pliny himself says, "When I was a very young man (*adolescentulus*) and you were at the height of your fame and reputation, I earnestly desired to imitate you." *Adolescentulus* is a very vague term, but Pliny may be taken to define this application of it to himself, when he tells us (*Epist.* V., 8) that he was in his nineteenth year when he began to speak in the Forum. He was, as he tells us himself (*Epist.* VI., 20), in his eighteenth year when the famous eruption of Vesuvius took place (A. D. 79), and he must therefore have been born A. D. 61 or 62. The date of the birth of Tacitus is commonly put at least ten years earlier, or A. D. 51 or 52. This conclusion is supported by a passage in the third chapter of the *Life of Agricola*, where he speaks of those who had survived the evil days of Domitian as coming under two classes, the young men who had become old, and the old 'who had advanced to the very verge and end of existence.' He must have included himself in the former class. The *Agricola* was published in the latter part of the year 97. As the term *senior* was technically applied at Rome (Aul. Gellius, X., 28, quoting Tubero) to those who had passed their forty-fifth year, it would follow that if Tacitus were only forty-six in A. D. 97, he must have been born A. D. 51.

The name Cornelius suggests a possible connection with the great patrician gens which was thus designated. But there was also a plebeian house of the same name, and it must be remembered that in the time of the Empire the *nomina gentilia* had become widely diffused. A passage of the elder Pliny (*H. N.*, VII., 16) speaks of a son of Cornelius Tacitus, the procurator of the Emperor in Gallia Belgica. A Procurator was generally a person of the Equestrian rank. As Pliny died in A. D. 79, it seems hardly probable that this passage can refer to our author; hence, it has been conjectured that the procurator was the father of the historian. The similarity of name, the coincidence of dates, and the probability that at some time of his life our author was familiar with the neighborhood of North-Eastern Gaul, incline one to accept the conjecture, which is further supported

by the fact that the circumstances of his career seem to imply an origin which was respectable rather than dignified, and his habits of thought, prejudices and tastes all reflect those of high and refined society.

He received a portion of his oratorical training at Massilia, a Grecian colony, and the home of culture and refinement, and probably completed it at Rome under the instruction of Quintilian, who, for more than twenty years there taught that manly eloquence of which his *Institutes* furnish us a fine example. Some critics have applied to Tacitus the passage in which Quintilian (X. i. 104), after enumerating the writers who flourished in that period, says, "There is another person who gives additional lustre to the age; a man who will deserve the admiration of posterity. I do not mention him at present: his name will be known hereafter." If this passage does refer to Tacitus, the prediction has been fully verified.

It has been suggested that Tacitus made the acquaintance of Agricola at some time in the three years (A. D. 74-77) during which that officer held the government of Aquitania. There is, it has been thought, a particularity about his description of Agricola's administration which indicates the intimate acquaintance of one who either held some official position, or was otherwise closely connected with it. This position may possibly have included something of the intimate relation in which Agricola himself at the opening of his career had stood to Suetonius Paulinus. However this may be, it is certain that at or before this time an intimate acquaintance had been formed between the two men. In A. D. 77 Agricola returned to Rome to fulfil the duties of the consulship. During his year of office he betrothed to his young friend his daughter (born A. D. 65), and the marriage took place in the following year, the same in which Agricola assumed his command in Britain.

The illustrious alliance thus formed was probably the means of introducing Tacitus to a career of public distinction. He says (*Hist.*, I., 1) that he owed his first promotion to Vespasian, and that he was indebted for other favors to his successors, Titus and Domitian. What offices he held under Vespasian and Titus it is impossible to determine, but they were probably that of Quæstor

and Tribune of the People. He informs us (*An.*, XI., 11) that he was Praetor A. D. 88, in which year Domitian celebrated the *Ludi Saeculares*. In 89 or 90 he left Rome with his wife, and did not return until after the death of Agricola, which took place August 23, A. D. 93. Some have affirmed that he was in exile during this period, but there is no proof for the statement. It is pretty certain that he was in Rome during the last period of Domitian's reign. The language in which at the close of the *Agricola* he describes the horrors of that time is full of the bitterness, and even the self-reproach of one who had been compelled to witness and to sanction by his presence the cruelties of the tyrant. In A. D. 97 he was elevated to the Consulship. To this magistracy he was elected in order to supply the place of Virginius Rufus, who had died during his term of office, and over him Tacitus delivered the funeral oration. Pliny says of Rufus (*Epist.*, II., 1), "Hic supremus felicitati eius cumulus accessit, laudator eloquentissimus."

Tacitus is recorded by his friend Pliny as one of the most eloquent orators of the day. In the reign of Nerva (A. D. 100) he was appointed by the Senate together with Pliny, who was the Consul-elect, to conduct the prosecution of Marius Priscus, late pro-Consul of Africa, and who was charged with various flagrant crimes. His speech says Pliny (*Epist.*, II., 11), was most eloquent and marked by that dignity which characterized his style of speaking. Here the public life of Tacitus ends, as he then retired to private life, and dedicated the rest of his days to literature, having sketched out a vast plan of Roman history, the greater part of which he lived to fulfil.

The date of his death is not known, but that he at least lived down to the end of the reign of Trajan may be inferred from *An.*, II., 61, where he says that the Roman Empire "nunc ad rubrum mare patescit," an expression which must refer to the successes obtained by Trajan in his Eastern expedition (A. D. 114-117).

The contemporaries of Tacitus were Quintilian, the two Plinys, 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, and two or three are written expressly for the purpose of furnishing materials for his history.

The first remark one naturally makes on reading the life of Tacitus, is that he was admirably fitted by his distinguished military and political career for the duties of an historian. Gibbon says that his year in the yeomanry had been of more service to him in describing battles than any closet study could have been; and Tacitus had this advantage over Livy that he had helped to make history as well as to relate it. His elevation to the rank of senator enabled him to understand the iniquity of Domitian's government in a way that would otherwise have been impossible. His character seems to have been naturally proud and independent, but unequal to heroism in action.

The extant works of Tacitus are the 'Dialogue on Orators,' 'The Life of Agricola,' 'The Treatise on Germany,' the 'Histories,' and the 'Annals.' None of his orations are preserved.

The *Dialogus de Oratoribus*, composed under Titus or in the beginning of the reign of Domitian, an attempt to prove and explain the decay of eloquence in the imperial period, is in the form of a dialogue between literary celebrities of the time of Vespasian. This ingenious treatise shows the same moral and political views, the same fineness of psychological observation and the same characteristics as the other works of Tacitus, but his bitterness is still wanting and even artistic serenity may be observed. In point of style this treatise is an interesting proof of Tacitus' endeavor to imitate the rotundity of Cicero's style in his rhetorical works, though numerous phrases and constructions involuntarily betray an author of the first century of the Christian era, and in many details the diction approaches the subsequent writings of Tacitus.

De Vita et Moribus Iulii Agricolaë liber, a biography of Tacitus' father-in-law, was composed in the latter part of the year 97. The very rhetorical disposition as well as execution of the work remind the reader of the *laudationes funebres* and of the manner of Sallust, with which it shares the character of monograph, its indifference to general historical events and numerous other turns of phrases. But besides this the work contains much to remind us of Cicero. In general, the historical style of Tacitus does not

appear to be much developed in this work, but a kindly warmth of humor and sympathy pervades the whole. As a specimen of biography, it is much and justly admired, and unlike the other works of Tacitus it is unencumbered with minute irrelevant matter.

The *Germania*, written A. D. 98, is an ethnographic monograph, occasioned by the great interest which that land and nation then caused, perhaps also by the author's own knowledge which he had acquired in the course of his official duties. The work is penetrated by the genial warmth of sympathy and highly colored by rhetorical means, though it frequently approaches sentimentality. The author is fond of contrasting the simplicity of the Germans with the intricate and corrupt life of his countrymen.

The *Historiae* is the narrative of the events of the reigns of Galba, Otho, Vitellius, Vespasian, Titus and Domitian (A. D. 69-96), *i. e.*, chiefly the Flavian dynasty. It was written under Trajan and founded on excellent sources, probably on the historical work of the elder Pliny. The whole work originally consisted of fourteen books, of which however only the first four and the first half of the fifth have come down to us. They contain the history of the years 69 and 70, though not quite complete.

The *Annales* or rather *Ab excessu divi Augusti*, in sixteen books, contained the history of the Julian dynasty after Augustus' death (Tiberius, Caligula, Claudius, Nero, or the years 14-68). They were written under Trajan and published between 115 and 117. A part of the fifth book 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 beginning of the reign of Claudius and the last two years (66-68) of the reign of Nero.

The best years of Tacitus belonged to the reign of Domitian, when fear and indignation, repressed without any possibility of discharge, embittered all thought and feeling. His sympathies belonged to the aristocratic republic, but his intellect convinced him of the necessity of monarchical institutions. He also possessed the aversion to boisterous conduct and precipitate action peculiar to aristocrats and *doctrinaires*, and shared the

prevalent sentiment of resignation, which he also endeavored to justify theoretically. As an historian he labored to ascertain the facts and followed the best sources, though frequently without naming them, and sifted them with strict criticism. He candidly states the results of his conscientious investigations, while his own views are generally merely implied in the careful wording of his sentences. He treats his subject in a pragmatical manner, zealously inquiring into the causes of actions, which he traces partly in the circumstances, partly in the characters. The first he sometimes declares to be necessary and decreed by Fate, sometimes accidental. He is fond of tracing the psychological connection of facts, and in the delineation of characters and psychological analysis he displays unequalled mastery. The key-note of his work is, like his subject matter, serious, melancholy and even bitter. He avoids all that might impair his dignified bearing, rhetorical display as well as passionate outpourings; but he knows how to increase his dignity by artistic accuracy and calculation and by a very peculiar diction. Full of sagacious observation and descriptive power, he engages the most serious attention of his reader by the gravity of his condensed and comprehensive style as he does by the wisdom and dignity of his reflections. The purity and gravity of his sentiments remind one even of Christian authors. The general tone which characterizes his writings had its foundation in his own moral dignity. Living amidst the influences of a corrupt age he was uncontaminated; and by his virtue and integrity, his chastened political liberality, he commands our admiration as a man, and his love of truth is reflected in his character as an historian. He 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 Aurelius, 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. (*An.*, 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 the Ciceronian age aimed at richness of expression, and smoothly flowing and gracefully finished periods. It had been brought by Cicero to perhaps as high a degree of perfection as the Latin language permitted. The succeeding age proposed to itself a somewhat different aim. It wanted something *piquant* and stimulating.

Hence quite a different set of literary characteristics. A style sententious and concise, sometimes unpleasantly abrupt, with far-fetched, poetical and even archaic terms and expressions became fashionable. Scope was thus given to some of the worst extravagances of bad taste, and we find nearly all the writers of what is called the silver age indulging in pedantries and affectations which frequently render them harsh and obscure. A reaction followed in favor of the earlier or Ciceronian style. Of this we have evident traces in Tacitus. He seems to have aimed at combining some Cicero's most conspicuous graces with the pointed and sententious character of the new style. Though he occasionally wants clearness and perhaps strains too much after effect, he is on the whole a far more natural and straightforward writer than most of his contemporaries.

In the style of Tacitus the form is always subordinate to the matter; the ideas maintain their due supremacy over the language in which they are conveyed. There is none of that striving after epigrammatic terseness which savors of affectation. His brevity, like that which characterizes the style of Thucydides, is the necessary condensation of a writer whose thoughts

flow more quickly than his pen can express them. Hence his sentences are suggestive of far more than they express; they are enigmatical hints of deep and hidden meaning, which keep the mind active and the attention alive, and delight the reader with the pleasures of discovery and the consciousness of difficulties overcome. Nor is this natural and unintentional brevity unsuitable to the cautious reserve with which all were tutored to speak and think of political subjects in perilous times. It is extraordinary how often a similarity between his mind and that of Thucydides inadvertently discovers itself—not only in his mode of thinking, but also in his language, even in his grammatical constructions, especially in his frequent substitutions of attraction for government, in instances of condensed construction, and in the connection of clauses grammatically different, although they are metaphysically the same.

Nor is his brevity dry or harsh—it is enlivened by copiousness, variety, and poetry. He scarcely ever repeats the same idea in the same form. No author is richer in synonymous words, or arranges with more varied skill the position of words in a sentence. As for poetic genius, his language is highly figurative; no prose writer deals more largely in *prosopopeia*: his descriptions of scenery and incidents are eminently picturesque; his characters dramatic; the expression of his own sentiments and feelings as subjective as lyric poetry. This constant union between the dramatic and the pathetic elements, together with the directness, energy and reality of the language, must act with irresistible force upon every reader. Was he as fully appreciated in his own day as he is in ours? We doubt it. The horrors, the degeneracy of his time, awake in his brooding soul the altogether modern idea of national expiation and national chastisement. The historian rises to the sublimity of the judge. He summons the guilty to his tribunal, and it is in the name of the Future and of Posterity that he pronounces the implacable and irreversible verdict.

It has been usual to regard Cicero as the representative of the most perfect Latinity, and Tacitus as a man of genius belonging to a declining age and infected by many of its chief literary

vices. This view ignores several important considerations and requires some correction. It is true that the style of Cicero, from its general conformity to certain precise and definite rules, is fitted to be a model of Latinity in a sense in which that of Tacitus cannot be. A modern scholar feels instinctively that the first is much more suitable for imitation, but it is, we think, a great mistake to claim on this ground for Cicero a distinct superiority over Tacitus. Cicero indeed was enabled by his great abilities and wide culture to give a richness and flexibility to the Latin language which it had not known before his time, and we may venture to affirm that without him there could not have been a Tacitus. If, however, we are to measure excellence of style by its capacity of adequately representing the profound and subtle ideas of a really great thinker, we shall see good reason for placing Tacitus in at least as high a rank as Cicero. In vividness of imagination, in insight into the intricacies of human character, in the breadth and comprehensiveness of his historical faculty, he stands first among Roman writers. These qualities are continually reflected in his style. In the language of the time, permeated as it was with Greek ideas and phrases, he found an instrument ready to his hand; he used it with a consummate mastery of its various resources, and succeeded in giving to great thoughts a singularly characteristic expression.

CORNELII TACITI

DE VITA ET MORIBUS

IULII AGRICOLAE

LIBER.

INTRODUCTION TO THE LIFE OF AGRICOLA.

THE Life of Agricola is the most perfect specimen of ancient biography that we possess. It was written, we are told, as a tribute of love to a revered father and friend, in a spirit of filial affection to commemorate the virtues of a good man and the successes of a great general. All that was most characteristic of a Roman of the highest type found a place in Agricola. An able officer, a just and at the same time a popular governor, a vigorous reformer of abuses, a conqueror of hitherto unknown regions, he was also a man of mental culture, and of singular gentleness and amiability. He had every quality which could attract the sympathy and admiration of his son-in-law.

The present work was no doubt intended to be something more than the customary *laudatio* which was pronounced in memory of an eminent man, though its style, resembling that of the orator rather than the historian, shows it to have been of a kindred character. We find in it the flower of all the beauties which Tacitus has scattered through his other works. It is a *chef-d'œuvre*, which satisfies at once the judgment and the fancy, the imagination and the heart. Everything in it produces attachment for its hero; everything conveys instruction and the interest goes on growing to the last.

After an introduction particularly beautiful and wonderfully appropriate, he gives a brief sketch of the parentage, education, and early life of Agricola, but draws at more length the history of his consulship and command in Britain. As the history of Agricola at this time is also the history of Britain, he prefaces it with an outline of the general character of its inhabitants, the geographical features, situation, soil, climate, productions, and, so far as known to the Romans, the past history of the island.

The chief interest of this biography is evidently intended to center in the grand event of the seventh year of Agricola's campaigns, the defeat of the confederate Caledonian tribes by which the subjugation of Britain to its farthest limits was finally achieved. The critical struggle, as it seemed to Tacitus, was fought out on the last confines of the world, and it added to

the glory of Rome, the renown of a triumph which completed the conquest of her most inaccessible and tractable province. The speeches of the rival generals which introduce it are elaborate specimens of Tacitean eloquence. That of the Caledonian chief is conceived in the true spirit of the barbarian and is marked by a fierce impetuosity; that of Agricola is calm and dignified, and implies the consciousness of superior strength, which is the fruit of discipline and civilization.

Soon after his decisive success, which excited the jealousy and ill-will of Domitian, Agricola returned to Rome. Of the last eight years of his life, which were passed in retirement, Tacitus tells us but little. In a few burning words he dwells on the horrors of the closing period of Domitian's reign and hints, though he forbears explicitly to assert as Dion Cassius does, that Agricola was one of the Emperor's numerous victims.

It may be useful to give a brief account of the various expeditions against Britain undertaken by the Romans; as there are allusions to most of them in the text.

In B. C. 55, towards the close of summer (Caes. iv. 20), Julius Cæsar landed in Britain.

B. C. 54. Cæsar landed again in the island, and penetrated about as far as Hertfordshire (Caes. v. 5—23).

After his evacuation of the island, Britain was neglected under the Emperors Augustus and Tiberius. Caligula formed a design of entering Britain, but it ended in nothing. A son of Cynobellin, a British chief, expelled by his father, betook himself to the emperor. Caligula, harboring the fugitive, and receiving him under his protection, wrote boastful dispatches to the Senate at Rome, professing to have conquered the entire country.

A. D. 43. At the investigation of Bericus, a petty king of Britain, who had been expelled from his home in consequence of party contests, Claudius was induced to send Aulus Plautius into Britain. This general conquered Caractacus and Cogodunnus. During his command, Claudius himself crossed over to the island, and defeated the Britons near the Thames. The Southern part of the country was first reduced, and Vespasian, the future emperor, then conquered the Southwestern district from Hampshire to Cornwall, and the Isle of Wight.

A. D. 49. Ostorius Scapula succeeded A. Plautius about this date. He secured the Roman Province by erecting a line of forts extending from the Severn to the Avon, or Nen. He put down the Iceni, and marched into Shropshire and North Wales, but was recalled by the revolt of the Brigantes. He made Camulodunum the head-quarters of Roman power. Marching against the Silures, he took Caractacus prisoner. The war however

continued, and Ostorius, worn out with harass and fatigue, died. Avius Didius Gallus succeeded him. He defeated the Silures, but relapsed into inactivity. This general took part in the civil war between Cartismandua, Queen of the Brigantes, and her husband, aiding the Queen.

A. D. 53. Veranius followed, but died within the year.

A. D. 59. Suetonius Paulinus succeeded to the command, and began to reduce Mona. During his absence on this campaign, the Iceni and Trinobantes under Boadicea arose in arms to avenge the insults they had received from the Romans. The insurgents stormed Camulodunum, and defeated Petilius Cerialis. Paulinus returned hastily, and sacrificing Londinium and Verulamium, entirely defeated Boadicea.

A. D. 62. Petronius Turpilianus followed, who did not push the Roman conquests farther.

A. D. 64. Trebellius Maximus was the next governor. In consequence of a feud with Roscius Caelius, lieutenant of the Twentieth Legion, he threw up his command.

A. D. 69. Vettius Bolanus was next sent. During his rule a revolt of the Brigantes broke out.

A. D. 71. Petilius Cerialis succeeded. Under him Agricola commanded the Twentieth Legion. Together they reduced a large part of the country of the Brigantes. He was soon recalled, and Julius Frontinus appointed, under whom the Ordovices and Silures were conquered.

A. D. 78. Agricola took the command in Britain, and in his first year reduced the Ordovices and the Island of Mona.

A. D. 79. (*Altero aestate.*) Agricola alarmed the enemy by sudden incursions; and again endeavored to exhibit to them the sweets of peace.

A. D. 80. (*Tertius annus.*) He marched through unknown tribes as far as the Estuary of the Tay.

A. D. 81. (*Quarta aestas.*) Agricola spent this year in consolidating his previous conquests, and strengthening the Isthmus between Clota and Bodotria with garrisons.

A. D. 82. (*Quinto expeditionum anno.*) He crossed the Isthmus, and, turning westwards, conquered the country lying near Dumbarton, and looking towards Ireland.

A. D. 83. (*Aestate qua sextum officii annum inchoabat.*) He again crossed the Isthmus, and turning eastwards, marched along the coast, accompanied by his fleet.

A. D. 84. (*Initio aestatis.*) Agricola defeats Calgacus at the Grampian Hills. At the close of this year (*exacta aestate*) he sends a fleet to sail round the North of Britain, and reduces the Orkneys.

A. D. 85. Agricola recalled.

LIFE OF AGRICOLA.

- Agricola born probably A. D. 40.
 Visits Britain, A. D. 59.
 Returns to Rome, and marries Domitia Decidiana, A. D. 62.
 A son born, who dies. (?)
 Made Quaestor of Asia, and has a daughter born, A. D. 65.
 Made Tribune, A. D. 67.
 Made Praetor under Nero, A. D. 68.
 Appointed by Galba to examine the state of the offerings in the temples.
 A. D. 68. (?)
 Loses his mother, and embraces the cause of Vespasian, A. D. 69.
 Appointed to the command of the Twentieth Legion, A. D. 70.
 Enrolled amongst the Patricians, A. D. 73.
 Made Praefect of Aquitania, A. D. 74.
 Made Consul, A. D. 77.
 Appointed to the command of Britain, A. D. 78.
 Recalled from Britain, A. D. 85.
 Dies, A. D. 93.

The chief passages in the ancient writers on the subject of Britain and its customs are,—

- I. CÆSAR, iv. 33.
 v. 12—14.
 II. STRABO, iv. 5.
 III. POMPONIUS MELA, iii. 6.
 IV. PLINUS, iv. 30.
 V. TACITUS, Agricola, 10—12.
 Annales, xii. 31. 40.
 xiv. 29—39.



IULII AGRICOLAE VITA.

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 5

CHAP. I. 1. *Clarorum virorum*. A *clarus vir* is one who is renowned for eminent services to his country.

2. *Usitatum*: a neuter participle in the accusative, agreeing with the clause *clarorum . . . tradere*, which is the object of *omisit*. We would rather expect a relative clause.—*Ne nostris quidem*, even in our times, vicious as they are.—*Quamquam*. This word is commonly used to introduce a distinct clause, while *quamvis* generally modifies single words. This use, however, is common in Tacitus and the writers of his age.

3. *Incuriosa*. This is a favorite word of Tacitus (cf. *An.* II. 88; IV. 32; XV. 31. *Hist.* I. 49.) not found in the Augustan writers, but common in his contemporaries.—*Suorum*, sc. *clarorum virorum*; obj. gen. after *incuriosa*.—*Aetas*, the age.

4. *Vicit ac supergressa est*, has overcome and risen superior to.

5. *Commune*. *Communis* is that which belongs to the *munus*, or duty of many: *vulgaris* is that which exists among the *vulgus*, and hence expresses what is generally prevalent.—*Ignorantiam . . . invidiam*,

priores ut agere digna memoratu pronum magisque in aperto erat, ita celeberrimus quisque ingenio ad prodendam virtutis memoriam, sine gratia aut ambitione, bonae tantum conscientiae pretio ducebatur. Ac plerique suam ipsi vitam narrare
 5 fiduciam potius morum quam adrogantiam arbitrati sunt; nec id Rutilio et Scauro citra fidem aut obtrectationi fuit: adeo virtutes iisdem temporibus optime aestimantur, quibus facillime gignuntur. At nunc narraturo mihi vitam defuncti

"blindness and hostility to goodness."
 —*Recti* (= *virtus*) is to be taken with both nouns.

1. *Priores* designates those who lived while there was still a constitutional government at Rome, under the Republic.—*Pronum magisque in aperto*, easy and more unobstructed. *Pronus* is used for anything sloping downwards, and represents the facility of a down-hill course. *In aperto* implies the opposite of *artus*, or *impeditus*, 'not pent in by obstacles;' being a metaphor from open ground, where one's movements are not hampered by want of space.

2. *Celeberrimus quisque*. Many renowned men had written biographies. For the idiom vid. A. 93, c; G. 305; H. 458, l.

3. *Sine gratia aut ambitione*, "without partiality or self-seeking." *Gratia* expresses the desire to gratify; *ambitione*, the desire for advancement, which might betray a writer into flattery.

4. *Pretio*: abl. of cause.—*Plerique*, very many.—*Ipsi* (for *ipsorum*) is attracted to *arbitrati sunt*. A. 195, l; G. 298; H. 452, l.

5. *Fiduciam morum*, confidence in their own characters: predicate accusative. A. 230; G. 334; H. 373, l.

6. *Id*, i. e., the writing of an autobiography.—*Rutilio*. P. Rutilius Rufus was a military tribune under Scipio in the Numantine war, and Consul, B. C. 105. He was a statesman, orator, Stoic philosopher, and a man

of unblemished integrity. From having repressed the extortions of the public contractors, while legate to Asia, B. C. 95, he incurred the hatred of the Knights, who at that time not only farmed the revenue, but acted as judges in criminal trials. On his return, he was accused *de repetundis*, and banished. Although recalled by Sulla, he refused to return, making Smyrna his residence. He wrote an autobiography, and a History of Rome in Greek.—*Scauro*. M. Aemilius Scaurus was Consul B. C. 115, when he was the leader of the aristocratic party. In B. C. 107, he was again Consul. This is the same Scaurus, whom Sallust mentions as having been bribed by Jugurtha. As the banishment of Rutilius was due to the charges preferred against him by Scaurus, it is possible that, when the former wrote his life, the latter also wrote his, in order to defend himself from charges advanced against him.—*Citra*: cf. N. Ger. XVI.—*Obtrectationi*: dat. of the end. This union of different constructions to express the same relation is called *enallage*. The figure is common in Tacitus. A. p. 298; H. 636, IV.

7. *Adeo*, so true is it that, qualifies the whole sentence.

8. *Nunc*, now, i. e., in these had times, referring to the general state of things in Domitian's reign, and in opposition to the olden times when it was usual to write histories of illustrious men,

hominis, venia opus fuit; quam non petissem incusaturus tam saeva et infesta virtutibus tempora.

II. Legimus, cum Aruleno Rustico Paetus Thrasea, Herennio Senecioni Priscus Helvidius laudati essent, capitale fuisse; neque in ipsos modo auctores, sed in libros quoque eorum saevitum, delegato triumviris ministerio, ut monumenta clarissimorum ingeniorum in comitio ac foro urerentur. 5

1. *Mihi veniã opus fuit, I have been obliged to ask leave.*—*Incusaturus* (= *si incusaturus essem, had I intended to attack*) contains the protasis to *quam . . . petissem*. The general idea is that "Tacitus feels that he might rely on the acceptance which Satire and invective always meet with, and need not, had these, and not praise, been his theme, have asked for indulgence."

CHAP. II. 3. *Legimus* seems to be opposed to *vidimus*, and to imply that Tacitus was himself absent, and read only of these occurrences in the *acta diurna*, an official bulletin published at Rome by authority of the Emperor, "and containing an account of the public business, and other matters of general interest."—*Cum*, causal, introduces *laudati essent*. A. 326; G. 587; H. 517.—*Rustico* and *Herennio*: dats. of the apparent agent. Cf. Note on *Ulixi*. Ger. III. Arulenus Rusticus was put to death by Domitian because he studied philosophy, and had called Paetus Thrasea holy in his panegyric on him.—*Paetus Thrasea* was a Stoic, and is first mentioned, A. D. 57, as supporting the Sicilians in their charge against Cossutianus Capito, their late governor. He first provoked the anger of the court by speaking against a *Senatus consultum*, allowing the Syracusans to exceed the usual limits in gladiatorial displays. In A. D. 59, on the death of Agrippina, when honors were voted to Nero, Thrasea abruptly left the Senate house. Some years afterwards he was accused by Cossutianus

and Eprius Marcellus, and condemned to death, A. D. 66.

4. *Herennio Senecioni*. Senecio was a native of Bactica in Spain, and subsequently Quaestor there. He was put to death because he took no part in public affairs for many years, and for writing the life of Helvidius Priscus, (his son-in-law, and friend of the younger Pliny) who was executed by order of Vespasian. The events here mentioned took place in the reign of Domitian, A. D. 93.—*Capitale*, a capital crime: the neuter adj. used as a noun.

6. *Sacvitum* (*esse*), "vengeance was wreaked:" impersonal.—*Triumviris*, sc. *capitalibus*. The *Triumviri capitales* were regular magistrates, first appointed about B. C. 292, whose functions combined some of the duties of our magistrates and sheriffs. They inquired into all capital crimes, enforced state fines, supervised prisons, and carried out the sentence of the law on criminals.

7. *In comitio ac foro*. The comitium was a part of the Roman forum, forming its eastern and narrowest end, and elevated above it by steps: the rostrum being in the centre of the line dividing the two parts. The comitium was originally the scene of the patrician elections and assemblies; the forum being appropriated to the plebs. At the eastern point of it was the tribunal where justice used to be administered, and where criminals were punished; and therefore the book was burned there for the sake of disgracing it more deeply, the

Scilicet illo igne vocem populi Romani et libertatem senatus et conscientiam generis humani aboleri arbitrabantur, expulsis insuper sapientiae professoribus atque omni bona arte in exsili-um acta, ne quid usquam honestum occurreret. Deditum 5 profecto grande patientiae documentum; et sicut vetus aetas vidit quid ultimum in libertate esset, ita nos quid in servitute, adempto per inquisitiones etiam loquendi audiendique com-mercio. Memoriam quoque ipsam cum voce perdidissemus, si tam in nostra potestate esset oblivisci quam tacere. III. 10 Nunc demum redit animus; et quamquam primo statim beatissimi saeculi ortu Nerva Caesar res olim dissociabiles miscuerit, principatum ac libertatem, angeatque quotidie felicitatem temporum Nerva Traianus, nec spem modo ac votum

burning in the forum being only to give the proceeding publicity.

1. *Scilicet, forsooth*: ironical.

2. *Conscientiam, consciousness*. They hoped that, all records of these actions being destroyed, mankind could never express its approval of them.—*Arbitrabantur, sc.* Domitian and his attendants.—*Expulsis*. This occurred about A. D. 94.

3. *Sapientiae, philosophy*.—*Professoribus* is a post Augustan word, and is here used in its modern meaning.

4. *Honestum, regarded as honorable*. What would *quid honesti* mean?—*Occurreret, should meet one*: subj. of negative purpose. A. 331; G. 545, 3; H. 497, II.

5. *Profecto, indeed, certainly*.—*Vetus aetas*, "the olden time," of the republic." C.

6. *Ultimum, the extreme, i. e., the last point that could be reached*.

7. *Inquisitiones, a system of espionage*, which reached its height under Domitian. Vid. Merivale, *Hist. of the Romans under the Empire*, Vol. VII., p. 127; V., p. 130.—*Commercio, intercourse*.

8. *Memoriam . . . tacere*: i. e., we would not have dared to remember, had we been able to forget.

CHAP. III. 10. *Nunc demum, now, at last*, after the death of Domitian, and the accession of Nerva and Trajan.—*Redit animus, our courage is only just beginning to recover*. The present tense has its proper meaning.—*Primo statim ortu, immediately at the very beginning*. *Statim* gives emphasis to *primo ortu*.

11. *Nerva Caesar*. The name *Caesar* with the title *Augustus* was borne by all the Emperors down to the time of Hadrian.—*Dissociabiles, incompatible*.

12. *Miscuerit*. Tacitus uses the subj. oftener than the indic. after *quamquam*. A. 313, g; G. 608, R. 1; H. 515, N. 1, 3.—*Principatum*. *Principatus* is that form of government which puts a *Princeps* at the head of the State. It was a constitutional title, and peculiarly acceptable to the Romans, who clung to the form of liberty when the really had passed away.—*Augcat*. This, taken in connection with *Nerva Caesar* above, shows that the *Agricola* was written between September 18, 97 (when Trajan was adopted by Nerva), and January 27, 98 (when Nerva died).

13. *Nerva Traianus*. The man's name was originally Marcus Ulpius Traianus. He was adopted by Marcus Cocceius Nerva. As a rule, under the

Securitas publica, sed ipsius voti fiduciam ac robor adsumpserit: natura tamen infirmitatis humanae tardiora sunt remedia quam mala; et, ut corpora nostra lente augescunt, cito extinguuntur, sic ingenia studiaque oppresseris facilius quam revocaveris. Subit quippe etiam ipsius inertiae dulcedo, et 5
invisa primo desidia postremo amatur. Quid? si per quindecim annos, grande mortalis aevi spatium, multi fortuitis casibus, promptissimus quisque saevitia principis interciderunt, pauci, ut ita dixerim, non modo aliorum, sed etiam nostri superstites sumus, exemptis e media vita tot annis, quibus 10
iuvenes ad senectutem, senes prope ad ipsos exactae aetatis

Republic, if a man passed from one gens to another, he would assume the praenomen, nomen, and cognomen of his adopter, and add his own gentile name with the termination changed into anus. But this rule was often violated, and under the Empire many irregularities occurred, as here.—



TRAJAN.

nec = et non.—*Spem ac votum*, hopes and good wishes.

1. "*Securitas publica* was a current expression and wish, and was frequently inscribed on medals." K.—*Ipsius voti . . . robor*, the certainty

and substance of the wish itself.—*adsumpserit*. This means that public security has been the subject of hope and prayers before, but now for the first time begins to feel confidence and assurance in the fulfilment of its wishes. Note the Zeugma, as *adsumpserit* is strictly appropriate only to *fiduciam ac robor*. *Spem ac votum* would require *conceperit*.

4, 5. *Oppresseris* and *revocaveris*: indefinite subject. A. 311, a; G. 252; H. 485, N. 3.—*Subit*, steals in; poetical.

6. *Quid*, sc. *ais*.—*Per quindecim annos*. The fifteen years of Domitian's reign, from A. D. 81 to 96.

7. *Fortuitis casibus*, i. e., by natural death, as opposed to death by violence, *saevitia principis*.

8. *Promptissimus*, the most energetic, is derived from *promo*, and denotes a person forward to display energy in any way on occasion.

9. *Ut ita dixerim* is an apology for the forcible expression *nostri superstites*. In earlier writers we would have *dicam*. Z. 528.—*Aliorum*, i. e., physically.—*Nostri*, i. e., mentally and morally. We are remnants of our former selves.

11. *Iuvenes ad senectutem*: in which class Tacitus ranks himself. Up to the forty-sixth year of his life a man was *junior*; beyond that *senior*. This expression then would seem to

terminos per silentium venimus. Non tamen pigebit vel in-
condita ac rudi voce memoriam prioris servitutis ac testi-
monium praesentium bonorum composuisse. Hic interim
liber, honori Agricolae soceri mei destinatus, professione
5 pietatis aut laudatus erit aut excusatus.

IV. GNAEUS IULIUS AGRICOLA, vetere et illustri Fo-
roiuliensium colonia ortus, utrumque avum procuratorem
Caesarum habuit, quae equestris nobilitas est. Pater Iulius

prove that Tacitus was at least forty-five at Nerva's accession, and hence must have been born as early as A. D. 51.

1. *Silentium* refers to the silence of mental inactivity, alluded to in *studiaque . . . revocaveris*.—*Tamen*. Although everything seems so unfavorable for writing, *yet*.

2. *Memoriam prioris servitutis* no doubt alludes to the *Historiae*, and the records of tyranny included in them.

3. *Testimonium praesentium bonorum* alludes to his intention of writing a history of the reigns of Nerva and Trajan,—an intention which it seems he never carried into execution.—*Interim*, i. e., until the larger are more important works are finished.

4. *Professione pietatis*, "from its profession of filial regard." C. Cf. Cic. *pro Plancio* xxxiii: *Quid est pietas nisi grata voluntas in parentes?*

CHAP. IV. 6 *Gnaeus Iulius Agricola*. Every Roman had at least three names: the *praenomen* or individual name ending in *us* (*Gnaeus*); the *nomen* or name of the gens, house or clan, founded originally on blood relationship which always ended in *us* (*Iulius*); and the *cognomen* or family name (*Agricola*). The general custom of Tacitus in citing names is to use two, the *nomen* and *cognomen*, on the first mention (unless the person be extraordinarily illustrious, like the Caesars, or—extremes meeting—very obscure), and the single

name afterwards. Here, however, one can easily see why the historian gave Agricola's full name, as he is the subject of the present memoir.—*Vetere*: founded by Julius Caesar, B. C. 44.—*Illustri* refers more to the renown of its founder, than to its own intrinsic importance.—*Forotulien-sium* (the name of the people put for that of the town). This place is the modern *Frejus*, on the coast between Toulon and the Var, about 25 miles southwest of Nice. There was another town of the same name in Umbria.

7. *Procuratorem*. The Procuratores managed the imperial *patrimonium*, and also all the business connected with the revenues of the imperial provinces, as distinguished from the Quaestors in the senatorial provinces. In some of the less important provinces the Procuratores were sole governors.

8. *Caesarum*. Both grandfathers were probably Procurators under Augustus, the father having been made a Senator by Tiberius.—*Quae equestris nobilitas est, which is a dignity peculiar to the Knights*. All the offices relating to the finances were in the possession of the Roman Knights; of whom the imperial procurators were accounted noble. Emperors like Claudius made procuratores even of their freedmen, but this violated the usual arrangement.—*Julius Graecinus*. This is the man of whom Seneca (*de Benef.* II. 21) says: "Si

Graecinus, senatorii ordinis, studio eloquentiae sapientiaequè notus, iisque ipsis virtutibus iram Gaii Caesaris meritis; namque M. Silanum accusare iussus et, quia abnuerat, interfectus est. Mater Iulia Procilla fuit, rarae castitatis. In huius sinu indulgentiaque educatus per omnem honestarum artium 5 cultum pueritiam adolescentiamque transegit. Arcebat eum ab inlecebris peccantium, praeter ipsius bonam integramque naturam, quod statim parvulus sedem ac magistram studiorum Massiliam habuit, locum Graeca comitate et provinciali parsimonia mixtum ac bene compositum. Memoria teneo solitum 10 ipsum narrare se prima in iuventa studium philosophiae acrius,

exemplo magni animi opus est, utamur, Graecini Iulii, viri egregii quem C. Caesar occidit ob hoc unum quod melior vir esset quam esse quemquam tyranno expediret." It was his refusal to accuse Silanus that drew on him the resentment of Caligula, who seized probably the first fair pretext he could find for getting rid of him.

1. *Ordinis*, sc. *vir*. A. 214, b; 215; G. 365; H. 396, V; 398, l.—“*Ordo* is applied to any body of men, who form a distinct class in the community, either by possessing distinct privileges, pursuing certain trades or professions, or in any other way.” C.—*Sapientiae, philosophiae*.

2. *Notus*, sc. *erat*.—*Gaii Caesaris* is better known in English Histories as Caligula, emperor after Tiberius, A. D. 37-41.—*Meritus*, sc. *est*, *earned*. Note the Irony.

3. *Marcum Silanum*. This Silanus was Consul in A. D. 19: his daughter, A. D. 33, married Caligula, in whose reign he was Proconsul of Africa. The emperor, being jealous of him, deprived him of power, and subsequently compelled him to put an end to his life.—*Iussus*, sc. *est*.

4. *Rarae castitatis*, sc. *mulier*.

5. *Sinu indulgentiaque*, in her bosom and fond affection, i. e., under her personal supervision.

6. *Pueritiam adolescentiamque*.

According to Isidorus (*Orig.* XI. 2) the usual divisions of age amongst the Romans were: *infantia*, which lasted from one year to seven; *pueritia*, from seven to fourteen; *adolescentia*, from fourteen to twenty-eight; and *iuentus*, from twenty-eight to forty-five.—*Arcebat*. The subject is the clause *quod . . . compositum*.

7. *Peccantium* denotes here sins of licentiousness. Tacitus is rather fond of this absolute use of the participle in the sense of the noun.

8. *Sedem ac magistram*, “the scene and guide.”

9. *Massiliam*. Now *Marseilles*. It seems to have had a great educational reputation. Augustus sent his sister Octavia's grandson there into polite banishment, under pretence of study; and Strabo remarks that, in his day, illustrious Romans of a literary turn frequented Massilia instead of visiting Athens. Tacitus describes the place as distinguished for Greek politeness, because it was founded by a colony of Phocaeans.—*Parsimonia*, *economy*, as opposed to the extravagance of Rome.

10. *Mixtum ac bene compositum* (*mingled and well united*): by *enallage* for *locum*, in quo *Graeca comitas et provincialis parsimonia mixtae ac bene compositae erant*.—*Acrius*, sc. *aequo*.

- ultra quam concessum Romano ac senatori, hausisse, ni prudentia matris incensum ac flagrantem animum coercuisset. Scilicet sublime et erectum ingenium pulcritudinem ac speciem magnae excelsaeque gloriae vehementius quam caute adpetebat.
- 5 Mox mitigavit ratio et aetas; retinuitque, quod est difficillimum, ex sapientia modum.

V. Prima castrorum rudimenta in Britannia Suetonio Paulino, diligenti ac moderato duci, adprobavit, electus quem contubernio aestimaret. Nec Agricola licenter, more iuvenum, 10 qui militiam in lasciviam vertunt, neque segniter ad voluptates et comaeatus titulum tribunatus et inscitiam rettulit; sed

1. *Concessum*, se. *erat*.—*Romano ac senatori*. A Roman senator was a person, whose main business lay in action, not in speculation. Too great indulgence therefore in philosophical studies was thought prejudicial, as tending to foster a dreamy unpractical character. The same idea prevailed among the Greeks. Cf. Plato, *Gorg.* 484 e. *Senatori*, of course, refers to the rank of Agricola by birth and not to his office.—*Hausisse* is the infinitive of what in the *Oratio recta* would have been *hauriebat*, began to drink in. A. 308, b; G. 599, R. 2; H. 527, III. and N. 2, 1).—*Prudentia matris*. Cf. Suet. *Nero*, 52. "A philosophia eum mater avertit monens imperaturo contrariam esse."

3. *Scilicet*, naturally.—*Pulcritudinem ac speciem*, comeliness and beauty. The former expresses the beauty of appropriate and symmetrical arrangement; the latter, the beauty that strikes the eye, and challenges observation.

4. *Vehementius quam caute*. The classical construction would, of course, require *cautius* here. Tacitus generally follows this, but sometimes has that of text. A. 192, b; G. 314; H. 444, 2 and N. 3.

5. *Mitigavit*, se. *eum*.

6. *Ex sapientia*. This means that after the mellowing influence of

reason and time had wrought a change, Agricola retained—a hard thing to do—as a relic of his old philosophical pursuits, the power of self conquest and moderation.

CHAP. V. 7. *Castrorum*, of military service.—*Suetonio Paulino*: dat. after *adprobavit*. For Tacitus opinion of him, see Cap. XIV; *Hist.* II. 25; II. 31.

8. *Moderato*: caution was his most prominent characteristic.—*Adprobavit*. *Adprobare* is to make anything satisfactory to another. Cf. *An.* XV. 59; *Cic.* *Ad Attic.* IV. 14; *de Fin.* II. 25.

9. *Contubernio*: abl. of means.—*Aestimaret*: subj. of purpose, after *quem — ut eum*. *Aestimare* here means to ascertain the value of; and the general's aim was to find out by constant association in war of what metal the young soldier was made.—*Licenter* (sc. *agens*) refers to *voluptates*; *segniter* to *comaeatus*.

11. *Titulum tribunatus* expresses a kind of brevet tribuneship; and as the holders of this post, in spite of their nominal rank, were really ignorant, generally speaking, of a soldier's duties, and regarded the army as a convenient lounging place, Tacitus adds *et inscitiam*. The whole passage means as follows: 'Nor did Agricola, with a display of disorderly license, or idle lounging, make his nominal tribuneship,

noscere provinciam, nosci exercitui, discere a peritis, sequi optimos, nihil adpetere in iactationem, nihil ob formidinem recusare, simulque et auxius et intentus agere. Non sane alias exercitator magisque in ambiguo Britannia fuit. Trucidati veterani, incensae coloniae, intercepti exercitus; tum de salute, 5 mox de victoria certavere. Quae cuncta esti consiliis ductuque alterius agebantur, ac summa rerum et recuperatae provinciae gloria in ducem cessit, artem et usum et stimulos addidere iuveni, intravitque animum militaris gloriae cupido ingrata temporibus, quibus sinistra erga eminentes interpretatio, nec 10 minus periculum ex magna fama quam ex mala.

VI. Hinc ad capessendos magistratus in urbem digressus

(which rank would have given opportunities for pleasure) and real ignorance a ground for pleasurable indulgence, or repeated furloughs (which he could easily have obtained as from his ignorance he was of no use).

1. *Noscere*, etc.: historical infinitives. Note the antitheses: "*noscere-nosci*; *discere-sequi*; *adpetere-recusare*; *anxius-intentus*."

2. *In iactationem*: i. e., he did not solicit dangerous duties with a view to boast thereafter of his success.

3. *Anxius et intentus*, careful and energetic. *Anxius* refers to the future, fearful of eventual miscarriage; *intentus*, to the present, with his whole energies bent to the work in hand. — *Non sane alias*, certainly at no other time.

4. *Exercitator* (= *agitator*) refers to the famous revolt of Boadicea, A. D. 60; vid. Caps. XV. and XVI. — *In ambiguo*, in a state of uncertainty, as to the possession of it. — *Trucidati* (sc. *erant*) *veterani*. In the butchery attending this outbreak 70,000 citizens and allies perished. The 'veterans' were especially obnoxious to the Britons.

5. *Incensae coloniae*. The *Colonia Camulodunum*, the only real *colonia*

in Britain, and the *Municipia Verulamium* and *Londinium* (all called loosely *coloniae* here), were burned. — *Intercepti exercitus*. Petillus Cerealis hastening to the rescue of the towns had been surprised and destroyed, his cavalry only escaping. — *Tum* refers to *trucidati*; *mox*, to the arrival of Paulinus and Agricola.

6. *Certavere*, sc. *Romani*.

7. *Alterius*: i. e., Suetonius. — *Summa rerum*, "general management." T.

8. *In ducem cessit*, fell to the share of the general. For this sense of the word, cf. *Hist.* I. 11; III. 83. — *Artem et usum et stimulos*, skill and experience, and incentives. — *Iuveni*: i. e., Agricola.

10, 11. *Temporibus*, referring to those of Nero, is best taken as a dative depending on *ingrata*. — *Sinistra* is best joined with *erga eminentes*. — *Nec minus . . . ex mala*. — "A remark worthy of notice, and too often true." Tyler.

CHAP. VI. 12. *Hinc*, after these services. — *Ad capessendos magistratus*. In order to obtain high rank in the public service, it was necessary to go through the several grades of the magistracy, which are all mentioned and explained below.

Domitiam Decidianam, splendidis natalibus ortam, sibi iunxit; idque matrimonium ad maiora nitenti decus ac robur fuit. Vixeruntque mira concordia, per mutuam caritatem et invicem se anteponendo, nisi quod in bona uxore tanto maior laus, 5 quanto in mala plus culpae est. Sors quaesturae provinciam Asiam, proconsulem Salvium Titianum dedit; quorum neutro corruptus est, quamquam et provincia dives ac parata peccantibus, et proconsul, in omnem aviditatem pronus, quantalibet facilitate redempturus esset mutuam dissimulationem mali.

1. *Natalibus, lineage*; a post-Augustan use of the word.

2. *Nitenti* agrees with *ei*: dat. of possessor understood. — *Decus ac robur, distinction and an assistance*. Her splendid descent and large dowry were probably of material help to Agricola, as adding lustre to his pretensions, and giving him the means for defraying the expenses incidental to a dignified discharge of office.

3. *Per mutuam caritatem* is best taken as causal. "Their affection was the cause of their singular harmony."

4. *Anteponendo*. Note the *enallage*. — *Nisi quod* refers to a thought suggested by the previous words, viz., that they equally attained to excellence, and therefore equally deserved praise, rather than to the exact words themselves. — *Maior*, i. e., *quam in dono viro*.

5. *Plus*, i. e., *quam in malo viro*. Tacitus' idea is: As it is thought more faulty for a wife to be a bad wife than for a man to be a bad husband, because it seems to be her special province to discharge a wife's duties well, so owing to the natural weakness of her sex, to rise high in excellence deserves more praise in a woman than in a man. — *Sors quaesturae*. Every proconsul was attended to his province by a quaestor (the first position in the course of Roman honors, who was

paymaster to the forces, and levied such portions of the revenue as were not farmed by the *Publicani*. After they had been appointed at Rome, they then drew lots for their destinations. Agricola obtained it in his 25th year, A. D. 65. — *Provinciam Asiam*. The province of Asia was only a small part of Asia Minor, containing Phrygia, Mysia, Caria, and Lydia. It originated in the bequest of Attalus to the Romans, B. C. 133.

6. *Proconsulem*. A proconsul was usually an ex-consul. — *Salvium Titianum*. Salvius Otho Titianus was the elder brother of the Emperor Otho, and, like him, a corrupt and greedy man. — *Dedit*, sc. *ei*; i. e., *Agricolae*. — *Neutro* (dative of the agent) alludes to both the richness of the province, and the venality of the governor.

7. *Parata peccantibus, ready for offenders*. This means that in Asia there were people always ready to assist a corruptly disposed Roman official of rank in any scheme of mischief he might put his hand to, or to bribe him to pervert justice.

8, 9. *Quantalibet facilitate, by any license however great*, i. e., by allowing Agricola any facility for plundering which he might wish. — *Redempturus esset*; "Subj. in the apodosis answering to a protasis understood, viz., *y Agricola had entered into the plot*." Tyler. A. 311; G. 602; H. 486, and N. 2. — *Dissimulationem*. The

Auctus est ibi filia, in subsidium simul et solacium; nam filium ante sublatum brevi amisit. Mox inter quaesturam ac tribunatum plebis atque ipsum etiam tribunatus annum quiete et otio transit, gnarus sub Nerone temporum, quibus inertia pro sapientia fuit. Idem praeturae tenor et silentium; nec enim iurisdictio obvenerat. Ludos et inania honoris medio rationis atque abundantiae duxit, uti longe a luxuria, ita famae proprior. Tum electus a Galba ad dona templorum recog-

word generally means to disguise what belongs to oneself. Tacitus, however, uses it in the sense of concealing at the faults of others. Cf. *Hist.* I. 26; *An.* XIII. 49.

1. *Filia*: afterwards the wife of of Tacitus.—*In subsidium*. Wex makes this refer to the enactment of the *Lex Papia Poppaea*, whereby a candidate with children was preferred to one without, and one with more children to one with fewer, but it seems better to give it a more general signification.

2. *Sublatum, born*; a phrase derived from the custom by which a Roman father took up (*sustulit*) the child whom he acknowledged and wished to rear.—*Amisit, he lost*. Some understand it as perf. for plup., and render *had lost*. The daughter was a *subsidium*, as increasing his family, and when he lost his son became a *solacium*.—*Mox, sc. annum* as object of *transiit* for the first clause: i. e., A. D. 66. By a law passed, B. C. 180, certain ages were fixed at which each office in the state might be held. These periods appear to have been for the Quaestorship 30; for the Tribune 33; for the Aedileship 36; for the Praetorship 39; and for the Consulate 42 or 43: so that two years elapsed between successive offices. Under the Caesars this arrangement was altered; and besides the Quaestorship being attainable at 24, a year only seems to have elapsed between successive honors.

3. *Tribunatum plebis*. This was

the second in the course of honors.—*Tribunatus annum*, i. e., A. D. 67.

5. *Pro sapientia fuit, served for a mark of wisdom*. In the case of Agricola the *inertia* was, of course, assumed.—*Praeturae*. Agricola was praetor in A. D. 68.—*Tenor et silentium* is by hendiadys for *continuum silentium, constant quietude*.

6. *Nec enim iurisdictio obvenerat, for no actual jurisdiction had fallen to his lot*. There were twelve or more Praetors at Rome at this period, but only two, those who filled the places of the old Praetor Urbanus and Praetor Peregrinus, had the *ius dicendi*. The others presided over the *Quaestiones perpetuae* for *repetundae, ambitus*, etc., but as even these, under the Emperors, were in the hands of the senate, and managed under imperial direction, little else was left to the Praetors than the management and superintendence of the games.—*Inania honoris, "the pageantry of his office"*.—*Medio, in a mean between*.

7. *Rationis, strict economy: inhumana divitas. Seneca (ad Helvid.)—Duxit, he conducted*.—The meaning of the passage is, 'the games and empty pageantry of the Praetor's office he regarded as requiring a mean between strict economy and lavish display; so that although the exhibitions were not prodigally ostentatious, there was enough splendor about them to attract admiration.

8. *Galba*: the successor of Nero, A. D. 68.—*Recognoscenda, examining*.

noscenda, diligentissima conquisitione fecit, ne cuius alterius sacrilegium respublica quam Neronis sensisset.

VII. Sequens annus gravi vulnere animum domumque eius affixit. Nam classis Othoniana licenter vaga, dum
 5 Intemelios (Liguriae pars est) hostiliter populatur, matrem Agricolaë in prædiis suis interfecit, prædiaque ipsa et magnam patrimonii partem diripuit, quæ causa caedis fuerat. Igitur ad sollemnia pietatis profectus Agricola nuntio adfectati a Vespasiano imperii deprehensus ac statim in partes trans-

2. *Ne . . . sensisset.* The natural sequence here would be *sentiret*, or *senserit*, according to the sense to be conveyed, but the force of the pluperfect may be thus explained. He so ordered things that when his office was discharged "the state found that it had felt only the sacrilege of Nero, everything having been recovered except what he had appropriated." C. and S. Cf. Pliny, *Paneg.* 40.—*Sacrilegium.* Nero had plundered the temples for the supply of his extravagances and debaucheries. Much had been lavished on his favorites.

CHAP. VII. 3, 4. *Sequens annus*, A. D. 69.—*Nam classis Othoniana.* There is an account of this *Hist.* II. 12, 13. Galba was murdered by the Praetorian Guard on the 15th of January, and was succeeded by Otho.—*Licenter, for purposes of plunder.*

5. *Intemelios*: the name of the people, again, for that of the town. The place is now *Vintimiglia*, about twelve miles east of Monaco.—*Liguriae.* Liguria was the ninth of the eleven regions into which Augustus divided Italy: it was bounded on the north by the *Padus*; on the east by the *Trebia* and *Maera*.

6, 7. *Prædiis suis, her own estates.* "*Prædia* includes both land and buildings." T. — *Patrimonii* appears to have lost its original meaning, of an inherited property, and here denotes furniture and household goods.—*Quæ.* We should rather

expect *quod*. "But the meaning is that whatever of her movable property she had on the spot was plundered, and that it was *this* that had invited the crime."

8. *Ad sollemnia pietatis*, "to perform the solemn duties of filial affection." It is probable that the funeral rites had been performed when Agricola arrived, but some of the ceremonies could be repeated with more solemnity. Thus in Cicero, *Cluent.* 9, we are told of a mother, who finding that her son was dead, and his corpse already burnt, repeated the funeral rites.—*Adfectati . . . imperii, of the empire's having been laid claim to by Vespasian.* This took place in the beginning of July, A. D. 69. Otho, after a short reign, had been succeeded by Vitellius, who was in turn succeeded by Vespasian.

9. *Deprehensus, se. est.* A man is said to be *deprehensus* by any news which overtakes him *unexpectedly*, or is brought in a hurried manner.—*Statim.* From the Histories we learn that at least three months must have elapsed between his mother's death, and his going over to Vespasian. II. 55, 70, 91.—*In partes, se. Vespasiani.*—*Transgressus est.* Agricola probably attached himself to Antonius Primus. At least from the account given of this general's movements in *Hist.* II. 85, 86, and III. 1-10, this would be his natural point to take, as he was on his way to Liguria, when the news reached him.

gressus est. Initia principatus ac statum urbis Mucianus regebat, iuvene admodum Domitiano et ex paterna fortuna tantum licentiam usurpante. Is missum ad delectus agendos Agricolam integreque ac strenue versatum vicesimae legioni, tarde ad sacramentum transgressae, praeposuit, ubi decessor 5 seditiose 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. 10

1. *Principatus*, sc. eius; i. e., Vespasian. Note the use of the Emperor's title, *princeps*, as the civil head of the state rather than *imperator*, which always implies military and even autocratic power.—*Mucianus*. He was consul A. D. 52, under Claudius, and twice afterwards. At the death of Nero he was governor of Syria, and being reconciled to Vespasian, supported his claim to the imperial throne zealously, marching into Europe while Vespasian remained in Asia. On reaching Rome he assumed in reality the reins of power, although nominally Domitian was at the head of affairs.

2. *Iuvene*. Domitian was at this time about eighteen years old.—*Domitiano*. Domitian was the younger son of Vespasian, and accompanied Mucianus to Rome as the representative of his father. He became afterwards one of the most infamous and detestable of the Roman emperors.

3, 4. *Is*, i. e., *Mucianus*.—*Missum*. Early in A. D. 70.—*Vicesimae legioni*. This legion, known as *Victrix*, was one of the four at this time stationed in Britain, the other three being the 2nd, 9th and 14th. In the Itinerary, of Antoninus, it is mentioned as stationed at *Deva*, the modern Chester, where Roman remains, inscriptions, altars, statues, baths, etc., are numerous.

5. *Tarde ad sacramentum*. For

the feeling of the troops toward Vespasian, cf. *Hist.* III. 44.—*Decessor*. This was Roscius Caelius. *Hist.* I. 60.

6. *Legatis consularibus*. The imperial provinces were governed by *legati praetorii, consulares*, etc., who were so called because the Emperor was proconsul of all the imperial provinces, and therefore his deputies were properly called *legati*. Their rank depended on the importance of the province: small provinces, which required but a single legion being assigned to the commander of that legion, who was a *legatus praetorius*; those, which required more than one legion, were given to *legati consulares*.

7, 8. *Nimiam, too powerful*.—*Legatus praetorius*, i. e., Roscius Caelius. the same person as *decessor*.—*Incertum*, sc. *est utrum*. This was either because he had no talent for command, or the troops no idea of subordination.—*Successor*; i. e., to the governor.

9. *Ultor*; i. e., to the soldiers.—*Rarissima*, etc. This sentence means that Agricola, instead of aiming at an increase of his own reputation by making a stir to bring the disorderly to reason, by way of contrasting his own energy and strictness with the loose discipline of his predecessors, chose rather to begin by blotting out the past, and treating them as respectable characters. He thus appealed to their better feelings.

VIII. Praerat tunc Britanniae Vettius Bolanus placidius quam feroci provincia dignum est. Temperavit Agricola vim suam ardoremque compescuit, ne increceret, peritus obsequi eruditusque utilia honestis miscere. Brevi deinde Britannia
 5 consularem Petilium Cerialem accepit. Habuerunt virtutes spatium exemplorum. Sed primo Cerialis labores modo et discrimina, mox et gloriam communicabat; saepe parti exercitus in experimentum, aliquando maioribus copiis ex eventu praefecit. Nec Agricola umquam in suam famam
 10 gestis exsultavit; ad auctorem et duces ut minister fortunam referebat. Ita virtute in obsequendo, verecundia in praedicando, extra invidiam nec extra gloriam erat.

IX. Revertentem ab legatione legionis divus Vespasianus inter patricios adscivit; ac deinde provinciae Aquitaniae

CHAP. VIII. 1. *Tunc*. A. D. 69.—*Vettius Bolanus*. His character is described at the close of Chap. XVI.—*Placidius*, with more mildness.

2. *Dignum est*. Tacitus uses *est*, and not *esset* or *erat* (both of which have been conjectured), because he is speaking generally and not of Britain particularly. Bolanus governed Britain with less energy than suits any province where the people are only half conquered.—*Vim*, energy.

3, 4. *Ne increceret*, sc. Agricola.—

Peritus obsequi and *miscere*: poetical construction; cf. Verg. *Ecl.* X. 32; Persius II. 34. It is very rare in good prose. A. 273, c; G. 420, R. 4; H. 533, II. 3. . . . *Deinde*. A. D. 71.

5. *Consularem*, sc. *legatum*.—*Petilium Cerialem*. Cerialis had once been lieutenant of the 9th legion in Britain, under Suetonius Paulinus. He was connected by marriage with Vespasian and was one of his generals in the civil war. He was engaged in the capture of Rome, and was afterwards despatched into Germany to oppose Civilis, and the Batavi. He appears to have died during his command in Britain.

6. *Exemplorum*: objective genitive.

7. *Communicabat*, sc. *cum illo*, i. e. Agricola.

8. *Ex eventu*, "on the strength of the result."—*In suam famam*, "with a view to (increase) his own reputation."

10. *Gestis*: abl. of cause.—"*Auctorem* cannot be translated here by any single word." It is the one from whom he derived his authority, or his superior officer.

12. *Nec extra gloriam*, but not without glory. *Nec — et non*.—*Extra — sine*. Cf. *Hist.* I. 49, *extra vitia*.

CHAP. IX. 13. *Revertentem*. *As he was returning*. It is possible that he did not return to Rome, but stopped on the way at his command in Aquitania.—*Legatione*, sc. *praetoria*.—*Divus*, i. e., when this was written.

14. *Inter patricios*. In A. D. 74 Vespasianus and his son Titus were appointed Censors, the last who held that office. They endeavored to recruit the ranks of the Patricians, thinned by a long series of cruelties and deaths, few having survived of those Patrician families, who in the early days of Rome formed her sole citizens. At the end of the Republic there were only some fifty of these families left. Julius Caesar therefore, by the *lex Cassia*, raised many

praeposuit, splendidae in primis dignitatis administratione ac spe consulatus, cui destinarat. Credunt plerique militaribus ingeniis subtilitatem deesse, quia castrensis iurisdictio securae et obtusior ac plura manu agens calliditatem fori non exerceat. Agricola naturali prudentia, quamvis inter togatos, facile 5 iusteque agebat. Iam vero tempora curarum remissionumque divisa: ubi conventus ac iudicia poscerent, gravis, intentus,

plebeians to that rank. Augustus and Claudius did the same, but under Vespasianus they had again dwindled down to 200 families (*An.* XI. 25).—*Aquitaniae*. This was one of Caesar's three divisions of Gallia, but it was afterwards enlarged and embraced the country between the Cevennes, the Loire, Garonne, and Pyrenees.

1. *Splendidae dignitatis*: genitive of quality. Cf. *Procillarae castitatis*; chap. IV. The dignity was twofold; consisting absolutely in the government of so extensive and important a province, and, in the next place, in the probability of its ruler being elevated to the Consulship.—*Administratione, in the importance of its duties*.

2. *Destinarat*, sc. *Vespasianus* as most writers say; but some supply *provincia* on the ground that the splendor of a province could hardly be affected by the isolated fact that the Emperor thought of making Agricola consul; whereas if its rulers were as a matter of general routine usually made Consuls (Galba is an example. *Suet. Galba*, VI.), this would add to its splendor considerably. The pluperfect, then, occurs as odd. Perhaps it is used, because, as compared with the actual administration, this hope of the Consulship was anterior to it. The province was splendid from its actual government, and even before that, from the hope of the Consulship marked out for its ruler in any particular case, from the very moment of his nomination.

3. *Subtilitatem*, "the faculty of

drawing nice distinctions."—*Castrensis iurisdictio, military law*.—*Secura*, summary, seems to imply a justice not troubling itself overmuch about legal subtleties; as not being subject to appeal; or to the scrutiny of opposing counsel; but founded on the broad and practical principles of equity.

4. *Obtusior, rather blunt*.—*Plura manu agens*. *Agere manu* is equivalent to *vi agere*, "to do things with a strong hand."—*Calliditatem*. The word is here used in a bad sense, *subtle distinctions, or craftiness*.—*Fori*. The Roman courts of justice were held in the forum.—*Exerceat*: subj. to express the views of others than the author. A. 336; 341, d; G. 541; H. 516, II.

5. *Quamvis inter togatos*. *Togati* are civilians, the *toga* being the dress of peace, as distinguished from *sagum*, the soldier's cloak. The reference here is to the assizes held under the governor's presidency, generally in the winter months when the army had gone into winter-quarters, in certain towns in the province for the settlement of all legal suits; hence *togatos*—litigantes and not Roman citizens only as it usually does.

6. *Facile iusteque agebat*. Agricola presided with ease to himself, because he was up to his work. Cf. *Suet. Tib.* 71.—*Iam vero, and besides*.—*Curarum remissionumque*. Note the use of the abstracts in the plural, where our idiom requires the singular. A. 75, c; G. 195, R. 5; H. 130, 2.

7. *Divisa, were kept distinct*.—*Conventus, sc. iuridici, courts*.—*Iudicia*

severus, et saepius misericors; ubi officio satisfactum, nulla ultra potestatis persona. Tristitiam et adrogantiam et avaritiam exuerat; nec illi, quod est rarissimum, aut facilitas auctoritatem aut severitas amorem deminuit. Integritatem
 5 atque abstinentiam in tanto viro referre iniuria virtutum fuerit. Ne famam quidem, cui saepe etiam boni indulgent, ostentanda virtute aut per artem quaesivit; procul ab aemulatione adversus collegas, procul a contentione adversus procuratores, et vincere inglorium et atteri sordidum arbitrabatur.

refers to the regular *administration of justice* in the Capital city of the province by the resident governor.—*Poscerent*: potential subj.

1. *Et saepius, and at the same time very frequently*.—*Officio, official duty*.—*Satisfactum, sc. esset*.

2. *Potestatis, of (the man of) power*.—*Persona* is properly a mask for stage-players, to increase the compass of their voices; by an easy transition it means to sustain a character or to play the part.—*Tristitiam, the official sternness* which hefts a magistrate.—*Adrogantiam, rigid requirement of respect*.—*Avaritiam, avarice, or rather what might seem so in one who exacted the full payment of the tribute or the revenue*.

3. *Exuerat*. If a man puts off a vice, one naturally supposes him to have had that vice at first more or less. Tacitus would hardly allow that Agricola ever displayed the faults mentioned here. His idea seems to be that certain vices may be looked for in persons holding certain positions: avarice, etc., he regards as the natural faults of a provincial governor; probably they were such in nine cases out of ten in his experience. By *exuerat* he means to say that Agricola had kept himself free from those vices, which might naturally have been expected to cling around him in his capacity of governor.—*III. A. 229; G. 344, 2; H. 385, 2*.—*Facilitas, affability*.

4, 5. *Severitas*: opposed to *facilitas*,—*Amorem, i. e., of others for*

him.—*Integritatem atque abstinentiam*. The first shows his uprightness on the bench, whereby he was proof against corruption; the latter, his honesty in not making a fortune out of the State property which he had to control.—*Referre, to mention*. Cf. *Hist. I. 30*.

6. *Fuerit*: subj. of cautious statement. A. 311, b; G. 252, R. 1; H. 486, I.—*Cui saepe etiam boni indulgent*. For the sentiment cf. *Hist. IV. 6*, "*erant quibus adpetitior famae videretur quando etiam sapientibus cupido gloriae novissima exiit*."

7. *Per artes, by artifices*. Note the enallage.

8. *Collegas*. These would be the governors of the neighboring provinces, *Gallia Narbonensis, Lugdunensis, Belgica*. In *An. XIII. 53*, Aelius Gracilis, Legatus of Belgica is mentioned as looking enviously on his neighbors, the Legati of Germany.—*Procuratores*. There was only one Procurator in each province, but in the three years of Agricola's administration there may have been several: or the plural may be put generally, "such rivalry as is generally seen between Legati and Procuratores. The legate might easily come into collision with them, as they had special charge of the revenues."

9. *Atteri*. There was no credit in getting the better of an inferior like a Procurator, and great disgrace in being trampled upon by one.

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 iuveni mihi despondit ac post 5 consulatum collocavit; et statim Britanniae praepositus est, adiecto pontificatus sacerdotio.

X. Britanniae situm populosque multis scriptoribus memoratos non in comparationem curae ingeniive referam, sed quia tum primum perdomita est; ita, quae priores nondum 10

1. *Minus*, sc. *quam*, A. 247, c; G. 311, R. 4; H. 417, N. 2.—*Triennium*. According to Dio Cassius, LII., it was Maecenas who suggested *three* years as the term for the *Legati* to hold their government. Tiberius, and also his successors, did not act on the suggestion, but continued their *Legati* in office for various periods and sometimes all their lives.—*Statim*, grammatically modifying *revocatus est*, in sense modifies *ad spem*.

2. *Consulatus*. The consulship was at this time hardly more than a title, usually held for two months.

3. *Dari*, was being offered to him, i. e., it was understood that he was to have it after his consulship.—*In hoc*, to this effect.

4. *Et elegit*, it has even chosen. Note the force of the perfect. The meaning is that common reports sometimes causes a man to be chosen.

5. *Consul*. He was *Consul suffectus* with Domitian A. D. 77, Vespasian and Titus having been Consuls from the 1st of January to the end of June. This is no doubt the reason why Tacitus passes over his office so lightly.—*Tum, even then*.—*Filiam*. Agricola was Consul A. D. 77, and this daughter having been born during his quaestorship in A. D. 65, was about twelve years of age at her betrothal. It was customary to betroth girls when quite young (not under seven). Augustus forbade betrothal under ten, so that the engage-

ment should not last more than two years.—*Iuveni*. Tacitus was in his twenty-fifth year.

6. *Collocavit*, gave her in marriage: the technical word.

7. *Pontificatus*. The Pontifices were not the priests of any particular divinity, but were a college, exercising superintendence over religious observances generally. Originally, on a vacancy in their body, the Pontifices chose a person to fill it; but afterwards the right was transferred to the people: again re-transferred to the college by M. Antonius. At last the right fell, like most other rights into the Imperial hands. It was at this time a mere dignity, all its power being exercised by the Emperor, who was *ex officio* its head, *pontifex maximus*. Vid. Suet. *Octav.* XXXI. Tac. *An.* I. 3; *Hist.* I. 77.

CHAP. X. Chapters X-XVIII give an account of the nature and previous history of Britain preparatory to the description of Agricola's administration.

8. *Multis scriptoribus*. These were Agathemerus, Caesar, Diodorus Siculus, Fabius Rusticus, Livy, Pliny, Pomponius Mela, Ptolemy, Suetonius, and Strabo.

9. *In comparationem*, etc., with a view of comparing my accuracy and talent (with that of others).

10. *Tum primum perdomita est*. Note the force of *per*. This statement is no doubt true. As Tacitus men-

comperta eloquentia percoluere, rerum fide tradentur. Britannia, insularum, quas Romana notitia complectitur, maxima, spatio ac caelo in orientem Germaniae, in occidentem Hispaniae obtenditur; Gallis in meridiem etiam inspicitur.

5 Septentrionalia eius, nullis contra terris, vasto atque aperto mari pulsantur. Formam totius Britanniae Livius veterum, Fabius Rusticus recentium eloquentissimi auctores oblongae scutulæ vel bipenni adsimulavere. Et est ea facies citra Cale-

tions in chap. XIII, the expeditions of Julius Caesar were merely temporary in their effects. In the last he penetrated but a short distance, and on his withdrawal his whole force withdrew too. Augustus threatened to reduce Britain but Gaul saw the end of his expedition, and Horace's remarks (l. 21. 35, etc.) are poetical flourishes. Tiberius acted upon Augustus' policy of letting Britain alone, as not worth the trouble of conquering and retaining. Caligula's conquest of Britain amounted to having sheltered the son of a British chief, Cynobellin. Under Claudius the work of conquest really began. Succeeding governors retained what had been gained, and, in the reign of Vespasian, Petilius Cerialis made large additions to the Roman conquests, until under Agricola almost the whole country was subjugated, and many of the adjacent islands.

1. *Nondum comperta, not very certain.*—*Rerum fide*, "on the evidence of facts."

3. *Spatio ac caelo, in extent and in latitude.*—*Spatium* is here used for extension, length of outline.—*Caelum* means geographical position, as astronomically and scientifically considered. The ancient writers seem to have held singular views as to the relative position of Britain (and Ireland) with regard to Spain. Here Tacitus makes its western outline face Spain. They all seem to have entirely overlooked the fact that Normandy and Brittany run out for a vast distance almost due west; and

that the French coast then takes a short turn southward. They thought the northern and the western shores stretched away in a south-western direction, in continuation of the German coast, while the Spanish coast rose to a great height towards the north or north-west. In the angle thus formed they placed Britain and Ireland. It must be remembered that Tacitus included Scandinavia in what he called Germany.

4. *Obtenditur, lies opposite to.*—*Gallis . . . inspicitur.* *Gallis* is dat. of the apparent agt.; *inspicitur* implies that Britain is much nearer to Gaul than to Germany and Spain, as it is visible from Gaul. The whole expression is equivalent to *Ita Gallis in meridiem obtenditur ut ab iis inspicere possit.*

5. *Nullis terris:* ab. abs. Cf. Caes. B. G. II. 14.

6. *Livius.* In his 105th book (now lost), as is known from the Epitome, Livy gives an account of Julius Caesar's invasion of Britain.—*Veterum, recentium, sc. auctorum.*

7. *Fabius Rusticus*, who wrote a history of the Roman Emperors beginning with the reign of Claudius, is quoted several times as an authority for certain facts connected with the history of Nero. Whether his work extended beyond this is not known.

8. *Oblongae scutulæ.* This probably means a trapezium, and we may imagine the southern shore to be its longest side. The opposite or northern boundary would be the shortest. This figure would bear

doniam, unde et in universum fama est transgressa; sed imensum et enorme spatium procurrentium extremo iam litore terrarum velut in cuneum tenuatur. Hanc oram novissimi maris tunc primum Romana classis circumvecta insulam esse Britanniam adfirmavit, ac simul incognitas ad id tempus insulas, quas Orcadas vocant, invenit domuitque. Dispecta est et Thule, quia hactenus iussum, et hiems adpetebat. Sed mare pigrum et grave remigantibus; perhibent ne ventis quidem perinde attolli; credo, quod rariores terrae montesque, causa ac materia tempestatum, et profunda moles continui maris tardius impellitur. Naturam Oceani atque aestus neque quaerere huius operis est, ac multi rettulere. Unum addiderim, nusquam.

some resemblance to the *bipennis*, if we suppose the *iron head* only of that weapon to be intended.—*Citra Caledoniam, excluding Caledonia.*

1. *In universum*: i. e., report applies to the whole island what is only true of a part.

2. *Enorme spatium*. This means that where the shore appears to be already coming to an end (*extremo iam litore*), the land suddenly juts out and then again narrows like a wedge. By *extremo iam litore* he designates the narrow isthmus between the *Clota* and *Bodotria aestuaria*, or the Friths of Clyde and Forth, which were the southern boundary of Caledonia.—*Iam* does not refer to time, but to the point where the coast comes to an end.

3. *Hanc oram*: i. e., this wedge-like projection.—*Novissimi maris, of the most distant sea.*

4. *Tunc primum* refers to the administration of Agricola; vid. chap. XXXVIII.

5. *Incognitas*. Pomponius Mela, who lived in the reign of Claudius, mentions the *Orcades* (*Orkneys*) as about thirty in number; therefore *incognitas* must be *unknown*, in the sense of *unexplored, not unheard of*.

6. *Dispecta est, was seen from a distance.*

7. *Thule*. What Tacitus means by Thule is not very clear. Pliny's account of Thule (IV. 30) is, that it was the remotest island of the German sea, a day's sail from the Frozen Ocean, where at the Solstice there was no darkness, and at the winter no light. This would probably be Iceland. It is very doubtful whether Tacitus means Iceland, it being much more probable that he alludes to Mainland, the chief of the Shetland Islands, which are visible from the Orkneys. Some writers consider it a part of Scandinavia.—*Hactenus iussum, sc. erat*. A glimpse was had of Thule; and two reasons are given why it was only a glimpse and nothing more; *first*, because Thule was fixed as the limit of that voyage, and on reaching it they returned at once; *second*, because the winter was drawing near, and time for reconnoitering the place more fully was wanting.—*Mare pigrum, etc.*, cf. Pliny IV. 27. Tac. *Ger.* XLV. Of course this is all a mistake, as the seas about Britain are never frozen.

9. *Perinde, sc. atque alia maria*. This is absolutely false, as these seas are remarkably tempestuous.

10. *Continui maris, of the sea unbroken by land.*

12. *Huius operis est, "belongs to his*

latius dominari mare, multum fluminum huc atque illuc ferre, nec litore tenuis accrescere aut resorberi, sed influere penitus atque ambire, et iugis etiam ac montibus inseri velut in suo.

XI. Ceterum Britanniam qui mortales initio coluerint, indigenae an advecti, ut inter barbaros parum compertum. Habitus corporum varii, atque ex eo argumenta. Namque rutilae Caledoniam habitantium comae, magni artus Germanicam originem adseverant. Silurum colorati vultus, torti plerumque crines, et posita contra Hispania Iberos veteres

work; operis is predicate genitive." C.—*Ac multi*. Note the use of *neque* and *ac* as correlatives. Cf. Strabo and Pliny.—*Addiderim*: cautious statement.

1. *Multum*: obj. of *ferre*.—*Fluminum* refers to the currents of the sea running among the islands along the coast, locally called *races*.—*Ferre*, sc. *mare* as subject.

2. *Litore tenuis*, as far as the shore, and no farther.—*Accrescere aut resorberi*, flow or ebb.—*Penitus*, far inland.

3. By *ambire* he means that the waves wind their way around the hills, until the peaks are insulated.—*Inseri*, makes it way, is used in the middle sense.—*Velut in suo*, sc. *regno*. The sea is quite at home in the heart of the country; not an intruder, but naturalized, as though it were in its own domain, the ocean.

CHAP. XI. 4. *Qui mortales*, etc. Beyond vague inferences, drawn from supposed resemblances, the ancients did not care much for ethnological researches. They were content to acquiesce in the account each people gave of itself, and of course barbarous tribes would be able to give very little account of themselves. Hence Tacitus says, *ut inter barbaros parum compertum*, sc. *feri solet*. Really the classical nations of antiquity knew about as little of their own ultimate extraction as of that of any other people, hav-

ing made no progress in analyses of various languages.

5. *An advecti*, or strangers, sc. *utrum* with *indigenae*. A. 211; G. 480; H. 353, 2.

6. *Habitus corporum* (cf. *Ger. IV.*), *physical characteristics*.—*Varii*, i. e., in the different parts of the island,—*Ex eo*; i. e., because they are various.—*Argumenta*; i. e., as to their definite origin; that they all were not of the same nationality.

7. *Rutilae comae*. Cf. *Ger. IV.* Some modern ethnologists consider a portion at least of the inhabitants of Caledonia to be of Teutonic origin.—*Caledoniam*. The term originally seems to have been restricted to a small part of modern Scotland, extending from Loch Fyne to the Murray Frith. Agricola seems to have extended the name to all the people north of the Grampian Hills.

8. *Silurum*. The Silures occupied the valley of the Severn, in South Wales.—*Colorati*, swarthy, sunburnt.—*Torti*, curly.

9. *Posita contra Hispania*. Cf. preceding chap., on the supposed position of Spain.—*Iberos*. These people are a great puzzle to the ethnologists. In historic times they occupied the Spanish Peninsula throughout its chief parts, and were the lineal ancestors of the Basques of the Pyrenees. According to the common theory they were pressed on by the Keltic immigration and displaced. In another view, the Keltic

traiecisse easque sedes occupasse fidem faciunt. Proximi Gallis et similes sunt, seu, durante originis vi; seu, procurrentibus in diversa terris, positio caeli corporibus habitum dedit: in universum tamen aestimanti Gallos vicinam insulam occupasse credibile est. Eorum sacra deprehendas, superstitionum 5 persuasiones; sermo haud multum diversus; in deprendendis periculis eadem audacia; et, ubi advenere, in detrectandis eadem formido. Plus tamen ferociae Britannii praeferunt, ut quos nondum longa pax emollierit. Nam Gallos quoque in bellis floruisse accepimus; mox segnitia cum otio intravit, 10 amissa virtute pariter ac libertate. Quod Britannorum olim victis evenit; ceteri manent quales Galli fuerunt. XII. In pedite robur; quaedam nationes et curru proliantur; honestior auriga, clientes propugnant. Olim regibus parebant,

were the original occupiers of Spain, and were ejected by the inroads of the Iberi from the south and east of the Peninsula. In either case adventurous or dispossessed Iberi may have visited Britain. At any rate there is a persistent tradition amongst the ancients of the peopling of some part of Britain and Ireland from the Spanish coast.

1. *Proximi Gallis*. Cf. Caes. B. G. V. 14.

2. *Similes*, sc. *iis*; i. e., *Gallis*.—*Originis* refers to their supposed Gallic origin.—*Procurrentibus*. . . . *terris*. According to the ancient idea, the Gallic coast ran north-east, and the British coast south-west. Neighboring countries jutting out in different directions would approximate very closely; would occupy the same *positio caeli*, and so would be subject to nearly the same climatic influences.

3. *In*. . . . *aestimanti*. Vid. Note on Ger. VI.

5. *Eorum*: i. e., of the Gauls.—*Sacra*, sacred rites.—*Superstitionum persuasiones*, their belief in superstitions.

6. *Sermo*, their speech.—*In deprendendis periculis*. This fickleness seems to have been universally an

attribute of the Gauls. Cf. Caes. B. G. III. 19. Strabo. IV. 4, 2. Their lightness of character however threw them into consternation when at all worsted.

8. *Praeferunt* = *prae se ferunt*, exhibit. T. Cf. An. II. 53; XVI. 22.—*Ut quos*, because, — *ut cumeos*, ut merely strengthening the relative.

9. *Emollierit*: subj. of cause after *quos*. A. 320, e; G. 636; H. 517, 3, 1).—*Gallos floruisse*. Cf. Caes. B. G. passim. Ger. XXVIII.

12. *Olim victis*; i. e., during the reigns of Claudius and Nero.—*Quales Galli fuerunt*. Such as the Gauls were. The meaning of Tacitus is that the Gauls before they were conquered were great warriors; but military spirit is incompatible with servitude. Servitude has destroyed it in the Gauls, but has not yet done so with all the Britons; many of them still remain what the Gauls were.

CHAP. XII. 13. *Robur*. Their main strength. The Britons had cavalry (Mela III. 6) and war chariots (Caes. B. G. IV. 24).—*Curru*. The use of the chariot was confined to certain tribes.

14. *Honestior auriga*, sc. est. This was the reverse of the Greek usage,

nunc per principes factionibus et studiis trahuntur; nec aliud adversus validissimas gentes pro nobis utilius quam quod in commune non consulunt. Rarus duabus tribusve civitatibus ad propulsandum commune periculum conventus; ita singuli 5 pugnant, universi vincuntur. Caelum crebris imbris ac nebulis foedum; asperitas frigorum abest. Dierum spatia ultra nostri orbis mensuram; nox clara et extrema Britanniae parte brevis, ut finem atque initium lucis exiguo discrimine internoscas. Quod si nubes non officiant, aspici per noctem 10 solis fulgorem, nec occidere et exurgere, sed transire adfirmant. Scilicet extrema et plana terrarum humili umbra non erigunt tenebras, infraque caelum et sidera nox cadit.

where the *ἡνίοχος* was of inferior rank to the *παραβάτης*, and often called *θεράπων*. These chariots were driven by the warrior, and carried a number of his fighting men of lower rank. Cf. Caesar *B. G.* IV. 33.—*Propugnant, fight for him, from the chariot, not in advance of it; he drives.*—*Olim regibus.* Some of these kings are mentioned by Tacitus. *An.* XII. 33, 36; XIV. 31.

1. *Principes* means the heads of the different parties, into which the states were split up.—*Factionibus*: combinations on the part of the chiefs.—*Studiis*: partialities of the people.—*Trahuntur = distrahuntur.*—*Nec aliud, sc. est,* is a general proposition, and does not refer to the Britons only.

3. *Civitatibus*: dat. of the possessor for the genitive.

4, 5. *Singuli, sc. populi.*—*Caelum foedum, sc. est.* The fog and rain of Britain is still proverbial.

6. *Asperitas frigorum abest.* Caesar (*B. G.* V. 12) makes a similar statement. No doubt the temperature of Britain, Germany and Gaul was lower before the countries were cleared than now, but there would probably be the same ratio preserved between their respective climates; the insular position of Britain and

the Gulf Stream contributing to its higher temperature.—*Dierum spatia.* Pliny (II. 75) gives a list of the length of the days at different places on the earth's surface. In Italy the longest day has fifteen hours, in Britain seventeen, the nights being correspondingly long at the opposite seasons of the year. In the Orkneys, in lat. 60, the longest day is a little over eighteen hours in length.

7. *Nostri orbis = dierum nostri orbis.*

8. *Brevis*: i. e., in summer.

10. *Solis fulgorem.* In more northern latitudes the sun itself can be seen above the horizon for six months, and even in north latitude 65, it is light enough to read all night.

11, 12, *Scilicet . . . cadit.* This explanation is founded on the assumption that night is the shadow cast by the earth. Tacitus' idea is as follows: the earth from Britain to the Pole sloped abruptly, so as to be almost flat, at all events much flatter than elsewhere. Behind this the sun descended only a little way. Clearly, the result of this would be that the central parts of the earth would throw upwards a long shadow reaching to the sky and so causing night. The parts near the Pole (*extrema et plana terrarum*), from their flatness

Solum, præter oleam vitemque et cetera calidioribus terris oriri sueta, patiens frugum, fecundum; tarde mitescunt, cito proveniunt, eademque utriusque rei causa, multus humor terrarum caelique. Fert Britannia aurum et argentum et alia metalla, pretium victoriae. Gignit et oceanus margarita, sed 5 subfusca ac liventia. Quidam artem abesse legentibus arbitrantur; nam in rubro mari viva ac spirantia saxis avelli, in Britannia, prout expulsa sint, colligi. Ego facilius crediderim naturam margaritis deesse quam nobis avaritiam.

XIII. Ipsi Britanni delectum ac tributa et iniuncta imperii 10 munera impigre obeunt, si iniuriæ absint; has aegre tolerant,

(*plana*), and the fact of the sun's being so little below the horizon, would cast a shadow rising to a short distance only above the earth (*humili umbra*). By this shadow, or night (" *Quippe manifestum est non aliud esse noctem quam terrae umbram*," Pliny II. 7), the ground near the Pole would be darkened, but far above its highest point the stars would shine unobscured by the lower darkness (*infra caelum et sidera nox cadit*).

1, 2. *Praeter, except.* — *Patens frugum, fecundum*, admits of the growth of fruits, and is even fruitful. Cf. *Ger. V.* "terra frugiferarum arborum impatiens." — *Mitescunt*, i. e., *fruges*.

4. *Aurum, etc.* Strabo (IV. 5. 2) mentions gold, silver, and iron as products of Britain. Caesar, iron and lead or tin (*plumbus albus*).

5. *Pretium victoriae, the price of victory*. This may mean that Britain paid tribute in money, or that they were worth fighting for. — *Margarita*. The Romans were excessively fond of these articles of luxury. The neuter form, *margaritum*, is much rarer than the feminine, *margarita*.

6. *Liventia, of a leadish hue*. Pliny (IX. 35) observes that pearls were found in England but small and discolored. Suetonius (*Julius Caesar*, 47) makes Caesar's eagerness for pearls his motive for invading Britain. —

Artem abesse. According to Pliny (II. 55), the divers had to practice considerable skill; for the oyster snapped at the diver's fingers, and lopped them off if he were not quick enough in his motions. The rocks too, where pearls were found, were dangerous.

7. *In rubro mari*. By this Tacitus means the *Persian gulf*, a portion of the *θάλασσα ἑρυθρά*. Cf. Pliny *N. H.* IX. 54; *An.* II. 61. — *Saxis*: abl. of separation, after *avelli*.

8. *Prout expulsa sint, as they have been thrown up from the sea*. A. 336; G. 653; H. 524. — *Ego*. Note the use. — *Crediderim*: subj. of cautious statement.

9. *Naturam. . . avaritiam*. Note the antithesis and the keen satire.

CHAP. XIII. 10. *Ipsi*. Having described the island (chap. X), its inhabitants (chap. XI), its customs, climate, natural products, etc., (chap. XII), Tacitus now passes to the history of the Britons themselves. — *Delectum, levies*, i. e., the recruiting of troops. — *Iniuncta imperii munera, the services of the government enjoined on them*. This means the furnishing of troops with provisions; all extraordinary contributions; forced labor, etc.

11. *Obeunt*. Note the zeugma, as this verb is applicable only to *munera*: some verb as *patiuntur* may

- iam domiti ut pareant, nondum ut serviant. Igitur primus omnium Romanorum divus Iulius cum exercitu Britanniam ingressus, quamquam prospera pugna terruerit incolas ac litore potitus sit, potest videri ostendisse posteris, non tradidisse.
- 5 Mox bella civilia, et in rempublicam versa principum arma, ac longa oblivio Britanniae etiam in pace. Consilium id divus Augustus vocabat, Tiberius praeceptum. Agitasse Gaium

be supplied with *delectum*, and *conferunt*, with *tributa*.—*Has*, i. e., *inurias*.

1. *Igitur*. Tacitus seems to regard this description of the Britons as a digression, and he resumes the thread of his main narrative with the word *igitur*, now. Cf. Sall. *Jug.* XIX. *Igitur ad Catathmon*, etc., after a parenthetical sentence.

3. *Britanniam ingressus*. This was in B. C. 55 and 54. Vid. Caes. *B. G.* Books IV. (23-36) and V. (8-23).—*Terruerit*: the subj. again after *quamquam*.

4. *Potest videri*, "can (only) appear." C.

5. *Mox bella civilia*, i. e., those between Caesar and Pompey, and Octa-

second Triumvirates.—*Principum*: i. e., the leaders mentioned above.

6. *Longa oblivio*. Cf. *An.* IV. 5, where in the list of legions, no mention is made of a force in Britain.—*Consilium, policy*. Tacitus mentions (*An.* I. 11) a note-book compiled by Augustus, containing an account of the provinces, taxes, armies, etc., of the empire. The historian adds "*adiderat consilium coercendi intra terminos imperii incertum metu an per invidiam*."

7. *Praeceptum, command*. It suited the wily and crooked policy of Tiberius to fall back, with a view to hide his real motives, on some order handed down from Augustus. This assumed or real regard paid by him to



AUGUSTUS.

vius and Antony, which ended in the establishment of the first and



TIBERIUS.

the wishes of Augustus is mentioned also in *An.* I. 77, *Valuit tamen intercessio, quia divus Augustus immunes verberum histriones quondam responderat, neque fas Tiberio infringere dicta*

Caesarem de intranda Britannia satis constat, ni velox ingenio, mobilis paenitentiae, et ingentes adversus Germaniam conatus frustra fuissent. Divus Claudius auctor iterati operis, transvectis legionibus auxiliisque et adsumpto in partem rerum Vespasiano; quod initium venturae mox fortunae fuit. 5 Domitae gentes, capti reges, et monstratus fati Vespasianus.

XIV. Consularium primus Aulus Plautius praepositus, ac subinde Ostorius Scapula, uterque bello egregius; redactaque paulatim in formam provinciae proxima pars Britanniae. Addita insuper veteranorum colonia. Quaedam civitates 10

eius; IV. 37, where Tiberius says of himself, "*qui omnia facta dictaque eius vice legis observem.*"—*Gaium Caesarem*: i. e., Caligula, the successor of Tiberius, who reigned A. D. 37-41.

1. *Ni velox . . . fuissent.* The sentence is very elliptical. The full sentence would be *et intrasset, ni fuisset velox ingenio, mobilis paenitentiae, etc.*—*Ingenio* is abl. of specification.

2. *Mobilis paenitentiae* is gen. of quality.—*Ingentes conatus.* Cf. *Ger. XXXVII, ingentes C. Caesaris minae in ludibrium versae*; *Hist. IV. 15, Gaianarum expeditionum ludibrium.*

3. *Divus Claudius* was the successor of Caligula, and reigned A. D. 41-43. He made an expedition to Britain in person, and remained sixteen days upon the island in A. D. 43. He first made Britain into a province. Note that the epithet *divus* is applied by Tacitus to the good Emperors only.—*Operis*: i. e., of subduing Britain.

4. *Legionibus auxiliisque.* The legions were composed of Roman citizens only; hence, the contrast.

5. *Vespasiano. Illic secundae legioni a Claudio praepositus et bello clarus egerat, Hist. III. 44.* Cf. *Suet. Vesp. IV.—Quod . . . fuit.* The idea is that Vespasian's successful career in the war against the Britons "was the commencement of his sub-

sequent brilliant fortunes" (*venturae fortunae*).

6. *Domitae, sc. sunt. — Capti reges.* An inscription (*Orell. Inscr. 715*), partly restored, runs as follows: "*Ti Clav(dio) senatus Popu(lvsque Rom. quod) reges Brit(anniae) gentesque primus in dicio(nem P. R. redegit).*"—*Fatis.* It seems better to consider this as a dative than an ablative of the agent (which it might be however), just as in Greek after perf. participles the dative is used instead of the regular genitive and preposition.

CHAP. XIV. 7. *Consularium primus*: i. e., "first in the list of consulars who commanded in Britain." C.—*Aulus Plautius* was *legatus consularis* or governor A. D. 44-47.

8. *Ostorius Scapula* from 48-51. It is said that Oyster-Hill, the site of a Roman encampment, in the parish of Dinder, near Hereford, was named after him.

9. *In formam provinciae.* The appointment of a governor established the province, which was fully organized when the territory had been divided into census districts, and the financial arrangements fully made.—*Proxima, nearcst*; i. e., to the Romans.

10. *Colonia.* This was *Camulodunum.* It is generally supposed to be *Colchester.* Others think *Maldon* retains traces of the old Roman name. It was founded A. D. 50, and

Cogidumno regi donatae (is ad nostram usque memoriam fidis-
simus mansit), ut, vetere ac iam pridem recepta populi Romani
consuetudine, haberet instrumenta servitutis et reges. Mox
Didius Gallus parta a prioribus continuit, paucis admodum
5 castellis in ulteriora promotis, per quae fama aucti officii
quaereretur. Didium Veranius excepit, isque intra annum
exstinctus est. Suetonius hinc Paulinus biennio prosperas res
habuit, subactis nationibus firmatisque praesidiis; quorum
fiducia Monam insulam, ut vires rebellibus ministrantem,
10 adgressus terga occasione patefecit. XV. Namque absentia
legati remoto metu, Britanni agitare inter se mala servitutis,
conferre iniurias et interpretando accendere. Nihil profici

the fourteenth legion, *Gemina Martia Victrix*, was stationed here, but recalled by Vitellius.

1. *Cogidumno regi*, of whom nothing else is positively known. A stone found at Chichester in the last century had the following inscription (the gaps being filled up by conjecture): "(N)eptimo et Minervae temp-
lvm (prio salute do(m)vs divinae (ex) aetorita(te) (Tiberii) Claud(ii) (Co)gidvbn(i) r(egis) lega(t)i Aug(vst)l in Brit.," etc. This no doubt refers to Cogidubnus or Cogidumnus, who apparently took the Emperor's name in addition to his own, and embellished Chichester.—*Donatae (sunt)*. This was to attach him to Rome and her interests.

2. *Recepta* in this sense of *long received* is post-Augustan.

3. *Et reges*, kings also, as well as other means. On this policy of Rome, cf. Liv. XLIV. 24. Tacitus mentions kings of this kind in *An.* XIV. 26. *Hist.* II. 81; III. 21.

4. *Didius Gallus* was governor A. D. 51-57.—*Parta a prioribus*, "the acquisitions of his predecessors."

5. *In ulteriora*, in the remoter parts, i. e., outside the organized province.—*Aucti officii*. The *officium* of a governor was simply to administer his province as he found it.

6. *Quaereretur*: subj. of purpose after *per quae* = *ut per ea*. A. 317; G. 632; H. 497, I.—*Veranius*, who was consul A. D. 49, under Claudius, had command from A. D. 57-58.

7. *Suetonius Paulinus* was governor A. D. 59-61.—*Biennio*: abl. denoting time *how long*, (A. 256, b; H. 379, l) and equivalent to *per biennium*.

8. *Subactis nationibus*. This may be understood as explanatory of *prosperas res*, or as giving the reason why he calls his work *prosperas*.—*Quorum* refers to *firmatis praesidiis*.

9. *Monam*. The modern *Anglesey*, a stronghold of Druidical superstition. The *Mona* of Caesar is the Isle of Man, called *Monapia* by Pliny.—*Ut . . . ministrantem*. The Druids encouraged the troops, and even led them into battle. Vid. *An.* XIV. 30 for a description of the reception Paulinus met with on landing.

10. *Terga occasione patefecit*. The next chapter tells us in what way.

CHAP. XV. 10. *Absentia*: cause of *remoto metu*.

11. *Agitare, conferre*: historical infinitives. The first denotes discussions in which *all* took part, the second, discussions and interviews of a more *private* nature.

12. *Interpretando*, by explaining

patientia, nisi ut graviora tamquam ex facili tolerantibus imperentur. Singulos sibi olim reges fuisse, nunc binos imponi, e quibus legatus in sanguinem, procurator in bona saeviret. Aequae discordiam praepositorum, aequae concordiam subiectis exitiosam; alterius manum, centuriones, alterius 5 servos vim et contumelias miscere. Nihil iam cupiditati, nihil libidini exceptum. In proelio fortiores esse, qui spoliarent; nunc ab ignavis plerumque et imbellibus eripi domos, abstrahi liberos, iungi delectus, tamquam mori tantum pro patria nescientibus. Quantum enim transisse militum, si sese 10

their meaning, showing a common meaning or purpose in them.—“*Nihil profici* commences a series of reflections and declarations reported in *oratio obliqua*, and continuing to the end of the chapter.” C.

1. *Tamquam* modifies *ex facili*.—*Ex facili* is a Graecism. Beside this we find in Tacitus: *ex adfluente*, *ex aequo*. Graecisms were characteristic of the Silver age.

2. *Singulos*. Note the force of the distributive, *one for each tribe*.—*Binos*: i. e., the legatus and procurator. It does not mean that the two were in each case different, but that every tribe had received a double ruler in lieu of their own single one.

3. *E quibus* = *quorum*.—*Legatus in sanguinem*. The Legatus, having the military *imperium*, had power of life and death.—*Procurator in bona*. The Procurator, having the power to assess taxes and to see that they were paid, could seize their property in satisfaction of fiscal claims. Tacitus (*An. XIV. 32*) says it was the avarice of Decianus, the Procurator, which forced the Britons into this war.

4. *Saeviret*. The subj. is used to denote the *purpose* with which the officers were set over them; this, at least, was the interpretation which the Britons themselves put on the matter. The clause then = *ut ex his legatus saeviret*.—*Aequae, aequae*.

Such repetition, used here however to show the absolute equivalency, is rare.

5. *Subiectis*, sc. *his*.—*Alterius, alterius*. The former refers to the legatus; the latter, to the procurator.—*Manum* answers nearly to our *staff*, and it would chiefly consist of soldiers of a centurion's rank.

6. *Servos*. The procurator acted chiefly through clerks, accountants, and persons employed to collect fines and debts, who were probably not soldiers, and possibly were slaves.—*Cupiditati, libidini*. A. 229; G. 344, 2; H. 385, 2.

7. *In proelio* is contrasted with *nunc: fortiores* with *ab ignavis*. The meaning is, in war it is the weak who suffer, whereas now matters are reversed, and we, the braver, suffer at the hands of the coward, etc., etc.

8. *Imbellibus* refers especially to veterans quartered at Camulodunum. Vid. chap. XIV.

9. *Delectus*. A British levy of 8,000 men is mentioned as forming a part of Vitellius' own division after the battle of Bedriacum. Vid. *Hist. II. 57*.—*Tamquam limits nescientibus; tantum limits pro patria*.

10. *Nescientibus*, sc. *sibi*, which is dative after the several infinitives.—*Quantulum*: diminutive. *What a mere fraction*.—*Transisse*. The infinitive is used in *oratio obliqua* in questions which are simply rhetorical. A. 338; G. 654, R. 1; H. 523, II. 2.

Britanni numerent? Sic Germanias excussisse iugum: et flumine, non Oceano, defendi; sibi patriam, coniuges, parentes, illis avaritiam et luxuriam causas belli esse. Recessuros, ut divus Iulius recessisset, modo virtutem maiorum suorum
 5 aemularentur. Neve proelii unius aut alterius eventu pavescerent; plus impetus, maiorem constantiam penes miseros esse. Iam Britannorum etiam deos misereri, qui Romanum ducem absentem, qui relegatum in alia insula exercitum detinerent; iam ipsos, quod difficillimum fuerit, deliberare.
 10 Porro in eiusmodi consiliis periculosius esse deprehendi, quam audere.

XVI. His atque talibus invicem instincti, Boadicea, generis regii femina, duce (neque enim sexum in imperiis discernunt), sumpserunt universi bellum; ac sparsos per castella milites

1. *Sic*; i. e., by counting their forces and uniting their strength.—*Germanias*. This noun usually denotes the two provinces on the left bank of the Rhine. The plural here may either be an error in the text, or it is used rhetorically, for the purpose of amplification, as the revolt was strictly limited to a portion of lower Germany. This refers to the uprising of Arminius and the defeat and destruction of the army of Varus, A. D. 9.

2. *Flumine, by a river (only)*. From this it is pretty clear that *Germania Transrhenana* was meant above.—*Defendi, sc. eas*.

3. *Illis*: i. e., the Romans.—*Recessuros, sc. eos esse*.

4. *Dirus*. This use of *divus* in the mouth of savage Britons sounds odd. Probably Tacitus forgot himself, and made the Britons speak through a Roman mouth. Wex suggests that the word is used contemptuously and points to an *à fortiori* argument. If their *defied* Julius had to withdraw, much more will their inferior leaders.

5. *Pavescerent*. The imperative was used in the oratio recta.

6, 7. *Plus impetus, "more fury."*—*Britannorum*. A. 221, a; G. 376; H. 406, I.

8. *Detinerent*: subj. of the reason in a relative clause. A. 320, e; G. 636; H. 517.—*Quod difficillimum*. Difficult, because, as he remarks in Chap. XII., it was a hard thing to induce the Britons to band together to resist a common aggressor.

10. *In eiusmodi consiliis, in such designs*; i. e., where such designs are in question.

CHAP. XVI. 12. *Invicem instincti, mutually rousing themselves. Instincti* has a *middle* sense. The events here related occurred A. D. 61. They are related more fully, *Ann. XIV.* 31-33. *Boadicea*. The name is variously spelled, *Boudicca, Boadicea, Boudicca, Voadicea, and Boadicea*, which last is the form familiar in literature. She was the wife of Prasutagus, King of the Iceni, a tribe inhabiting the eastern coast of Britain. When conquered she put an end to her life by poison.

13. *Imperiis, "positions of authority,"* referring here to both civil and military duties; it properly refers to the latter only.

consectati, expugnatis praesidiis, ipsam coloniam invasere ut sedem servitutis. Nec ullum in barbaris saevitiae genus omisit ira et victoria. Quod nisi Paulinus, cognito provinciae motu, propere subvenisset, amissa Britannia foret; quam unius proelii fortuna veteri patientiae restituit, tenentibus arma ple- 5
risque, quos conscientia defectionis et proprius ex legato timor agitabat, ne quamquam egregius cetera arroganter in deditos, et, ut suae cuiusque iniuriae ultor, durius consularet. Missus igitur Petronius Turpilianus tamquam exorabilior; et delictis hostium novus eoque paenitentiae mitior, compositis prioribus, 10
nihil ultra ausus Trebellio Maximo provinciam tradidit. Trebellius sequior et nullis castrorum experimentis comitate quadam curandi provinciam tenuit. Dedicere iam barbari

1. *Consectati*. The idea of this word is that of a searching and vindictive pursuit.—*Expugnatis* denotes the actual taking of the place by storm, while *oppugnatis* would denote only the assault itself. In Camulodunum, Londinium and Verulamium, all three of which were taken, nearly seventy thousand Romans and Roman allies were put to death.—*Coloniam*: i. e., Camulodunum.

2. *In barbaris* = *qualis inter barbaros esse solet*: i. e., usual among the barbarians.

3. *Ira et victoria*, anger and the (license of) victory.—*Quod nisi*, and had not.

5. *Fortuna* is abl. of means.—*Veteri patientiae*, to its ancient subjection. We would rather expect here *ad patientiam*.—*Restituit*, "brought back."—*Tenentibus arma plerisque*; a parenthetical clause in the ab. abs., denoting concession; i. e., he put down the rebellion, although very many still retained their arms.

6. *Proprius* must be construed with *agitabat*, with strong emphasis on *timor*; whom fear from the legate (i. e., of which he was the source) was more urgently harassing.

8. *Ut suae cuiusque iniuriae ultor*,

an avenger of each wrong, as (if it were) his own: ut modifies *suae*. They feared lest Paulinus should regard their revolt not merely as an offence against the State, but a personal affront, as their venturing to rebel was in some sort a proof of their contempt for him.—*Consularet*; subj. in the clause after *ne*, expressing the ground of their fear.—*Durius, too harshly*.

9. *Igitur*, i. e., "because Paulinus was not able to crush out the spirit of rebellion." C.—*Petronius Turpilianus*, who was governor of Britain A. D. 62-64, was murdered at the beginning of Galba's reign. Cf. *An.* XIV. 39; *Hist.* I. 6.—*Delictis* (dative) *novus*, a stranger to their faults. T.

10. *Eoque*: abl. of cause.—*Prioribus*: i. e., the irritation and discontent remaining from the outbreak and its suppression by Paulinus.

12. *Trebellius*. Trebellius was governor from A. D. 64 to 69.—*Nullis castrorum experimentis*: abl. of quality. Cf. *An.* I. 19, *Blaesus multa dicendi arte*. He had had no actual experience of campaigns.

13. *Curandi* is elsewhere used absolutely in this sense of governing Cf. *Sall. Jug.* LX.; *Tac. An.* XI. 22.

quoque ignoscere vitiis blandientibus, et interventus civili-
 armorum praeiuit iustam segnitiae excusationem. Sed dis-
 cordia laboratum, cum adsuetus expeditionibus miles otio
 lasciviret. Trebellius, fuga ac latebris vitata exercitus ira,
 5 indecorus atque humilis precario mox praefuit, ac velut pacti,
 exercitus licentiam, dux salutem; et seditio sine sanguine
 stetit. Nec Vettius Bolanus, manentibus adhuc civilibus
 bellis, agitavit Britanniam disciplina: eadem inertia erga
 hostes, similis petulantia castrorum; nisi quod innocens Bola-
 10 nus et nullis delictis invisus caritatem paraverat loco auctori-
 tatis.

XVII. Sed, ubi cum cetero orbe Vespasianus et Britanniam
 recuperavit, magni duces, egregii exercitus, minuta hostium
 spes. Et terrorem statim intulit Petilius Cerialis, Brigantum

1. *Vitiis blandientibus*. It seems better to consider this as dative, to show indulgence to vices as they became attractive. — *Civilium armorum*. The civil wars which followed the death of Nero, A. D. 69, (1) between Galba and Otho, (2) between Otho and Vitellius, (3) between Vitellius and Vespasian.

2. *Sed discordia laboratum*, sc. est. Chap. VII. and *Hist.* I. 60 show that this alludes to the quarrels between Trebellius and Roscius Caelius, who commanded the twentieth legion.

3. *Cum, because*; hence the subj. *lasciviret*. A. 321, c; G. 538, 3; H. 517.

5. *Praecario, on sufferance*. — *Praefuit*, sc. *exercitui*. — *Velut pacti, they stipulated as it were*, implies a tacit compact. The ellipsis here is *sumt* to agree with both *exercitus* and *dux*.

6, 7. *Et, and so*. T. — *Stetit, was checked*. — *Vettius Bolanus* was governor A. D. 70, and under him Agricola was the commander of the twentieth legion.

9. *Petulantia, insubordination*, such as would lead to outrages. — *Nisi*

quod, except that. — *Innocens*. The word especially denotes, *free from the guilt of rapacity*. In this respect Bolanus was a contrast to Trebellius, who is said (*Hist.* I. 60) to have been *per avaritiam ac sordem contemptus exercitui invisusque*.

10. *Delictis*: abl. of cause. — *Caritatem . . . auctoritatis*; i. e. had made himself loved rather than feared.

CHAP. XVII. 12. *Cetero orbe*: i. e., "the rest of the Roman world besides Britain."

13. *Recuperavit*. The word implies that Vespasian recovered the Roman empire, previously lost, or held by those who had no right to it. He rescued it from the degradation it suffered in the hands of such men as Otho and Vitellius, and restored it to its former unity and dignity. — *Magni duces, sc. erant*.

14. *Petilius Cerialis* was governor A. D. 71-75. Vid. note on cap. VIII. — *Brigantum*. The Brigantes occupied the northern part of the island, embracing Cumberland, Westmoreland, Lancashire, Durham, and Yorkshire, and were thus outside of the Roman province.

civitatem, quae numerosissima provinciae totius perhibetur, adgressus. Multa proelia, et aliquando non incruenta; magnamque Brigantum partem aut victoria amplexus est aut bello. Et Cerialis quidem alterius successoris curam famaque obruisset; *sed* sustinuit molem Iulius Frontinus, vir magnus, 5 quantum licebat, validamque et pugnacem Silurum gentem armis subegit, super virtutem hostium locorum quoque difficultates eluctatus.

XVIII. Hunc Britanniae statum, has bellorum vices media iam aestate transgressus Agricola iuvenit, cum et milites velut 10 omissa expeditione ad securitatem et hostes ad occasionem verterentur. Ordovicum civitas haud multo ante adventum eius alam in finibus suis agentem prope universam obriverat, eoque initio erecta provincia; et quibus bellum volentibus

3. *Aut victoria aut bello*, i. e., nothing escaped him; he fought everywhere, and even if unsuccessful in some parts, he harassed them by war.

4. *Alterius*. The editors generally refer this to Frontinus, though Wex insists that Agricola is meant, on the ground that *alter* cannot be used in the sense of *alius*. He says that *alter successor* can only mean *secundus a Ceriali*, i. e., Agricola.

5. *Obruisset*, would have completely extinguished. — *Molem*, i. e., the weight of responsibility thrown upon him by his being obliged to complete what Cerialis had so ably begun. — *Iulius Frontinus* was Praetor Urbanus, A. D. 70, and Consul Suffectus, A. D. 74. Under Nerva he was made Curator Aquarum, and an augur. He is the author of two works, which have come down to us, *de Aqueductibus* and *de Strategematis*.

6. *Quantum licebat* modifies *sustinuit molem*, i. e., he carried out the duties imposed on him, so far as the difficulties of his position permitted. The whole passage is hopelessly corrupt, and the MSS. afford no assistance. — *Silurum*. The Silures occupied South Wales.

7, 8. *Super, besides*. — *Eluctatus*. Cf. *Hist.* III. 59, *vix quieto agmine nives eluctantibus*, etc., etc.

CHAP. XVIII. 9. *Vices, vicissitudes*, marks a result, not what was passing at the time.

10. *Aestate*: A. D. 78, the tenth year of Vespasian's reign.

11. *Expeditione*: i. e., the campaign for this year. — *Ad securitatem*, to careless enjoyment; *ad occasionem*, to an opportunity for attack. There is no zeugma here, since *ad securitatem verti* and *ad occasionem verti* are both legitimate expressions.

12. *Vertentur* is here used in a middle sense. Note the tense. — *Ordovicum*. The Ordovices inhabited North Wales, exclusive of the Isle of Anglesey.

13. *Alam*. The *ala* was a division of allied cavalry, serving in the Roman army. — *Agentem*, stationed. For this absolute use of *agere*, cf. *Hist.* I. 74; *An.* II. 17.

14. *Erecta provincia*: i. e., the insurrection spread to the province. — *Quibus bellum volentibus erat*, those who wished for war, is a construction in imitation of one common in Greek. Tacitus uses it also

erat, probare exemplum, ac recentis legati animum opperiri, cum Agricola, quamquam transvecta aestas, sparsi per provinciam numeri, praesumpta apud militem illius anni quies, tarda et contraria bellum incohaturus, et plerisque custodiri suspecta
 5 potius videbatur, ire obviam discrimini statuit; contractisque legionum vexillis et modica auxiliorum manu, quia in aequum degredi Ordovices non audebant, ipse ante agmen, quo ceteris par animus simili periculo esset, erexit aciem. Caesaque prope universa gente, non ignarus instandum famae, ac, prout
 10 prima cessissent, terrorem ceteris fore, Monam insulam, cuius

in *Hist.* III. 43; *An.* I. 51. Sallust has it in *Jug.* LXXXIV., and *Cat.* Also Livy XXI. 50; *quibus* (dat. of possess.) relates to the subject of the historical infinitive *probare*, *approved*, and has *volentibus* agreeing with it. A. 232, c; G. 354, R; H. 387, N. 3.

1. *Animum, temper.*

2. *Agricola* is the subject of *statuit*. — *Quamquam*. The clauses introduced by *quamquam* end at *videbatur*. — *Transvecta*, *sc. est*. Tacitus is the only writer who uses this word in reference to time.

3. *Numeri*. *Numerus* is used by late writers for a body of soldiers of any magnitude. Cf. *Hist.* I. 6, and 87. Suet. *Vesp.* VI. — *Praesumpta*. *Praesumere* is to enjoy by anticipation. Cf. *Ann.* XI. 7. Pilny. IV. 15. — *Tarda et contraria*. These words are in apposition with the preceding clauses; three circumstances causing delay and adverse.

4. *Plerisque*, i. e., of the inferior officers. — *Suspecta*, *sc. loca*, i. e., tribes imperfectly conquered, or likely to revolt.

5. *Ire obviam, to face.*

6. *Vexillis*. By *vexilla* are meant bodies of troops detached from their own legions, and serving apart from them when occasion required. They must not be confounded with the *vexillarii* or veterans, although Tacitus uses (*An.* II. 78; *Hist.* I. 70; II. 11) the word with this sense. "The

vexillum was a small square of cloth attached to a cross-bar at the top of a staff, and was the standard of the cavalry and probably of the auxiliaries. When a body of troops was detached for special service, its *signa*



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or regular standards were left behind with the legion, and it took with it a *vexillum* instead; hence the term, *vexilla*." A. — *Quia*, etc., gives the reason for the statement which follows. — *In aequum*, into the plain.

8. *Periculo*: abl. of cause. — *Erexit aciem*. *Erigere* is used of marching troops up hill. Cf. Livy I. 27; III. 18.

9. *Instandum*, *sc. esse sibi*. — *Prout prima cessissent, in proportion as his first attempts had succeeded*. This is a favorite remark of Tacitus. Vid. *Hist.* II. 20; *An.* XII. 31.

10. *Prima* — *initia belli*. — *Ceteris*, i. e., the other insurgents,

possessione revocatum Paulinum rebellione totius Britanniae supra memoravi, redigere in potestatem animo intendit. Sed, ut in dubiis consiliis, naves deerant; ratio et constantia ducis transvexit. Depositis omnibus sarcinis lectissimos auxiliarium, quibus nota vada et patrius nandi usus, quo simul seque et 5 arma et equos regunt, ita repente inmisit, ut obstupefacti hostes, qui classem, qui naves, qui mare expectabant, nihil arduum aut invictum crediderint sic ad bellum venientibus. Ita petita pace ac dedita insula, clarus ac magnus haberi Agricola; quippe cui ingredienti provinciam, quod tempus alii per 10 ostentationem et officiorum ambitum transigunt, labor et peri-

1. *Possessione.* After *revocari* Cicero always uses a preposition, *a* or *ab*. Tacitus omits the preposition, as he does in the case of verbs compounded with *re*, when followed by a noun of place.

3. *Ut*, sc. "solet fieri." T.—*In dubiis consiliis, in imperfectly matured plans.* Since all the successive stages of a campaign cannot be predicted from the beginning, when the time of action arrived, Agricola found his means inadequately provided. Had he been able to map out his intended operations with perfect certainty, he would have had ships ready.—*Ratio et constantia, the judgment and decision.*

4. *Transvexit*, sc. *copias.*—*Auxiliarum.* These could hardly have been the Batavian auxiliaries, although they served in Britain (Vid. *Hist.* IV. 12. *An.* II. 8), for they would scarcely have been acquainted with the British fords. They must have been native troops serving in the Roman army, as Tacitus mentions in Chaps. XXXI. XXXII.

5. *Patrius, peculiar to their country.*

6. *Obstupefacti hostes.* Wex suggests that if the auxiliaries were Britons, the Britons of Mona could not be said to be astounded at their proceedings. There seems to be no reason, however, why they might

not be equally astounded at being taken in an unexpected quarter, whether their assailants were foreigners or their own countrymen.

7. *Qui mare expectabant, who expected a sea attack.* This assault made by fording the shallows did not seem a sea fight, so much as an attack by land, because they expected the *enemy* to make his appearance in ships on the western or northern coast of the island.

8. *Crediderint.* We would expect here *crederent* as the regular sequence after the historical perfect *inmisit*, but this peculiarity, (arising from the fact that the *result* of a *past* action may itself be *present* and may thus be expressed by a Principal tense) is common in clauses denoting *consequence* or *result*. A. 287, c; G. 513; H. 495, VI.—*Venientibus*, sc. *is*; dat. after *arduum*.

9. *Haberi*: historical infinitive.

10. *Cui* is governed by *placuisset*, subj. in the relative clause denoting the reason. A. 320, e; G. 636; H. 517, 3. l.—*Quod tempus*: i. e. just after the arrival of the governor.

11. *Officiorum ambitum, round of ceremonies.* *Officia* are the usual complimentary visits, ceremonial addresses, and the like, made to a new magistrate on taking possession of his government. Cf. *Hist.* V. 1, Suet. *Tib.* XII,

culum placuisset. Nec Agricola, prosperitate rerum in vanitatem usus, expeditionem aut victoriam vocabat victos continuisse; ne laureatis quidem gesta prosecutus est. Sed ipsa dissimulatione famae famam auxit aestimantibus quanta futuri
 5 spe tam magna tacuisset.

XIX. Ceterum animorum provinciae prudens, simulque doctus per aliena experimenta parum profici armis, si iniuriae sequerentur, causas bellorum statuit excidere. A se suisque orsus, primum domum suam coercuit, quod plerisque haud
 10 minus arduum est quam provinciam regere. Nihil per libertos servosque publicae rei; non studiis privatis nec ex commendatione aut precibus centurionem, milites ascire, sed optimum quemque fidissimum putare; omnia scire, non omnia exsequi; parvis peccatis veniam, magnis severitatem commodare, nec
 15 paena semper sed saepius paenitentia contentus esse; officiis et administrationibus potius non peccaturos praepone, quam damnare cum peccassent. Frumenti et tributorum exactio-

2. *Victos continuisse*, (the) having kept the conquered in subjection: subj. of *expeditionem aut victoriam* (esse).

3. *Laureatis*, sc. *litteris*, which is always found with it except in this passage. Pliny mentions (XV. 40) the custom of sending home despatches wreathed with ianrel on the announcement of victory. Cf. Liv. V. 23: Suet. Dom. VI: Tac. Hist. III. 77.

4. *Aestimantibus*, in the eyes of those who considered. Cf. *aestimanti*. Cap. XI. Some consider this ablative absolute.

CHAP. XIX. 6. *Prudens* = *gnarus*.

7. *Per aliena experimenta*, by the experience of others.—*Iniuriae*. Some read *incuriae*, which seems hardly defensible, though the MSS. have it.

9. *Domum suam*: i. e., his staff, servants and subordinates generally.

10. *Nihil*, sc. *agere*; historical infin.

11. *Publicae rei*, limiting *nihil*, is part. genitive.—*Studiis privatis*, "according to his own personal inclinations."—*Ex commendatione*: i. e., of others,

12. *Milites ascire*, sc. in numerum *accensorum*. This refers to the promotion of soldiers to offices about the governor's establishment, such as the posts of lictor, apparitor, clerk, secretary, purveyors of corn, etc., etc. These persons were comprehended under the common designation *cohors accensorum*, and being released from all strictly military duties were called *beneficarii*.—*Sed optimum . . . putare*, "but he thought all the best men the most trustworthy." C.

13. *Non exsequi*, he did not punish. Livy and the later writers use it in this sense. Cicero's word is *persequi*.

14. *Severitatem commodare*. There need be no zeugma here as many say, since *commodare* is used very much by the writers of the Silver age in the sense of *giving, assigning, applying*,—a meaning which suits the first clause as well as the second.

15, 16. *Paena*: abl. of cause.—*Non peccaturos*, those who would not do wrong.

nem aequalitate munerum mollire, circumcisis quae in quaestum reperta ipso tributo gravius tolerabantur. Namque per ludibrium adsidere clausis horreis et emere ultro frumenta ac ludere pretio cogebantur; devortia itinerum et longinquitas regionum indicebatur, ut civitates, proximis hibernis, in remota 5 et avia deferrent, donec, quod omnibus in promptu erat, paucis lucrosus fieret.

XX. Haec primo statim anno comprimendo egregiam famam paci circumdedit, quae vel incuria vel intolerantia priorum haud minus quam bellum timebatur. Sed, ubi aestas 10

1. *Munerum*, duties or burdens, as (1) contributions of corn, (2) the payment of a money tribute.—*Circumcisis*, sc. *tis*, i. e., *muneribus*.—*In quaestum reperta*, devised with a view to gain.

2. *Namque*, etc. The rest of this chapter, which presents considerable difficulty, is to be taken as explaining some of the methods of extortion practised by previous governors. A certain amount of corn called *frumentum imperatum* had to be furnished by the Britons. This they could have easily supplied, had not the Roman agents previously secured in some way or other all the corn in any given neighborhood, and stored it in their own granaries, kept closed (*clausis horreis*) because full. When the Britons had to supply the corn, there was none forthcoming, and, as the Romans refused to accept a money equivalent, the Britons were compelled to purchase corn from the Roman granaries up to the required amount. The Britons were, of course, compelled to pay an enormous (*ludere pretio*) price for it, and as it remained in the granaries when bought, the whole affair was a *ludibrium*. Besides this there was the second wrong done them. They were ordered to carry the corn to some remote quarter. As this was troublesome and also expensive, they would

offer the money contribution and buy corn of the Romans in the manner before stated.—*Per ludibrium*, in mockery.

3. *Utro*, needlessly, as it was the money they were parting with, no equivalent being received.

4. *Ludere pretio*, to be going through a farce with the price, since they were paying dear for what remained in the seller's possession.—*Devortia itinerum*, places off the roads.—*Longinquitas regionum*, distant parts of the country.

5. *Proximis hibernis*: ab. abs., denoting concession.

6. *Deferrent*, sc. *frumentum*. Cicero accuses Verres (III. 82) of the same thing. This proceeding, however, was not actually illegal, as the magistrates were allowed to name the place where the corn was to be delivered.—*In promptu*: i. e., if they had been allowed to arrange the matter fairly.—*Paucis*: i. e., the Roman officials.

7. *Fieret*. A. 328; G. 574; H. 519, II. 2, N. 2.

CHAP. XX. 8. *Haec*: i. e., such abuses.—*Statim*, at once.—*Egregiam . . . circumdedit*, he invested peace with great glory. Cf. *Hist.* IV. 11. *Dial. de Orat.* XXXVII.

9. *Intolerantia*, insufferable haughtiness.

10. *Aestas*: A. D. 79.

- advenit, contracto exercitu, multus in agmine, laudare modestiam, disiectos cœercere: loca castris ipse capere, aestuaria ac silvas ipse praetentare; et nihil interim apud hostes quietum pati, quo minus subitis excursibus popularetur; atque, ubi
 5 satis terruerat, parcendo rursus inritamenta pacis ostentare. Quibus rebus multae civitates, quae in illum diem ex aequo egerant, datis obsidibus, iram posuere, et praesidiis castellisque circumdatae tanta ratione curaque, ut nulla ante Britannia: nova pars *pariter* illacessita transierit.
- 10 XXI. Sequens hiems saluberrimis consiliis absumpta. Namque, ut homines dispersi ac rudes eoque in bella faciles quieti et otio per voluptates adsuescerent, hortari privatim, adiuvare publice, ut templa fora domos exstruerent, laudando promptos et castigando segnes. Ita honoris aemulatio pro
 15 necessitate erat. Iam vero principum filios liberalibus artibus

1. *Multus in agmine*, sc. esse. The phrase is used of one who shows himself frequently on the line of march, first here, and then there. Cf. Sall. *Jug.* XCVI. It is also used in the sense of *ever present, continually on the march*.—*Modestiam, obedience*.

2. *Disiectos, stragglers*, is opposed to *modesti*.—*Loca castris*. Many traces of Roman encampments are still visible along the route apparently taken by Agricola.

3. *Praetentare*: to find a passage.

4. *Popularetur*. The subject is *Agricola*.

5. *Inritamenta, allurements*, is a much stronger word than *incitamenta* or *illicebrae*.

6. *Ex aequo, independently*; i. e., the states in question had not been conquered or enslaved by the Romans. Cf. *Hist.* IV. 64.

8. *Circumdatae, sc. sunt*.—*Ut . . . transierit*. "The reading of this passage is doubtful. Several editors place the period after *pars*, and make *illacessita transiit* (changed from *transierit*) begin the next chapter." C. The word *pariter* is not found in the manuscripts. The best

that can be done with it is this: *they were so encompassed, etc., that no part of Britain, new (to us) before, came over (to us) equally unharrassed*; i. e., no recently conquered territory before this had ever been annexed with so little annoyance. Tacitus is the only writer who uses the word *illacessita*.

CHAP. XXI. 10. *Sequens hiems*: A. D. 79-80.

11. *Eoque*; abl. of cause.—*In bella faciles, easily moved to war*.

12. *Privatim, as a private individual*.

13. *Publice*: i. e., by governmental authority he assisted them by grants from the public treasury.—*Templa*. A Roman temple, now called Arthur's Oon, or Oven, near the Carron, in Stirlingshire, is said to have been built by Agricola.

14. *Castigando*, i. e., with words.—*Ita . . . necessitate erat, so that rivalry in obtaining distinction took the place of compulsion*.

15. *Iam vero, moreover*.—*Filios . . . erudire*. This seems to have been a usual policy with the Romans, the result of which would naturally be to secure friends to the Roman in-

erudire, et ingenia Britannorum studiis Gallorum anteferre, ut, qui modo linguam Romanam abnuebant, eloquentiam concupiscerent. Inde etiam habitus nostri honor et frequens toga, paulatimque discessum ad delenimenta vitiorum, porticus et balnea et convivorum elegantiam; idque apud imperi- 5
tos humanitas vocabatur, cum pars servitutis esset.

XXII. Tertius expeditionum annus novas gentes aperuit, vastatis usque ad Tanaum (aestuario nomen est) nationibus. Qua formidine territi hostes quamquam conflictatum saevius tempestatibus exercitum lacessere non ausi; ponendisque 10
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 obsidionis annuis copiis firmabantur. Ita intrepida ibi 15

terest when these princes ascended their own thrones. Cf. *An.* XI. 16; XII. 10. Suet. *Octav.* XLVIII.

1. *Et ingenia . . . anteferre, and he preferred the natural talents of the Britons to the industry of the Gauls*, i. e., Agricola believed the Briton to be the naturally cleverer man; the Gaul to have improved his scantier talents by greater care.

2. *Ut, so that, denoting a consequence.—Eloquentiam concupiscerent.* Juvenal (XV. III) jokes about the spread of Roman learning:

“Gallia caesidicos docuit facunda Britannos;
De conducendo loquitur iam rhetore Thule.”

3. *Habitus*: i. e. mode of dress.

4. *Toga*. “This adoption of the toga, which was the distinctive dress of a Roman citizen, is like the adoption of dress coats and silk hats by the Japanese.” A.—*Discessum*, sc. est ab iis a patrum moribus.—*Delenimenta, attractive accompaniments.—Porticus, arcades.*

5. *Balnea*. Boadicea, in Dion Cassius, expresses a thorough contempt for the Romans, as men who bathe in

hot water. There were public baths all over Britain.

6. *Humanitas, civilization.—Esset*: subj. of concession, after *cum*, although. A. 326; G. 588; H. 515, III.

CHAP. XXII. 7. *Tertius annus*: A. D. 80.

8. *Ad Tanaum*. This is supposed to refer to the Estuary of the Tyne although its identity is uncertain.—Another reading is *Taum*, the firth of Tay, but this is not probable. Vid. note on *Clota*, Cap. XXIII.

9. *Quamquam* modifies *conflictatum*.

10. *Ausi*, sc., *sunt*.

11. *Adnotabant*. Observe the force of the imperfect.—*Periti*, men of experience.

14. *Pactione*, i. e., by capitulation.—*Crebrae eruptiones* (sc. erant), i. e., from the fortresses.

15. *Annis copiis*, with provisions for the year. The enemy thought it useless to attempt a blockade on the chance of starving them out, as they had plenty of provisions. Hence, being unmolested, they were able to make frequent sallies.

- hiems, et sibi quisque praesidio, irritis hostibus eoque desperantibus, quia soliti plerumque damna aestatis hibernis eventibus pensare, tum aestate atque hieme iuxta pellebantur. Nec Agricola umquam per alios gesta avidus intercept; seu centurio seu praefectus incorruptum facti testem habebat. Apud quosdam acerbior in conviciis narrabatur; ut erat comis bonis, ita adversus malos iniucundus. Ceterum ex iracundia nihil supererat secretum, ut silentium eius non timeres; honestius putabat offendere quam odisse.
- 10 XXIII. Quarta aestas obtinendis, quae percucurrerat, insumpta; ac, si virtus exercituum et Romani nominis gloria pateretur, inventus in ipsa Britannia terminus. Namque Clota et Bodotria, diversi maris aestibus per immensum revectae, angusto terrarum spatio dirimuntur, quod tum
- 15 praesidiis firmabatur, atque omnis propior sinus tenebatur, summotis velut in aliam insulam hostibus.

1. *Quisque*, i. e., every commander of a *castellum*.—*Irritis*, baffled. Seldom used in prose with reference to people.

3, 4. *Pensare = compensare*.—*Avidus* has here the force of an adverb.—*Intercepit*, appropriated.

5. *Seu centurio, seu praefectus*. The *centurio* was a legionary office; the *praefectus* one connected with the auxiliaries.—*Incorruptum, impartial*.—*Apud quosdam—a quibusdam*, and “indicates those who related, not those who were reproached.” C.

7. *Bonis, adversus malos*. Note the *enallage*.—*Nihil secretum, nothing hidden*. Tacitus seems to be contrasting Agricola with Domitian who was just at this time raised to the imperial throne, of whom he says in Chap. XXXIX. “*Talibus curis exercitus, quodque saevae cogitationis indicium erut, secreto suo satiatus*, etc.

9. *Offendere quam odisse*, i. e., to give open offence rather than to cherish hatred.

CHAP. XXIII. 10. *Quarta aestas*, A. D. 81.—*Obtinendis*, sc. *iis locis*.

Obtinere is to *continue holding, to maintain or secure*.

12. *Pateretur*, sc. “*terminum inveniri*.” T.—*Inventus*, sc. *essel*.—*Terminus*, sc. *imperii*.

13. *Clota et Bodotria*. As he here mentions the firths of Clyde and Forth as the limit of what Agricola had run over, it is evident that he did not reach the Tay, which is still farther north.

14. *Revectae*. Tacitus' idea is that the waters of these two estuaries on their discharge into the ocean, on the eastern and the western coasts (*diversi maris*), are carried by the strength of the tides a great distance inland.—*Angusto spatio*, which is now cut by a ship canal.

15. *Sinus*. This means the whole shore with its projecting nooks, in the vicinity of the Isthmus, on its southern or English side. Cf. *sinus*. *Ger. I.*

16. *In aliam insulam*, i. e., Caledonia to the north of Clota and Bodotria, which ail but divided it from its southern portion.

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

CHAP. XXIV. 1. *Quinto anno*, A.D. 82.—*Nave prima*. It is not very clear what this expression means. It can hardly be probable that Agricola wintered at Rome, and returned by the first ship on the opening of navigation. Of the three other possible interpretations, viz., (1) that it was the first Roman ship which had visited these parts; (2) that it was the foremost vessel of the fleet; (3) that it was the first ship he had had occasion to use, the first is preferable, as grammatically the simplest, and as best suiting the context.—*Transgressus*; over Clota.

4. *In spem magis*. Rather to pave the way for what he hoped to effect subsequently, than because he was alarmed for its safety.

5. *Medio inter Britanniam*. Vid. chap. X.

6. *Gallico . . . opportuna, convenient to the seas of Gaul*.—*Valentissimam . . . partem*. Gaul, Spain, and Britain are thus designated, because large armies were stationed in them, and the forces of the Empire

thence drew their bravest recruits. Cf. *Hist.* III. 53.

7. *Magnis . . . miscuerit, might unite with great mutual advantages*. The subj. seems intended to express the writer's own idea of Agricola's views. The advantages to Ireland would be the civilization derived from Rome; to the other countries the opening of new sources of traffic, and the drawing of recruits thence.

8. *Nostri maris*, i. e., the Mediterranean.

9. *Caelum, climate*.—*Cultusque, and the general mode of life*.

10. *A Britannia*, i. e., *a solo caeloque et ingentis cultibusque hominum Britanniae*: a very common ellipse.—*Melius*, i. e., than the interior of the island.

13. *In occasionem retinebat*. Agricola kept the chief to make a pretext out of him for meddling in the affairs of Ireland, but he never found the opportunity.—*Ex eo*, i. e., Agricola.

14. *Debellari, completely subjugated*.—*Idque, and that that event*.

15. *Romana arma*, sc., *essent*.

XXV. Ceterum aestate, qua sextum officii annum incohabat, amplexus civitates trans Bodotriam sitas, quia motus universarum ultra gentium et infesta hostilis exercitus itinera timebantur, portus classe exploravit. Quae ab Agricola
 5 primum adsumpta in partem virium sequebatur egregia specie, cum simul terra simul mari bellum impelleretur, ac saepe iisdem castris pedes equesque et nauticus miles, mixti copiis et laetitia, sua quisque facta, suos casus attollerent; ac modo silvarum ac montium profunda, modo tempestatum ac fluctuum
 10 adversa, hinc terra et hostis, hinc victus oceanus militari iactantia compararentur. Britannos quoque, ut ex captivis audiebatur, visa classis obstupesciebat, tamquam, aperto maris sui secreto, ultimum victis perfrugium clauderetur. Ad manus et arma conversi Caledoniam incolentes populi, paratu magno,
 15 maiore fama, uti mos est de ignotis, oppugnare ultro castella adorti, metum ut provocantes addiderant; regrediendumque citra Bodotriam, et excedendum potius quam pellerentur, ignavi specie prudentium admonebant, cum interim cognoscit hostes pluribus agminibus irrupturos. Ac ne superante numero

CHAP. XXV. 1. *Sextum annum*, A. D. 83.

2. *Amplexus*, sc. bello. Cf. chap. XVII.

3. *Infesta . . . itinera*. If this reading be correct, the genitive depends on *itinera*, and *hostilis exercitus* is the Roman army. Agricola was afraid lest the routes that his army must take would be beset with danger (*infesta*), hence he did not venture to march directly inland over the Isthmus, but kept within a moderate distance of the eastern shore, and his fleet coasted along at the same time, so that in case of extremity he could receive provision or succor, or retire on shipboard.

5. *In partem virium*, as a part of his forces.—*Egregia specie*, with a remarkably imposing appearance.

6. *Impelleretur*, was being hurried on.

7. *Mixti copis et laetitia*, sharing

their rations, and mingled in merriment. The meaning is that the soldiers and sailors mingled in merry gatherings over their meals.

9. *Profunda*, recesses.

10. *Adversa*, hardships.—*Victus* belongs to both clauses.

13. *Secreto*, the secret retreat—*Clauderetur*, i. e., the British thought so.—*Ad manus et arma*, to resistance and arms.

15. *Maiore fama*, i. e., the reports made the preparation greater than it really was.—*Oppugnare* depends on *adorti*.—*Utro*, actually.

16. *Ut provocantes*, as being the challengers.

17. *Potius quam pellerentur*. *Potius* is here used like *prius*.

18. *Specie prudentium*, with the air of prudent advisers.—*Cognoscit*, i. e., Agricola.

19. *Pluribus agminibus*, in several divisions.

et peritia locorum circumiretur, diviso et ipse in tres partes exercitu inessit.

XXVI. Quod ubi cognitum hosti, mutato repente consilio, universi nonam legionem, ut maxime invalidam, nocte 5 aggressi, inter somnum ac trepidationem caesis vigilibus, irrupere. Iamque in ipsis castris pugnabatur, cum Agricola, iter hostium ab exploratoribus edoctus et vestigiis insecutus, velocissimos equitum peditumque adsultare tergis pugnantium iubet, mox ab universis adiici clamorem; et propinqua luce 10 fulsere signa. Ita ancipiti malo territi Britanni; et Romanis rediit animus, ac securi pro salute de gloria certabant. Ultro quin etiam erupere, et fuit atrox in ipsis portarum angustiis proelium, donec pulsii hostes, utroque exercitu certante, his, ut tulisse opem, illis, ne eguisse auxilio viderentur. Quod nisi 15 paludes et silvae fugientes texissent, debellatum illa victoria foret. XXVII. Cuius conscientia ac fama ferox exercitus nihil virtuti suae invium et penetrandam Caledoniam invenien-

1. *Et ipse*. Notice the unusual position of the subject in the ablative absolute clause.

CHAP. XXVI. 4. *Ut maxime invalidam*. This ninth legion was the one defeated under the command of Publius Cerialis by the Britons, while Paulinus was absent in Wales. They were afterwards recruited by legionaries from Germany, although their ranks were probably only partially filled (*An. XIV.* 32, 38).

7. *Vestigiis*. This adverbial use of the word is common in military operations. Cf. *Liv.* VI. 32; IX. 45.

8. *Adsultare* specially denotes the rapid movements of cavalry or light armed troops, *to charge, to dash upon*. Cf. *An.* XII. 35; XIII. 40.

9. *Ab universis*, i. e., the legions as well as those who had been ordered front. — *Propinqua* = *appropinquante*.

10. *Ancipiti malo*, i. e., the battle in front and rear.

11. *Securi pro salute*, having no fears for their safety. — *De gloria*. The Romans fought to obtain new glory; *pro gloria* would be in defence of the glory they possessed already. Cf. *Hist.* IV. 58. *Liv.* XXI. 41. — *Ultro*, actually.

12. *Quin etiam, moreover*. — *Erupere*, i. e., the soldiers of the ninth legion.

13. *Pulsii*, sc. *sunt*. — *Ultro exercitu*, i. e., the ninth legion in the camp, and the army which Agricola brought up to the rescue.

14. *Quod nisi*, and had not.

15. *Debellatum foret*, the war would have been ended.

CHAP. XXVII. 16. *Cuius* refers back to *victoria* in the previous chapter. A. 201, e; G. 612; H. 453.

17. *Nihil*, sc. *esse*.

19. *Fremebant* is plural to agree with the collective noun *exercitus*. A.

post eventum ac magniloqui erant. Iniquissima haec bellorum condicio est; prospera omnes sibi vindicant, adversa uni imputantur. At Britanni, non virtute, sed occasione et arte ducis rati, nihil ex adrogantia remittere, quo minus iuventutem 5 armarent, coniuges ac liberos in loca tuta transferrent, coetibus ac sacrificiis conspirationem civitatum sancirent; atque ita inritatis utrimque animis discessum.

XXVIII. Eadem aestate cohors Usipiorum, per Germanias conscripta et in Britanniam transmissa, magnum ac 10 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 remigante, suspectis duobus eoque interfectis, nondum vulgato rumore ut miraculum praevehe-

205, c; G. 202, Except. 1); H. 461, 1.—*Illi modo cauti*. These are the people referred to in Chap. XXV., as advising the evacuation of the district beyond Bodotria.

1. *Iniquissima . . . imputantur*. For a like sentiment, cf. Sall. *Jug. LIII, in victoria vel ignavis gloriari licet; adversae res etiam bonos detractant*.

2. *Omnes, sc. milites*.—*Uni, i. e., duci*.

3. *Virtute, i. e., of the Romans*.

4. *Rati, sc. (se) victos (esse)*, which has been conjectured by Lipsius for *ducis* of the MSS. and is incorporated in some texts.

6. *Conspirationem sancirent, establish a confederacy*.

7. *Inritatis, embittered*: the Romans by their victory; the Britains by the establishment of the confederacy.—*Discessum, sc. est ab eis*. That is, Agricola withdrew beyond the fortified Isthmus between Clota and Bodotria, and there, defended by his chain of forts, went into winter-quarters. The Britons, of course, on their side retired also, and the campaign was at an end.

CHAP. XXVIII. 8. *Cohors Usipiorum*. Cf. *Germ. XXXII*. This

was very likely a part of the force stationed by Agricola in the district mentioned in chap. XXIV. as looking towards Ireland. They started from this part of the island, and sailing by the western part of Scotland and rounding its northern extremity, entered the German Ocean. They were carried past their own home in Germany, and stranded, some near the Elbe, where the Suevi would seize them, and some near the Ems, thus falling into the hands of the Frisii.—*Germanias, i. e., the two provinces of Upper and Lower Germany*.

11. *Manipulis*. There were three maniples of two hundred men each in a cohort, and ten cohorts in a legion.

12. *Liburnicas, sc. naves*. These were swift galleys, named from the country Liburnia, where they were first used.

13. *Remigante, "directing the rowers."*

14. *Rumore, i. e., of their mutiny and flight*.—*Ut miraculum, i. e., as they passed along the coast they were considered as a sort of prodigy*.—*Prævehbantur = prætervehbantur*. Cf. *Hist. II, 2. An. II. 6*.

bantur. Mox ad aquam atque utilia rapientes cum plerisque Britannorum sua defensantium proelio congressi, ac saepe victores, aliquando pulsi, eo ad extremum inopiae venere, ut infirmissimos suorum, mox sorte ductos vescerentur. Atque ita circumvecti Britanniam, amissis per inscitiam regendi 5 navibus, pro praedonibus habiti, primum a Suevis, mox a Frisiis intercepti sunt. Ac fuere, quos per commercia venundatos et in nostram usque ripam mutatione ementium adductos, indicium tanti casus illustravit.

XXIX. Initio aetatis Agricola, domestico vulnere ictus, 10 anno ante natum filium amisit. Quem casum neque ut plerique fortium virorum ambitiose, neque per lamenta rursus ac maerorem muliebriter tulit; et in luctu bellum inter remedia erat. Igitur praemissa classe, quae pluribus locis praedata magnum et incertum terrorem faceret, expedito 15 exercitu, cui ex Britannis fortissimos et longa pace exploratos addiderat, ad montem Grampium pervenit, quem iam hostis

1. *Mox ad aquam*, etc. This passage is hopelessly corrupt, but Kritiz' reading, which is followed in the text, is perhaps as good as any.—*Ad aquam* = in aquatione, sc. egressi.—*Utilia, provisions*.

3. *eo*: old dative, to such a degree.—*Ad extremum, at last*.—Constructue *inopiae* with *eo*. A. 216, a, 4; G. 371, R. 4; H. 397, 4.

4. *Infirmos, ductos*. Phaedrus, Tibullus, and Pliny use the accusative after *vesci*. Perhaps the ablative *sorte* induced Tacitus to avoid another, by putting the accusative. A. 249, b; G. 405, R. 1; H. 421, N. 4.

6. *Primum, mox*, i. e., part were taken by the Suevi, and part by the Frisii.

7. *Per commercia, in trade*.

8. *In nostram ripam*: i. e., the left or western bank of the Rhine, which the Romans held.—*Mutatione ementium*: i. e., by being resold by those who had previously bought them.

9. *Casus, adventure*.—*Illustravit*.

We would naturally expect the subjunctive after the relative with an indefinite antecedent (*fuere quos*); but the indicative is common, even in the best prose, when the fact itself is to be made prominent. G. 634, R. 1; H. 503, N. 3, 2).

CHAP. XXIX. 10. *Initio aetatis*. A. D. 84.

12. *Fortium virorum*, "militarymen." T.—*Ambitiose*: i. e., with a view to gain glory from the display of philosophical Stoicism in bearing sorrow.—*Rursus, on the other hand*.

14. *Quae* = *ut ea*.

15. *Incertum*: as the Britons would not know whence to expect the attack.—*Expedito exercitu*. The army was in light marching order, because the baggage, provisions, etc., were on board the fleet in advance.

16. *Exploratos, tried* and not found wanting.

17. *Grampium*. The reading is uncertain, most MSS. having *Graspium*. There is strong evidence that the *Grampian Hills* are meant.

insederat. Nam Britanni, nihil fracti pugnae prioris eventu, et ultionem aut servitium exspectantes, tandemque docti commune periculum concordia propulsandum, legationibus et foederibus omnium civitatum vires exciverant. Iamque super
 5 triginta milia armatorum aspiciebantur, et adhuc adfluebat omnis iuventus et quibus cruda ac viridis senectus, clari bello et sua quisque decora gestantes, cum inter plures duces virtute et genere praestans, nomine Calgacus, apud contractam multitudinem proelium poscentem in hunc modum locutus fertur :
 10 XXX. "Quotiens causas belli et necessitatem nostram intueor, magnus mihi animus est hodiernum diem consensumque vestrum initium libertatis toti Britanniae fore. Nam et universi servitutis expertes, et nullae ultra terrae, ac ne mare quidem securum, imminente nobis classe Romana ; ita proelium
 15 atque arma, quae fortibus honesta, eadem etiam ignavis tutissima sunt. Priores pugnae, quibus adversus Romanos varia fortuna certatum est, spem ac subsidium in nostris

1. *Nihil*: accus. of specification.—*Pugnae prioris*. Vid. Chap. XXVI.

6. *Quibus*, sc. *erat*.—*Cruda ac viridis*. Tacitus probably had in his mind Vergil's account of Charon (*Aen.* VI. 304), *sed cruda deo viridisque senectus*.

7. *Decora* means anything in the way of ornament, and seems to include spoils taken from an enemy and rewards conferred by the chieftains on their followers.

8. *Praestans*, "one distinguished." C.—*Calgacus*. The more usual spelling of this name is Galgacus.

9. *Fertur* shows that Tacitus is the author of the following speech.

CHAP. XXX. 10. *Causas*. The motive for the war was the determination of the inhabitants to drive slavery away from Caledonia; explained by Calgacus below in *universi servitutis expertes*.—*Necessitatem*. The necessity is the fact that they are driven into a corner by the avarice and thirst for power dis-

played by the Romans, from which there is no escape; also explained in *nullae ultra terrae*.

11. *Animus, confidence*.

13. *Servitutis* is complementary genitive after *expertes (sumus)*. A. 218, a; G. 373; H. 399, I. 3.—*Nullae ultra terrae*, sc. *sunt*, i. e., for refuge.

14, 15. *Proelium atque arma*. In this chapter, by three other examples, *spem ac subsidium; recessus ac sinus; obsequium ac modestiam*, the author well illustrates his fondness for pairs of words of kindred signification.—*Honestata, honorable*.

16. *Priores pugnae*: i. e., previous battles of other tribes with the Romans.

17. *Spem ac subsidium* is best taken as a hendiadys for *spem subsidii*.—*In nostris manibus*, i. e., the Britons, by whom the previous battles had been fought, always had had the Caledonians to fall back on as a kind of reserve, but now the reserve itself was going into action.

manibus habebant; quia nobilissimi totius Britanniae, eoque in ipsis penetralibus siti nec servientium litora aspicientes, oculos quoque a contactu dominationis inviolatos habebamus. Nos terrarum ac libertatis extremos recessus ipse ac sinus famae in hunc diem defendit; nunc terminus Britanniae 5 patet, atque omne ignotum pro magnifico est. Sed nulla iam ultra gens, nihil nisi fluctus et saxa, et infestiores Romani, quorum superbiam frustra per obsequium ac modestiam effugeris. Raptores orbis, postquam cuncta vastantibus defuere terrae, iam et mare scrutantur: si locuples hostis est, 10 avari, si pauper, ambitiosi; quos non Oriens, non Occidens satiaverit. Soli omnium opes atque inopiam pari adfectu concupiscunt. Auferre, trucidare, rapere, falsis nominibus imperium, atque, ubi solitudinem faciunt, pacem appellant. XXXI. Liberos cuique ac propinquos suos natura carissimos 15 esse voluit: hi per delectus alibi servituri auferuntur: coniuges

1. *Nobilissimi* has here its primitive meaning, the *purest born*. — *Eoque*, and therefore, as all that was valued was always kept in the *penetralia*.

2. *Penetralibus*. "*Penetralia sunt penetatum deorum sacraria*." Quoted by C. On this passage cf. Caes. B. G. V. 12, "*Britanniae pars interior ab iis incolitur, quos natos in insula ipsa memoriae proditum dicunt; maritima pars ab iis qui praedae ac belli inferendi causa ex Belgis transierant*." — *Servientium litora*, i. e., the shores of Gaul.

4. *Terrarum ac libertatis extremos*. They were situated at the edge of the habitable world, and were the last remnant not yet enslaved by Rome. — *Recessus ipse*, our very remoteness; explained by *nunc . . . patet*. — *Sinus famae*, obscurity of our fame; explained by *omne . . . magnifico est*. The idea is that the people in their distant fastnesses are little known.

6. *Omne . . . magnifico est*, i. e. so long as we were unknown, we were dreaded. — *Sed* seems to be

antithetic to some idea to be supplied, e. g., we might, some one may say, ask aid from other nations, *but*, etc. The connection of this sentence with the previous ones is variously interpreted.

7. *Infestiores*, i. e., even than the waves and the rocks are.

9. *Raptores, plunderers*. On this passage, the commentators quote a fragment of Sallust, worth reading. "*An ignoras Romanos . . . arma huc convertisse, neque quidquam a principio nisi raptum habere, domum coniuges agros imperium; quibus non humana ulla neque divina obstant quin socios, amicos procul iustaque sitos, inopes potentesque trahant excidant*."

11. *Avari*, sc. *sunt*. — *Ambitiosi*, i. e., for the glory of conquering them.

12. *Satiaverit*: subj. after *quos = cum eos*. — *Opes . . . concupiscunt*. Cf. Sallust, *Cat. XI.*, "*avaritia neque copia neque inopia minuitur*."

13. *Auferre . . . imperium*, sc. *appellant*.

CHAP. XXXI. 16. *Per delectus*. It was the policy of Rome to send the recruits raised in the provinces to

sororesque, etiam si hostilem libidinem effugiant, nomine amicorum atque hospitem polluunt. Bona fortunaeque in tributum, ager atque annus in frumentum, corpora ipsa ac manus silvis ac paludibus emuniendis inter verbera ac contumelias conteruntur. Nata servituti mancipia semel veneunt, atque ultro a dominis aluntur: Britannia servitutem suam quotidie emit, quotidie pascit. Ac sicut in familia recentissimus quisque servorum etiam conservis ludibrio est, sic in hoc orbis terrarum vetere famulatu novi nos et viles in ex-
 5 cidium petimur. Neque enim arva nobis aut metalla aut portus sunt, quibus exercendis reservemur. Virtus porro ac ferocia subiectorum ingrata imperantibus; et longinquitas ac secretum ipsum quo tutius, eo suspectius. Ita sublata spe veniae tandem sumite animum, tam quibus salus, quam quibus
 10 gloria carissima est. Brigantes, femina duce, exurere coloniam,

some distant country, for fear of their desertion or revolt. Cf. *Hist.* I. 70; II. 57.—*Servituri*: the fut. part. denoting purpose. A. 318, (7) and d; G. 673, 3; H. 549, 3. Note the deliberate use of the degrading word *servire*.

2. *Amicorum atque hospitem* refers to the times of peace.—*In tributum*, i. e., the money tribute levied on the Britons.

3. *Annus = proventus annorum*, yearly produce. Cf. *Germ.* XIV.—*In frumentum* does not refer to tithe corn, for the Britons did not pay it, but the corn contributed for the support of the Roman government, staff and army.

4. *Emuniendis. Munire vias*, the term regularly used for making roads, originated in the fact that the Roman roads were constructed with such solidity as to be like a fortification. Therefore *silvis . . . emuniendis* is *in constructing elaborate roads through woods and bogs*.

5, 6. *Nata servituti*. Cf. *Sall. Jug. XXXI.*, "vos, Quirites, imperio nati."—*Semel*, once for all.—*Utro*, actually.

7. *Quotidie emit, quotidie pascit*. The Briton pays the price of his own slavery by paying tribute to the Romans, and, besides this, he produces corn for his masters' support.—*Familia*, the household of slaves.

8. *Conservis ludibrio*: two datives; one to which, the other for which. A. 233; G. 350; H. 390.

9. *Novi*; i. e., to slavery.—*Viles*, worthless, and hence to be destroyed.

10. *Nobis*; i. e., as compared with the other Britons.

11. *Exercendis, for working*.—*Reservemur*: subj. after *quibus=ut* *is*. A. 317; G. 545, 1; H. 497, 1.

12, 13. *Ferocia, high spirit*.—*Quo, eo*: abl. of degree of difference.—*Suspectius*, sc. *est*.

14. *Tam, quam, as well, as*.

15. *Brigantes* is the reading of all the MSS., and they are probably mentioned here (although not mentioned in his account of the revolt, *An.* XIV. 31) as being one of the most powerful tribes known to the Caledonians.—*Femina duce* probably refers to Boadicea. Cf. chap. XVI.—*Coloniam*, sc. *Camulodunum*.

expugnare castra, ac, nisi felicitas in socordiam vertisset, exuere iugum potuere; nos integri et indomiti et libertatem non in paenitentiam laturi, primo statim congressu ostendamus quos sibi Caledonia viros seposuerit. XXXII. An eandem Romanis in bello virtutem, quam in pace lasciviam 5 adesse creditis? Nostris illi dissensionibus ac discordiis clari vitia hostium in gloriam exercitus sui vertunt; quem contractum ex diversissimis gentibus ut secundae res tenent, ita adversae dissolvent: nisi Gallos et Germanos et (pudet dictu) Britannorum plerosque, licet dominationi alienae sanguinem 10 commodent, diutius tamen hostes quam servos, fide et affectu teneri putatis. Metus ac terror est, infirma vincla caritatis; quae ubi removeris, qui timere desierint, odisse incipient. Omnia victoriae incitamenta pro nobis sunt; nullae Romanos coniuges accendunt, nulli parentes fugam exprobraturi sunt; 15 aut nulla plerisque patria, aut alia est. Paucos numero, trepidos ignorantia, caelum ipsum ac mare et silvas, ignota omnia, circumspectantes, clausos quodammodo ac vinctos dii nobis tradiderunt. Ne terreat vanus aspectus et auri fulgor atque argenti, quod neque tegit neque vulnerat. In ipsa 20 hostium acie inveniemus nostras manus; agnoscent Britanni suam causam, recordabuntur Galli priorem libertatem, de-

1, 2. *Felicitas*, their good luck.—*Integri*, i. e., not as yet having met the enemy.

3. *In paenitentiam*, so as to repent of it, as those do who suffer the penalties of an unsuccessful rebellion.

4. *Quos*, what kind of = *quales*.—*Seposuerit*, has in reserve. Cf. *Germ. XXIX*.

CHAP. XXXII. 9. *Pudet* (sc. *me*) *dictu*: a very rare construction, *pudet dicere* is usually found. A. 303; G. 437; H. 547.

10. *Licet*, although.—*Dominationi alienae*, for a foreign tyrant.

11. "*Hostes* and *servos* are in apposition with *Gallos*, etc." C.

12. *Metus ac terror est*, sc. which retains them.

13. *Removeris*, *desierint*: future perfects.

16. *Nulla patria*. Those who have no country will be soldiers of fortune and those from those nations whose separate existence had been destroyed by conquest, from which the Romans had many soldiers; *alla* refers to all the foreign troops, like the Usippi, Batavi, etc., serving in Britain.

17. *Ignorantia*: i. e., of the country in which they were fighting.—*Ignota omnia*: appos. with *caelum*, etc.

21. *Nostras manus*, i. e., those who in heart are with us, and will desert to us.—*Britanni*, i. e., those compelled to fight as levies in the Roman army.

serent illos ceteri Germani, tamquam nuper Usipii reliquerunt. Nec quidquam ultra formidinis; vacua castella, senum coloniae, inter male parentes et iniuste imperantes aegra municipia et discordantia. Hic dux, hic exercitus; ibi
5 tributa et metalla et ceterae servientium poenae, quas in aeternum perferre aut statim ulcisci in hoc campo est. Proinde ituri in aciem et maiores vestros et posteros cogitate."

XXXIII. Excepere orationem alacres, ut barbaris moris, cantu fremituque et clamoribus dissonis. Iamque agmina et
10 armorum fulgores audentissimi cuiusque procursum; simul instruebatur acies, cum Agricola, quamquam laetum et vix munimentis coercitum militem accendendum adhuc ratus, ita disseruit:

"Octavus annus est, commilitones, ex quo virtute et
15 auspiciis imperii Romani, fide atque opera vestra Britanniam vicistis; tot expeditionibus, tot proeliis, seu fortitudine adversus hostes seu patientia ac labore paene adversus ipsam

1. *Ceteri*: i. e., besides the Usipii. — *Tamquam, just as*. — *Usipii*. He has given us the description of their revolt in chap. XXVIII.

2. *Ultra*: i. e., if they gain this victory. — *Vacua, destitute of soldiers*.

3. *Senum* = *veteranorum*. — *Coloniae*. There was really but one colony, *Camulodunum*, the *senum* being the veteran soldiers settled there.

4. *Aegra, disaffected*. This was due to the want of union between the inhabitants and their rulers. — *Municipia*: i. e., towns not founded by Rome, but having most of the rights of Roman citizenship. *Loudinium* and *Verulamium* were two of these. — *Hic*: i. e., on our side. — *Ibi*: i. e., on the side of the Romans.

5. *Metalla*: i. e., labor in the mines; a very common form of slavery.

6. *In hoc campo est, it rests with this battle-field*.

CHAP. XXXIII. 8. *Moris* (sc. *est*): pred. gen. of possession. A. 214, c; G. 365; H. 402.

9. *Cantu*, i. e., "the war shout of all

barbarous nations." A. — *Agmina*, sc. *conspiciebantur*.

10. *Procursum*: abl. of the means by which the gleam of light was seen.

11, 12. *Acies*, i. e., of the Caledonians. — *Adhuc, besides*.

14. *Octavus annus*. He was just entering on his 8th year in Britain.

15. *Auspiciis imperii Romani*. One would have expected *imperatoris*. Perhaps, Domitian being now dead, Tacitus preferred avoiding any mention of so unworthy an occupant of the throne. As the Emperor was *Generalissimo* of the forces, all victories were ascribed to his auspices, and the actual commander was regarded as his lieutenant only. In *An. II. 18*, when Germanicus conquered the Germans, it was not he, but Tiberius, who was saluted *Imperator*, in accordance with 'the old distinction between fighting *ductu suo* and *auspiciis alicuius*.'

16. *Tot expeditionibus, etc., in the course of so many campaigns*.

17. *Ipsam rerum naturam, nature itself*.

rerum naturam opus fuit, neque me militum neque vos ducis paenituit. Ergo egressi, ego veterum legatorum, vos priorum exercituum terminos, finem Britanniae non fama nec rumore sed castris et armis tenemus. Inventa Britannia et subacta. Equidem saepe in agmine, cum vos paludes montesve et 5 flumina fatigarent, fortissimi cuiusque voces audiebam: quando dabitur hostis, quando acies? Veniunt; e latebris suis extrusi; et vota virtusque in aperto, omniaque prona victoribus, atque eadem victis adversa. Nam, ut superasse tantum itineris, silvas evasisse, transisse aestuaria pulchrum 10 ac decorum in frontem; ita fugientibus periculosissima, quae hodie prosperrima sunt. Neque enim nobis aut locorum eadem notitia aut com meatum eadem abundantia, sed manus et arma et in his omnia. Quod ad me attinet, iam pridem mihi decretum est neque exercitus neque ducis terga tuta esse. 15 Proinde et honesta mors turpi vita potior, et incolumitas ac decus eodem loco sita sunt; nec inglorium fuerit in ipso terrarum ac naturae fine cecidisse. XXXIV. Si novae gentes atque ignota acies constitisset, aliorum exercituum exemplis vos hortarer; nunc vestra decora recensete, vestros 20 oculos interrogate. Hi sunt quos proximo anno unam

1. *Me militum*. A. 221, b; G. 376; H. 409, III.

2. *Egressi*, here transitive, agrees with both *ego* and *vos*. A. 186, d; H. 439.—*Veterum*=*priorum*.

3. *Terminos*: accus. after *egressi*. A. 228, a; H. 372.—*Fama nec rumore*. *Rumor* is a vague flying report, resting on no authentic basis. *Fama* is a report resting on some foundation.

4, 5. *Britannia*, "i. e., the whole of it." C.—*In agmine*, on the march.

8. *Vota virtusque in aperto*, "your wishes and your bravery have free scope." Cf. chap. I. pronum magisque in aperto.

11. *In frontem*, while advancing; antithetic to *fugientibus*, while retreating: sc. nobis.

12. *Hodie*, i. e., in our present pro-

perous circumstances.—*Neque enim*, i. e., in case of retreat.

14, 15. *Iam pridem mihi decretum est*, I came to the conclusion long ago.—*Terga*, the retreat.

17. *Inglorium fuerit*, i. e., when all is over "and men look back upon our achievements."

18. *Naturae fine*. Cf. Germ. XLV. *illuc usque tantum natura*.

CHAP. XXXIV. 19. *Novae gentes, unknown nations*.—*Ignota acies, untried troops*.—*Constitisset, had taken their stand against you*, i. e., were now standing.

20. *Hortarer*. Note the use of the imp. subj. where our idiom would require the pluperfect.—*Vestra decora, your glorious deeds*. Cf. Liv. XXI. 43.

21. *Proximo anno* is here the last year. Vid. chap. XXVI.

legionem furto noctis aggressos clamore debellastis; hi ceterorum Britannorum fugacissimi, ideoque tam diu superstites. Quomodo silvas saltusque penetrantibus fortissimum quodque animal contra ruere, pavidam et inertia ipso agminis sono pelluntur, sic acerrimi Britannorum iam pridem ceciderunt, reliquus est numerus ignavorum et metuentium. Quos quod tandem invenistis, non restiterunt, sed deprehensi sunt; novissimae res et extremo metu corpora defixere aciem in his vestigiis, in quibus pulchram et spectabilem victoriam ederetis. Transigite cum expeditionibus; imponite quinquaginta annis magnum diem; adprobate reipublicae numquam exercitui imputari potuisse aut moras belli aut causas rebellandi.”

XXXV. Et adloquente adhuc Agricola militum ardor eminebat, et finem orationis ingens alacritas consecuta est,

1. *Furto noctis*, under cover of the night. Vergil (*Aen.* IX. 397) has *fraude noctis* in the same sense. Quintus Curtius uses the same expression (IV. 13); and Livy (XXVI. 51) has *furto unius diei*.—*Clamore*, by a mere shout.

2. *Hi ceterorum*. This is a Greek idiom for *hi quam ceteri fugaciores*. Milton copies this in his expression: “Adam, the goodliest man of men since born His sons; the fairest of her daughters Eve.”

3. *Quomodo, justas*.—*Penetrantibus*, sc. *is*, making this a general sentiment: dat. of disadvantage after *contra ruere*—*resistere*.

4. *Ruere* can hardly be historical infinitive, because the use of that form seems restricted to the narrative of past events. Ritter seems right in explaining it by supposing that Tacitus intended to write *pelluntur* at the end of the next clause, but for it substituted its equivalent *pelluntur*, and so left *ruere*, which was meant to depend on *solet*, without any governing word.—*Pavida*, sc. *animata*.

6, 7. *Numerus* is here used contemptuously, *mere ciphers*.—*Quos*

quod . . . restiterunt, that you have at last found them is not because they have stood their ground. The expression is in imitation of the Greek, and is for *qui, quod tandem invenistis eos, non restiterunt*.

8. *Novissimae res*, their desperate fortunes.—*Extremo metu corpora*—*corpora extremo metu correpta*.

9. *Ederetis*: subj. of purpose after *in quibus*—*ut in tuis*, i. e., *vestigiiis*.

10. *Transigite*, make an end of. This is a legal term, and denotes the settlement of a suit. Vid. *Ger.* XIX. *transigitur*.—*Quinquaginta*. Claudius began the conquest of Britain by sending A. Plantius, A. D. 43. Agricola is speaking in A. D. 84. This makes the fifty years only a round way of reckoning.

12. *Moras belli*: caused by carrying on the war with no energy, or by willfully protracting it.—*Causas rebellandi* seems to refer to the pretexts of possible rebellion, which the carelessness of the conquerors might give, or which were the effective causes of rebellion.

CHAP. XXXV. 13. *Et, both*.

14. *Alacritas, enthusiasm*.

statimque ad arma discursum. Instinctos ruentesque ita disposuit, ut peditum auxilia, quae octo milium erant, mediam aciem firmarent, equitum tria milia cornibus adfunderentur; legiones pro vallo stetero, ingens victoriae decus citra Romanum sanguinem bellanti, et auxilium, si pellerentur. Britannorum acies, in speciem simul ac terrorem, editioribus locis constiterat ita, ut primum agmen aequo, ceteri per acclive iugum conexi velut insurgerent; media campi covinnarius eques strepitu ac discursu complebat. Tum

1. *Discursum*. Note the force of the prefix: they collected to hear the address, and then ran apart.
2. *Peditum*: partitive genitive.—*Mediam aciem firmarent*, made a strong centre.
3. *Adfunderentur* ("where we would expect *adderentur*") seems to be used with reference to the rapid movements of cavalry."

4. *Provallo*, before the intrenchments, i. e., in the rear of the auxiliaries.—*Ingens . . . decus*: in apposition with *legiones . . . stetero*. — *Citra*, without.
5. *Bellanti*, sc. *ci*, i. e., *Agricolae*.—*Pellerentur*, i. e., the auxiliaries.
6. *In speciem*, for display, i. e., so as to make an imposing appearance.—*Terrorem*, i. e., to cause a panic.
7. *Agmen*, sc. *consisteret*, implied in *constiterat*, to correspond with *insurgerent*.

8. *Conexi velut*, as if linked together. — *Media campi*, i. e., the plain between the two armies.
9. *Covinnarius* occurs only in this passage and is



ROMAN SOLDIERS.

Agricola superante hostium multitudine veritus, ne in frontem simul et latera suorum pugnaretur, diductis ordinibus, quamquam porrectior acies futura erat et arcessendas plerique legiones admonebant, promptior in spem et firmus
5 adversis, dimisso equo pedes ante vexilla constitit.

XXXVI. Ac primo congressu eminus certabatur; simi- que constantia simul arte Britanni ingentibus gladiis et brevibus cetris missilia nostrorum vitare vel excutere, atque ipsi magnam vim telorum superfundere, donec Agricola
10 Batavorum cohortes ac Tungrorum duas cohortatus est, ut rem ad mucrones ac manus adducerent; quod et ipsis vetustate militiae exercitatum, et hostibus inhabile parva scuta et enormes gladios gerentibus. Nam Britannorum gladii sine mucrone complexum armorum et in arto pugnam non

used for *covinnarii* (= the *essedarii* of Caesar), which form is used in the next chapter. *Covinnarius eques* would mean the combatants who were carried to the fight in *covinni*, or possibly *et* may be understood, as Caesar draws a distinction between the war-chariots and the regular cavalry of the Britons. Pomponius Mela says (III. 6) the *covinni* were scythe chariots: *covinnos vocant quorum falcatis aribus utuntur*.

2. *Diductis ordinibus*, having extended his ranks.

3. *Porrectior futura erat*, "was likely to be too extended."—*Arcessendas*, sc. *esse*.

4. *Promptior in spem*, filled with hope.—*Firmus adversis*, "resolute under adverse circumstances."

5. *Pedes*: appos. with the subject of *constitit*.—*Vexilla*. Cf. Note in chap. XVIII.

CHAP. XXXVI. 7. *Constantia*, with calm, self-possessed courage.—*Ingentibus gladiis, brevibus cetris*: abl. of instrument. The Roman swords were generally short, being somewhere between a foot and a half and two feet long, and adapted for stabbing. The British swords, like

the Gallic and German, were for cutting. From discoveries made by various antiquaries, these British glaives are supposed to have often been close upon four feet in length. The *cetra* was a small, round shield of hide, used by the Spaniards, Oscans, and others.

8. *Vitare vel excutere*. The Roman recruit was taught "*plagam prudenter vitare et obliquis ictibus venientia tela deflectere*." Vegetius. I. 4. This appears to be the meaning of Tacitus. They avoided the darts by shifting their bodies, or struck them off with their shields.

10. *Batavorum cohortes*. It appears from the Histories that eight cohorts of the Batavi (who lived at the mouth of the Rhine) formed the *auxilia* of the 14th legion.—*Duas*, sc. *cohortes*

11. *Ad mucrones ac manus*, to the sword point, and a hand-to-hand fight—*Quod*, "which mode of fighting."—*Ipsis*, i. e., the cohorts.

12. *Inhabile*, sc. *erat*, was "impracticable." C.

14. *Complexum armorum*, the thrusts of (the Roman) weapons. What this means is well explained by Vergil, *Aen.* X. 360:

tolerabant. Igitur, ut Batavi miscere ictus, ferire umbonibus, ora foedare, et stratis, qui in aequo adstiterant, erigere in colles aciem coepere, ceterae cohortes aemulatione et impetu conisae proximos quosque caedere; ac plerique semineces aut integri festinatione victoriae relinquebantur. Interim equitum 5 turmae fugere; covinnarii peditum se proelio miscuere, et, quanquam recentem terrorem intulerant, densis tamen hostium agminibus et inaequalibus locis haerebant; minimeque equestris ea iam pugnae facies erat, cum aegre clivo astantes simul equorum corporibus impellerentur; ac saepe vagi 10 currus, exterriti sine rectoribus equi, ut quemque formido tulerat, transversos aut obvios incursabant. XXXVII. Et

Haud aliter Troianae acies, aciesque Latinae, Concurrunt; haerit pede pes, densusque viro vir, etc.

Statius, *Theb.* VIII. 398 :

Iam clypeus clypeis, umbone repellitur umbo, Ense minax ensis, pede pes et cuspidi cuspis.

1, 2. *Miscere*, to deal out at close quarters. *Ferire; foedare; erigere, to lead up.* Note the rapidity and animation which this succession of infinitives adds to the narration.—*Stratis*, sc. *iis*, as antecedent to *qui*.

4. *Conisae*, straining every nerve.

5, 6. *Festinatione victoriae*, in their haste for victory.—*Equitum turmae*, i. e., of the Caledonians. Cf. *An.* XIV. 34.—*Peditum*, i. e., of the Caledonians.

7. *Recentem*. *Recentis* is here used of a panic, the effect of which has not yet passed away.—*Terrorem intulerant*, i. e., at first.—*Hostium* must be the Caledonians.

8. *Haerebant*, were soon entangled.—*Minimeque*, by no means.

9, 10. *Astantes*, sc. *Britanni*.—*Impellerentur*, were driven forward.

12. *Obvios*, sc. *Romanos*.

Owing to the corruptness of the text, and the concise style of Tacitus, the description of this battle is not easy to be understood. It seems,

however, to mean: The Britons were posted on rising ground; the level space between them and the Romans was filled with *covinnarii*. The foot on both sides, being some distance apart, began the engagement. As this was unsatisfactory, the Batavi and Tungri rush forward, break the line of the Britons, and with the other cohorts rush up the hill with such impetuosity as to leave many Britons unwounded or only half-dead behind them. The cavalry of the Britons, being terrified by the sudden onset, fled, and the *covinnarii*, also repulsed, retreated to their own infantry, and although they occasioned some consternation on their first arrival, they soon became entangled in the dense masses of their infantry, and were rendered useless by the unevenness of the ground. Although cavalry took such a large part in the battle, it had no resemblance to an equestrian fight; for the Britons, maintaining their position on the slope with difficulty, were driven forward by the pressure of the cavalry horses, mixed in among them. The chariot horses, over which they had no control, and the cavalry horses, without riders, then went rushing obliquely athwart, or directly against the lines, as their fears severally impelled them.

Britanni, qui adhuc pugnae expertes summa collium insederant et paucitatem nostrorum vacui spernebant, degredi paulatim et circumire terga vincentium coeperant, ni id ipsum veritus Agricola quattuor equitum alas, ad subita belli 5 retentas, venientibus opposuisset, quantoque ferocius adcurrerant, tanto acrius pulsos in fugam disiecisset. Ita consilium Britannorum in ipsos versum, transvectaeque praecepto ducis a fronte pugnantium alae aversam hostium aciem invasere. Tum vero patentibus locis grande et atrox 10 spectaculum; sequi, vulnerare, capere, atque eosdem, oblati aliis, trucidare. Iam hostium, prout cuique ingenium erat, catervae armatorum paucioribus terga praestare, quidam inermes ultro ruere ac se morti offerre; passim arma et corpora et laceri artus et cruenta humus; et aliquando etiam 15 victis ira virtusque. Postquam silvis adpropinquaverunt, collecti primos sequentium, incautos et locorum ignaros, circumveniebant. Quod ni frequens ubique Agricola validas et expeditas cohortes idaginis modo, et, sicubi artiora erant,

CHAP. XXXVII. 1. *Expertes*, having no share in the battle.

2. *Vacui*, while thus disengaged.

3. *Ni*. Before this word we must understand *et circumissent*. Cf. Note, chap. IV.—*Id ipsum*, that very thing. C.

4. *Ad subita belli*. This is a common phrase to express the sudden emergencies which arise in war. Cf. Liv. XXV. 15. Tac. *Hist.* V. 13.

7, 8. *Consilium*, i. e., of attacking the Romans in the rear.—*Transvectae . . . atae*, i. e., the squadrons were ordered to wheel from the front of the battle, across the field to the rear of the enemy, *aversam hostium aciem*.

9. *Tum vero*, etc. Lipsius suggests that Tacitus wrote this in imitation of Sallust, *Jug.* CI. "*Tum spectaculum horribile campis patentibus; sequi, fugere, occidi, capi; equi, viri, adflicti; ac multi vulneribus acceptis neque fugere posse neque quietem pati; niti modo, ac*

statim incidere; postremo omnia qua visus erat constrata telis, armis, cada-veribus, et inter ea humus infecta sanguine." Note the animation produced by the series of historical infinitives, and the omission of connectives.

10. *Eosdem* refers to the *capti*. They took some, and then falling in with others, not being able to keep both, they killed those first taken.

12. *Catervae* is contrasted with *paucioribus*.—*Armatorum*, agreeing with *hostium*, is concessive, *although armed*, and is contrasted with *inermes*.

13, 14. *Utro*, actually.—*Atiquando*, at times.

15. *Victis . . . virtusque*. "Cf. Verg. *Aen.* II. 367, *quondam etiam victis redit in praecordia virtus.*"

16, 17. *Primos*, the foremost.—*Quod ni, and had not*.—*Frequens ubique*, everywhere present.—*Validas, fresh*.

18. *Indaginis modo*. *Indago* is a hunting term and denotes the process

partem equitum, dimissis equis, simul rariores silvas equitem persultare iussisset, acceptum aliquod vulnus per nimiam fiduciam foret. Ceterum ubi compositos firmis ordinibus sequi rursus videre, in fugam versi, non agminibus, ut prius, nec alius alium respectantes, rari et vitabundi invicem, longinqua atque avia petiere. Finis sequendi nox et satietas fuit. Caesa hostium ad decem milia; nostrorum trecenti sexaginta cecidere, in quis Aulus Atticus, praefectus cohortis, iuveniili ardore et ferocia equi hostibus inlatus. XXXVIII. Et nox quidem gaudio praedaque laeta vicioribus. Britanni palantes, mixtoque virorum mulierumque ploratu, trahere vulneratos, vocare integros, deserere domos ac per iram ultro incendere; eligere latebras et statim relinquere; miscere invicem consilia aliqua, dein separare; aliquando frangi aspectu pignorum suorum, saepius concitari; 15 satisque constabat saevisse quosdam in coniuges ac liberos, tamquam miserentur. Proximus dies faciem victoriae latius aperuit; vastum ubique silentium, secreti colles, fumantia procul tecta, nemo exploratoribus obvius. Quibus in omnem

of enclosing a wood with a ring of nets, dogs, men, etc., and gradually, by contracting it, driving the game into a narrow compass.—*Artiora*, sc. *loca*.

1. *Rariores silvas*, the less dense parts of the forest.

2. *Persultare*. This word is only strictly applicable to the cavalry; hence we have a *zeugma*. With *cohortes* it is to be rendered, to encompass; with *partem equitum*, to make their way through, and with *equitem*, to scour.

3, 4. *Compositos firmis ordinibus*, arranged in compact order, refers to *cohortes*.—*Versi*, sc. *sunt*.

5. *Rari*, scattered, thus escaping more easily.—*Vitabundi invicem*, "avoiding one another."

7. *Satietas*, i. e., of slaughter.—*Ad* with numerals, about.

8. *Quis = quibus*.—*Praefectus cohortis*, i. e., of auxiliaries.

9. *Ferocia*, impetuosity, or unmanageableness.

CHAP. XXXVIII. 10. *Gaudio praedaque*, by the joy (of victory) and by plunder.—*Laeta*, sc. *erat*.

12. *Trahere*, carried away.

13. *Ultro incendere*, actually fired them.

14. *Miscere . . . aliqua*, they occasionally held counsel together. *Aliqua* seems to imply that they made only a few weak efforts at united action.—*Dein separare*, i. e., *consilia*, and then acted separately, i. e., each thought only of his own safety.

15. *Pignorum*, pledges of affection, i. e., their wives and children.—*Concitari*, they were roused to fury.

16. *Saevisse in—occidisse*.

17. *Miserentur*: subj. of the reason.

18. *Vastum*, gloomy.—*Secreti*, deserted, i. e., hills left lonely by the absence of occupiers.

partem dimissis, ubi incerta fugae vestigia neque usquam conglobari hostes compertum, et exacta iam aestate spargi bellum nequibat, in fines Borestorum exercitum deducit. Ibi acceptis obsidibus, praefecto classis circumvehi Britanniam
 5 praecipit. Datae ad id vires, et praecesserat terror. Ipse peditem atque equites lento itinere, quo novarum gentium animi ipsa transitus mora terrerentur, in hibernis locavit. Et simul classis secunda tempestate ac fama Trutulensem portum tenuit, unde proximo Britanniae latere lecto omni
 10 redierat.

XXXIX. Hunc rerum cursum, quamquam nulla verborum iactantia epistolis Agricolae auctum, ut Domitiano moris erat, fronte lactus, pectore anxius exceptit. Inerat conscientia derisui fuisse nuper falsum e Germania triumphum, emptis
 15 per commercia, quorum habitus et crines in captivorum speciem formarentur; at nunc veram magnamque victoriam,

1. *Ubi, when.* "Its force extends to *nequibat*, and with the clause, gives the reason why Agricola led off his forces into the country of the Boresti." Tyler.—*Incerta*, sc. *esse*.

2. *Spargi, protracted*, lit., carried on in different places at the same time.

3. *Borestorum.* These people are not mentioned elsewhere.

4. *Circumvehi.* The infinitive after *praecipere* is found only in late writers.

5. *Vires, a military force*, thus showing that the purpose of the expedition was one of conquest rather than discovery.

6, 7. *Itinere:* abl. of manner.—*Ipsa transitus mora*, by the very slowness of his march across their territories.

8. *Secunda tempestate ac fama*, "with favorable weather and great renown."—*Trutulensem portum* can not be identified.

9. *Unde = quo inde*, modifies *lecto*, whence having coasted the nearer shore of Britain, it had returned to it. Note

that it had returned before entering the port; hence the pluperfect.

CHAP. XXXIX. 12. *Epistolis* refers to his reports and dispatches.—*Auctum, embellished*, is the correction of Lipsius for *auctum* of the MSS.—*Moris erat.* Cf. *Germ.* XIII, arma sumere non cuiquam *moris*; XXI, concedere *moris*; *Ag.* XXXIII, ut barbaris *moris*.

13. *Fronte lactus, with joy on his countenance.*—*Inerat, there was in (his bosom).* This word is often used absolutely, as here. Cf. *Liv.* IX. 16. *Sall. Cat.* XXV.

14. *Falsum triumphum.* Suetonius (*Dom.* VI.) says, *De Catis Dacisque post varia proelia duplicem triumphum egit.* Dio Cassius however tells us that he marched with an army into Germany, and returned without even the sight of an enemy: and yet he bought slaves, dressed them in German style, had their hair stained red, and then marched into Rome in triumph.—*Emitis, sc. iis.*

16. *Formarentur:* subj. of the purpose, after *quorum = ut eorum.*

tot milibus hostium caesis, ingenti fama celebrari. Id sibi maxime formidolosum, privati hominis nomen supra principis attolli; frustra studia fori et civilium artium decus in silentium acta, si militarem gloriam alius occuparet; et cetera utcumque facilius dissimulari, ducis boni imperatoriam virtutem esse. 5 Talibus curis exercitus, quodque saevae cogitationis indicium erat, secreto suo satiatus, optimum in praesentia statuit reponere odium, donec impetus famae et favor exercitus languesceret; nam etiam tum Agricola Britanniam obtinebat.

XL. Igitur triumphalia ornamenta et inlustris statuæ 10 honorem, et quidquid pro triumpho datur, multo verborum honore cumulata, decerni in senatu iubet, addique insuper opinionem, Syriam provinciam Agricolae destinari, vacuum

1. *Celebrari* depends on *inerat conscientia*.—*Id sibi*, etc. Most commentators supply *existimabat*, or some equivalent verb, from *inerat conscientia*, on which, however, it may depend.

3. *Studia fori, the eloquence of the bar*.—*Civilium artium* refers especially to knowledge of the law, and the pursuit of politics and government.—*In silentium, into (actual) silence, not obscurity*.

4. *Acta, sc. esse*.—*Alius, i. e.*, than the Emperor.—*Occuparet, preoccupy, forestall*, "So as to rob him of it." T.—*Cetera, "all other distinctions"* than great military reputation.—*Utcumque, by some means or other*.

5. *Imperatoriam, is imperial, i. e.*, marks its possessor as a fit aspirant to the imperial throne. His own father, Vespasian, had been made Emperor by his soldiers, after exploits in no ways to be compared with those of Agricola.

6. *Saevae cogitationis, of some cruel intent*.

7. *Secreto suo satiatus, gorging himself with his own secret (intentions)*.—*Reponere, to treasure up, for the future*.

8. *Impetus, the first burst*.

9. *Languesceret*: subj. after *donec*.—*Nam . . . obtinebat*. This clause throws light on *secreto suo*, in so far that it shows us his intention to remove Agricola from Britain, and his army.

CHAP. XL. 10. *Triumphalia ornamenta*. Under the emperors, after B. C. 14, the actual triumph was *their* privilege, as generalissimos of the empire, and therefore possessors of the *auspicia*. The *legati*, in real command, were only allowed the empty *insignia* of the triumph. They were permitted to receive the titles bestowed on the Imperatores of the Republic; to appear in the garb worn by them, a gold embroidered dress (*toga picta*), and flowered tunic (*tunica palmeata*), and a crown of laurel (*corona laurea*). They also were allowed to hand down to their descendants the laurel-wreathed statue, in a triumphal car, or to have them erected in the city. This statue is here called *inlustris*; elsewhere *laureata*, and *triumphalis*.

11. *Quidquid pro triumpho datur*. This would include the *supplicatio*, and *sacra*, offered in the name of the victorious leader.

13. *Opinionem, an impression*, to be produced in the minds of the people,



ROMAN CONSUL AND LICTORS.

tum morte Atilii Rufi consularis et maioribus reservatam. Credidere plerique libertum ex secretioribus ministeriis missum ad Agricola[m] codicillos, quibus ei Syria dabatur, tulisse, cum praecepto ut, si in Britannia foret, traderentur; 5 eumque libertum in ipso freto Oceani obvium Agricolae, ne appellato quidem eo, ad Domitianum remeasse: sive verum istud, sive ex ingenio principis fictum ac compositum est. Tradiderat interim Agricola successori suo provinciam quietam

probably by the wording of the decree.—*Syriam*. Syria, being a very rich province, was considered the best position in the gift of the Emperor.

1. *Maioribus* here—*illustrioribus*.
2. *Libertum*. Freedmen were employed by Nero and Domitian as their confidential agents, and many of them, being cunning and unscrupulous, rose to great wealth and influence.
3. *Codicillos*, the official documents.
4. *Traderentur*. These papers were sent merely to detach him from his

British legions. As the freedman met him already returning, the device was unnecessary, and he therefore returned to Rome at once, without even addressing Agricola.

5. *Freto*, i. e., of Dover.
7. *Ex ingenio principis*, in accordance with the character of the prince. The story was either true, or might easily have been so, for the scheme it supposed was exactly suited to the Emperor's character.
8. *Tradiderat*. Agricola left Britain, A. D. 85.—*Successori suo*. It is not known who succeeded him.

tutamque. Ac ne notabilis celebritate et frequentia occurrentium introitus esset, vitato amicorum officio, noctu in urbem, noctu in palatium, ita ut praeceptum erat, venit; exceptusque brevi osculo et nullo sermone turbae 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, quaererent famam, pauci interpretarentur. 10

XLI. Crebro per eos dies apud Domitianum absens accusatus, absens absolutus est. Causa periculi non crimen ullum aut querela laesi cuiusquam, sed infensus virtutibus princeps et gloria viri ac pessimum inimicorum genus, laudantes. Et ea insecuta sunt reipublicae tempora, quae sileri Agricolam non sinerent: tot exercitus in Moesia Daciaque et Germania et Pannonia temeritate aut per

1. *Celebritate et frequentia*, on account of the rank and numbers.

2. *Officio*, complimentary attentions.

4. *Brevi*, hasty, i. e., cold and formal.—*Turbæ servientium*, with the crowd of servile courtiers.

5. *Grave*, an object of dislike.

6. *Otiosos*, mere civilians, is antithetic to *militare*.

7, 8. *Penitus auxit*, he carried to the furthest possible limit.—*Cultu* *Cultus* refers to his dress, house, furniture, and, in general, to his manner of living.—*Adeo*, so.

9. *Ambitionem*. *Ambitio* specially refers to that outward show and splendor which at Rome took the form of being waited on by a large number of clients.

10. *Quaererent famam*, asked (the reason of his) fame.—*Interpretarentur*, sc. *eum*; i. e., understood without asking.

CHAP. XLI. 11. *Absens*. The charges against him were so trans-

parently false, that he was acquitted even in his absence.

12. *Crimen*, crime against the state.

13. *Querela*, private complaint.

15. *Laudantes*. (Sc. *causa periculi* as predicate.) These crafty maligners, knowing the Emperor's jealousy, endeavored to inspire him with hatred of Agricola by constantly praising the latter in the Emperor's hearing. Some however refer it to his sincere but injudicious friends.—*Ea=Italia*.—*Quae=ut ea*.

16. *Sileri*, to rest in silence.—*Moesia Daciaque*. The Daci under Decebalus entered Moesia, stormed the winter camp of the legions, and slew Oppius Sabinus, the legate. Subsequently Cornelius Fuscus, sent to revenge this defeat, was surprised by the Daci, his army destroyed, and his baggage and standards taken.

17. *Et Germania et Pannonia*. This refers to the wars against the Marcomanni and Quadi, carried on by the legions in Pannonia.

ignaviam ducum amissi; tot militares viri cum tot cohortibus expugnati et capti; nec iam de limite imperii et ripa, sed de hibernis legionum et possessione dubitatum. Ita cum damna damnis continuarentur atque omnis annus funeribus et
 5 cladibus insigniretur, posebatur ore vulgi dux Agricola, comparantibus cunctis vigorem et constantiam et expertum bellis animum cum inertia et formidine eorum, *quibus exercitus committi solerent*. Quibus sermonibus satis constat Domitiani quoque aures verberatas, dum optimus quisque libertorum
 10 amore et fide, pessimi malignitate et livore pronum deterioribus principem exstimulabant. Sic Agricola simul virtutibus, simul vitiiis aliorum in ipsam gloriam praeceps agebatur.

XLII. Aderat iam annus, quo proconsulatum Asiae et Africae sortiretur; et, occiso Civica nuper, nec Agricolae
 15 consilium deerat, nec Domitiano exemplum. Accessere qui-

1. *Militares viri* — “*duces*.”

2. “*Limite* here denotes the actual fortified boundary line drawn for the defence of the Empire against the German and Sarmatian tribes on the side of Pannonia and Dacia” There are said to be still visible remains of a line of Roman forts from Peterwardin to Becs, on the Theiss. The *ripa* here mentioned is the right bank of the Danube, as far as the Quadl.

3. *Possessione*, sc. *provinciarum*.

4, 5. *Damnus*: dative. — *Funeribus*, sc. *ducum*. — *Cladibus*, sc. *cohortium*.

7. *Eorum*. This is the reading of the MSS. Something appears (from the Vatican MS.) to have dropped out after *eorum* and the words in italics are Halm’s conjecture. Most recent editors since Grotius read *ceterorum*.

9. *Verberatas*, sc. *esse*.

10. *Amore et fide*: i. e., for Domitian. — *Pessimi*, sc. *liberti*. — *Malignitate et livore*: i. e., of Agricola. — *Deterioribus*: neuter.

11. *Exstimulabant*, were working powerfully on.

12. *Vitiiis* includes the faults of incapacity hinted at in *inertia* and *formidine*, and the moral faults of *malignitas* and *livor*. — *In ipsam gloriam*, “to the very height of glory.” — *Præceps*: i. e., this glory was his ruin.

CHAP. XLII. 13. *Aderat iam annus*. In the time of the Republic, the provinces were assigned to magistrates immediately upon leaving their offices, but under the empire there must be an interval of some years, varying at different periods,—at this time generally thirteen years. The date is supposed to be A. D. 90.—*Proconsulatum Astae et Africae*. These provinces of Asia and Africa, both senatorial provinces, and each forming a proconsulate, were the most important and of chiefest dignity. They were given as a rule to the two oldest consulars. Agricola, as one of the two oldest was to decide by lot which of the two provinces he should take.

14, 15. *Occiso Civica*. Suetonius (*Domit. X.*) tells us that Civica Cerialis was put to death by Domitian on a charge of treason, while holding the

dam cogitationum principis periti, qui iturusne esset in provinciam ultro Agricola[m] interrogarent. Ac primo occultius quietem et otium laudare, mox operam suam in adprobanda excusatione offerre; postremo non iam obscuri suadentes simul terrentesque pertraxere ad Domitianum. Qui paratus 5 simulatione, in adrogantiam compositus, et audiit preces excusantis, et, cum adnuisset, agi sibi gratias passus est, nec erubuit beneficii invidia. Salarium tamen, proconsulari solitum offerri et quibusdam a se ipso concessum, Agricolae non dedit; sive offensus non petitum, sive ex conscientia, ne 10 quod veterat videretur emisse. Proprium humani ingenii est odisse quem laeseris; Domitiani vero natura, praeceptis in iram, et quo obscurior, eo inrevocabilior, moderatione tamen prudentiaque Agricolae leniebatur, quia non contumacia neque inani iactatione libertatis famam fatumque provocabat. 15 Sciant, quibus moris est illicita mirari, posse etiam sub malis

proconsulate of Asia. This supplied Agricola with a warning (*consilium*) to avoid a similar dignity himself and would have afforded Domitian a precedent (*exemplum*) for dispatching him, had he accepted it.

1. *Cogitationum principis periti*, "familiar with the Emperor's views."

2. *Ultro, actually*; i. e., went so far as to ask.—*Occultius, somewhat obscurely*. C.

3. *Laudare, sc. ii.*, the emissaries of Domitian.—*In adprobanda excusatione*: i. e., in satisfying the Emperor that Agricola's reasons for declining the province were good.

4. *Non iam, "no longer."*

5, 6. *Pertraxere*: i. e., against his will.—*Paratus simulatione, armed with hypocrisy*: instrumental ablative.—*In adrogantiam*: i. e., with complete indifference to the matter.

7. *Excusantis, sc. eius, i. e., Agricolae*.

8. *Erubuit . . . invidia*. He did not blush to undergo the odium that must ensue with all right-thinking men from such a sham act of conces-

sion to Agricola's wishes.—*Salarium*. The salary to the governors of the provinces was instituted by Augustus, by advice of Maecenas. The amount of the salary here alluded to is not definitely known, but it was somewhere between \$40,000 and \$50,000. Cf. Dio. Cass. LII. 23; LXXVIII, 22.

10. *Non petitum (esse), sc. id; i. e., salarium*.

11. *Emisse*. The Emperor was fearful lest people should imagine that he dare not forbid Agricola from going to his province, but had been obliged to bribe him.

13. *Inrevocabilior = implacabilior, the more implacable*: used in this sense only by Tacitus.

16. *Inlicita, unlawful, i. e., "forbidden by the powers that be."* T. The idea seems to be: some admire the boldness and spirit of those who aim at freedom and independence no longer possible to attain under the existing state of the empire, and are inclined to despise all who lower their aspirations to the merely possible.

principibus magnos viros esse, obsequiumque ac modestiam, si industria ac vigor adsint, eo laudis excedere, quo plerique per abrupta, sed in nullum reipublicae usum, ambitiosa morte inclaruerunt.

5 XLIII. Finis vitae eius nobis luctuosus, amicis tristis, extraneis etiam ignotisque non sine cura fuit. Vulgus quoque et hic aliud agens populus et ventitavere ad domum et per fora et circulos locuti sunt: nec quisquam, audita morte Agricolae, aut laetatus est aut statim oblitus. Augebat
10 miserationem constans rumor veneno interceptum; nobis nihil comperti adfirmare ausim. Ceterum per omnem valetudinem eius, crebrius quam ex more principatus per nuntios visentis, et libertorum primi et medicorum intimi venire; sive cura illud sive inquisitio erat. Supremo quidem die momenta ipsa
15 deficientis per dispositos cursores nuntiata constabat, nullo credente sic accelerari, quae tristis audiret. Speciem tamen doloris animo vultuque prae se tulit, securus iam odii, et qui

2. *Eo laudis*, to that degree of excellence.—*Excedere* is generally used for 'passing beyond moderate bounds.'—*Per abrupta*, "by steep (and, consequently, dangerous) paths."

3. *Ambitiosa*: i. e., intended for effect. Tacitus is here alluding to the conduct of certain stoics and republicans, whose violent and offensive acts were of no benefit to the state, except to show their spirit and to bring them the glory of martyrdom.

CHAP. XLIII. 5. *Luctuosus*, "afflictive, is much stronger than *tristis*, sad." Tyler.—*Nobis*: i. e., his family.

6. *Extraneis*: i. e., persons who were unconnected with Agricola either by blood or close friendship.—*Vulgus*, the common people.

7. *Hic aliud agens* = *incuriosus*.—*Populus* is only an enlargement of *vulgus*, and no marked distinction is intended.

8. *Per fora*, the public places.—*Circulos*, little gatherings; for gossip.—*Locuti sunt*: sc. *eum*, talked about him.

10. *Interceptum* (*esse*), sc. *eum* as subject.—*Nihil*, sc. *esse*.

11. *Comperti*: part. genitive modifying *nihil*.

12. *Principatus*. The custom here alluded to is not stated as peculiar to Domitian. All emperors send persons to make inquiries rather than make them in person; and as it is generally a formal compliment, the inquiries are rarely made frequently.

14. *Inquisitio*, espionage.—*Momenta deficientis*, sc. *eius*, the gradual steps in his decline.

15. *Per dispositos cursores*. Domitian was probably at his Alban villa some distance from Rome. Vid. chap. XLV.

16. *Accelerari*, sc. *ea*.

17. *Animo vultuque*. "*Animus* denotes the frame of mind, which inclines a person to the usual manifestations of grief; *vultus* denotes its expression on the countenance. Domitian's assumed grief showed itself not merely in his looks but in

facilius dissimularet gaudium quam metum. Satis constabat, lecto testamento Agricolae, quo coheredem optimae uxori et piissimae filiae Domitianum scripsit, lactatum eum velut honore iudicioque. Tam caeca et corrupta mens assiduis adulationibus erat, ut nesciret a bono patre non scribi 5 heredem nisi malum principem.

XLIV. Natus erat Agricola, Gaio Caesare tertium consule, Idibus Iuniis; excessit quarto et quinquagesimo anno, decimo Kalendas Septembris, Collega Priscoque consulibus. Quod si habitum quoque eius posterius noscere velint, 10 decentior quam sublimior fuit; nihil metus in vultu, gratia oris supererat. Bonum virum facile crederes, magnum libenter. Et ipse quidem, quamquam medio in spatio integrae aetatis ereptus, quantum ad gloriam, longissimum aevum peregit; quippe et vera bona, quae in virtutibus sita sunt, 15 impleverat, et consulari ac triumphalibus ornamentis praedito quid aliud adstruere fortuna poterat? Opibus nimis non gaudebat, speciosae contigerant. Filia atque uxore super-

his general demeanor."—*Prae se tulit, showed, manifested.*—*Securus iam odii, certain now of gratifying his dislike.* Domitian was now sure of his victim, and being no longer afraid of Agricola, only glad at the certainty of getting rid of him, he was able to conceal the latter feeling more successfully than the former.—*Et qui = et talis ut.*

2. *Coheredem*: probably *ex dimidia parte*; done of course to secure some of his property to his own family.

3. *Piissimae*. Cicero jeers at Marcus Antonius for using the phrase *piissimi hominis*, and introducing a new word into the language (*quod verbum nullum omnino est*). The word, however, is frequently used by the late writers, Seneca, Quintilian and others.—*Velut, as if.*

6. *Nisi malum, unless bad.*

CHAP. XLIV. 7. *Gaio Caesare*: i. e., Caligula.—*Tertium consule*. A. D. 40.

9. *Collega Priscoque consulibus*. A. D. 93.

10. *Habitus, personal appearance.*

11. *Decentior quam sublimior, well built rather than tall*; i. e., symmetrical.—*Nihil . . . supererat there was nothing in his looks to inspire terror*; rather sweetness of expression, abundantly portrayed, was there. Note the force of *super*, and cf. *Germ.*, VI: XXVI.

13. *Medio in spatio integrae aetatis, "in the mid career of unimpaired age—in the prime of life."* C.

14. *Quantum ad gloriam, sc. attinet.*

16. *Impleverat, he had fully attained.*

18. *Speciosae contigerant*: i. e., Agricola had wealth enough to make a respectable figure. Dion Cassius says that Agricola, after his return from Britain, lived in neglect and want (*ἐν τε ἀτιμίᾳ καὶ ἐν ἐνδείᾳ*). This assertion is directly contradicted by

stibus, potest videri etiam beatus; incolumi dignitate, florente fama, salvis adfinitatibus et amicitiiis futura effugisse. Nam sicuti durare in hanc beatissimi saeculi lucem ac principem Traianum videre, quod augurio votisque apud
 5 nostras aures ominabatur, ita festinatae mortis grande solacium tulit evasisse postremum illud tempus, quo Domitianus non iam per intervalla ac spiramenta temporum, sed continuo et velut uno ictu rempublicam exhaustit. XLV. Non vidit Agricola obsessam curiam et clausum armis senatum et eadem
 10 strage tot consularium caedes, tot nobilissimarum feminarum exsilia et fugas. Una adhuc victoria Carus Metius censebatur, et intra Albanam arcem sententia Messalini strepebat, et Massa Baebius tum reus erat. Mox nostrae duxere Helvidium in carcerem manus, nos Maurici Rusticique visus,

this passage and the general tenor of the sixth chapter.

3. *Sicuti, sc. grande solacium fuisset.*

4. *Augurio, by prediction,* shows his sagacity in foreseeing the coming man. Dion Cassius (LXIX., 12) says that the elevation of Trajan to the imperial throne was foretold *two years* before the death of Agricola, and Tacitus may allude to this.

7. *Spiramenta, pauses,* in which to gain breath.

8. *Uno ictu.* Caligula is said to have wished that the Roman people had one neck, that he might destroy them *at one blow*.

CHAP. XLV. 9. *Obsessam curiam.* This is not mentioned elsewhere. The Emperor Nero, when he was anxious to secure the condemnation of Thrasea, placed Praetorian cohorts around the temple of Venus where the Senate was in session and guarded the approach with civilians armed with swords openly displayed. It is possible that Domitian may have done the same thing.

10. *Tot consularium caedes.* A list of Domitian's victims is found in Suetonius (*Dom. X.*), most of them being put to death on the most trivial charges. One was killed for calling a new dish by his name, another for a

joke, a third for celebrating his uncle Otho's birthday, etc.—*Feminarum exsilia*: e. g. Arria, Fannia, Gratilla, Flavia Domitilla and Pontia Domitilla.

11. *Adhuc*: i. e., at the time of Agricola's death.—*Carus Metius* is mentioned with Massa Baebius in Juvenal (I. 35, 36) as the prince of informers.—*Censebatur, was rated at.*

12. *Albanam arcem.* This is the palace of Domitian under the Alban mount. He used to summon the Senate thither for consultation. Cf. Juv. IV. 145.—*Messalini.* Catullus Messalinus was governor of Libyan Pentapolis under Vespasian and Titus, in which office he treated the provincial Jews, including Josephus, with great cruelty. He was recalled from his province, but escaped punishment, turned informer, and afterwards died a wretched death.

13. *Massa Baebius* was impeached by the province of Baetica, where he had been procurator, in A. D. 70.—*Nostrae manus = nos senatores.* Tacitus was not at Rome for some time after Agricola's death, and he only uses *nostrae* as he himself was a senator.

14. *Helvidium.* Helvidius Priscus the younger, on the charge of having

nos innocenti sanguine Senecio perfudit. Nero tamen subtraxit oculos suos iussitque scelera, non spectavit; praecipua sub Domitiano miseriarum pars erat videre et aspici, cum suspiria nostra subscriberentur, cum denotandis tot hominum palloribus sufficeret saevus ille vultus et rubor, quo se contra 5 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 innocentiam principi donares. 10 Sed mihi filiaeque eius, praeter acerbitatem parentis erepti, auget maestitiam, quod adsidere valetudini, fovere deficientem, satiari vultu complexuque non contigit. Excepissemus certe mandata vocesque, quas penitus animo figeremus. Noster hic dolor, nostrum vulnus; nobis tam longae 15 absentiae conditione ante quadriennium amissus est. Omnia

In a farce of Paris and Aenone intended to portray the Emperor's divorce from all his wives, was apparently seized in the senate, and dragged off to prison by the obsequious senators.—*Mauriet Rusticique*. These were two brothers of the Julian gens, who were cruelly separated in the sight of the senate, Rusticus being hurried away to execution and Helvidius to banishment.—*Visus*: on account of the bold zeugma in *perfudit*, some verb to suit *visus* must be supplied, as *percussit* or *affixit*.

1. *Senecio*. This statement is not literally true, as Senecio was not put to death in the Senate-house. The act, however, stained the Senators with the guilt of innocent blood.

3. *Videre*, sc. *Domitianum*. — *Aspici*, sc. *a Domitiano*.

4. *Subscriberentur*, were noted down as matters of accusation against us. Any one, who supported an accusation brought by another, by entering his name on the indictment as subsidiary accuser was said *subscribere*.

5, 6. *Sufficeret*, sufficed, i. e., bore up without flinching. — *Rubor*. Pliny the Younger (*Paneg.* XLVII.) says of Domitian, "*femineus pallor in corpore, in ore impudentia multo rubore suffusa*." Cf. Suet. *Domitianus* XVIII., "*Vultu modesto, ruborisque pleno*."—*Pudorem*, shame.

9. *Constans et libens*, "with courage and cheerfulness."

10. *Pro virili portione* is found also in *Hist.* III. 20, in the sense of *pro virili parte*, which is Cicero's form. — *Innocentiam*, i. e., freedom from guilt, implying that he was guilty. — *Principi donares*. Agricola, by accepting his death with resignation, as in the course of nature, did his best to shield the Emperor from the suspicion of having dispatched him.

15. *Hic dolor*, sc. *fuit*.

16. *Longae absentiae*. Tacitus is speaking of his own absence from Rome. — *Ante quadriennium*. Tacitus was praetor in A. D. 88, and in the following year seems to have left Rome, on what account we are nowhere informed. Possibly he ob-

sine dubio, optime parentum, adsidente amantissima uxore, superfuere honori tuo; paucioribus tamen lacrimis compositus es, et novissima in luce desideravere aliquid oculi tui.

XLVI. Si quis piorum manibus locus, si, ut sapientibus
 5 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 lugeri neque plangi fas est. Admiratione
 te potius quam temporalibus laudibus, et, si natura suppe-
 10 ditet, aemulatione decoremus. Is verus honos, ea coniunctissimi cuiusque pietas. Id filiae quoque uxori praeceperim, sic patris, sic mariti memoriam venerari, ut omnia facta dictaque eius secum revolvant, formamque ac figuram animi magis quam corporis complectantur; non quia interce-
 15 dendum putem imaginibus, quae marmore aut aere finguntur; sed ut vultus hominum, ita simulacra vultus imbecilla ac mortalia sunt, forma mentis aeterna, quam tenere et expri-

tained the administration of some province.

2. *Paucioribus*, too few.

3. *Desideravere aliquid*, "longed for something in vain."

CHAP. XLVI. 4. *Si quis piorum manibus locus*. Note that Tacitus simply hopes that the souls of the departed may still live. That he had no firm belief in this is evident from *An.* III., 18; VI. 22, which was fully in accordance with the character of that period.—*Ut sapientibus placet*, "as is believed by philosophers."

6. *Domum*: appos. with *nos*.—*Infirmo*, feeble; i. e., resulting from a morbid state of mind.

7. *Muliebribus lamentis*. Cf. Seneca A. XV. 63. "*Rogat oratque temperaret dolori, ne aeternum suscipret sed in contemplatione vitae per virtutem actae desiderium mariti solatiis honestis toleraret.*"

8. *Plangi*. *Plango* is construed like *τύπτομαι* and *κόπτομαι* in Greek. When they mean 'to beat oneself in sorrow for anyone,' they take an ac-

cusative. *Lugeri* has reference to the real sentiment of grief, while *plangi* denotes outward manifestations only.

9. *Quam* is not found in the MSS., but is required if *temporalibus* (which is found) be retained.—*Natura*, "natural powers."

10. *Decoremus*, let us honor. Cf. Ennius quoted by Cic. *de Senect.* XX: "*Nemo me lacrimis decoret nec funera fletu facit.*"

13. *Formamque ac figuram*. *Forma* has reference to the visible embodiment of the internal nature of that to which it corresponds, while *Figura* means shape as regards outline.

14. *Interecedendum*. *Intereedo*, here used figuratively, refers properly to the tribunitian veto.

15. *Putem*: subj. after *non quia*, not that. A. 341, R; G. 541, R; H. 516, 2. This meaning is given the conjunction by late writers.

17. *Mentis* = *animi*, and refers to "the entire mental and spiritual being."

mere non per alienam materiam et artem, sed tuis ipse moribus possis. Quidquid ex Agricola amavimus, quidquid mirati sumus, manet mansurumque est in animis hominum, in aeternitate temporum, fama rerum. Nam multos veterum, velut inglorios et ignobiles, oblivio obruit; Agricola posteriori 5
tati narratus et traditus superstes erit.

1. *Per alienam materiam et artem* refers to marble or bronze and the skill of the artist, "which are necessarily foreign to the truest and best representation of human character."

3. *Mansurum est, is destined to remain.*

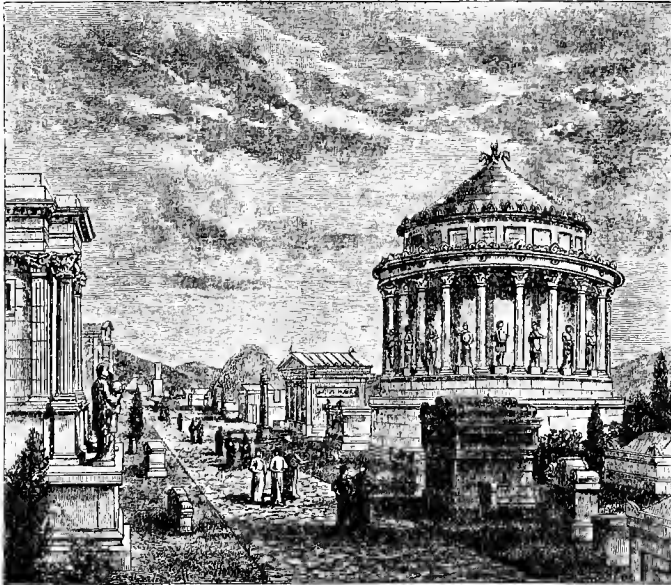
4. *Fama rerum, in the fame of achievements; i. e., in the records of the human race.*

5. *Oblivio obruit*: because the men had no historian to recount their deeds. Cf. Hor. *Od.* IV., ix., 25:

Vixere fortes ante Agamemnona
Multi: sed omnes illacrimabiles
Urgentur ignotique longa
Nocte, carent quia vate sacro.

There is an epigram by Antiphilus in the *Anthologia* supposed to refer to Agricola, the subject of this biography,—

Κρηναίαι λιβάδες τί πεφύγατε ; ποῦ
τόσον ὕδωρ ;
τίς φλῶξ ἀνάουτος ἐσβεσεν ἡελίου ;
δάκρυσιν Ἀγρικόλου τετρήμεθα · πᾶν δ'
ὄσον ἡμῖν
ἦν ποτὸν ἢ κείνου διψᾶς ἐχει σποδίη.



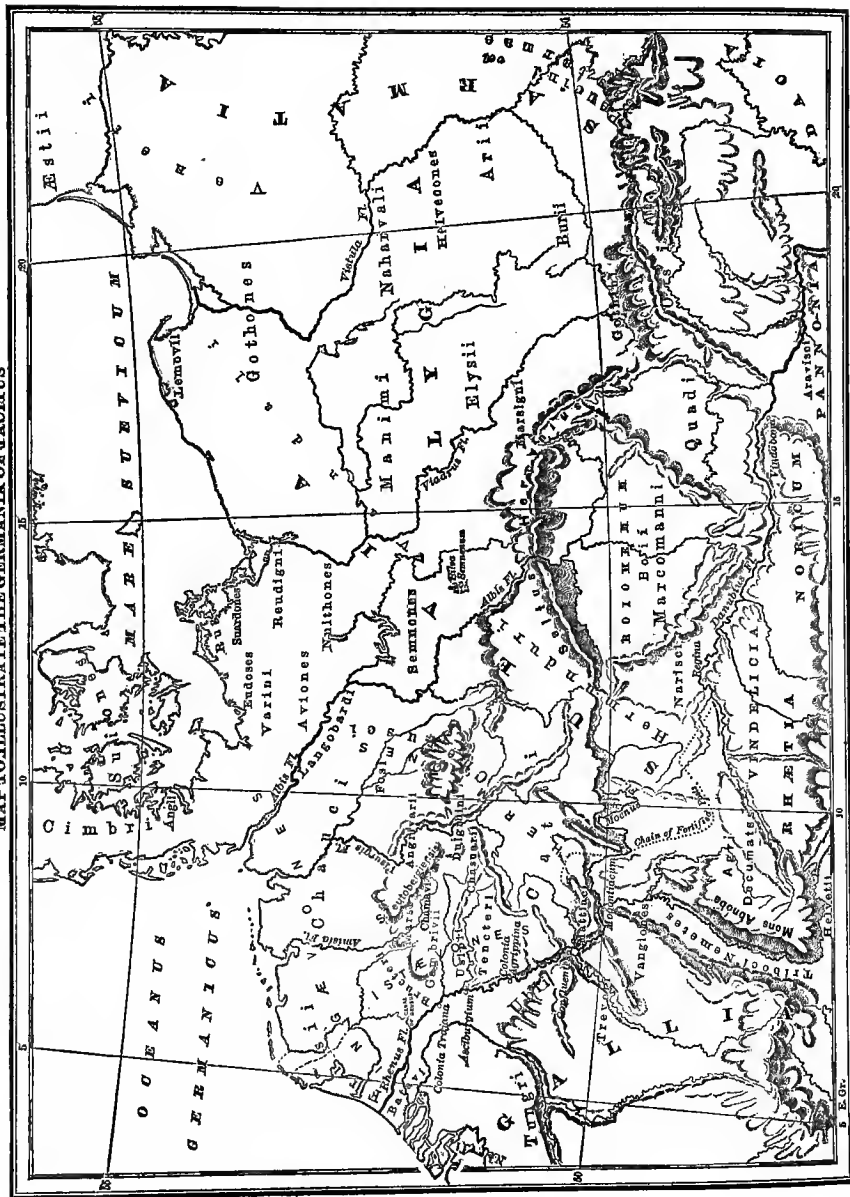
TOMBS ON THE APPIAN WAY.



COIN OF NERO.

CORNELII TACITI
DE ORIGINE SITU MORIBUS
POPULISQUE GERMANIAE
LIBER.

MAP TO ILLUSTRATE THE GERMANIA OF TACITUS



INTRODUCTION TO THE "GERMANIA."

TACITUS apparently wrote his treatise "De Situ, Moribus, Populisque Germaniae" in A. D. 98. In cap. 37 of the work he reckons about 210 years to have elapsed from the epoch when the Cimbri first became known to the Romans to the "second Consulship of the Emperor Trajan." This was in A. D. 98; and Tacitus most probably computed the years to the date of the publication of the pamphlet in question. There is also an additional argument for its early composition, derived from the fact that although fuller information might be looked for in a work entirely devoted to the history of the Teutonic races than from a general history of the Roman Empire, yet in the *Annales* and *Historiae*, German tribes are mentioned which in this treatise are entirely omitted: for instance, the Caninefates,¹ the Gugerni,² the Tubantes,³ the Ampsivarii,⁴ and the Sugambri.⁵ Tacitus probably learned more as he advanced in years, and carried out more fully his historical researches.

His object in writing it has been much contested. Some think it was in order to dissuade Trajan from a projected expedition that he painted the German people as foes so formidable; others, that it is a satire on the vices of Rome couched under the guise of an innocent ethnographic treatise; others, that it is inspired by the genuine scientific desire to investigate the many objects of historic and natural interest with which a vast and unknown territory abounded. But none of these motives supplies a satisfactory explanation. The first can hardly be maintained owing to the historical difficulties; the second, though an object congenial to the Roman mind, is not lofty enough to have moved the pen of Tacitus; the third, though it may have had some weight with him, would argue a state of scientific curiosity in advance of Tacitus' position and age, and besides is incompatible with his culpable laziness in sifting information on matters of still greater ethnographic interest.⁶ If we are to have a theory on the sub-

1. *Hist.*, IV., 15.

3. *An.*, I., 51.

5. *An.*, II., 26.

2. *Id.* 26.

4. *An.*, XIII., 56

6. Notably the history of the Jews. History V.

ject, we incline to think that cap. 37, which enumerates the Roman losses in Germany and dwells on the fierce independence of the people, more terrible even than the Samnite, Carthaginian, Gaul or Parthian, hints at the motive which led to its composition. A country so formidable, from which alone, as Tacitus might well think, serious danger was to be apprehended by Rome, would at least be worth a description so full and so accurate as his opportunities enabled him to give. Thus, the design of the work was purely and pre-eminently patriotic; nor is any other purpose worthy of the great historian, patrician, patriot, and soldier that he was. At the same time subsidiary motives are not excluded; we may well believe that the gall of satire kindles his eloquence, and that the insatiable desire of knowledge stimulated his research while inquiring into the less accessible details of the German polity.

It is to Tacitus that we are mainly indebted for whatever knowledge we possess of ancient Germany, and of the character of its various peoples. From the other writers something in the way of comparison and illustration may be learned, but he is the only writer who gives us a picture of the life of the ancient Germans. As it is extremely probable that he never had been in Germany, his knowledge was collected from those who had visited it for the purpose of either war or commerce; hence, he naturally falls from time to time into the errors incident to imperfect information; and one rather pines for the good faith of Herodotus, who never leaves us in the least doubt as to the sources of his second-hand intelligence. Tacitus' *accepimus* does not even tell us whether he is quoting from books or from travelers or from natives. Hence his geographical descriptions are very often vague and inaccurate, and he now and then seems to attribute to the whole German population the peculiarities of a single people; a mixture of the marvelous shows that some of his narratives consist in mere traveler's tales, while the salient points and characteristic features of the national manners bear the impress of truth, and are supported by the well-known habits and institutions of the Teutonic nations. He has contrived to compress into a small compass more of ethics and politics, more fine delineations of character, more substance and pith (*suc*), than can be collected from many a ponderous volume. It is not one of those barely agreeable descriptions which gradually diffuse their influence over the soul, and leave it in undisturbed tranquillity. It is a picture in a strong light, like the subject itself, full of fire, of sentiment, of lightning-flashes, that go at once to the heart. We imagine ourselves in Germany; we become familiar with these so-called barbarians; we pardon their faults, and almost their vices, out of regard for their virtues; and, in our moments of enthusiasm, we even wish we were Germans. Thus, we see that he has given us much really valuable matter, and has enabled us to perceive in their earliest workings the germs of certain mediæval and modern institutions. It would be too much to suppose that he was guided to this result by a deliberate and conscious

foresight, or that he ever so dimly anticipated from what most impressed him with admiration in the character of these tribes, the establishment of a new world on the ruins of the Roman empire.

The work is divided into two parts. The *first* gives an account of the situation, climate, soil, and inhabitants of the country; it investigates the etymology of several German names of men and gods, describes the national customs, religion, laws, amusements, and especially celebrates the moral strictness of the people: but at the same time not without contrasting them unfavorably with Rome whenever the advantage is on her side. The *second* part contains a catalogue of the different tribes with their geographical limits, salient characteristics, and a short historical account of each, whenever accessible.

We gather from this work that the Germans were not for the most part an utterly barbarous people. Of art and literature they knew next to nothing, and to the civilization of Greek and Italian cities they were entire strangers. They had a regular social organization on an aristocratic basis, their political constitutions being elective monarchies, but the monarch was always of noble birth, and his powers were limited;¹ and all matters of importance were debated by the estate of the people.² They had no distinct order of priests, as that of the Druids in Gaul; no temples, no images of the gods, still their religion was not without noble and awe-inspiring elements. Tacitus hints at many wild legends and dark superstitions with which the German imagination still loves to people the dark recesses of their forests.³ He describes their pure and unmixed race, and, consequently, the universal prevalence of the national features—blue eyes, red or sandy hair, and stalwart and gigantic frames.⁴ In the solemn permission accorded to a German youth to bear arms, and in his investiture with lance and shield, is seen the origin of knighthood;⁵ and in the sanctity of the marriage tie, the chastity of the female sex, their social influence, and the respect paid to them—the rarity of adultery and its severe punishment, and the total absence of polygamy, with which modern readers will find it difficult to believe that masculine caprice has nothing to do—we recognize the germ of the distinguishing characteristics of chivalry.⁶ This last feature of the German manners Tacitus singles out for special commendation and he connects this virtue with their simple life, which knew nothing of the various artificial excitements of Roman civilization; but he mentions, too, that the Germans, like most other savages, left all serious work to the women and slaves.⁷ They were hospitable and constant to their hereditary friendships, but stern in perpetuating family feuds;⁸ passionately fond of gambling, and strict in their regard for debts of honor;⁹ inveterate drinkers and their favorite potation was beer;¹⁰ they could not consult on important

Note

1. Cap. vii. 2. Cap. xi. 3. Cap. ix., xxxix., xl., xliii. 4. Cap. iv. 5. Cap. xiii.
6. Cap. xviii., xix. 7. Cap. xv. 8. Cap. xxi. 9. Cap. xxiv. 10. Cap. xxiii.

matters without a convivial meeting,¹ and they deliberated even on the most important matters when drunk as well as when sober, without the slightest suspicion, apparently, that their sober deliberations were often compromised by the boasts to which they had committed themselves when intoxicated; if they quarreled over their cups, they had recourse rarely to words, usually to blows.² Their slaves were in the condition of serfs or villains, and paid to the lord a fixed rent in corn, or cattle or manufactures.³ They reckoned their time by nights instead of days,⁴ just as we are accustomed to use the expressions sennight and fortnight. After remarking that money is unknown among them, Tacitus adds—an observation otherwise somewhat unnecessary, unless for stigmatizing indirectly the vices of the Romans—that usury was not practised among them. In describing the laziness of the Germans, Tacitus is at pains to be emphatic, and, for him, almost diffuse: he recurs to it again and again. They do not even hunt; they eat as soon as they wake, and spend their whole time, when not at war, between eating and sleeping. Fixed habitations, separate and apart from each other, answering to our *homesteads*, were the rule among them. Everything about them seems to imply a love of severe simplicity and a determined spirit of independence. To one brought up amid the elegant luxuries and refinement of Rome the German life and character must have seemed as uncongenial as the climate, which so strikingly contrasted with the sunny skies of Italy.

After thus having sketched the manners and customs of the nation as a whole, he proceeds to treat of each tribe separately. The information, so far as it relates to the tribes bordering on the Rhine, and therefore well known to the Romans, is no doubt precise and authentic, but in the account of the remoter tribes much is based on vague hearsay and obscure report. In speaking of our own forefathers, the *Angli*, who inhabited part of the modern territory of Sleswig-Holstein, and whose name is still retained in the district of Angeln, one word which he uses is an English one. The *Angli*, he says, together with the conterminous tribes, worship Herthus, *i. e.*, Terra. Even in those early times he mentions the naval superiority of the *Suiones*, who were the ancestors of the Normans and the Vikings. With these he affirms that the Continent of Europe terminates, and all beyond is a motionless and frozen ocean. Truth in these distant climes mingles with fable. Daylight continues after the sun has set, but a hissing noise is heard as his blazing orb plunges into the sea, and the forms of the gods, and the radiant glories which surround their heads are visible. The list of marvels ends with fabulous beings whose bodies and limbs are those of wild beasts, while their heads and faces are human. ADAPTED.

1. Cap. xxii. 2. Cap. xxii. 3. Cap. xxv. 4. Cap. xi.

THE style of the *Germania* is almost the mature style of Tacitus, and the note of sarcasm is already predominant. There is nothing much bitterer in any of his writings, than the passage in which the fall of the Cherusci is traced to their becoming peaceable, good neighbors;¹ and the sneer at Rome is bitter enough when we read that the Germans do not call it the way of the world to corrupt and to be corrupted.² The bitterness is quite impartial: when the Germans go quietly into slavery for a gambling debt, they call it honor, and Tacitus calls it madness.³

THE following remarks of Murphy, quoted from Tyler, will illustrate the value of the treatise to modern Europeans and their descendants: "It is a draught of savage manners, delineated by a masterly hand; the more interesting, as the part of the world which it describes was the seminary of the modern European nations, the VAGINA GENTIUM, as historians have emphatically called it. The work is short, but, as Montesquieu observes, it is the work of a man who abridged everything, because he knew everything. A thorough knowledge of the transactions of barbarous ages will throw more light than is generally imagined on the laws of modern times. Wherever the barbarians, who issued from their northern hive, settled in new habitations, they carried with them their native genius, their original manners, and the first rudiments of the political system which has prevailed in different parts of Europe. They established monarchy and liberty, subordination and freedom, the prerogative of the prince and the rights of the subject, all united in so bold a combination that the fabric, in some places, stands to this hour the wonder of mankind. The British Constitution, says Montesquieu, came out of the woods of Germany. What the state of this country (Britain) was before the arrival of our Saxon ancestors, Tacitus has shown in the life of Agricola. If we add to his account of the Germans and Britains what has been transmitted to us concerning them by Julius Cæsar, we shall see the origin of Anglo-Saxon government, the great outline of that Gothic constitution under which the people enjoy their rights and liberties at this hour. Montesquieu, speaking of his own country, declares it impossible to form an adequate notion of the French monarchy and the changes of their government, without a previous inquiry into the manners, genius, and spirit of the German nations. Much of what was incorporated with the institutions of those fierce invaders has flowed down in the stream of time, and still mingles with our modern jurisprudence. The subject, it is conceived, is interesting to every Briton. In the manners of the Germans, the reader will see our present frame of government, as it were, in its cradle, *gentis cunabula nostræ!* in the Germans themselves, a

1. Cap. xxxvi. 2. Cap. xix. 3. Cap. xxiv.

ferce and warlike people, to whom this country owes that spirit of liberty which, through so many centuries, has preserved our excellent form of government, and raised the glory of the British nation:

“——Genus unde Latinum,
Albanique patres, atque altae moenia Romae.”

The authorities on the subject of the Germans amongst the ancients are,—

- I. CAESAR, *Bell. Gall.* i. 30—54.
 ii. 4 and 15.
 iv. 1—19.
 vi. 9—28.
- II. VELLEIUS PATERCULUS, ii. 108, 109, and 117—122.
- III. STRABO, vii. 1.
- IV. POMPONIUS MELA, iii. 2, 3.
- V. PLINIUS, iv. 27—29.
 xvi. 1.
- VI. TACITUS, *An.* i. 55—71.
 ii. 5—26, and 44—46, and 88.
 xi. 16—20.
 Hist. iv. 12—30, and 54—79.
 v. 14—25.
- VII. PTOLEMAEUS, ii. 11, etc.



CORNELII TACITI GERMANIA.

GERMANIA omnis a Galliꝫ Raetisque et Pannoniis

CHAP. I. *Germania*. The country intended by Tacitus is *Germania* east of the Rhine, sometimes called *Trans-rhenana*, *Magna*, or *Barbara*. Distinct from this was *Germania Cis-rhenana*, a district west of the Rhine, occupied by transplanted Germanic tribes. This was subdivided into *Germania Prima*, or *Superior*, extending from *Augusta Rauracorum*, (Augst), a little above Bâle, to *Moguntiacum* (Mainz), and *Germania Secunda* or *Inferior*, reaching from this last point to the sea. These two divisions are comprehended in the plural form; used by Tacitus (An. II. 73). The area, embraced under the name *Germania* by our author, is larger than that included in its modern equivalent, Germany. Kiepert. *Atlas*

Antiquus, XI.—*Omnis*, as a whole, i. e., *Germany entire*, as distinguished from the two provinces of *Germania Superior* and *Inferior*, regarded as detached fragments, dislocated from the true German area. So Caesar speaks of *Gallia omnis* (B. G. I. 1.), as distinguished from Cisalpine Gaul. Note the order here, and in the passage just quoted; the name of the country to be described in the work occupies the emphatic position.—*Galliꝫ*, etc. The names of the people are used for those of their countries.—*Raetis*. *Raetia* Proper, or *Prima*, extended from the Helvetii to Noricum, embracing the upper portions of the valleys of the *Licus* (Lech), *Aenus* (Inn), and *Athesis* (Adige), the modern Grisons, Tyrol, and part of

Rheno et Danubio fluminibus, a Sarmatis Dacisque mutuo metu ant montibus separatur. Cetera Oceanus ambit, latos sinus et insularum immensa spatia complectens, nuper cognitis

Lombardy. The Raetians are said by Kiepert to have been akin to the Etruscans.—*que et*. "We have two conjunctions here, because the Raeti and Pannonii were more closely connected with one another than with the Galli."—*Pannoniis*. The country occupied by this people stretched from Mons Cetius to the Danube, near its junction with the *Tiviscus* (Theiss), and from the Danube in the North to the *Savus* (Save) in the South, comprising Croatia, Carniola, Bosnia, Slavonia, Western Hungary, Styria, and part of Lower Austria. The inhabitants were Kelts, largely mixed with an earlier population.

1. *Rheno*. This separates Germany from Gaul.—*Danubio*. This separates Germany from Raetia and Pannonia.—*Sarmatis*. This race occupied the vast region between the *Vistula* and the *Tanais* (Don), embracing modern Poland, East Prussia, Lithuania, and Russia. From an examination of their language they are supposed to belong to the Indo-Germanic family. In the time of Herodotus they were on the left bank of the Don, and they gradually advanced westward. The name disappears from history after the third century, and is replaced by that of *Slavi*, *Slavini*, etc., the modern Slavonic race. Some, however, think they were a Turanian race, perhaps Tartars, as the real *Slaves* are mentioned in Cap. XLVI.—*Dacisque*. When Dacia became a Roman province, after the conquests of Trajan, its boundaries were the *Tiviscus* on the West, and the *Hierasus* (Pruth) on the East, while it stretched from *Mons Carpius* to the Danube; thus comprising Wallachia, Transylvania, Moldavia, and Eastern Hungary.—*Mutuo metu*. A very fanciful boundary! Where there is no physical boundary between the Germans on the one

hand and Daicians and Sarmatians on the other, they still forbear to molest each other, each being afraid to attack the other.

2. *Montibus*. The Carpathian Mountains in Upper Hungary.—*Cetera*, sc. *loca*, referring to the northern and western parts.—*Oceanus*. The German ocean and the Baltic Sea.—*Latos sinus*, broad peninsulas. *Sinus* is a term for anything that is gathered into a fold or makes a bend, and most commonly is used for gulfs, bays, and the like, but also for projecting headlands where the boundary line makes a sweep. Tacitus here seems to speak of the Danish Peninsula, Holstein, Sleswig, and Jutland.

3. *Insularum immensa spatia*. Poetical for "Islands of vast size." These are no doubt amongst others Seeland, Funen, Norway and Sweden; for of the Scandinavian peninsula the Romans had a very slight knowledge, and supposed it to be an island. Cf. Pliny IV. 27.—*Nuper . . . regibus*. Understand *ut compertum est*, i. e., these geographical features were discovered by the Romans in prosecuting their wars against these hitherto unknown tribes. Some, however, take it to define the locality of *sinus* and *spatia* just mentioned and translate, *where have lately become known to us*, etc. *Nuper* does not refer here to what immediately precedes, but is used loosely, referring to campaigns from 80 to 100 years before the publication of the *Germania*.—*Cognitis*: abl. of cause. The chief knowledge of Germany possessed by the Romans was gained, after the conquests of Julius Caesar, from the expeditions of Domitius Ahenobarbus, and especially those of Nero Claudius Drusus Germanicus, and his son Caesar Germanicus. The former was the first Roman general

quibusdam gentibus ac regibus, quos bellum aperuit. Rhenus, Raeticarum Alpium inaccesso ac praecipiti vertice ortus, modico flexu in occidentem versus septentrionali Oceano miscetur. Danubius, molli et clementer edito montis

who penetrated to the German Ocean (c. 34), probably by the Canal of Drusus, from the northern arm of the Rhine near Arnheim to the *Sala* (Yssel) at Doesburg. Possibly he may have reached the *Amisia* (Ems) and subjugated the islands of the coast. Subsequently he reached the *Visurgis* (Weser), but had to retire; afterwards he penetrated into the country of the Suevi, and turning his arms against the Cherusci, reached the *Albis* (Elbe), but, without advancing further retired and soon after died, B. C. 9.

Caesar Germanicus, after visiting Germany on the destruction of Varus and his legions, in conjunction with Tiberius, commenced a brilliant career in that country. He crossed the Rhine, and after crushing the Marsi and Chatti, on the organization of a revolt against the Romans by Arminius, embarked in a flotilla, and sailing by the *Lacus Flevus* (Zuyder-Zee) to the ocean and up the Ems, laid waste the country between that river and the Lippe. In the following year, collecting a fleet at the *Insula Batavorum*, he sailed by the Canal of Drusus and the *Flevis* to the sea, and disembarking at *Amisia* on the Ems, crossed that river and the Weser, and defeated Arminius. On returning by the Ems to the ocean, the fleet was shattered by terrific storms, and the soldiers dispersed along the coast. From these stragglers, on their return, a good deal of information, accompanied, according to Tacitus, with a good deal of fable, was gleaned. Soon after these events, Germanicus was recalled, A. D. 16. In A. D. 84, the Emperor Domitian undertook a campaign against the Chatti, and apparently with some trifling success.

I. *Bellum*, i. e., the warlike expeditions above mentioned.

2. *Rhenus*. The ancient Geographers—Strabo, for instance (IV. 3)—made the Rhine rise in Mt. Adula. As this last author also places the sources of the *Addua* (Adda) in the same mountain, he probably regarded the Upper Rhine as the true river, and not the Lower Rhine, which has a course less directly northwards. In that case the mountain would be the range near the passes of the Splügen, and S. Bernardino, not the St. Gothard. The name of the Rhine seems only another form of Rhodanus, and to be connected with Eridanus, Danube, Don, Tanais, etc. In this view the name was a Keltic one, signifying the *water*, or river; perhaps originally the name for a part of the river only, and used by the Romans to designate the whole. — *Raeticarum Alpium*: These are the Grisons and the Tyrol. The word *Alpes* is apparently of Keltic origin; its root being '*alb*,' *high*, the same word appearing in *Albion*, *the hilly land*, or Scotland, and thence Great Britain generally. — *Inaccesso=inaccessibili* — *Vertice*: abl. of source.

3. *Ortus, rising*. A. 290, b; G. 279, R; H. 550, N. 1.—*Modico flexu*. This refers, no doubt, to the portion of the river lying between *Arenacum* (Arnheim), and *Lugdunum Batavorum* (Leyden).—*Versus, having turned*: the participle, taken in a middle sense, and not an adverb or preposition as supposed by some. A. 135, e.—*Septentrionali Oceano*, i. e., the Ocean on the North of Germany.

4. *Danubius*. As stated above, under Rhenus, the derivation of this word seems the Keltic *Don*, or *Dan*, *water*. The upper portion of the stream, as far as Vienna, commonly went by that name; below that town

Abnobae iugo effusus, plures populos adit, donec in Ponticum mare sex meatibus erumpat: septimum os paludibus hauritur.

II. Ipsos Germanos indigenas crediderim, minimeque

Ister was the usual term. According to Adelung, *Danubius* is equivalent to the upper water and (*Dan*)*ister*, the lower water.—*Molli et clementer edito*, gently rising and moderately high. Note the antithesis to *inaccessio ac praecipiti*.

1. *Abnobae*. This is the range of the Schwarzwald, or Blk. Forest, extending from the Oberland of Baden to Pforzheim; on the eastern declivity of which, at a height of about 3,000 feet, are the sources of the Danube.—*Iugo*: abl. of separation.—*Plures populos*. Beginning at the head of the river, and advancing eastward, these would be the Vindelici, Norici, Pannonii, Illyrii, Maesi, on the right bank; on the left the occupants of the Decumates Agri, Narisci, Marcomanni, Quadi, Daci, Getae and Bastarnae; the river being divided between the Keltic, Teutonic and Slavonic races.—*Ponticum mare*—*Pontus Euxinus*.

2. *Sex meatibus*. The ancients were not agreed upon the number of the mouths of the Danube. Herodotus (IV. 47) mentions *five*; Pliny (IV. 24), *six*; Strabo (VII. 3), *seven*; and Meia (II. 1), the same, four only being navigable. Tacitus appears to unite the two latter accounts. There are still three principal mouths, of which the *Kilia* mouth is of the greatest importance and is divided into nine smaller channels.—*Erumpat* is correctly used, as the Danube discharges its waters into the Euxine with such force, that its course may be distinctly traced for miles out to sea. *Donec*, with the indicative, is used to convey the expression of some actual fact; with the subjunctive, when the event is not stated positively, but only contemplated as a future contingency. Hence the meaning is *Until such time as it shall succeed in*

its aim of forcing its way into the sea. A. 328; G. 574; H. 519, II. 2, and N. 2. In late writers, however, the subjunctive is used with *donec* with the same force as the indicative. It may be so taken here.

CHAP. II. 3. *Ipsos*, emphatic, marks the transition from the subject of the country, to the people *themselves*.—*Indigenas*. This word is derived from *indu*, a form of *in* (still found in *induperator* for *imperator*;) and *gigno*. To be thus *αὐτόχθονες* was a matter of boast among the ancients. As far as the Germans are concerned there is little doubt that the Teutonic races belong to the Indo-Germanic stock once occupying Bactriana and part of Armenia; a fact rendered almost certain from the general resemblance of their language to those of Persia, India, etc. According to one view the name of one of the tribes of this Teutonic people, the Saxons, is itself a confirmation of this; that appellation being a corruption from *Saca sunu*, sons of the Sacaë. They formed then a portion of that people who, ages ago, issued from the regions of Upper Asia, and making their way by the Caucasus and the route north of the Caspian and Euxine seas entered Europe. Under this view they are more or less of the same stock as the Greeks, Latins, Kelts, and Slavonians. As to the time of their entering Europe nothing whatever is known; although some consider the great inroads to have been successively those of the Fins, Kelts, Slavonians, Teutons, these last cutting through the Slavonians, and being insulated by their closing up behind.—*Crediderim*: the subj. of cautious statement, to soften the assertion. A. 311, b; G. 250; H. 486, I. N. 1.—*Minimeque*, and by no means,

aliarum gentium adventibus et hospitiiis mixtos; quia nec terra olim, sed classibus, advehebantur, qui mutare sedes quaerebant, et immensus ultra, utque sic dixerim, adversus Oceanus raris ab orbe nostro navibus aditur. Quis porro, praeter periculum horridi et ignoti maris, Asia aut Africa aut Italia relicta, Germaniam peteret, informem terris, asperam caelo, tristem cultu aspectuque, nisi si patria sit? 5

1. *Adventibus, immigrations.* — *Hospitiis, casual visitors.* Notice the use of abstract (instead of the concrete) nouns in the plural to denote the recurrence of an act. This is very common in Tacitus. A. 75, c; G. 195, R. 5; H. 130, 2.—*Quia nec terra olim.* Tacitus gives three reasons for his belief in the indigenous origin of the Germans; first, that the chief movements of nations were by sea, and the sea of those countries was too boisterous to enter on; second, that the land had no attractions to offer to foreigners to induce them to settle in it; and, third, because the traditions of the Germans themselves represented them as the original occupiers of the soil.

As far as the first of these reasons is concerned, Tacitus was misled by the want of any adequate knowledge of the great movements of the early races who successively entered Europe. No doubt the migrations with which he was historically acquainted were effected by sea; the colonization, for instance, of the African coast by the Phoenicians, of certain parts of Greece by the Egyptians, of Macedonia by the Phoenicians, and others, was maritime. The great movements, however, by which Europe was peopled, were in some instances, at all events, long anterior to the rise of commerce, and the route was undoubtedly overland, above the Euxine.—*Nec=et non*, and then a second *et* follows naturally in the next clause. Cf. Cic. *Ep. ad Fam.* X. 1: Tac. *An.* II. 51; XV. 28; *Agr.* 10.

2. *Advehebantur.* Note the zeugma, as this word, properly referring only to transportation by ships, only suits *classibus*, and another word, as *adveniebant*, must be supplied to suit *terra*. A. p. 298; G. 690; H. 636, II. 1.—*Qui*, sc. *ii* as subj. of *advehebantur*.

3. *Quaerebant.* *Quaerere* with the infinitive, a poetical construction, is rarely found except in the later prose writers. The usual classic form is *cupio* or *volo*.—*Ultra, beyond* the north shore of Germany.—*Dixerim*, for *dicam*, is found only in late writers. Z. 528. The clause on which it depends is omitted.—*Adversus, hostile, difficult of navigation.* Tacitus seems to think the idea of the ocean showing a sort of active hostility to navigators required a little softening down by an introductory phrase. This boisterousness of the German Ocean appears to have struck Tacitus; cf. *An.* II. 24. The Romans certainly had not much encouragement in navigating these seas, as the disasters Germanicus met with, and the alarming account of their horrors his soldiers carried home, would hardly induce traders to visit them.

4. *Ab orbe nostro*, i. e., that portion of the Roman empire lying about the Mediterranean.

5. *Praeter, in addition to.*—*Horridi, boisterous.*—*Asia, sc. Minor.*—*Africa.* The Mediterranean coast.

6. *Peteret:* dubitative subj. A. 265, a, 3; G. 592, R. 2; H. 507, 3, N. 4.—*Sit.* The present is used to imply the reality of the case supposed,

Celebrant carminibus antiquis, quod unum apud illos memoriae et annalium genus est, Tuistonem deum terra editum, et filium Mannum, originem gentis conditoresque. Manno tris filios adsignant, e quorum nominibus proximi
 5 Oceano Ingaevones, medii Herminones, ceteri Istaevones vocentur. Quidam, ut in licentia vetustatis, pluris deo ortos plurisque gentis appellationes, Marsos, Gambrivios, Suevos,

1. *Carminibus*. Verse has been used by all barbarous nations, and in all ages, before prose for this purpose. Of these old Teutonic songs no specimens have survived, but their general character, as regards matter, can be ascertained from the Scandinavian *Eddas*, which are filled with the adventures of the gods, Odin and his sons, their battles against the powers of evil, giants, etc.—*Unum*, the only.

2. *Memoriae, tradition*.—*Annalium, written history*.—*Tuistonem*. Although this reading is given in the best MSS., *Tuisconem* is very likely the true one. It is probably connected with *Deus, divis, θεός, διος*, etc., appearing in the *Eddas* under the form *Tyr*, Odin's son, from whom our Tuesday derives its appellation.—*Terra editum*, i. e., indigenous.

3. *Mannum*. This name is curiously like the Hindoo *Menu*, the Egyptian *Menes*, the Lydian *Manes*, and the Cretan *Minos*. Probably it is the same as the German *Mensch, Mann*, and our 'man,' and in it and *Tuisto*, humanity and divinity are personified. Some identify him with the double-god, male and female, of the Scandinavian mythology.—*Originem gentis*, i. e., parents of the people. It was the usual custom of the nations of antiquity to trace their pedigree up to some imaginary hero. The Hellenes, for instance, had an ancestor Hellen; and the Aeolians, Aeolus.—*Conditores*, i. e., founders of their laws and customs.

4. *Manno . . . adsignant*. It has been thought by some that in Man-

nus and his three sons an obscure tradition is preserved of Adam, and his sons Cain, Abel, and Seth; or of Noah, and his sons Shem, Ham, and Japhet.

5. *Ingaevones*, sc. *vocentur*. There seems no possibility of success in the attempt to arrange accurately the various tribes under these heads. Nevertheless, it may be true in the main, that the Ingaevones are the men of the Ing-gau, i. e., the country of the Angli under which view the Ingaevones would represent the great Saxon confederacy. The *Istaevones* (a various reading for *Iscaevones*) would be the men of the Isk district, or the Franks of a later age. The *Herminones* again, or *Hermiones*, for there are both readings, would be the army men, the high Germans of the South. This view is held by the best ethnographers, and by Adelung, Grimm, Kiepert, Latham, Orelli, Prichard, Ritter, Ukert, and Teuss. *Vocentur* shows that Tacitus makes this statement on the authority of others. A. 340; G. 630; H. 516, II. N.

6. *Ut*, sc. *fit*.—*Licentia*: abl. of accordance.—*Pluris*, i. e., than the three before mentioned.—*Deo*, i. e., Mannus.—*Ortos*, sc. *esse*.

7. *Gentis*, i. e., the Germanic race.—*Marsos*. The Marsi seem to have once been settled in Westphalia, between Munster and Paderboru; but they withdrew further into the interior, and occupied the country between the Lippe and the Ruhr, or still further south. They seem to have been concerned in the affair of Varus and his legions, and were severely punished by Germanicus, who de-

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 evaluisse paulatim, ut omnes primum a victore ob metum, 5

stroyed the famous temple of Tamfana, situated near their boundaries (*Ann.* I. 51, etc.). As they are not again mentioned by Tacitus, in his account of the various tribes, they had perhaps ceased to have any separate existence. — *Gambrivios*. Strabo mentions these people (VII, 1, 3), but their exact location cannot be determined. — *Suevos*. From this people modern Suabia takes its name.

1. *Vandalios*. This tribe originally was settled on the northern coast of Germany, in Pomerania; later they were found near the Riesengebirge, north of the Marcomanni; subsequently they entered Pannonia and Dacia, and about A. D. 400 entered Spain. Driven hence by the Goths, they crossed to Africa, and were there conquered by Justinian, A. D. 534. — *Eaque*, sc. *esse*. — *Ceterum* marks a transition as the author passes from the various ancient names of the Germans to their modern and universal name.

2. *Germaniae vocabulum*, sc. *esse*. Tacitus does not mean that the word itself was only recently used. It seems to have been known long before his time; for in the *Fasti Capitolini*, for B. C. 222, they are mentioned as defeated with the Insubrian Gauls by the Roman consul Marcellus. What he intends to say is, that the name had only recently been given to the whole country, having previously been the designation of a single tribe; just as the Graeci, a tribe somewhere in the vicinity of the Achelous, eventually gave their name to the whole country of Greece. — *Qui*, sc. *ii*, as subj. of *vocati sint*.

3. *Rhenum transgressi*. According to Caesar, the Belgae were of Ger-

man origin, having crossed the Rhine and dispossessed the Gauls. — *Expulerint*: subj. in indirect discourse. Cf. *Vocentur* above. For confirmation of the statement here made. Cf. *Caes. B. G.* II. 4. — *Tungri*, sc. *vocentur*. The part occupied by the Tungri seems to have been held previously by the Eburones, in the modern province of Limburg, near Tongres, Liège, and Maastricht.

4. *Germani*. Various meanings have been assigned to this word. According to some they were called *Germani*, as true Gauls, and brothers of the Celtic race; according to others the name is connected with the *Germani*, a Persian tribe (Herod. I. 125); others derive it from the German *Giver* or *Wehr*, making it equivalent to warriors (Wehrmänner). It, however, seems most likely to be a Celtic word, derived from the Gaelic *goir*, or *gair*, to cry out, and *gairm*, *gairmean*, a cry: in the sense of men good at the battleshout; like Homer's βόην ἀγὰθός. If so, it was the name used by their neighbors to designate the Germans; not by the Germans to designate either the whole, or any portion of themselves. This practice of calling a people by a name never adopted by themselves is common. — *Vocati sint*. The subjunctive, again, conveying the opinion of others. Vid. N. on *vocentur* above. — *Ita*, in this way, does not belong to the following *ut* in the sense of *adeo ut*, etc. — *Nationis*, of a single tribe. *Natio* is here used to denote a subdivision of the whole race, or gens.

5. *Evaluisse paulatim*, gradually prevailed. — *A victore*, i. e., the Tungri. — *Ob metum*, for the purpose of inspiring fear, — *ul metus Gallis iniiceretur*.

mox etiam a se ipsis, invento nomine, Germani vocarentur.
 III. Fuisse apud eos et Herculem memorant, primumque
 omnium virorum fortium ituri in proelia canunt. Sunt illis
 haec quoque carmina, quorum relatu, quem barditum vocant,
 5 accendunt animos, futuraeque pugnae fortunam ipso cantu
 augurantur. Terrent enim trepidantve, prout sonuit acies;

1. *A se ipsis*, i. e., the people of Germany as a whole.—*Invento nomine*, i. e., "when once the name had been invented." As far as I am able to understand this most perplexing passage, it means this: the Tungri, having crossed the Rhine, established themselves on the left bank: in order to keep the neighboring Gauls in a chronic state of fear, and possibly deter them from combining to expel them, they were constantly reminding them of the probability of the arrival of other tribes like themselves to effect further conquests. As their own name, *Germani*, was an alarming one to the Gauls they thought it politic to apply the same appellation to their countrymen generally. Presently these tribes themselves saw their advantage in adopting the same name, as it invested them at once with a formidable prestige.—*Vocarentur*. A. 336; G. 653; H. 524.

CHAP. III. 2. *Apud eos* shows that the subject of *memorant* is not *Germani*, but some word as *populi*, or *scriptores*. A. 98, c; G. 294; H. 449, l.—*Herculem*, i. e., some German deity, whose attributes correspond in the main with those of the Greek and Roman Hercules. This habit is common in the Latin writers. Vid. Note in Chap. IX.—*Primum*, sc. *cum*—*principem*, the most eminent.

3. *Virorum fortium*, i. e., heroes and warriors.—*Canunt*, sc. *Germani*.—*Sunt* introduces a digression which extends to *ceterum*.

4. *Haec quoque carmina*, these well known songs. *Quoque* following *haec* makes it emphatic. A. 345, b; G. 481; H. 569, III. These songs in honor of

Hercules and other heroes, chanted before entering into battle to influence the courage of the warriors, are to be distinguished from the purely mythological poems, mentioned in chap. II.—*Relatu, recital*, indicates that these songs were actual narratives of illustrious exploits. The word is found only in Tacitus.—*Barditum*. This is the reading of most manuscripts. The word is of Keltic origin, so, the Germans can hardly be supposed to have designated a native custom by a foreign term. The practice of course existed among the Kelts; and it is probable that Tacitus derived his information in this respect from a Keltic source, and consequently the practice of the Germans, resembling as it did that of the Gauls, was not unnaturally described by his informers in words familiar to their ears, as descriptive of their own customs. This custom was retained by the Scandinavian nations. Lucean, I. 447 et seq. mentions these Keltic bards.

5. *Futuraeque pugnae*. This idea of divining the result of a battle from the character of the shouts raised by the two armies before engaging existed among the Highlanders. At the battle of Killlicrankie, Cameron declared to his men that the battle would be gained because their shouts were more lively than those of their opponents,—a prediction, as it happened, verified.—*Ipsa cantu*—*ex solo sono*, from the mere sound of the song.

6. *Trepidantve, or tremble with fear*. *Ve*, although giving a choice, implies that the probability is in favor of the first alternative. — *Prout sonuit*

nec tam vocis ille quam virtutis concentus videtur. Adfectatur praecipue asperitas soni et fractum murmur, obiectis ad os scutis, quo plenior et gravior vox repercussu intumescat. Ceterum et Ulixem quidam opinantur longo illo et fabuloso errore in hunc Oceanum delatum adisse Germaniae terras, 5 Asciburgiumque, quod in ripa Rheni situm hodieque incolitur, ab illo constitutum nominatumque; aram quin etiam Ulixi consecratam, adiecto Laertae patris nomine, eodem loco olim repertam, monumentaque et tumulos quosdam Graecis litteris inscriptos in confinio Germaniae Raetiaeque adhuc 10 exstare. Quae neque confirmare argumentis neque refellere

acies, i. e., according to the nature of the cry proceeding from the line, when drawn up in battle array.

1. *Vocis* (concentus), a chorus of human voices.—*Ille* refers to *barditum*.—*Virtutis concentus*, the conspiring cry of valor.—*Adfectatur*, is pleasing.

2. *Fractum murmur*, a broken, sudden roar, like that of thunder, the sea, etc., made in the manner described in the next clause.

3. *Repercussu* is a late Latin word for the earlier *repercutsa*, or *repercutiendo*.—*Intumescat*: subj. of purpose, after *quo*, in order that, which usually takes the place of *ut* when used in conjunction with a comparative. A. 317, b; G. 545, 2; H. 497, 2.

4. *Ulixem*. The ten years' wandering of Ulysses formed a convenient receptacle for stray traditions or guesses among the ancients. Strabo (III. 2) gets him to Iberia, as the founder of *Ulyssaea*, or Lisbon. Solinus carries him still further north, to Caledonia.—*Longo*, i. e., extending over ten years.—*Illo*: emphatic, that well known.—*Fabuloso*, "storied, celebrated in song." T.

5. *Hunc Oceanum*, i. e., the Northern Ocean which has already been mentioned.

6. *Asciburgium*. Probably the modern *Asburg*, where many antiquities have been found, near the left

bank of the Lower Rhine, near Neuss (opposite Düsseldorf).—*Situm*, sc. est.

7. *Constitutum*, *nominatumque*, sc. esse.—*Quin etiam*, furthermore.

8. *Ulixi*: dat. of apparent agent. A. 232, a; G. 352; H. 388, 1.—*Adiecto* . . . *nominis*. On the altar, after the name of Ulysses, was inscribed *Δαεπριάδῃ, Son of Laertes*, according to the Grecian custom.—*Eodem loco*: sc. *in*, which is commonly omitted with *loco*, whenever an adjective modifying it is used. A. 258, f; G. 385, R; H. 425, 2.

9. *Repertam*, sc. esse.—*Tumulos*, tombs.—*Graecis litteris inscriptos*. Caesar mentions (I. 29) that in the camp of the Helvetii were found lists made out in Greek characters; and also (VI. 14) that the Druids employ the same. The knowledge of them no doubt spread from Massilia, a Phocaean colony; but it was probably very partially extended. As for these inscriptions on the confines of Raetia, as that country was Celtic, the characters were probably Celtic also; although Count Marsigli and others have found monuments with Greek inscriptions in Germany, but not of so early an age.

11. *Quae neque*, etc. Cf. Livy. *Preface*: 'Ea nec adfirmare nec refellere in animo est,' which Tacitus may have had in view when he wrote this sentence.

in animo est; ex ingenio suo quisque demat vel addat fidem.

IV. Ipse eorum opinionibus accedo, qui Germaniæ populos nullis aliis aliarum nationum conubiis infectos propriam
5 et sinceram et tantum sui similem gentem exstitisse arbitrantur. Unde habitus quoque corporum, quamquam in tanto hominum numero, idem omnibus; truces et caerulei oculi, rutilae comae, magna corpora et tantum ad impetum valida; laboris atque operum non eadem patientia:

1. *In animo est*, sc. *milit.*—*Ex ingenio suo*, according to his inclination.—*Demat*: imperative subj. A. 266; G. 256, 3; H. 484, IV. This idea is: If he be credulous, let him believe it; but if skeptical deny it.

CHAP. IV. 4. *Atis*, apparently redundant, is used to bring out the idea of the difference between the Germans and all other barbarians more clearly: *one with one nation, and another with another*. It is omitted by some editors; bracketed by others, although found in all MSS.—*Infectos*, changed. Although *inficio* does not always imply a change for the worse, yet Tacitus does here certainly mean that any intermixture of blood would make the race deteriorate.—*Propriam*, peculiar.

5. *Sinceram* is here used in its original sense, *without admixture or alloy*.—*Tantum sui similem*, only like itself. *Similis* usually has the gen. when it expresses some internal resemblance of character; otherwise the dative. A. 218, d; G. 356, R. 1; H. 391, II. 4.

6. *Habitus corporum*, physical characteristics.

7. *Idem*, sc. *est*.—*Omnibus*, dat. of possess.—*Truces*. This fierceness of aspect was a peculiarity of the Germans mentioned to Caesar by the Gauls and Roman traders. *Caes. I. 39*.—*Caerulei oculi*. This feature is often alluded to by the Roman writers: cf. *Juv. XIII. 164*; *Hor. Ep. XVI. 7*; *Tac. Ag. XI*.

8. *Rutilae comae*. Pliny (XXVIII. 12) says the Germans endeavored to increase the redness of their hair by the use of a soap, *lixivium*, and this was used by the Romans, as Martial notices (*Ep. VIII. 33*). The prevalence of these physical features (although they are still preserved to a considerable extent, especially among the people of the highlands of middle Germany, and the adjoining borders of the northern lowlands) is, by no means, in our day universal among the Germans: nevertheless, as compared with the dark complexions and hair of Italy, these descriptions of them were no doubt true; besides which the type of the race may have been materially altered by mixture with other nations.—*Magna corpora*. Strabo (VII. 1) says the Germans were bigger men than the Kelts, although these were always considered a much taller race than the Italians. Sidonius Apollinaris makes a joke about the muses' scorning a metre of six feet when the patrons of their verses were seven feet high.—*Tantum ad impetum valida*, powerful only for a brief onset.

9. *Operum*, protracted work. Caesar (VI. 21) says the Germans *labori ac duritiae student*; by which he probably means that they were trained up to undergo toil and hardship in war.—*Non eadem patientia*, sc. *est eis*.—*Minimeque*, and least of all.

minimeque sitim aestumque tolerare, frigora atque inediam caelo solove adsueverunt.

V. Terra, etsi aliquanto specie differt, in universum tamen aut silvis horrida aut paludibus foeda; humidior qua Gallias, ventosior qua Noricum ac Pannoniam aspicit; satis ferax, 5 frugiferarum arborum impatiens, pecorum fecunda; sed ple-

1, 2. *Aestumque*. In the battle of Vercellae, the Cimabri are said by Plutarch to have been totally overcome by the excessive heat, running down with perspiration, and using their shields to cover their faces from the sun.—*Tolerare* depends on *adsueverunt*. It belongs to both clauses.—Before *frigora* supply *sed*, antithetic to *minimeque*. The mean temperature of Europe was probably more severe in winter than it is now; and it was certainly so in Germany, one indication being that reindeer appear to have existed there, now only found in higher latitudes. No doubt the clearing away the forests, draining the marshes, and similar operations, have considerably mitigated the climate.—*Caelo solove*: abl. of cause. *Ve* is disjunctive, referring *caelo* to *frigora*, and *solo* to *inediam*. What Tacitus implies is that the climate produces endurance in the one case, and the natural character of the soil, endurance in the other.

CHAP. V. 3. *Aliquanto*, to a considerable extent: an abl. denoting the degree of difference commonly regarded as an adverb.—*Specie*: abl. of respect.

4. *Silvis horrida*, sc. *est*. These forests lay chiefly in the parts occupied by the High Germans in Thuringia, Saubia, Hesse, and Franconia. Some of the best known were the *Hercynia*, *Marciana* (southern part of the Blk. Forest), *Baenica*, *Semanus* (parts of the Hartz and Thürmgerwald), *Gabreta* (the Böhmerwald), the *Caesia* (between the Lippe and the Yssel), and the *Lucus Baduhennae* (in Friesland). The woods are still

extensive in Germany, especially among the hills, where the forest trees grow to a large size. The eastern regions of the northern lowlands abound with trees, and a narrow strip along the Baltic is covered with oaks and beeches.—*Paludibus foeda*. These fen districts lay chiefly in the north-western parts of the country, Friesland, Westphalia, etc. Even at the present day the shores of the North sea are lined with marshes, five or six miles across, and below the level of the ocean at high water. To these Tacitus alludes when he says it is damp towards the Gallic frontier. Pomponius Mela gives the names of three, viz., *Suesia*, *Estia*, and *Metisagium*.—*Humidior, qua Gallias*, sc. *aspicit*. This humidity is owing to the large forests, rivers, lakes, and marshes. *Gallias* is used in the plural to denote all the Roman divisions of Gaul.

5. *Ventosior*—the Homeric *ἠνεμότερος*, *windy*, i. e., exposed to winds, or *lofty*.—*Noricum*. This country extended from the *Aenus* on the west, to *Mt. Cetus* on the east, by which it was separated from *Pannonia*, and lay between the Save and Julian Alps in the south: it consequently comprised the modern districts of Carinthia, the Tyrol, and Salzburg.—*Satis*: abl. plu. perf. pass. part. of *sero*. It is used for any crops raised by cultivation, and is frequent in Vergil. There are especially mentioned oats, wheat, barley, and millet, as grown in Germany.

6. *Arborum impatiens, unproductive of fruit trees*. This must not be taken absolutely, as Tacitus was no doubt thinking here of the contrast

rumque improcera. Ne armentis quidem suus honor aut gloria frontis; numero gaudent, eaeque solae et gratissimae opes sunt. Argentum et aurum propitii an irati dii negaverint dubito. Nec tamen adfirmaverim nullam Germaniae venam argentum aurumve gignere; quis enim scrutatus est? Possessione et usu haud perinde adficiuntur. Est videre apud illos argentea vasa, legatis et principibus eorum muneri data, non in alia vilitate quam quae humo finguntur, quamquam proximi, ob usum commerciorum, aurum et argentum in pretio habent, formasque quasdam nostrae pecuniae agnoscunt atque eligunt. Interiores simplicius et antiquius permutatione mercium utuntur. Pecuniam

presented by Germany to Italy with its olive, vines, cherry, plum, and other rich fruit trees, for he himself speaks of *arbores frugiferae*, and *poma agrestia* in this book (cap. X.).—*Pecorum*; smaller cattle, or flocks in general.

1. *Improcera*, sc. *illa sunt*, referring to *pecora*. They were no doubt dwarfed by the severity of the climate, as they still are in colder latitudes.—*Armentis*, dat. of possess. after *est* understood, refers to the larger cattle, and Tacitus here includes apparently both horses and oxen; the *suus honor*, usual stateliness, will then mean that the horses do not attain their full growth and beauty, and *gloria frontis* (dignity of brow, i. e., horns), will refer to the oxen.

2. *Numero*, in the number of them, rather than in the quality.—*Eaeque* agrees with *opes*, instead of *ca* with *armenta*,

3. *Propitii an irati*, "whether in kindness or in anger."

4. *Negaverint*: subj. of ind. question.—*Adfirmaverim*. (Cf. Note on *crediderim*, cap. II.)

5. *Argentum aurumve gignere*. Tacitus (*An.* XI. 20) mentions a silver mine opened and worked for a short time, but soon exhausted, in the

lands of the Mattiaci. Of this he had probably not heard when he wrote the present work. Mines of gold and silver have since been discovered in Germany, which are very valuable.

6. *Possessione et usu*, by the possession and use of such vessels, etc., as they have.—*Perinde*, sc. *ac aliae nationes*. Cf. *Agric.* X. 'mare neventis quidem perinde attoni,' not raised like other seas.

7. *Est* = earlier *licet*. Cf. Greek *ἔστι* for *ἐξέστι*.—*Principibus muneri*: two datives; one to which, the other for which.

8. *Non in alia vilitate*—*in eadem vilitate*; i. e., in the same low estimation as, etc.—*Humo*: abl. of material.

9. *Quomquam* denotes concession.—*Proximi*, i. e., to the Romans, from dwelling on the banks of the Rhine or Danube.

10. *In pretio*, in value.—*Formas*, i. e., pieces of money, evidently with reference to the device upon the coin.

11, 12. *Eligunt*, they prefer them because they know them.—*Interiores* is contrasted with *proximi*.—*Simplicius et antiquius*, i. e., according to the simpler and more primitive mode.

probant veterem et diu notam, serratos bigatosque. Argentum quoque magis quam aurum sequuntur, nulla adfectione animi, sed quia numerus argenteorum facilius usui est promiscua ac vilia mercantibus.

VI. Ne ferrum quidem superest, sicut ex genere telorum 5 colligitur. Rari gladiis aut maioribus lanceis utuntur. Hastas, vel ipsorum vocabulo frameas, gerunt angusto et brevi ferro, sed ita acri et ad usum habili, ut eodem telo, prout ratio poscit, vel cominus vel eminus pugnent. Et

1. *Serratos bigatosque.* These coins are the *denarii*. They were silver, and on the obverse usually have the head of Rome with a helmet, or the Dioscuri, or Jupiter, and on the reverse a two-horsed chariot. Owing to the vice and corruption among the Romans, their coin became debased and adulterated. The *serrati* and *bigati* being old coins, and of purer silver than those of the Emperors were preferred by the Germans owing to their fear of being cheated. One means of testing coin was to cut the edges like the teeth of a saw [*serra*], by which it could be seen whether the metal was the same throughout, or only plated. These were the *Serrati*. Sometimes the reverse bore a four-horsed chariot, when they were called *quadrigati*.

2. *Sequuntur, they seek after.* The Romans had this same predilection for silver coin, and probably for the same reason. — *Nulla adfectione animi, not on account of any bias.*

3. *Numerus, the great number,* on account of their lesser relative value. — *Argenteorum, sc. nummorum.* — *Facilior, more convenient.*

4. *Mercantibus, sc. iis: dat. of remoter object.*

CHAP. VI. 5. *Ne ferrum quidem superest.* There is a similar use of the word in Cap. XXVI., '*arva per annos mutant et superest ager;*' there is land enough and to spare: here it means, even of iron there is no super-

abundance. This of course only proves the Germans not to have had any great amount of skill in extracting the ore, for there are large iron mines in certain parts of the country, Bohemia for instance. In the graves of the earliest period known in Germany the weapons found are of bone or stone, and it is after a considerable period apparently that iron or bronze arms are found. — *Ex genere telorum.* "According to *An.*, II. 14, the Germans had neither helmet nor coat of mail; even their shields were not strengthened with iron or leather, but were merely a contexture of twigs or thin painted boards; only their first rank was armed with spears, the rest had short darts hardened by fire."

6. *Colligitur, can be inferred.* — *Rari, a very few.* This word is used of anything, the parts of which are separated by large interstices or intervals, and is opposed to *densus*.

7. *Frameas* This word is undoubtedly a Latinized form of the Teutonic *pfriem*, the point of a weapon. An awl, or bodkin, is still in German called *pfrieme*.

8. *Ferro:* abl. of description. — *Habili, convenient, handy.*

9. *Ratio, the case,* lit., a consideration of the case. — *Cominus vel eminus.* It would appear from *An.*, II. 14, that these spears were unmanageable in an engagement among trees and bushes, on account of their length. — *Pugnent:* result.

eques quidem scuto frameaque contentus est; pedites et missilia spargunt, pluraque singuli atque in immensum vibrant nudi aut sagulo leves. Nulla cultus iactatio; scuta tantum lectissimis coloribus distinguunt. Paucis loricae,
 5 vix uni alterive cassis aut galea. Equi non forma, non velocitate conspicui. Sed nec variare gyros in morem

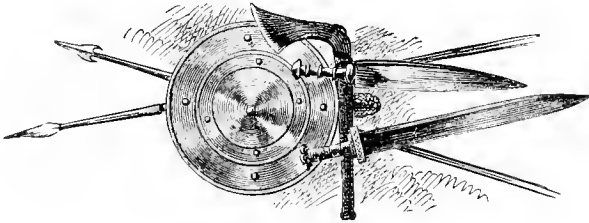
1. *Scuto frameaque*: abl. of the cause of *contentus est*.

2. *Spargunt*: poetical. — *Plura singuli*. The construction is *singuli pedites spargunt plura missilia*. — *In immensum*, sc. *spatium*.

3. *Nudi* denotes that the person was without any upper garment. — *Sagulo*: diminutive of *sagum*. — *Leres*, lightly clad. — *Cultus*, personal equipments. — *Iactatio*. Note the use of the abstract noun, where Augustan writers would use the verb.

have been found in England—seem to have been round, and, like the others, formed of wood, often that of the linden-tree. These round bucklers were perhaps borrowed from the Slavonian tribes in the east of Germany. — *Loricae*, sc. *sunt*.

5. *Cassis aut galea*. The *Cassis*, a *casque*, was a helmet of which metallic plates formed a constituent part: *galea* was a headpiece made of leather or skin. — *Forma*, in *build*: abl. of cause.



GROUP OF ROMAN ARMS.

4. *Scuta tantum lectissimis coloribus*. These shields are described, *An.*, II. 14; they were made of twisted osiers, or boards stained with various colors, and were very large. The coloring at first denoted the valor, afterward the nobility of the bearer; and in process of time gave origin to the armorial designs so famous in the ages of chivalry. The Norse shields, probably not unlike them, were three cornered, long, and covering the whole body; in time of war they were painted red; in time of peace, white. The Saxon shields, on the contrary—the remains of which

6. *Conspicui*, sc. *sunt*. — *Sed nec. Nec-ne quidem*. — *Variare gyros*. *Gyros* is used to denote the ring in which horses run when first broken in; and the words *variare gyros* seem to mean 'to wheel rapidly to right or left at the word of command,' so as to pivot round the innermost man, the whole line throughout the manoeuvre remaining un bent; in fact, its extremity traced out a circle, round a fixed point. Others describe it to be a movement something like the figure 8. The idea is that the horses are neither swift, handsome nor well trained.

nostrum docentur; in rectum aut uno flexu dextros agunt, ita coniuncto orbe ut nemo posterior sit. In universum aestimanti plus penes peditem roboris; eoque mixti proeliantur, apta et congruente ad equestrem pugnam velocitate peditum, quos ex omni iuventute delectos ante aciem locant. 5 Definitur et numerus; centeni ex singulis pagis sunt, idque ipsum inter suos vocantur, et quod primo numerus fuit, iam nomen et honor est. Acies per cuneos componitur. Cedere loco, dummodo rursus instes, consilii quam formidinis arbi- trantur. Corpora suorum etiam in dubiis proeliis referunt. 10 Scutum reliquisse praecipuum flagitium, nec aut sacris adesse

1. *In rectum . . . posterior sit.* They drive them straight forward, or by a continued turning towards the right in so connected a circle, that no one is behind. Tacitus may mean that the riders moved forward on the radius of a circle, in a manner corresponding to our 'wheeling;' or that the riders followed one another so closely that the ring once formed may be said to have neither beginning nor end, and hence no one was behind the rest.

2, 3. *In universum aestimanti.* This use of the dative of the participle, expressing a sort of judgment or opinion in any one, and equivalent here to a protasis, *si quis aestimat*, is found elsewhere in Tacitus. Cf. *Hist.*, IV. 17; V. 11; *Ag.*, XI. The ellipsis is supplied by *venit in mentem, credibile est*, etc. A. 285; G. 354; H. 384, 4, N. 3.—*Eoque mixti proeliantur*, i. e., *equites mixti cum peditibus proeliantur*. Caesar (I. 48) gives an exact account of this mode of fighting.

6. *Centeni.* This division by hundreds was wide spread among the ancient tribes of Germany and Scandinavia.—*Idque ipsum, this very thing*, i. e., they were called 'the Hundred.' To understand this, it is to be noted that the Germans were divided into nations or tribes,—these into cantons, and these into districts or townships. The cantons (*pagi* in

Latin) were called by themselves *gauen*. The districts or townships were called *hunderts*, whence the English 'hundreds.' The Suevi are said to have had 100 of these *pagi*; the Helvetii only 4.

7. *Et quod (= id quod) primo numerus fuit, and that which was at first a mere number.*

8. *Nomen et honor* is a hendiadys.—*Per cuneos.* The *cuneus* was a body of men arranged in the form of a wedge—narrow in front and widening towards the rear; hence well adapted for breaking the lines of the enemy, as all their weapons were directed to one spot. "The plural indicates that each body formed a *cuneus* and that many *cunei* formed the *acies*." C. and S.

9. *Loco*, sc. *ex*.—*Instes*: subj. after *dummodo* implying condition.—*Consilii quam formidinis, sc. potius.* This ellipsis is not uncommon in Tacitus. Cf. *An.*, IV. 61; XIII. 6; III. 17.

10. *Corpora*, i. e., of the dead.—*In dubiis proeliis*, i. e., while the result of the battle is still doubtful.—*Referunt, they carry back*, i. e., to the rear.

11. *Scutum reliquisse (est) flagitium.* To leave the shield behind in battle was regarded by Teutonic nations, long after the age of Tacitus, as a singular disgrace. By the Sall

aut concilium inire ignominioso fas; multique superstites bellorum infamiam laqueo finierunt.

- VII. Reges ex nobilitate, duces ex virtute sumunt. Nec regibus infinita aut libera potestas, et duces exemplo potius
5. quam imperio, si prompti, si conspicui, si ante aciem agant,

law, any freeman, who accused another of having thrown his shield away, was condemned to pay a heavy fine, if unable to prove his words. In this respect these nations resembled the Greeks and Romans. The fact that *βίψασπις* was a term of bitter reproach, and the Spartan mother's laconic address to her son on issuing to battle, "Ἡ τὰν ἡ ἐπὶ τὰς, *this, or upon this*, are indications of this feeling.

1. *Ignominioso fas*, sc. est. — *Multi*, sc. *ignominioso*. — *Superstites bellorum*. The use of the gen. after *superstes* is very rare except in late Latin.

2. *Laqueo*. A feeling similar to this was displayed by a Spartan who from accidental absence escaped the carnage of the three hundred at Thermopylae. Unable to bear the disgrace of surviving he hanged himself. Herod., VII. 229. — *Finierunt*: acrostic.

CHAP. VII. 3. *Reges, Civil rulers*. It is distinctly stated in other passages that not all of the nations of Germany had kings. As the republican nations were chiefly in the western parts, they were better known by the Romans. This will explain the apparent disagreement with Caesar, who says (*B. G.*, VI. 23), *in pace nullus est communis magistratus*. — *Ex nobilitate*, according to nobility of birth. *Nobilitas* is used by several writers for the body of nobles, but here it has its usual meaning of high birth; and the monarchy is described as at once elective and hereditary. The regard paid to family in this matter is seen from the account recorded by Tacitus (*An.* XI. 16) of the wish of the Cherusci to procure a scion of their royal house from Rome.

The real fact probably was that the king was chosen from one family, or occasionally from more than one. In a rude and turbulent age, when a good deal depended on the personal character of the ruler, weak princes and minors were not likely to meet with much consideration; and, consequently, although the succession was thus limited to one family, the electors would not pay much regard to the claims of any particular member of it, thinking more of thews and sinews than of strict hereditary right. In the Saxon history, at all events, instances of the sort were not uncommon. Alfred, for instance, ascended the throne to the exclusion of the children of his elder brother. In the early periods the king was only the chief magistrate in peace. If he were warlike (*virtute*), the nation no doubt accepted him as their leader in war (*duces*); if not they chose others. — *Sumunt*. From Tacitus' account (*Hist.*, IV. 15) the usual ceremony observed on election was, to place the man on a shield, and carry him about on the shoulders of his countrymen. Gregory of Tours mentions the same custom as prevailing among the Franks. See engraving at the head of the *Germania*. — "*Nec* is correlative to *et*."

4. *Infinita potestas*. Caesar (*V. 27*) makes Ambiorix, king of the Eburones, remark that the power of the people over him was quite as great as his over the people; and this was probably as applicable to the Germans beyond the Rhine, who were not likely, with their fondness for liberty, to submit to much restraint. — *Duces*, sc. *ducunt*. — *Exemplo imperio*: abl. of means; not datives.

5. *Prompti*, sc. *sint*: also with *con-*

admiratione praesunt. Ceterum neque animadvertere neque vincire, ne verberare quidem nisi sacerdotibus permissum, non quasi in poenam nec ducis iussu, sed velut deo imperante, quem adesse bellantibus credunt; effigiesque et signa quaedam detracta lucis in proelium ferunt. Quodque 5 praecipuum fortitudinis incitamentum est, non casus nec fortuita conglobatio turmam aut cunenum 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 coniuges 10 vulnera ferunt; nec illae numerare aut exigere plagas pavent, cibosque et hortamina pugnantis gestant.

spieui. These with *agant* are subj. as giving the views of others than Tacitus.

1. *Admiratione*, by means of the admiration which they inspire.—*Animadvertere* here means to put to death. Caesar says (VI. 23), that the leaders in war have the power of life and death, but this may only mean that they have the highest judicial authority.

2. *Vincire, to put in irons.*—*Neverberare quidem.* The Roman centurion could do as much as this, and for that purpose he carried a staff of vine wood.—*Nisi sacerdotibus.* In this way the punishment would seem to be clothed with divine authority.—*Permissum*, sc. est.

3. *In poenam, for punishment.*—*Deo.* The god Thor, the German Mars, after whom Thursday was named, is meant.

4, 5. *Effigiesque et signa.* What these were is seen from Cap. XLV, '*insigne superstitionis formas aprorum gestant;*' and *Hist.* IV. 22, '*depromptae silvis lucisque ferarum imagines, ut cuique genti inire proelium mos est.*' Hence it seems that they were symbolic images, generally of wild animals, and were national standards preserved with religious care in sacred woods and groves, whence they were brought out (*detracta lucis*) when the clan was about to take the

field.—*Quodque* (= *et quod*) refers to the following clause.

7. *Conglobatio, mass of men.* A word found only in post-Augustan writers and very rare in them.—*Turmam:* cavalry.—*Cunenum:* infantry.

8. *Propinquitates, kindred,* is a word of wider extent than *familiae*. As Ritter observes, *gentes* would have been the natural word to use, if it would not have rendered the passage ambiguous from its double use for *clan* and *tribe*.—*In proximo* (loco), sc. *sunt.*—*Pignora, pledges,* i. e., whatever they hold most dear. What Tacitus refers to is explained by the immediate mention of wives and children.—*Unde* refers to *in proximo*.

9. *Audiri, sc. possit.* Some call it the historic infinitive. Ritter, however, says this infinitive is restricted to past narratives. Kritiz reads *auditur.*—*Cuique:* dat. of poss. after *sunt* understood.

10. *Testes, witnesses* of their conduct in the battle.

11. *Ferunt:* when the battle is over.—*Exigere* here seems to be used in the sense of requiring a strict reckoning or scrutinizing. The women examined the wounds to see if there were enough of them, and in the right place, in front, not behind; regarding the number of the wounds as a measure of the prowess of the men.

12. *Cibosque hortamina, food and*

VIII. Memoriae proditur quasdam acies inclinatam iam et labantes a feminis restitutas constantia precum et obiectu pectorum et monstrata cominus captivitate, quam longe impatientius feminarum suarum nomine timent, adeo, ut
 5 efficacius obligentur animi civitatum, quibus inter obsides puellae quoque nobiles imperantur. Inesse quin etiam sanctum aliquid et providum putant, nec aut consilia earum aspernantur, aut responsa negligunt. Vidimus sub divo Vespasiano Veledam, diu apud plerosque numinis loco
 10 habitam. Sed et olim Auriniam et compluris alias venerati sunt, non adulatione, nec tamquam facerent deas.

encouragement: Cf. Cap. I. 'mutuo metu et montibus separatur.'

CHAP. VIII. 1. *Quasdam acies, certain armies.*—*Inclinatas iam et labantes, already giving way and wavering.*

2. *Restitutas, sc. esse.*—*Constantia precum*, The German women appear to have been useful occasionally in another way. In Marius' battle with the Teutones at *Aquae Sextiae* they seem to have been nearly as hard to beat as their husbands; after these last were disposed of, the wives killed the fugitive soldiers, and with swords and axes gave the Romans considerable trouble before they were got rid of. Plut. *Marius*, XIX.—*Obiectu pectorum, by presenting to them their breasts*, begging death in preference to captivity, which they judged to be close at hand (*cominus*). Cf. Caes. *B. G.* I. 56. Some, however, refer it to the perils of the battle.

4. *Nomine, "on the score of."* Cf. *Hist.* I. 29; Horace *III.* 21, 5.—*Adeo, ut, in so much that.*

5. *Quibus*: Ind. obj. of disadvantage.—*Obsides puellae*. Augustus Caesar turned this peculiarity to a useful account, and insisted on the German tribes sending female hostages. (Suet. *Aug.* XVI).

6. *Inesse, sc. feminis.*—*Quin etiam, moreover.*

7. *Providum (= pro + video), pres-*

cient, prophetic.—*Consilia, advice offered when unasked.*

8. *Responsa, answers* given when consulted.—*Vidimus*. This does not absolutely prove that Tacitus ever was in Germany, or that Veleda was brought to Rome; but simply shows that he and his contemporaries had by some means knowledge of this case of Veleda.—*Divo, now deified*. A stock epithet for deceased Roman emperors.

9. *Veledam, Veleda*, the prophetess, (*Hist.* IV. 61) belonged to the Bructeri, and dwelt near the Lippe. She encouraged the revolt of the Batavian chief, Civilis, and was eventually taken prisoner by the Romans under Rutilius Gallicus.—*Plerosque, i. e., of the Germans.*

10. *Habitam, sc. esse.*—*Olim, heretofore.*—*Auriniam*. One is inclined to think Tacitus made a proper name out of a term applied to a whole class, and that this represents the 'Arunae' as the Goths termed their inspired women.—*Compluris aliis*. An oracular maiden, Ganna, mentioned by Dion Cassius, and a Chathan prophetess are said by Suetonius to have uttered predictions to Vitellius.

11. *Adulatione, from servile adulation* to the royal family.—*Facerent, sc. eas*. In this remark Tacitus obliquely censures the folly of the

IX. Deorum maxime Mercurium colunt, cui certis diebus humanis quoque hostiis litare fas habent. Herculem ac Martem concessis animalibus placant. Pars Suevorum et Isidi sacrificat; unde causa et origo peregrino sacro parum

Romans in deifying the female members of the imperial family. Nero's infant daughter had divine honors paid her, and afterwards the same compliment was paid Poppaea herself. He means simply that the German tribes reverence and love women, but do not profess to believe them divine, when they really do not believe them so.

CHAP. IX. 1. *Deorum*: gen. of the whole.—*Mercurium*. Tacitus might have identified the Teutonic deities with the gods of Rome on either of two principles, similarity of name, or similarity of offices and attributes. The first of these might be subdivided again, perhaps, into similarity of name, compared to the Hellenic gods, or their usual Roman equivalents. In this particular case similarity of attributes appears to have decided the question. *Woden*, the Scandinavian *Odin*, was probably the god represented as equivalent to Mercurius. He was the inventor of magic, and all arts, the god of eloquence and supervisor of traffic, and the fourth day of the week was named after him, *Wodenstag*, our Wednesday. In these respects he coincided with Mercurius, after whom the same day was called *Dies Mercurii*, the French *Mercredi*. That the two correspond is expressly stated by the old writers. Caesar makes Mercurius the chief god of the Gauls. *Deum maxime Mercurium colunt* (VI. 17), and observes that the Germans have no deities beyond the powers of nature, the Sun, Moon, and Fire. This might be his own inference from their having no temples.—*Certis, fixed, stated*.

2. *Humanis*: emphatic. Other victims could be used on other days. It appears that human sacrifices were made to other gods than Woden.

—*Herculem*. The second great god was *Thor*, the god of strength, the wielder of the thunderbolt, who is commonly identified with Jupiter. *Dies Jovis* (in French *Jeudi*) is *Thor's-tag*, our Thursday. Some, however, identify *Thor* with Hercules, whom he resembles as regards his adventures.

3. *Martem*. Perhaps this represents the god *Tyr*, the bravest of the race, who is described in the Edda as alone venturing to put his hand into the wolf's mouth. Moreover, the old name for Tuesday, or *Dies Martis*, was *Tyrstag*, the French *Mardi*, and these facts point to the identity of the two.—*Concessis, lawfully used* as opposed to *humanis hostiis*, mentioned before. These human sacrifices were by no means entirely unknown at Rome. They were formally abolished about a century before the birth of Christ; but according to Pliny's statement, the practice was existing in his own day. In fact, instances were common throughout the world, from the belief that human life, as the most valuable of all things, must be acceptable to the gods. Among the Germans the custom seems to have occasionally taken a wholesale form. Tacitus mentions (An. XIII. 57) that in a war between the Hermunduri and Chatti, the victors devoted the entire army of the vanquished in sacrifice to the gods.

4. *Isidi*. Grimm in his *Deutsche Mythologie*, p. 188, suggests that Isis may represent a goddess *Zisa*, or *Cisa*, whose memory had survived so late as the thirteenth century, about Augsburg. If so, the name decided the identity. It seems more probable that Ritter is right, who identifies this goddess with the *Nerthus* of chap. XL; the Egyptian *Isis* and

comperi, nisi quod signum ipsum in modum liburnae figuratum docet advectam religionem. Ceterum nec cohibere parietibus deos neque in ullam humani oris speciem adsimulare ex magnitudine caelestium arbitrantur; lucos ac nemora consecrant, deorumque nominibus appellant secretum illud quod sola reverentia vident. X. Auspicia sortesque, ut qui maxime, observant. Sortium consuetudo simplex. Virgam frugiferae arbori decisam in surculos amputant, eosque notis quibusdam

Nerthus being both equivalent to *Mother Earth*, the *Terra* or *Tellus* of the Romans.—*Sacro*: dat. of poss. after *sit* understood.

1. *Nisi quod*, i. e., this only is certain, that, etc.—*Signum ipsum*, the symbol itself; *ipsum*—per se.—*Liburnae*, sc. *navis*, of a *Liburnian galley*, so called from the *Libernians*, a people of *Illyricum*, who built and navigated them. The *liburna* here, and the *vehiculum* in chap. XL., were probably the same; the ships being put on wheels, and rolled along. There is mention about A. D. 1130, of a procession formed by the people of the Lower Rhine, in which a ship was put on wheels, and rolled from *Tongres* to *Louvain*. It seems also, that early in *March*, on the opening of navigation, a boat was offered to *Isis* at *Rome*; and *Pelagia* was one of her *Greek* surnames. This coincidence of the boat very likely determined the identity of the twogoddesses in *Tacitus'* view.

2. *Advectam*, sc. *esse*.—*Nec cohibere parietibus*, etc. *Tacitus* elsewhere mentions temples. For instance, in *An. I. 51*, he speaks of *templum Tamfanae*, among the *Marsi*; in chap. XL. *templum Nerthi*; but he probably means by it a sacred enclosure, or grove (*templum* from *τέμνω*, cut off, set apart).

3. *In ullam humani oris speciem adsimulare*, "to liken them to any appearance of humanity."—*Exsecundum*, in accordance with.

4. *Lucos ac nemora*. *Lucus* is al-

ways used for a grove consecrated to the gods, and so differs from *nemus*.

5. *Secretum illud*. *Secretum* does not mean the retirement of the grove, but the abstract idea they formed in their imagination of the deity, or *mysterious being*, called by different names, but which they never embody in external form.

6. *Sola reverentia*. This would show the greater spirituality of the religion of the Germans than that of the southern nations, although both were Pagan. With the whole of this account of the German religion compare *Hist. V. 5*, where, in his account of the Jews he says, *Judaei mente sola, unumque numen intelligunt: profanos qui deum imagines mortalibus materiis in species hominum effingant. Igitur nulla simulacra . . . templis simul.*

CHAP. X. 6. *Auspicia* (*avis + spicio*) is properly divination by observing birds.—*Sortes* is divination by drawing lots.—*Ut qui maxime, observant*. The full sentence would be, *observant, ut ii observant, qui maxime observant.*

7. *Consuetudo*, sc. *est*, the usual method of taking.—*Virgam*, etc. Some thing like this is mentioned by *Herodotus* (IV. 67) as practised by the *Scythians*. The *Alani* too are said to have collected bundles of twigs, and letting them fall with incantations, from the position they took to have divined the future.

8. *Arbori*: dat. after *de* in composition.

discretos super candidam vestem temere ac fortuito spargunt; mox, si publice consultetur, sacerdos civitatis, sin privatim, ipse pater familiae precatus deos caelumque suspiciens ter singulos tollit, sublato secundum impressam ante notam interpretatur. Si prohibuerunt, nulla de eadem re in eundem diem consultatio; 5 sin permissum, auspicio adhuc fides exigitur. Et illud quidem etiam hic notum, avium voces volatusque interrogare; proprium gentis equorum quoque praesagia ac monitus experiri. Publice aluntur iisdem nemoribus ac lucis candidi et nullo mortali opere contacti; quos pressos sacro curru 10 sacerdos ac rex vel princeps civitatis comitantur, hinnitusque ac fremitus observant. Nec ulli auspicio maior fides non

1. *Discretos, distinguished.* According to some the marks were in Runic characters, but the knowledge of these symbols was probably confined to the priests, and this species of divination seems to have been performed by the head of the family as often as not, who would know nothing whatever of these Runes. — *Temere ac fortuito.* One does not see any great difference between these words; but the former means *at random, without any care* on the part of the diviner; and the latter, that the twigs fall *just as it happens.* There might be a given way to throw them, and yet it might be done *temere*; but one way was as good as another, and this made it done *fortuito.*

2, 3. *Publice, on behalf of the state.* — *Ter singulos, sc. surculos.* This would naturally mean *he takes them up one by one thrice*; but it seems here to mean rather, *he takes up single twigs three times in succession.* It is not easy to see how there could be any divination at all by the first interpretation, unless indeed some account were taken of the order in which the marks, favorable or unfavorable, were taken up. As Orellius observes, by the latter interpretation there were four possible combinations, all favorable, all unfavorable, two good and one bad, or two bad and one

good. Cf. Caes. I. 53; Tibull. I. 3, 10.

5. *Prohibuerunt, sc. surculi, i. e., sortes, i. e., divi.* — *Consultatio, sc. est.*

6. *Sin permissum, sc. est.* Note the change of voice, a change common in Tacitus. *Sin*, thus used in antithesis with *si*, always takes the same construction. — *Adhuc=praeterea.* The word in this sense is found in the later writers only. — *Fides exigitur, "confirmation is required."* i. e., sanction by auspices. — *Illud, that other custom, known in Greece and Rome.*

7. *Etiam hic, even here in Germania.* — *Notum, sc. est.*

8. *Proprium, sc. est.* This is not strictly true, as the same practice prevailed among the Persians. Cf. Herod. III. 85; I. 189; VII. 55; Justin I. 10. — *Gentis, sc. Germanicae:* pred. genitive. A. 218, d; G. 356, R. 1; H. 390, III.

9. *Iisdem nemoribus, sc. in.* Cf. cap. IX.

10. *Mortali = hominum.* — *Contacti, defiled.* — *Pressos (harnessed to, lit., pressed by)* is more poetical than *iunctos*, the usual word, would be. — *Sacro;* because used in the sacred rites.

11. *Princeps* probably refers to the head of the *pagus*, or hundred.

12. *Ulli auspicio, other kind of augury.* — *Fides, credil.*

solum apud plebem sed apud proceres, apud sacerdotes; se enim ministros deorum, illos conscios putant. Est et alia observatio auspiciorum, qua gravium bellorum eventus explorant. Eius gentis, cum qua bellum est, captivum quoquo
5 modo interceptum cum electo popularium suorum, patriis quemque armis, committunt; victoria huius vel illius pro praeiudicio accipitur.

XI. De minoribus rebus principes consultant, de maioribus omnes, ita tamen ut ea quoque, quorum penes plebem
10 arbitrium est, apud principes pertractentur. Coeunt, nisi quid fortuitum et subitum incidit, certis diebus, cum aut incohatur luna aut impletur; nam agendis rebus hoc auspi-

2. *Ministros deorum*, i. e., during the ceremony.—*Illos*, i. e., *equos*.—*Conscios*, sc. *deorum*. Tibullus (l. 9. 3) speaks of the victims' entrails as *conscia fibra deorum*.

3. *Observatio*, manner of taking.

5. *Patriis armis*, sc. *cum*, with the arms of his own country.

6. *Committunt* is used for matching two combatants together. Something not unlike the practice existed among the Scotch clans formerly. Before the battle of Tippermuir, Montrose's Highlanders are said to have murdered a herdsman, in order to secure the advantage of drawing the first blood, and Montesquieu finds in it the origin of the duel, and of knight-errantry.

7. *Præiudicio* = *præ* + *iudicio*, a means of judging beforehand.

CHAP. XI. 8. *Principes* is derived from *primus* and *capio*, hence, *princes*. Their functions seem to have been those of magistrates exercising judicial duties, and collectively they formed a governing board and by their own authority administered all trifling affairs; the more important matters being left to the council (*concilium*).

9. *Ita tamen ut*, "in such a way, however, that." C.—*Quorum penes plebem arbitrium est*, the decision of

which rests with the people. All important questions, of peace and war, for instance, of capital punishment, election of *principes*, etc., came before the *concilium*, the *ge-môt*, or *folc-môt*, where every member of the tribe (*plebs*), other than the *servi* or *liberti*, had a voice in the deliberations.

10. *Pertractentur*, are thoroughly discussed. Note the intensive force of *per*.—*Nisi* refers to *certis diebus*.

11. *Fortuitum et subitum*. The first word implies the occurrence of any event unexpectedly happening; *subitum*, that the event was an urgent one, requiring instant discussion.—*Certis*, fixed, set.

12. *Luna*: contracted from *lucina*, from *luceo*.—*Impletur*, is filling. This does not imply that they came every new moon, but on fixed ones only.—*Agendis rebus*: dat. of purpose.—*Hoc auspiciatissimum initium*. Ariovistus would not fight before the new moon because he was forbidden by his prophetesses. (Caes. I. 50). The Greeks were equally superstitious in this respect. On the first invasion of Greece by the Persians, the Spartans, when urgent appeals were sent by the Athenians, could not march at once, because it was only the ninth day of the moon, and they could not march until the full moon.

catissimum initium credunt. Nec dierum numerum, ut nos, sed noctium computant; sic constituunt, sic condicunt; non ducere diem videtur. Illud ex libertate vitium, quod non simul nec ut iussi conveniunt, sed et alter et tertius dies cunctatione coeuntium absunitur. Ut turbæ placuit, consi- 5 dunt armati. Silentium per sacerdotes, quibus tum et coercedi ius est, imperatur. Mox rex vel princeps, prout aetas cuique, prout nobilitas, prout decus bellorum, prout facundia est, audiuntur, auctoritate suadendi magisquam iubendi potestate. Si displicuit sententia, fremitu aspernantur; sin placuit, 10 frameas concutiunt. Honoratissimum assensus genus est armis laudare. XII. Licet apud concilium accusare quoque et discrimen capitis intendere. Distinctio poenarum ex delicto.

1. *Nec dierum.* Caesar (VI. 18) mentions the same custom among the Gauls; and gives their reason—a curious one—for it, viz., that they were the progeny of the infernal Dis: ‘*Ob eam causam spatia omnis temporis non numero dierum, sed noctium fiunt; dies natales et mensium et annorum initia sic observant ut noctem dies subsequatur.*’ Our expressions *se’nnight*, *fortnight*, seem remnants of this custom. Vid. *Gen.*, I. 5, and *Levit.* XXIII. 32, showing the antiquity of this mode of reckoning.

2. *Constituunt*, establish, make appointments; *condicunt*, proclaim, make agreements. Instead of fixing such and such a day, they fix such and such a night. The *con* implies unanimity. The words are legal terms.

3. *Ducere*, precede, lead, go-before. — *Illud* (sc. *est*) refers to what follows. — *Ex libertate*, sc. *ortum*.

4. *Simul nec ut iussi*, at once, nor when ordered to come. — *Alter = secundus*.

5. *Cunctatione.* It is evident from the context (*ex libertate vitium*) that this delay was not intentional, but arose simply from negligence, because there was no one to compel them. — *Ut = simul ac*, as soon as.

That this refers to the time of commencing the session, and not to their sitting in arms, is evident from cap. XIII, and from *frameas concutiunt* at the end of this section.

6. *Tum*, i. e., when they are in their seats. — *Et = etiam*. — *Coercedi ius est*. Cf. cap. VII.

7, 8. *Prout* refers to the influence they possess, and not to the order of speaking. — *Cuique*: dat. of poss. after *est* understood.

9. *Auctoritate*, on account of their weight of influence in advising.

10. *Displicuit*, sc. *is*.

11. *Frameas concutiunt*. Cf. *Hist.* V. 17; and for a similar custom among the Gauls, compare Caesar, VII. 21. — *Honoratissimum*, most complimentary.

CHAP. XII. 12. *Licet* shows that to hear charges was not the principal power of this body. — *Quoque*, i. e., in addition to the legislative functions just mentioned. — *Discrimen capitis intendere*, to impeach for capital crimes, lit., to aim (at one) the peril of (his) head. The metaphor seems to be that of stretching a bow to aim at any one; *intendere arcum*, *sagittas*, etc., being common phrases.

13. *Ex delicto*, according to the nature of the crime.

Proditores et transfugas arboribus suspendunt; ignavos et imbelles et corpore infames caeno ac palude, iniecta insuper crate, mergunt. Diversitas supplicii illuc respicit, tamquam scelera ostendi oporteat dum puniuntur, flagitia abscondi. Sed et levioribus delictis pro modo poena. Equorum pecorumque numero convicti multantur; pars multae regi vel civitati, pars ipsi, qui vindicatur, vel propinquis eius exsolvitur. Eliguntur in iisdem conciliis et principes, qui iura per pagos vicosque red-

1. *Suspendunt*, i. e., they are gibbeted alive. Heavy penalties were denounced against those who should take them down, alive or dead.—*Ignavos*: those who show fear in battle; *imbelles*: those who decline military service; *corpore infames*: the incestuous.

2. *Caeno ac palude*: a hendiadys for *caenosa palude*.—*Insuper* = *superne*.—*Crates*. It is probable that heavy stones were placed on the hurdle.

3. *Diversitas* is a post-Augustan word.—*Supplicii*. The original idea of this word was that of a kneeling posture, assumed for the purpose of entreaty, derived from *sub + plico*. It is used subsequently for any occasion where this attitude would be required, as a thanksgiving for victory (Sal. Jug. 55), although *supplicatio* is the usual form in this sense. It is also said by Festus to designate the *caduceus* or staff, wreathed round with fillets, borne by messengers sent to negotiate peace. (Sal. Jug. 46.) Then, either because the punishment of criminals was either an act of solemn worship and dedication to the infernal gods, or from the posture of the malefactor while undergoing his sentence, it came to bear its usual meaning of punishment.—*Illuc respicit*, has this end in view.—*Scelera*, crimes against society. This proves a high stage of political conception; offences against the state being the *only* ones punished by death.

4. *Flagitia*, disgraceful vices; gen-

erally in the way of profligacy or dissoluteness.—*Abscondi*. This secret punishment was not unknown to the Romans.—*Levioribus delictis*: dat. of the poss. after *est* understood. Theseslighter offences were adultery, homicide, theft, etc.

5. "*Pro modo*, according to the measure of the offence."—*Numero*: (sc. aliquo) abl. of the fine after *multantur*. A. 220, b; G. 377, R. 1; H. 410, III.

6. *Pars multae*. *Multa* properly implies a fine of money or cattle, raised at the discretion of the imposer. The part of this fine (*wehrgild*) paid to the king, as the guardian of peace (one-third of the whole), was called *fredum*, or peace-offering; the penal sum paid to the injured party was termed *faidus*.

7. *Qui vindicatur*, i. e., the plaintiff.—*Propinquis eius*: as in case of homicide, when the injured party is represented by others.

8. *Qui iura per pagos vicosque reddunt*, who administer justice throughout the districts and villages. In their civil economy, "the Germans were divided into nations; of which some were under a regal government, others under a republican. The former had kings, the latter chiefs. Both in kingdoms and republics, military affairs were under the conduct of generals. The nations were divided into cantons; each of which was superintended by a chief, or count, who administered justice in it. The cantons were divided into districts or hundreds, so called because they contained a hundred

dunt. Centeni singulis ex plebe comites, consilium simul et auctoritas, adsunt.

XIII. Nihil autem neque publicae neque privatae rei nisi armati agunt. Sed arma sumere non ante cuiquam moris quam civitas suffecturum probaverit. Tum in ipso concilio 5 vel principum aliquis vel pater vel propinquus scuto frameaque iuvenem ornant. Haec apud illos toga, hic primus iuventutis honos; ante hoc domus pars videntur, mox reipublicae. Insignis nobilitas aut magna patrum merita

townships. In each hundred was a companion, or centenary, chosen from the people, before whom all causes were tried. Before the count, all causes, as well great as small, were amenable. The centenaries are called companions by Tacitus after the custom of the Romans; among whom the titles of honor were, *Caesar*, the *Legatus* or Lieutenant of *Caesar*, and his *comites* or companions."

1. *Consilium simul et auctoritas*, at the same time his advisers and (supporters of his) authority. *Consilium* is used with reference to the Roman usage in judicial inquiries. In the *quaestiones perpetuae* one of the praetors presided; but the actual verdict was given by a body of *iudices*, who were termed his *consilium*. Cf. Cic. *ad Att.* I. 16. 'Ut quaeque ad consilium primis postulationibus referebantur.'

CHAP. XIII. 3. *Rei*: gen. of the whole after *nihil*.—*Nisi armati*. Even judges were armed when on the bench. The Romans, on the contrary, never carried arms except in time of war, or on a journey; in fact, it was expressly forbidden, among other acts of violence, by the *Lex Plotia*. In Sall., *Cat.* XXVII., that Cataline was seen in the city with a sword is given as a symptom of the approaching outbreak. Cf. Caes., V. 56; Thucyd., I. 6. The practice is still kept up by the Swiss.

4. *Non ante cuiquam moris*, sc.

est, it is no part of their custom for any one. This is a favorite expression of Tacitus. Cf. *Ag.* XXXIX. and XLII; *Hist.* I. 15; *An.* I. 56. It is a form adopted by the writers of the silver age, instead of the other terms *mos est*, *in more est*, etc., used by the Augustan writers.

5. *Suffecturum* (esse), sc. *eum arma sumere*.—*Probaverit* (subj. of limit after *ante-quam*. A. 327; G. 579; H. 520, I. 2), implies that some sort of examination was required of the young man.

6. *Principum*: gen. of the whole after *aliquis*.—*Scuto frameaque iuvenem ornant*. We see here the rudiments of the famous institution of chivalry, when the knight at the outset of his career had his armor braced on, and the sword and spear placed in his hands, and he rode about brandishing them.

7. *Ornant* after the disjunctive *vel* is peculiar, but the construction is not unfrequent in Tacitus and in other writers.—*Haec* (i. e., *arma*) *apud illos toga*, sc. *est*. This refers to the assumption of the *toga virilis* by the Roman youths on arriving at the age of manhood; of which custom this investiture in armor takes the place.

8. *Honos, honor* bestowed by the state.—*Mox reipublicae*. The power of the father over the child ended with this ceremony.

9. *Insignis nobilitas, high birth*.—*Merita, services*.

principis dignationem etiam adolescentulis adsignant; ceteris robustioribus ac iam pridem probatis aggregantur, nec rubor inter comites aspicitur. Gradus quin etiam ipse comitatus habet iudicio eius, quem sectantur; magna que et comitum aemulatio, quibus primus apud principem suum locus, et principum, cui plurimi et acerrimi comites. Haec dignitas, haec vires, magno semper electorum iuvenum globo circumdari; in pace decus, in bello praesidium. Nec solum in sua gente cuique, sed apud finitimas quoque civitates id nomen, ea gloria est, si numero ac virtute comitatus emineat; expectantur enim legationibus et muneribus ornantur et ipsa plerumque fama bella profligant. XIV. Cum ventum in aciem, turpe principi virtute vinci, turpe comitatu virtutem principis non adaequare. Iam vero infame in omnem vitam

1. *Dignationem, rank.* 'Office' would be *dignitatem*.

2. *Aggregantur* is here used in a reflexive sense.—*Nec rubor, sc. est illis.* Cf. Ovid. *Ars. Am.* III. 167. '*Nec rubor est emisse palam.*'

3. *Comites.* Hence it seems that these noble lads, although considered *principes* in rank, had their position among the *attendants* only. They are called *clientes* in *Ann.* I. 57; II. 45; XII. 30.—*Gradus*, "various degrees;" emphatic by position.—*Quin etiam ipse comitatus, moreover the retinue itself.* Note the anastrophe, as *quin etiam* seldom occupies the second place. A. p. 298; H. 636, V. 1.

5. *Quibus, sc. sit.*

6. *Cui, sc. sint.*—*Haec, sc. est.*

8. *Decus* (in appos. with the preceding clause) answers to *dignitas; praesidium, to vires.*

9. *Cuique, i. e., of the princes.*

10. *Si emineat, if he be distinguished:* epexegetical of *id nomen, ea gloria.*

11. *Expectantur legationibus.* This means that when embassies are sent to the state to which these illustrious chiefs belong, the ambassadors apply to them, and (*muneribus ornatur*)

make them presents, in the hope of obtaining their co-operation.

12. *Ipsa fama, by their reputation only, without coming to arms.*—*Profligant* means 'to deal a blow that sets anything tottering,' or first gives it an effective check; and *profligare bellum* is 'to break the back of a war,' as we say; so that the subsequent completion of it is an easy thing. Cf. Livy, XXI. 40; Tac., *An.*, XIV. 36; *Hist.* II. 4; Seneca, *de Benef.* VII. 15.

CHAP. XIV. 12. *Ventum; sc. est ab eis:* aoristic perf.

13. *Turpe, sc. est.*

14. *Iam vero, sc. est,* always marks the transition to an additional subject that is specially important.—*Infame . . . ac probosum.* The former implies that the act tarnished the character of any one who was guilty of it; the latter that it exposed him to the reproaches of others. This was true only with reference to the desertion of the *princeps* by the *comites*; as for the mass of the fighting men they were too independent to pay much regard to their leaders. Cf. *An.* II. 14.

ac probrosum superstitem principi suo ex acie recessisse. Illum defendere, tueri, sua quoque fortia facta gloriae eius adsignare praecipuum sacramentum est. Principes pro victoria pugnant, comites pro principe. Si civitas, in qua orti sunt, longa pace et otio torpeat, plerique nobilium adolescentium 5 petunt ultro eas nationes, quae tum bellum aliquod gerunt, quia et ingrata genti quies, et facilius inter ancipitia clarescunt, magnumque comitatum non nisi vi belloque tueare. Exigunt enim principis sui liberalitate illum bellatorem equum, illam cruentam victricemque frameam. Nam 10 epulae et quamquam incompti largi tamen apparatus pro stipendio cedunt; materia munificentiae per bella et raptus. Nec arare terram, aut exspectare annum tam facile persuaseris quam vocare hostes et vulnera mereri. Pigrum quin

1. *Superstitem principi*. Cf. chap. VI, when *superstites* is followed by the genitive *bellorum*.

2. *Defendere, tueri*. The former only implies, to ward off actual danger in battle; the latter, generally to protect his interests.

3. *Sacramentum*, "peculiar loyalty." This was strictly the oath voluntarily taken by the early Roman soldiers, not to desert, quit the ranks, etc. The word is here used to show how binding this oath, to which he refers, was among the Germans.

5. *Torpeat*. A. 307, b; G. 598; H. 511, l.

6. *Petunt ultro*. This was the same plan as that pursued by the Free Companies, and *Condottieri*, of the Middle Ages, who took service as soldiers of fortune under any prince who offered to pay for their services. — *Aliquod* is used adjectively qualifying *bellum*.

7. *Ingrata*, sc. *est*. — *Ancipitia* (*ἀμφί + caput*), dangers, arising from war.

9. *Exigunt, they expect*, as these were probably promised when the young man became one of the *comites*. Montesquien (*Esprit des Lois*, XXX. 3) justly derives from this the origin

of vassalage. At first, the prince gave to his nobles arms and provisions: as avarice advanced, money, and then lands were required, which, from *beneficia*, became at length hereditary possessions, called *fiefs*. Hence arises the feudal system. — *Illum, illam*. These words, as gestures, point to the objects mentioned as the well-known rewards of valor.

10. *Bellatorem equum* is poetical. Cf. Verg. *Georg.* II. 145.

11. *Incompti, largi tamen, although homely, yet plentiful*. — *Apparatus* refers to the appointments of the banquet, rather than to the banquet itself.

12. *Cedunt = eis dantur*. — *Materia* (sc. *est*), the funds.

13. *Arare*. The use of the infinitive after *persuaseris* is common to poetry, and to late Latin. A. 331, a; G. 546, R. 1; H. 535, IV. This statement is applicable to the *comites* only. — *Annus* is here used for the produce of the year, the harvest. Cf. *Ag. XXXI*; Lucan, III., 452.

14. *Vocare = provocare*. For this use cf. *Hist.* IV. 80. The full form of the phrase occurs in *An.* VI. 40, 'interim Orodem Pharsamane vocare ad pug-

immo et iners videtur sudore acquirere, quod possis sanguine parare.

XV. Quotiens bella non ineunt, non multum venatibus, plus per otium transiguunt, dediti somno ciboque, fortissimus
 5 quisque ac bellicosissimus nihil agens, delegata domus et penatium et agrorum cura feminis senibusque et infirmissimo cuique ex familia; ipsi hebent, mira diversitate naturae, cum iidem homines sic ament inertiam et oderint quietem. Mos est civitatibus ultro ac viritim conferre principibus vel
 10 armentorum vel frugum, quod pro honore acceptum etiam necessitatibus subvenit. Gaudent praecipue finitimarum gentium donis, quae non modo a singulis sed et publice mit-

nam. — *Mereri*, earn, deserve by valor. — *Pigrum*, "tame." — *Quin immo*, nay more. These words, commonly placed first by other writers, introduce the clause. Cf. *gradus quinticam* in chap. XIII. *Immo* always adds emphasis to the following clause, making it stronger than anything that has been previously said.

1. *Iners*, "spiritless." — *Quod = id quod.* — *Possis*: potential subj.

2. *Parare*: complementary infin.

CHAP. XV. 3. *Non multum*, sc. *temporis*. This assertion at first sight appears to contradict Caesar (VI. 21), who says that a German's life was entirely spent in hunting and war. All that Tacitus means is, that the chase was their only employment in time of peace, and took up only a small part of their time compared to the large amount they idled away. If there were really any irreconcilable discrepancy between the two authors, one would, in questions of custom, at all events, give the preference to Tacitus, much having occurred since Caesar's time to make the Germans better known. Besides Tacitus seems to be speaking here of the chiefs and their followers, just described, rather than of the Germans as a race.

4. *Per otium*. Note the enallage, which is very common in Tacitus.

Cf. XL. *per obsequium, proelitis*; Ag. IX. *virtute aut per artem*; Ag. XLI. *temeritate aut per ignaviam*. A. p. 298; H. 636, IV. *Per* with the acc. denotes more of continuance than the preceding ablative.

5. *Delegata*, transferred.

6. *Penatium*, household affairs. — *Agrorum cura feminis*, "In some portions of Germany the severest agricultural duties are still performed by women." This is the way among all savage tribes. War and the chase are the only occupations of the men; everything else is thought beneath their dignity; and the hard work falls to the lot of the women.

7. *Familia*, the family. The word properly refers to the slave-gang belonging to a family. — *Ipsi*, sc. *viri*. — *Diversitate*, contrariety.

8. *Ament*: concession. — *Oderint*: perf. with the sense of the present, as *memini* and *odi* always are. A. 143, N; G. 190, 5; H. 297, I. 2. — *Quietem = pacem*.

9. *Viritim*, individually. Here we have the beginning of taxation, afterwards made compulsory.

10. *Armentorum*, (sc. *aliquid*): gen. of the whole.

11, 12. *Necessitatibus*: especially for the public entertainments. — *Gaudent*: i. e., *principes*. — *Donis*: abl. of cause. — *Singulis*, individuals.

tuntur, electi equi, magna arma, phalerae torquesque. Iam et pecuniam accipere docuimus.

XVI. Nullas Germanorum populis urbes habitari satis notum est, ne pati quidem inter se iunctas sedes. Colunt discreti ac diversi, ut fons, ut campus, ut nemus placuit. 5 Vicos locant non in nostrum morem conexis et cohaerentibus aedificiis; suam quisque domum spatio circumdat, sive adversus casus ignis remedium, sive inscitia aedificandi. Ne caementorum quidem apud illos aut tegularum usus; materia ad omnia utuntur informi et citra speciem aut delectationem. 10

1. *Electi*, sc. *sunt*. — *Phalerae*, *torquesque*. Of these, the first (derived from *φάλαξ*) were bosses or metal plates, used as ornaments for helmets, and then attached to the harness of horses, as pendants to produce a jingling noise when the animal was at speed. *Torques* were twisted circlets of gold, worn round the neck, originally by the Persians and other nations of Northern and Western Europe.

2. *Pecuniam* is in censure of the Romans for purchasing the friendship of Ariovistus, Segestus, Malvendus, and others, and for attempting to purchase peace of the Germans. Cf. chap. XLII; *Hist.* IV., 76; Herod. VI. 7, 139.—*Accipere*, sc. *eos* as second accusative.—“*Docuimus* is obviously a satire on Roman covetousness.” The effect of such teaching may be seen in the ruin of the empire.

CHAP. XVI. 3. *Populis*: dat. of agt. — *Urbes*. Ptolemy, writing some sixty years later than Tacitus, mentions as many as seventy cities. By these he no doubt meant clusters of huts or wigwags gathered round some wood or spring, and these Tacitus himself speaks of, *An.* I. 56. But by *urbs* the Romans intended a town with fortifications, temples, etc., and of these there were of course none among the Germans, Caesar, to the contrary, notwithstanding.

4. *Pati* (sc. *eos*), although in the em-

phatic position, does not seem to have the emphasis, which appears rather to belong to the whole clause. The aversion of the Germans to cities is shown in the fact that they always destroyed them when found in conquered countries, and this manner of living in scattered habitations continued until after the time of Charlemagne.—*Inter se*, with each other: to be taken with *iunctas*.

5. *Discreti ac diversi, separate and scattered* about without streets or regard to regularity.—*Fons, campus, nemus*. Traces of this early mode of dwelling are seen in the ending of the names of many German towns and villages, which to this day end in ‘Bach’ (*brook*), ‘Born’ (*spring*), ‘Feld’ (*field*), ‘Holz’, ‘Hayn’ (*grove*), ‘Wald’ (*wood*).

6. *Conexis*, i. e., with some connecting link, as fences, hedges, etc.—*Cohaerentibus*, i. e., in actual contact.

7. *Sive . . . sive* expresses an alternative conditionally.

8. *Casus* is derived from *cado*.—*Remedium*: appos. with the preceding clause.—*Inscitia*: abl. of cause.

9. *Caementorum*, derived from *caedo*, is properly *hewn* stone; but is applied generally to any stone for building purposes.—*Tegularum* (from *tego*) denotes any material for the roof.—*Materia*, *timber*; abl. of means.

10. *Citra speciem aut delectationem*, *stopping short of beauty or attractive-*

Quaedam loca diligentius illinunt terra ita pura ac splendente, ut picturam ac lineamenta colorum imitetur. Solent et subterraneos specus aperire, eosque multo insuper fimo onerant, suffugium hiemi et receptaculum frugibus, quia rigorem
 5 frigorum eiusmodi locis molliunt, et si quando hostis advenit, aperta populatur, abdita autem et defossa aut ignorantur aut eo ipso fallunt quod quaerenda sunt.

XVII. Tegumen omnibus sagum fibula aut, si desit, spina consertum; cetera intecti totos dies iuxta focum atque ignem
 10 agunt. Locupletissimi veste distinguuntur non fluitante,

ness, i. e., not going far enough in their work to cross the line dividing plainness from beauty; not taking pains to make it handsome. The preposition *citra*, probably connected with *hic*, means *on this side of*.

1. *Quaedam loca*, i. e., the interior walls.—*Terra, ita pura ac splendente* is probably some kind of red earth, such as chalk or gypsum.

2. *Picturam*, painting in one color.—*Lineamenta*, outlines, probably refers to frescoes.

3. *Aperire*: poetical for *fodere*, to excavate.

4. *Suffugium*. Cf. *remedium* above.—*Hiemi*: dat. of disadvantage, depending on a noun, *suffugium*.

6. *Aperta*, sc. *loca*; acc.—*Populatur*, sc. *hostis* from the preceding clause.—*Abdita et defossa*, sc. *loca*; nom.—*Ignorantur*, remain unknown.

7. *Eo ipso*: abl. of cause, *from the very fact*.—*Fallunt*. *Fallo* is used here in the sense of escaping notice and is equivalent to the Greek *λανθάνει*, in which sense it is often used by Tacitus. The passage means that these subterranean caves are either altogether unknown to the enemy, or supposing the enemy to have a general idea of their locality, yet they baffle discovery, because they can only be found by rigorous search, for which the enemy lacks time and inclination. "Günther

calls attention to the multiform enallage in this sentence: 1. in number (*populatur, ignorantur, fallunt*); 2. of the active, passive, and deponent verbs; 3. in the change of cases (*aperta*, acc; *abdita* and *defossa*, nom)." Tyler.

CHAP. XVII. 8. *Tegumen*. We would here expect the dative.—*Sagum*, sc. *est*. The *sagum* was a thick cloak, covering the back and shoulders, and worn by Roman soldiers and countrymen.—*Fibula*: any artificial fastening.—*Desit*. Note the force of the present.—*Spina*. Vergil (*Aen.* III. 594), and Ovid (*Mt.* XIV. 166) use a *thorn* for the same purpose.

9. *Cetera*: acc. of specifi., i. e., of course, when in the house.—*Totos dies*: time how long.

10. *Veste* seems to mean an inner garment, distinguished from the outer cloak, which formed the sole dress of the great mass of the people, here designated by the word *sagum*. The *vestis* was the dress of the richer sort, who do not seem to have worn the *sagum* at all, judging from chap. VI. where the words *nudi aut sagulo leves* are used apparently to designate the two classes.—*Fluitante* refers to the loose, flowing garments of the southern and eastern nations; *stricta* to the close, short clothes of the northern nations.

sicut Sarmatae ac Parthi, sed stricta et singulos artus exprimente. Gerunt et ferarum pelles, proximi ripae negligenter, ultiores exquisitius, ut quibus nullus per commercia cultus. Eligunt feras et detracta velamina spargunt maculis pellibusque beluarum, quas exterior Oceanus atque ignotum mare 5 gignit. Nec alius feminis quam viris habitus, nisi quod feminae saepius lineis amictibus velantur, eosque purpura variant, partemque vestitus superioris in manicas non extendunt, nudaë brachia ac lacertos; sed et proxima pars pectoris patet. 10

XVIII. Quamquam severa illic matrimonia, nec ullam morum partem magis laudaveris. Nam prope soli barba-

1. *Sarmatae*, sc. *distinguuntur*.

2. *Proximi ripae*, sc. *Rheni*. Those of the Germans, who dwell near the Rhine, and from proximity to Gallia and the Roman traders are able to procure a more civilized dress, take less pride in their skin coverings, and are rather careless (*negligenter*) in the arrangement of them, not thinking them good enough to take much trouble about. But those in the interior (*ultiores*), being less acquainted with the Roman and Gallic wares, and having nothing better, are anxious, therefore, to make the most they can of their native materials, and hence wear them more elegantly (*exquisitius*).

3. *Ut quibus*, sc. *sil*: subj. of reason in a relative clause.—A. 320, e; G. 636; H. 517, 3, 1).—*Cultus*, kind of dress, procurable by the Germans only through commerce.

4. *Velamina = pelles*. — *Maculis pellibusque*. This means that they decorate the hides of wild beasts with spots or different colored patches made out of the skins of sea monsters. Hence, *maculis pellibusque belluarum* is put by hendiadys for *maculis pellium belluinarum*, perhaps to avoid the concurrence of genitives. T. "The practice is still continued with regard to the ermine, which is spotted with black lamb's-skin."

5. *Exterior Oceanus*; the German Ocean.—*Ignotum mare*: the Baltic.

6. *Habitus* (sc. *est*) = *vestitus*.

7. *Saepius*. The comparative implies that the men wore linen more or less.—*Eos*, i. e., *habitus*.—*Purpura*. This was not the genuine *purpura*, obtained from the *murex*, but a dye obtained from some plant.

8. *Partemque vestitus superioris = superiorem partem vestitus*. This was the fashion of the Roman tunic.

9. *Brachia ac lacertos*: acc. of specif. The *Brachium* was the portion of the arm between the hand and the elbow; *lacertus*, that from the elbow to the shoulder. The *stola*, worn by the Roman women, had sleeves.

CHAP. XVIII. 11. *Quamquam* (= *sed tamen*) refers to the words at the end of the last chapter, and is added to remove any wrong inference that might be drawn from them. The dress of the women is scanty, but it is a matter of custom only, and no proof nor cause of dissoluteness of morals, as it might be with a more refined people.

12. *Laudaveris*: potential subj. A. 311, R; G. 602; H. 486, I.—*Barbarorum*, among barbarous nations: gen. of the whole.

rorum singulis uxoribus contenti sunt, exceptis admodum paucis, qui non libidine sed ob nobilitatem plurimis nuptiis ambiuntur. Dotem non uxor marito, sed uxori maritus offert. Intersunt parentes et propinqui, ac munera probant, munera non ad delicias muliebres quaesita, nec quibus nova nupta comatur, sed boves et frenatum equum

1. *Singulis uxoribus, with one wife each.* Note the force of the distributive.

2. *Qui . . . ambiuntur, who take many wives, not from lust, but on account of their nobility (rank) are solicited by very many offers of marriage.* In support of this interpretation, vid. *An. II.*, 43; *Caesar, B. G. I.*, 53. The Scandinavian nations retained the same custom, even long after they were Christianized, and few habits proved harder for the clergy to weed out from the people than this, the practice lingering on as late as the tenth century.

3. *Dotem, etc.* Tacitus is contrasting here the German custom with that of his own countrymen at Rome; but in truth the difference seems one not so much of different nations as between the same nation in different stages of civilization. When *Medea* (v. 232) remarks that the destined bride had to buy her spouse with a vast sum of money, the Scholiast observes that *Euripides* was transferring to heroic times the usage of his own day. In most nations, in the early period, the bridegroom appears to have paid for his wife. In patriarchal days, *Shechem* offered to *Dinah's* father and brethren as much dowry as they required, on condition of their giving him the damsel to wife (*Gen. XXXIV. 12*). *Homer* attests the existence of the custom in early Greece, speaking of a hundred beeves, and a thousand sheep and goats, as the price. The laws of the early Saxons recognize the continuance of the same practice. As civilization advances, however, and the *onera matrimonii* become more sensibly felt,

this custom disappears, and is replaced by the opposite; a change which, in the eyes of the Greek and Roman satirists, at least wrought no great amount of good, to judge from their complaints of the pride and waywardness of largely-dowered dames.

4. *Intersunt, are present and take part.*—*Probant, i. e.*, examine into their sufficiency.—Note the force added to the narration by the repetition of *munera*.

5. *Non ad delicias muliebres quaesita, not adapted to delight the fastidious tastes of women.*



DRESSING A ROMAN BRIDE.

6. *Comatur: subj. of purpose, after nec quibus = nec talia ut vis.* A. 317; G. 632; H. 497, I.

et scutum cum frænea gladioque. In hæc munera uxor accipitur, atque invicem ipsa armorum aliquid viro affert; hoc maximum vinculum, hæc arcana sacra, hos coniugales deos arbitrantur. Ne se mulier extra virtutum cogitationes 5
 extraque bellorum casus putet, ipsis incipientis matrimonii auspiciis admonetur venire se laborum periculorumque sociam, idem in pace, idem in proelio passuram ausuramque. Hoc iuncti 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 10
 nepotes referant. XIX. Ergo sæpta pudicitia agunt, nullis spectaculorum inlecebris, nullis conviviorum irritationibus corruptæ. Litterarum secreta viri pariter ac feminae ignorant. Paucissima in tam numerosa gente adulteria, quorum

1. *In hæc munera* = ἐπὶ τούτοις τοῖς δαφοῖς, *In consideration of these gifts.* *In* may however mean *into*: the future husband parts with the articles given, and fills up the gap made in his possessions by taking a wife.

3. *Hæc arcana sacra.* Probably Tacitus has in view here the marriage by *confarreatio*, in which the *pans farreus* was used, and certain religious ceremonies observed. As this was the most solemn method of contracting marriages in use among the Romans, Tacitus probably refers to it. — *Coniugales deos.* Jupiter, Juno, Diana, Venus, Hymenæus, etc., presided over marriages at Rome.

4. *Extra, excused from, for positum extra.*

5. *Putet*: subj. of purpose.

7. *Idem*, sc. "quod vir suus vel patitur vel audet." — *Passuram ausuramque*: fut. part. denoting purpose.

8. *Denuntiant, denote.*

9. *Vivendum*, sc. *esse sibi.* This and the following infinitives depend on *denuntiant.* — *Accipere se*, sc. *ea* referring to the gifts.

10. *Reddat*: subj. of purpose, after *quæ = ut ea.* — *Accipiant*, i. e., from her sons, as she did from her husband.

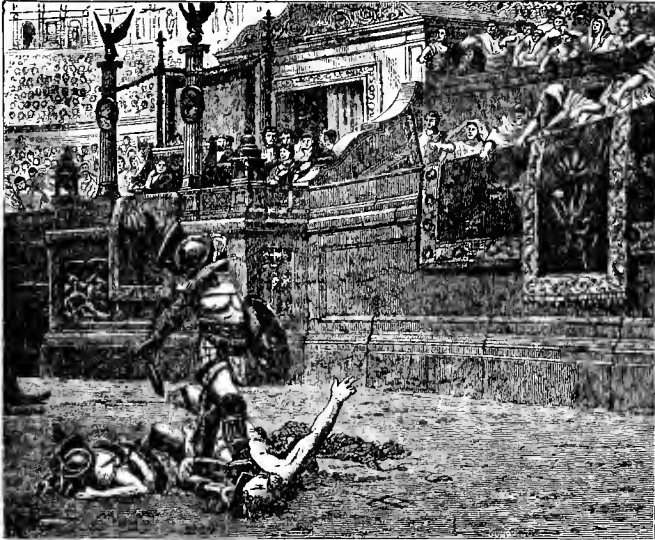
11. *Referant*, sc. *illæ*, i. e., *nurus.*

CHAP. XIX. 11. *Sæpta pudicitia*, with their chastity guarded, from all that could assail it externally, by the sacredness of marriage, and the laws of the Germans. One MS. has *septæ*, which implies that they were protected from harm by their own purity.

12. *Nullis spectaculorum inlecebris.* The corrupting effect on the morality of the Roman ladies produced by the games and theatres, is often mentioned by the Roman writers, Juvenal for instance, XI. 162, etc. Seneca, too, describes himself as returning home from the show, a worse man than he went ("Nihil vero est tam damnosum bonis moribus quam in aliquo spectaculo desiderare; avarior redeo, ambitiosior, luxuriosior"). — *Conviviorum.* On the corrupting influences of convivial entertainments, Vid. Hor. Od. III. 6. 27; Nepos Pref.

13. *Litterarum secreta* = *litteras secretas, clandestine correspondence*, as is evident from the context.

14. *Numerosa* is generally used of verse. It is probable that the population of Germany was six or seven millions, judging from the state-



SPORTS OF THE AMPHITHEATRE ("POLLICE VERSO," PAINTING BY GEROME).

poena praesens et maritis permissa. Abscis crinibus, nudatam, coram propinquis expellit domo maritus, ac per omnem vicum verberare agit. Publicatae enim pudicitiae nulla venia; non forma, non aetate, non opibus maritum invenerit. Nemo
 5 enim illic vitia ridet, nec corrumpere et corrumpi saeculum

ments of Caesar and Tacitus. — *Adulteria*. Vid. Juv. VI. 48; IX. 24: Tac. *Ann.* II. 85, on the frequency of this crime at Rome.

1. *Praesens, immediate*. — *Maritis permissa* shows that they regard it as a domestic crime. Cf. Caes. VI. 19. — *Abscis crinibus*. It was considered a disgrace, among the Germans, to cut the hair, so that it was made a punishment for certain crimes, and was resented as an injury if practiced upon an innocent person. Cf. 1. Cor. XI. 6.

2. *Omnem = totum*, cf. *Germania omnis*. Cap. I. Among the Saxons, the women themselves inflicted the punishment.

3. *Publicatae, prostituted*. This is said with reference to *unmarried* women. Tacitus (*Ann.* II. 85) tells us that the Roman ladies under the Empire were so profligate "that the Senate had to provide by law that no woman whose father or grandfather or husband was an *eques*, should give in her name to the aediles as a prostitute."

4. *Aetate = iuventate*. — *Invenerit*: subj. of guarded assertion. A. 311, R; G. 602; H. 486, I.

5. *Saeculum, the style, the spirit of the age*. For a similar use cf. Martial IX. 27: *Et cum theatri saeculoque rixaris*.

vocatur. Melius quidem adhuc eae civitates, in quibus tantum virgines nubunt, et cum spe votoque uxoris semel transigitur. Sic unum accipiunt maritum, quomodo unum corpus unamque vitam, ne ulla cogitatio ultra, ne longior cupiditas, ne tamquam maritum sed tamquam matrimonium 5 ament. Numerum liberorum finire aut quemquam ex agnatis necare flagitium habetur, plusque ibi boni mores valent quam alibi bonae leges. XX. In omni domo nudi ac sordidi in hos artus, in haec corpora, quae miramur, excrescunt. Sua quemque mater uberibus alit, nec ancillis ac nutricibus dele- 10 gantur. Dominum ac servum nullis educationis deliciis dignoscas; inter eadem pecora, in eadem humo degunt, donec

1. *Adhuc* is used in the sense of *still farther, still more*, by the later writers. Cf. Plin. XXXIII. 2; Tac. Agr. XXXIII.—*Eae civitates*, sc. *agnati*. This ellipsis is not uncommon. Cf. An. I. 43; Agr. XIX.

2. *Semel, once for all*.

3. *Transigitur, the business is concluded*. Tacitus, in this whole passage, is drawing a strong contrast between the customs of the Germans and those of Rome. Martial (VI. 7) complains that in spite of the Julian law, Telesina had married ten husbands in thirty days, but here only virgins marry; and divorce is unknown. Widows were expected to hang themselves at once at the graves of their husbands, unless they chose to live in perpetual infamy.

4. *Ultra, sc. sit, beyond this*, i. e., the first marriage.

5. *Ne tamquam . . . ament*, sc. *maritum, that they may not love a husband merely as a husband, but as they love marriage itself*. On losing their husbands, they lose marriage.

6. *Liberorum finire*, i. e., by any means contrary to nature, as murder and abortion. On the frequency of infanticide among the Romans, Vid. Ann. III. 25, 26; XV. 19; Juv. II. 32; VI. 366.—*Agnati* here means children born after there was an heir to the name and property of the father.

8. *Alibi*, i. e., at Rome. "The reference is to the *Lex Julia*, passed in the reign of Augustus, about 17 B. C., and to the *Lex Papia Poppaea*, passed A. D. 9, as a supplement to the former. These laws had for their object the regulation and encouragement of marriage; they proved however, as Tacitus tells us (*Ann.* III. 25), a failure, and simply increased the power of the *delatores*."

CHAP. XX. 8. *Nudi ac sordidi, slightly and meanly clad*.

9. *Quae miramur*. Cf. Cap. IV. *magna corpora*. Caes. I. 39.—*Sua, his own*.

10. *Uberibus* is generally used when speaking of animals.—*Nec ancillis ac nutricibus*. Tacitus is here reproving the customs of his own day at Rome. The author of the *Dialogus de Oratoribus* draws a contrast between the old Romans and their descendants in this respect: "*Iam primum suis cuique filius . . . non in cellae emptae nutricis, sed gremio ac sinu matris educabatur. At nunc natus infans delegatur Gracculae alicui ancillae, cui adiungitur unus aut alter ex omnibus servis, plerumque vilissimus nec cuiquam serio ministerio accomodatus.*"

11. *Nullis educationis deliciis, by no indulgence in the manner of rearing*.

12. *Dignoscas*: potential subj.

aetas separet ingenuos, virtus agnoscat. Sera iuvenum Venus, eoque inexhausta pubertas. Nec virgines festinantur; eadem iuventa, similis proceritas: pares validaeque miscentur, ac robora parentum liberi referunt.

- 5 Sororum filiis idem apud avunculum, qui apud patrem honor. Quidam sanctiorem arctioremque hunc nexum sanguinis arbitrantur, et in accipiendis obsidibus magis exigunt, tamquam et animum firmitus et domum latius teneant. Heredes tamen successoresque sui cuique
10 liberi, et nullum testamentum. Si liberi non sunt, proximus gradus in possessione fratres, patruī, avunculi.

1. *Aetas*. Age is said to separate the free-born, when they are found on trial to be able to bear arms. At first this age was twelve years, as appears from the Salic law: "If a child under twelve commit a fault, 'mulet' shall not be required of him." Later it was fifteen years. Thus the Ripuary laws say: "A child under fifteen shall not be responsible;" and, "If a man die, or be killed, and leave a son, before he have completed his fifteenth year, he shall neither prosecute a cause, nor be called upon to answer in a suit: but at this term, he must either answer himself or choose an advocate." This then was the term of majority, which in still later times, when heavier armor was used, was still longer delayed.—*Virtus agnoscat*, until virtue recognizes them as her own. For the subj. after *donec* see note on Cap. 1.—*Venus*—*concupitus*.

2. *Eoque*: abl. of cause.—*Pubertas*—*facultas generandi*.—*Festinantur*: poetical for *nuptiae virginum festinantur*. At Rome, however, boys of fourteen married girls of twelve.—*Eadem iuventa*, sc. est, i. e., to the young men and the maidens.

3. *Proceritas*, full growth, development of form.—*Pares validaeque miscentur*, they are wedded to young husbands, equally-matched and robust, i. e., they were equal not only in age, and constitution, but in condition.

Many German codes of law annex penalties to those of both sexes, who marry persons of inferior rank.

5. *Sorum filiis*. The respect thus paid to sisters' sons may have arisen from the estimation in which women were held among the Germans.—*Avunculum*. This was an uncle by the mother's side, as distinguished from *patruus*. Among the Romans the *patruus* was the more important person, because he was both *agnatus* and *cognatus*, while the *avunculus* was only *cognatus*; and by the law of the XII Tables, in default of a will, the *tutela* was given to *agnati* only.

8. *Exigunt*, sc. *sorum filios*.—*Domum latius*. Because to take a man's sons as hostages would bind only their father; whereas to take his nephews, would give a hold not only on the man himself, but the parents of the hostages as well.

9. *Teneant*, subj. after *tamquam* to denote the views of others than the writer.—*Heredes, heirs* to the property.—*Successoresque*, and successors to the rank.

10. *Nullum testamentum*. A will was unnecessary as the succession was determined by law.

11. *Proximus gradus*. In this matter the German custom differed from the Roman. By the Roman law (Ulpian, *Frag. Tit. XXVI. 5*), a man's

Quanto plus propinquorum, quo maior adfinium numerus, tanto gratiosior senectus; nec ulla orbitatis pretia. XXI. Suscipere tam inimicitias, seu patris, seu propinqui, quam amicitias, necesse est. Nec implacabiles durant; luitur enim etiam homicidium certo armentorum ac pecorum numero, 5
receptitque satisfactionem universa domus, utiliter in publicum, quia periculosiores sunt inimicitiae iuxta libertatem.

Convictibus et hospitibus non alia gens effusius indulget.

heirs were first his own children, grandchildren, etc., or failing them, his brothers and sisters by the same father (*consanguinei*): next, the nearest of the remaining *agnati*. Consequently the *avunculus* being *adfinis* only, and not *agnatus*, could not inherit, except of course by the express direction of a testator.

1. *Propinquorum*: blood relatives. — *Adfinium*; relations by marriage.

2. *Orbitatis pretia*. At Rome the advantages of childlessness were great; not indeed legally: for the *orbis* was subject by the *Lex Julia et Papia Poppæa* to certain penalties. From the actual state of society, however, he was regarded as a fortunate man. Cf. *Hist.* 1. 73; *Dial. de Orat.* VI. Great court was paid them by their friends, in the hope of obtaining a legacy, and they were inundated with presents, large fish, etc. Cf. *Juv.* V. 98; III. 221; etc.

CHAP. XXI. 3. *Suscipere tam inimicitias*. Such was also the custom of the Scottish clans, where feuds raged for centuries, because the son felt bound to take up his father's quarrels. Thus the Mackintosh and Macdonald clans were at feud in consequence of some dispute originating so far back as the days when Danish pirates wasted the coasts of Scotland. Similarly the Kerrs and the Scots were hereditary foes. This right was a natural outgrowth of the family, *i. e.*, developed side by side with it.

4. *Nec—sed non*. — *Durant*, *sc. inimicitiae*.

5. *Homicidium* is not found in writers of the golden age.—*Armentorum ac pecorum*. Cf. cap. V. This plan of atoning for homicide is found in many uncivilized peoples. It existed among the Greeks (*Iliad* IX. 632, *καὶ μὲν τις τε κασιγνήτοιο φονῆος ποιῆν ἢ οὐ παιδοῦ ἐδέξατο τεθνηῶτος*), Latins, Franks, Saxons, Welsh, and Irish. The amount of this payment was regulated by the station of the person killed; so much for a peasant, more for a noble, and so on. It is curious that, among the Saxons, although homicide was thus atoned for by fixed payment, certain offences, in our eyes, of less atrocity, such as stealing a horse, were made capital, probably because among a warlike and fierce people the slaughter of an adversary, carrying with it the idea of manliness and prowess, was not regarded harshly.

6. *Receptitque satisfactionem*, *i. e.*, the whole household is bound to rest contented with the payment thus made, and has no right afterwards to carry on the feud longer.

7. *Iuxta libertatem*, *i. e.*, in a free state. This use of *iuxta* for *apud* is characteristic of the writers of the silver age.

8. *Convictibus et hospitibus*. Of these words the former refers to hospitality shown to friends, the latter to strangers.—*Effusius*. Cf. *Caes.* VI. 23.

- Quemcumque mortalium arcere tecto nefas habetur; pro fortuna quisque apparatus epulis excipit. Cum defecere, qui modo hospes fuerat, monstrator hospitii et comes; proximam domum non invitati adeunt. Nec interest; pari humanitate
 5 accipiuntur. Notum ignotumque, quantum ad ius hospitii, nemo discernit. Abeunti, si quid poposcerit, concedere moris; et poscendi invicem eadem facilitas. Gaudent muneribus, sed nec data imputant nec acceptis obligantur. Victus inter hospites comis.
- 10 XXII. Statim e somno, quem plerumque in diem extrahunt, lavantur, saepius calida, ut apud quos plurimum hiems occupat. Laeti cibum capiunt; separatae singulis sedes et sua cuique mensa. Tum ad negotia nec minus saepe ad convivium procedunt armati. Diem noctemque continuare potando

1. *Nefas habetur.* A law of the Burgundians punished by a fine anyone who refused shelter to a chance visitor. This unbounded hospitality is one of the virtues of uncivilized races.—*Pro fortuna*, in accordance with his means.

2. *Apparatus, well furnished.*—*Defecere*, sc. *epulae*. This is supposed by Holtzmann to refer to the old custom of the Germans of not extending the right of hospitality beyond three days.

3. *Hospes*: here the *host*.—*Monstrator hospitii*. The man who lately supplied the feast points out a new entertainer, and accompanies his late guest there.

4. *Non invitati*, i. e., even if they are not invited.—*Nec interest*, i. e., whether they come by invitation or not.—*Pari*, as if they had been invited.

5. *Quantum ad ius hospitii*, as far as regards the rights of hospitality, i. e., the right of the guest to a hospitable reception.

7. *Moris*, sc. *est*: pred. gen.

8. *Sed nec data . . . obligantur*, but they neither make an account of the things given (by them), nor do they feel

themselves bound by the things which have been received (by them).

9. *Victus, manner of life.* This clause contrasts the behavior of the Germans toward strangers who are sharing their hospitality with their conduct when friends only are present. In the former case quietness and courtesy prevail; in the latter quarreling is sure to arise.

CHAP. XXII. 10. *E somno, on arising from sleep.*—*In diem*. This, and every other custom here noticed, was contrary to the practice of the Romans.

11. *Lavantur, wash themselves*: clearly used in a middle sense.—*Calida, sc. aqua*. Cf. Juv. V. 63; Pliny, *Epist.* III. 5; VI. 16.—*Plurimum, sc. anni*.

12. *Occupat*: subj. of the reason in a relative clause. *Ut* merely strengthens the relative.—*Singulis, cuique*, dat. of posses. *Sedes* is opposed to the *triclinia*, on which the Romans were accustomed to recline at meals.

13. *Mensa*. "Eating at separate tables is generally an indication of voracity."—*Negotia* (nec + otium), in the plural, indicates *their various pursuits*.

nulli probrum. Crebrae ut inter vinolentos rixae raro conviciis, saepius caede et vulneribus transiguntur. Sed et de reconciliandis invicem inimicis et iungendis adfinitatibus et adiscendis principibus, de pace denique ac bello plerumque in conviviis consultant, tamquam nullo magis tempore aut ad simplices cogitationes pateat animus aut ad magnas incalescat. Gens non astuta nec callida aperit adhuc secreta pectoris licentia ioci; ergo detecta et nuda omnium mens. Postera die retractatur, et salva utriusque temporis ratio est: deliberant dum fingere nesciunt, constituunt dum errare non possunt. XXIII. Potui humor ex hordeo aut frumento, in quandam similitudinem vini corruptus; proximi

1. *Nulli probrum*, sc. est. — *Ut inter vinolentos*, sc. fieri solet. — *Rixae*. *Rixa* is a *pugna duorum*, involving blows, and is more comprehensive than *iurgium*, which is a *wordy contest*.

2. *Saepius caede*. This was no doubt a common occurrence; for by the Salic law, if any one was killed at a feast, the survivors were either to pay among them the composition for homicide, or convict some one individual of the crime. — *Transiguntur*. Vid. Note on *transigitur*, cap. XIX.

3. *Invicem, mutually*. — *Iungendis adfinitatibus*, contracting family alliances.

4. *Adiscendis = eligendis*. The word, denoting properly a reception into a body of men, is here properly used, as the elections were, as we say, for life.

5. *In conviviis consultant*. Herodotus (I. 133) relates the same custom amongst the Persians.

6. *Simplices, ingenuous, undisguised*. — *Magnas, heroic ones*. The idea is, that over their cups they disclose their real sentiments, and a man's real thoughts are got at. Cf. "*In vino veritas*."

7. *Astuta, cunning*, keeping one's own interests in view, and having an eye to the main chance. — *Callida*

(derived from *callum*, the horny skin on the hand, produced by hard labor) denotes the wisdom obtained by long contact with the world, i. e., *worldly wise*. — *Adhuc, to this day*, in spite of the degeneracy of the age.

8. *Ioci, festivity*. — *Detecta et nuda*, sc. est.

9. *Retractatur*: Impersonal. *There is a reconsideration*. — *Salva utriusque temporis ratio est*, the account of both occasions is safe, i. e., by discussing when they cannot dissemble, and deciding when there is no chance of erring. The expression *salva ratio* is properly used when the debit and credit sides of an account balance one another.

CHAP. XXIII. II. *Potui humor*, sc. est *his*. Ale or beer does not seem to have been known to the Romans, except as the drink of foreign nations. The Egyptians (Herod. II. 77) used barley wine; and Pliny the elder (XIV. 22) mentions its use by the people of Northern and Western Europe.

12. *Frumento, wheat*. — *Corruptus* does not necessarily imply anything more than that an entire change had taken place in the character of the liquid. In an account left of the old method of making beer, in use among the Britons and Kelts generally, we are told that the grain is steeped in water until it germinates. It is then

ripae et vinum mercantur. Cibi simplices; agrestia poma, recens fera, aut lac concretum. Sine apparatu, sine blandimentis expellunt famem. Adversus sitim non eadem temperantia. Si indulseris ebrietati suggerendo quantum concu-
5 piscunt, haud minus facile vitiis quam armis vincuntur.

XXIV. Genus spectaculorum unum atque in omni coetu idem. Nudi iuvenes, quibus id ludicrum est, inter gladios se atque infestas frameas saltu iaciunt. Exercitatio artem paravit, ars decorem; non in quaestum tamen aut mercedem;
10 quamvis audacis lasciviae pretium est voluptas spectantium. Aleam, quod mirere, sobrii inter seria exercent tanta lucrandi

dried, and ground, and mixed with water, which is afterwards fermented, which is the rendering here.

1. *Ripae*, l. e., of the Rhine.—*Cibi*, sc. *sunt*.—*Poma*, l. e., fruits of any kind.

2. *Recens*. The Germans had no fancy for tender meat, and therefore dressed it as soon as it was killed. Vid. Pomponius Mela, III. 3; Florus, III. 3.—*Lac concretum*, curdled milk. Caesar (VI. 22) says, an important item in the food of the Germans was cheese (*caseus*). However, as Pliny (XI. 96) remarks that it was a strange thing that barbarous nations had so long remained without the knowledge of cheese, Caesar probably meant by this term, *curds of milk*.—*Apparatu*, luxurious preparation.—*Blandimentis*, dainties for coaxing the appetite.

4. *Si indulseris ebrietati*, etc. This policy has been practiced by the European nations with regard to our American Indians, some tribes of which have been almost extirpated by it.

5. *Haud minus facile* = *multo facilius* by Litotes. Tacitus could hardly intend to say that the Germans were ever easily conquered by the Romans—an assertion notoriously the reverse of true; but that their own vices proved formidable means of subjugation.

CHAP. XXIV. 6. *In omni coetu*, in every gathering.

7. *Nudi*. Vid. Note, cap. XX.—*Quibus id ludicrum est*, for whom it is a sport; not whose business it is to furnish the amusement: that would be *quorum est*. T.—*Inter gladios*. It was a common amusement among the Greeks and Romans at banquets and elsewhere to witness feats of this description. Cf. Plato, *Euthyd.* 294, E. Xen. *Symp.* II. 11.

8. *Infestas*, i. e., pointed at them.—*Artem*, skill.

9. *Decorem* is poetic.—*In quaestum*, sc. *hoc faciunt*. They do this not as a source of profit or for wages as Roman jugglers and mountebanks do.

10. *Quamvis* limits *audacis*.—*Pretium*, (sole) recompense.

11. *Mirere*: indefinite potential subj. Not so much after all to wonder at; for gaming being "an enchanting witchery gotten between idleness and avarice," is almost universally prevalent among savages, when the time unoccupied by the chase or war hangs heavily on their hands. The wonder, here considered as remarkable, was therefore "that they practiced it not merely as an amusement, at their feasts, but when sober among their ordinary every-day pursuits." Gaming at Rome, although common, was disreputable, and for-

perdendive temeritate, ut, cum omnia defecerunt, extremo ac novissimo iactu de libertate ac de corpore contendant. Vic-tus voluntariam servitutem adit; quamvis iuvenior, quamvis robustior, adligari se ac venire patitur. Ea est in re prava per-vicacia; ipsi fidem vocant. Servos condicionis huius per 5 commercia tradunt, ut se quoque pudore victoriae exsolvant. XXV. Ceteris servis non in nostrum morem, descriptis per familiam ministeriis, utuntur; suam quisque sedem, suos penates regit. Frumenti modum dominus aut pecoris aut vestis ut colono iniungit, et servus hactenus paret; cetera 10 domus officia uxor ac liberi exsequuntur. Verberare servum ac vinculis et opere coercere rarum. Occidere solent, non

bidden by the laws, except at the Saturnalia.

1, 2. *Extremo ac novissimo, last and final (throw)*. *Extremo* conveys the idea that the throw is the last in a series; *novissimo*, that it is desperate, the man having nothing farther to stake. A throw might therefore be *extremus*, and yet not *novissimus*. — *De libertate ac de corpore, their personal liberty*; by hendiadys.

3. *Voluntarium*. Cicero, and writers of his time, would here have used *ultra, ipse*, or some such word in agreement with the subject of the verb, instead of the object. — *Iuvenior*. The more common form is *iuunior*. This form is very rare.

4. *Venire, to be sold*: from *veneo*. — *Ea = tanta or talis*.

5, 6. *Fidem, honor*. — *Pudore victoriae, from the disgrace of such a victory*. In the earlier writers, *pudor* always denotes a sense of shame, *modesty*.

CHAP. XXV. 7. *Ceteris, i. e., those retained for domestic purposes*. — *In nostrum morem*. The extent of the division of duties among the Roman household slaves may be inferred from the variety of names used to designate their offices, such as *pistores, coqui, dulciarii, salmentarii, etc.* — *Descriptis, distributed*.

8. *Familiam* is the entire body of slaves owned by one master. — *Quisque, i. e., of course, each slave*.

11. *Domus* refers to the house of the master. — *Uxor ac liberi, of the master*. The great difference between the Greek and Roman slaves, and those mentioned in this chapter, consists in this, that the former were absolutely at the disposal of the master, whereas, the latter were *glebae adscripti*, attached to the soil. These serfs, it seems, had their own homes and were obliged to provide corn and cattle for consumption, or materials for the dress of their master, but in the other household duties the serf had no concern. Afterwards the Germans, imitating the Romans, began to have personal slaves.

12. *Opere, hard labor*. In this respect there was a decided contrast to the Roman treatment; for the lash was in such frequent use, that the slaves professed often to have given up caring for it; and the *lorarii* are represented as worn out with flogging to no purpose. Cf. *Plaut. Astin. Act. III. Sc. II. 29*. — *Occidere solent . . . impune*. In this respect the usage of the Germans and the Romans seems to have been the same. Under the republic the law hardly appears

disciplina et severitate, sed impetu et ira, ut inimicum, nisi quod impune est. Liberti non multum supra servos sunt. Raro aliquod momentum in domo, numquam in civitate, exceptis dumtaxat iis gentibus, quae regnantur: ibi enim et super
5 ingenuos et super nobiles ascendunt; apud ceteros impares libertini libertatis argumentum sunt.

XXVI. Faenus agitare et in usuras extendere ignotum, ideoque magis servatur quam si vetitum esset.

Agri pro numero cultorum ab universis in vices occu-
10 pantur, quos mox inter se secundum dignationem partiuntur.

to have interfered at all with the power of a master over his slave. Under the emperors, however, enactments were at different times passed to restrict the severity of punishment arbitrarily inflicted.

1. *Ut inimicum.* A "private enemy could not be slain with impunity, since a fine was affixed to 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."

3. *Momentum, influence.*—*Domo*, i. e., of their former master.

4. *Quae regnantur, which are ruled by kings.* Cf. *Hist.* I. 16; *An.* XIII., 54.—*Ibi* refers to Rome.

5. *Ingenuos, free born.*—*Nobiles, high born, nobles.*—*Ascendunt.* "The amazing height of power and insolence, to which freedmen arrived by making themselves subservient to the vices of the prince, is a striking characteristic of the reigns of some of the Roman emperors."—*Ceteros* is for *ceteras* (sc. *gentes*) by synesis.

6. *Impares libertini, the subordinate (condition of the) freedmen.* At the beginning of the sentence, Tacitus uses *Liberti*; and one expects to find some reason for the difference. Generally speaking, *libertus* designates a manumitted slave, viewed with reference to his master; while

libertinus denotes his social position. It does not seem unlikely, therefore, that when contrasted as here with *servus*, *libertus* may be used purposely. The word *servus* of necessity brings up the idea of *dominus*; and with reference to him, *libertus* would naturally suggest itself, and not *libertinus*. On the other hand when the free-born and noble are contrasted with freedmen, and no idea of a master is introduced, *libertini* would be the natural term to use.

—*Argumentum:* "because they value liberty and citizenship too highly to confer it on freedmen and slaves." Tyler.

CHAP. XXVI. 7. *Faenus agitare, To loan money at interest.*—*In usuras extendere, to put that interest on interest*, i. e., to exact compound interest.

8. The subject of *servatur* is something like *non faenerari* to be supplied. Cf. *Ann.* VI. 16; 'sane vetus urbi faenebre malum et seditionum discordiarumque creberrima causa.'

9. *Agri, the public lands.*—*Pro numero, in proportion to the number.*—*Ab universis, by whole tribes*, as distinguished from individual owners.—*In vices, by turns.*

10. *Mox, afterwards*, i. e., as soon as the allotments are made.—*Secundum dignationem*, i. e., some portions are larger, some smaller, for the *principes* and *plebs* respectively.

Facilitatem partiendi camporum spatia præstant; arva per annos mutant, et superest ager. Nec enim cum ubertate et amplitudine soli labore contendunt, ut pomaria conserant et prata separent et hortos rigent; sola terrae seges imperatur. Unde annum quoque ipsum non in totidem digerunt species: 5 hiems et ver et aestas intellectum ac vocabula habent; autumnus perinde nomen ac bona ignorantur.

XXVII. Funerum nulla ambitio; id solum observatur, ut corpora clarorum virorum certis lignis cremantur. Struem rogi nec vestibus nec odoribus cumulant; sua cuique arma, 10

1, 2. *Camporum, of the fields.* *Campus* is any level surface, whether of land or water.—*Arva. Arvum* is ploughed land. This does not imply that the occupants of the soil differ every year (*per annos*), but that what is arable one year, becomes fallow the next, and *vice versa*. This they were able to do, as there was land enough and to spare (*superest ager*).—*Nec enim . . . contendunt.* Tacitus means that they do not pretend by their labor to try to equal the fertility and extent of their land.

4. *Terrae.* *Terra* is the earth as opposed to sea and sky.

5. *Unde, i. e.,* from their not planting fruit-trees.—*In totidem species, into so many seasons, sc. quot Romani, as the Romans do.* They grow only corn; and winter, spring, and summer completing this department of husbandry, they have no name for autumn, the great time for fruit-crops. There is even now in English no word of home growth to designate this part of the year; autumn, of course, being of Latin origin.

6. *Intellectum* indicates the silver age of Latinity, "a marked characteristic of which was the growth of abstract terms." *Intellectum habent = nota sunt.*

7. *Autumni nomen.* The Germans have now all the autumnal fruits of their climate; yet their language still retains a memorial of

their ancient deficiencies, in having no term for this season of the year, but one denoting the gathering in of corn alone.—*Herbst, harvest.*—*Bona, blessings,* especially the grape and olive.

CHAP. XXVII. 8. *Ambitio, ostentatious parade.* In this respect, there was a direct contrast between the manners of the Germans, and those of the Romans and also of the Gauls as we see from Caesar (VI. 19).

9. *Certis, i. e.,* decreed by law or custom.—*Cremantur.* The Germans retained this custom until forbidden by Charlemagne under pain of capital punishment.—*Struem rogi, i. e.,* the wood heaped up to form the pile.

10. *Festibus.* Cf. Lucan IX. 175, in a description of the honors paid to Pompeius Magnus by Cornelia,—

"Collegit vestes, miserique insignia Magni,
Armaque, et impressas auro, quas gesserat olim,
Exuvias, pictasque togas; velamina summo
Ter conspecta Jovi, funestoque intulit igni."

Odoribus. Pliny says, "Intelligent persons asserted that Arable did not produce such a quantity of spices in a year as Nero burned at the obsequies of his Poppæa."—*Sua cuique arma.* This practice was long continued by the Teutonic nations. In the tombs, that have been opened, of the Frankish kings, and others, swords, spears, shields, and bones of

quorundam igni et equus adicitur. Sepulcrum caespes erigit; monumentorum arduum et operosum honorem ut gravem defunctis aspernantur. Lamenta ac lacrimas cito, dolorem et tristitiam tarde ponunt. Feminis lugere honestum est,
5 viris meminisse.

Haec in commune de omnium Germanorum origine ac moribus accepimus. Nunc singularum gentium instituta ritusque, quatenus differant, quae nationes e Germania in Gallias commigraverint, expediam.

10 XXVIII. Validiores olim Gallorum res fuisse summus auctorum divus Iulius tradit; eoque credibile est etiam Gallos

horses, with a shoe, and gold buckles and housings, have been found. The same custom still exists among our American Indians; bows, arrows, skins, domestic utensils being deposited in the graves with the dead, on the supposition of course that the deceased would follow the same occupations after death as in life. Cf. Herod. IV. 71; Caes. VI. 19, 24.

1. *Quorundam*: probably the chiefs. — *Sepulcrum caespes erigit*: poetical for *sepulcrum caespite erigitur*.

2. *Arduum et operosum*, lofty and elaborate.

4. *Ponunt*, = *deponunt*.

6. *In commune*: late Latin for *universe*.

7. *Singularum gentium instituta ritusque*. Tacitus here begins the second part of his work, a description of the localities of the several German tribes, with an account of their civil institutions (*instituta*) and religious observances (*ritus*). He does this in a certain order. In cap. XXVIII. he speaks of tribes of uncertain origin; in cap. XXIX-XXXIV., he describes those who border on the Rhine toward the West; in cap. XXXV-XXXVII., the Rhine peoples toward the North; in cap. XXXVIII-XLI., the members of the Suevic league; in cap. XLII. and XLIII., the tribes lying along the Danube; and

in cap. XLIV., and XLV., the dwellers on the shores of the Northern Ocean.

8, 9. *Quae* = *quaeque*. — *Commigraverint*: ind. quest.

CHAP. XXVIII. 10. *Summus auctorum*, the highest of authorities. Tacitus here refers to Caesar's account of Germany as found in *B. G.*, VI. 24.



CAIUS JULIUS CAESAR.

11. *Divus*. The Roman emperors on their decease were usually deified. The custom apparently began with Caius Julius Caesar (Suet. *Jul.* 88), and seems to have merged into a

in Germaniam transgressos. Quantum enim annis obstabat quominus, ut quaeque gens evaluerat, occuparet permutteretque sedes promiscuas adhuc et nulla regnorum potentia divisas? Igitur inter Hercyniam silvam Rhenumque et Moenum amnes Helvetii, ulteriora Boii, Gallica utraque 5 gens, tenuere. Manet adhuc Boihemi nomen, signatque 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; 10 quia, pari olim inopia ac libertate, eadem utriusque ripae bona malaque erant. Treveri et Nervii circa adfectionem

mere routine.—*Eoque, and on this account.*

1. *Annis*, i. e., the Rhine.

2. *Occuparet permutteretque*: subj. after *quominus*, depending on a verb of 'hindering.'

3. *Promiscuas adhuc, as yet unclaimed.*—*Et nulla regnorum potentia divisas*, i. e., not yet apportioned among different and powerful kingdoms.

4. *Igitur*, sc. *loca*, as object of *tenuere*.—*Hercyniam silvam*. Writers disagree as to the extent and situation of this forest, but when the mountains of Germany were well known by the Romans, the name was applied to the range of mountains extending around Bohemia, and through Moravia and Hungary.

5. *Moenum, the Main.*—*Helvetii*. The locality here assigned to the Helvetii would nearly coincide with the duchy of Baden. If the Helvetians ever were in this place, the Germans must have driven them back; for in Caesar's time they were west of the Rhine, between it and the Jura.—*Uteriora*, sc. *loca, the district beyond*.

6. *Boihemi*. This name means "home of the Boii;" 'hem' being the 'heim' in Mannheim, and the 'ham' of English towns.

7. *Memoriam, tradition.*—*Quamvis mutatis cultoribus*. The Boii,

having been driven from *Boihemum* in the time of Augustus, retired to *Noricum*, which from them was called *Boioaria*, now *Bavaria*.

8. *Aravisci*. This people were situated in the north-east corner of Pannonia.—*Ab Osis*. The Osi were east of Moravia.—*Germanorum natione*. This statement here is a geographical, not an ethnological one, as in cap. XLIII. Tacitus says that the Osi were proved by their Pannonian language not to be Germans, therefore the description here given of their being a nation of Germans only implies that their position was in a country mainly occupied by Germans.

10, 11. *Utantur*: subj. after *cum, since*.—*Olim*, i. e., before their migration took place.—*Utriusque ripae*, i. e., of the Danube, the Aravisci living on the right bank, the Osi, on the left.

12. *Treveri*. As Tacitus below speaks of certain tribes as unequivocally German, it seems a fair inference that, in his opinion, the Teutonic origin of the Treveri and Nervii was doubtful. Besides St. Jerome distinctly asserts the language of the Galatae of Phrygia to be the same as that of the Treveri. This people lived on the banks of the Moselle in Belgian Gaul. Their chief town was made a Roman colony by Augustus,

Germanicae originis ultro ambitiosi sunt, tamquam per hanc gloriam sanguinis a similitudine et inertia Gallorum separentur. Ipsam Rheni ripam haud dubie Germanorum populi colunt, Vangiones, Triboci, Nemetes. Ne Ubii quidem, 5 quamquam Romana colonia esse meruerint ac libentius Agrippinenses conditoris sui nomine vocentur, origine erubescunt, transgressi olim et experimento fidei super ipsam Rheni ripam collocati, ut arcerent, non ut custodirentur.

XXIX. Omnium harum gentium virtute praecipui Batavi 10 non multum ex ripa sed insulam Rheni amnis colunt, Chat-

and was called *Augusta Treverorum*, now *Treves*.—*Nervii*. A powerful people of Belgian Gaul whose territory extended from the River Sabis to the ocean, and part of which was covered by the *Silva Arduenna*. According to Appian they were descended from the Cimbrici. If so, this would be an argument in favor of their Celtic, rather than Germanic origin.—*Civica*, in respect to. "This meaning and use of the word is post Augustan."—*Adfectionem*, eager desire.

1, 2. *Utro*, very, really, actually. —*Separentur*: in a middle sense.

3. *Haud dubie* = *haud dubii*, and limits *Germanorum populi*.

4. *Vangiones, Triboci, Nemetes*. Their chief towns are now respectively *Worms, Strasburg and Spire*.—*Ubii*. The Ubii in Caesar's time were east of the Rhine; but (*An. XII. 27*) in the reign of Augustus were transported across the river, to escape from the hostilities of the Chatti, under the protection of Vipsanius Agrippa, from whom, according to this passage, they were called *Agrippinenses*. Generally however the foundation of the colony is ascribed to Agrippina, daughter of Caesar Germanicus, and wife of Claudius. The old town called *Colonia Agrippina* is now *Cologne*.

5. *Meruerint*, earned by their long and faithful services to the Romans. The subj. is after *quamquam* which

in late Latin changes parts with *quamvis*.

7. *Experimento fidei*, i. e., in consequence of their tried fidelity.

8. *Arcerent*, sc. their own countrymen and prevent them from crossing over into the Roman territories.

CHAP. XXIX. 9. *Gentium*: gen. of whole after *praecipui*.—*Virtute*, i. e., in war.—*Batavi*. Traces of the name still remain in *Betuwe*, the district between the Rhine, Waal, and Meuse. They were a Celtic people, and were for a long time allies of the Romans in their wars against the Germans, but at length, exasperated by the oppression of the Roman officers, they rose in revolt in A. D. 69, and were with great difficulty subdued. Their chief town was *Lugdunum*, now *Leyden*.

10. *Non multum ex ripa*, i. e., over and above the island they occupied a portion of the bank of the Rhine, outside the island altogether.—*Insulam Rheni*. Tacitus (*An. II. 6*) places the Batavi in the island between the main branch of the Rhine, where it divides at Burgenatium, the Vahallis (*Waal*), and the Mosa (*Meuse*) after the Vahallis flows into it. The island is bounded on the west by the sea.—*Chattorum*. Some think that the name *Batavi* is a corrupted form of *Chatti*. This migration of the Chatti is mentioned by no other writer. Vid. *Hist. IV. 12*.

torum quondam populus et seditione domestica in eas sedes transgressus, in quibus pars Romani imperii fierent. Manet honos et antiquae societatis insigne. Nam nec tributis contempnuntur, nec publicanus atterit; exempti oneribus et collationibus, et tantum in usum proeliorum sepositi, velut tela 5 atque arma, bellis reservantur. Est in eodem obsequio et Mattiacorum gens; protulit enim magnitudo populi Romani ultra Rhenum utraque veteres terminos imperii reverentiam. Ita sede finibusque in sua ripa, mente animoque nobiscum agunt, cetera similes Batavis, nisi quod ipso adhuc terrae suae 10 solo et caelo acrius animantur.

1, 2. *Seditione*: abl. of cause.—*Transgressus*. Caesar (IV. 10) found them in their new territory.—*Fierent*: subj. of result after *in quibus*—*ut in his*.

3. *Societatis* alludes to their being allies of Rome.—*Insigne, badge*, seems only to refer to the exemptions from tribute mentioned directly afterwards, and to have no reference to hands of silver joined together, described in *Hist.* I. 54.—*Tributis*. *Tributum* was originally the direct tax levied on Roman citizens according to the value of their property, real or personal: this was afterwards remitted, so far as they were concerned, but imposed on the provinces. There, every subject possessing land paid a tax of ten per cent. on the annual produce in grain, and five per cent. on that in wine, fruits, etc.; while those who had no land paid on their personal property. If these imposts were paid in kind, the provincials were *vectigales*; if a money contribution was made, they were termed *stipendiarii*. From these taxes the Batavi were free, being not only exempt from *onera*, fixed imposts, but from *collationes*, extraordinary charges, either voluntary, like the English benevolences, or forced.

4. *Publicanus, the farmer of the revenue*. The revenues which Rome derived from conquered countries,

consisting chiefly of tolls, tithes, harbor duties, the tax paid for the use of mines and salt works, were let out, or, as the Romans expressed it, were sold by the censors in Rome itself to the highest bidder. The farming of the revenues was almost exclusively in the hands of the *Equites* or wealthy equestrian order, whence the words *equites* and *publicani* are sometimes used as synonymous. Dict. Antiqu.

5, 6. *Tela*: offensive armor.—*Arma*: defensive.—*Obsequio, obedience*.

7. *Mattiacorum*. This people inhabited the country between the Maenus (*Main*), Lagana (*Lahn*), and the Rhine. Their chief towns were Aquae Mattiacae (*Wiesbaden*), and Mattiacum (*Marburg*). They are spoken of here out of their proper place (see note in cap. XXVIII.) because they are on a similar footing with the Batavi.

8. *Veteres terminos*. The Rhine was always regarded as the natural division between the Roman and the German sway.

9. *In sua ripa*, i. e., the east bank. It is antithetic to *nobiscum*.—*Mente animoque, from rational conviction and attachment*.

10. *Agunt = vivunt = sunt*. — *Cetera*: accus. of spec.—*Adhuc, still*.

11. *Solo et caelo*, i. e., their country was hilly, and not marshy, like that

Non numeraverim inter Germaniae populos, quamquam trans Rhenum Danubiumque considerint, eos qui Decumates agros exercent. Levissimus quisque Gallorum et inopia audax dubiae possessionis solum occupavere; mox limite
5 acto promotisque praesidiis, sinus imperii et pars provinciae habentur.

XXX. Ultra hos Chatti initium sedis ab Hercynio saltu incohant, non ita effusis ac palustribus locis ut ceterae civitates, in quas Germania patescit; durant siquidem colles,
10 paulatim rarescunt, et Chattos suos saltus Hercynius prosequitur simul atque deponit. Duriora genti corpora, stricti artus, minax vultus et maior animi vigor. Multum ut inter

of the Batavi; the air was therefore keener, and more bracing than the fogs of the Insula Batavorum.

1. *Numeraverim*. Cf. note on *crediderim*, cap. II.

2. *Decumates agros*. This was a district north of the Danube, and east of the Rhine (Baden, most of Württemberg, and a small part of Bavaria were in it) seized by the Romans, when the Germans retreated east, and given by them to Gauls and immigrating Germans, and then to their own veterans to occupy, subject to a tax of one-tenth of the produce. This word is found here only, (the usual one being *decumani*) perhaps because *decumani* was used to designate tithe-lands in a regular province, whereas these here alluded to formed no province, but were an appendage to Upper Germany.

3. *Exercent* = *colunt*.

4. *Dubiae*: because unprotected against the incursions of the hostile Germans. To keep these off it was protected, probably under Domitian, by a bank (*times*), from the Rhine, near Cologne, to Mt. Taunus and the Odenwald, and from Lorch to Ratisbon, on the Danube, by a wall, of which traces still remain.—*Sinus*, *border*.

5. *Provinciae*. This land, partly

in *Germania Superior*, partly in *Raetia*, had no regular organization. It was ruled by military law, the commanders of the troops being subject to the governors of the two adjoining provinces.

CHAP. XXX. 7. The *Chatti*, one of the most important nations of Germany, inhabited the country lying between the *Moenus* on the south, and the sources of the *Visurgis* (Weser); and from the *Westerwald* in the west to the *Sala* (Saale) in Franconia, occupying the modern Hessian district.—*Initium incohant* is pleonastic.

8. *Effusis*, *extensive*.

9-11. *Durant . . . atque deponit*, since the hills are continuous, and gradually become fewer, and the Hercynian forest at once accompanies, and leaves behind its own Chatti.—*Durant* precedes *siquidem* for the sake of emphasis. The idea is that the hills here are not isolated, but continue for a long distance, and gradually subside.—*Paulatim*, *sc. que*, which Ritter inserts in the text.—*Suos*, *i. e.*, as if the Chatti were the children of the Forest.—*Prosequitur*. *Prosequi* is a word often used with reference to escorting persons who are setting out from home on some official errand—*Deponit*, *lit.*

Germanos rationis ac sollertiae: praeponere electos, audire praepositos, nosse ordines, intellegere occasiones, differre impetus, disponere diem, vallare noctem, fortunam inter dubia, virtutem inter certa numerare; quodque rarissimum nec nisi Romanae disciplinae concessum, plus reponere in duce 5 quam in exercitu. Omne robur in pedite, quem super arma ferramentis quoque et copiis onerant. Alios ad proelium ire videas, Chattos ad bellum. Rari excursus et fortuita pugna. Equestrium sane virium id proprium, cito parare victoriam, cito cedere; velocitas iuxta formidinem, cunctatio proprior con-10 stantiae est. XXXI. Et aliis Germanorum populis usurpatum raro et privata cuiusque audentia apud Chattos in consensum vertit, ut primum adoleverint, crinem barbamque

sets down, i. e., the mountains and the Chatti are coextensive; when the forest sinks to the plain, the Chatti extend no farther. It is a beautiful, bold and poetic expression. — *Duriora*, sc. *ceteris Germanorum*. — *Stricti*. Tacitus, speaking (*Hist.* II. 32) of the Germans generally, says that they were loose-limbed. Opposed to this characteristic, the Chatti have close-knit, compact frames.

1. *Ut inter Germanos*, as far as (we may expect this) among Germans; for generally they were deficient in these qualities, and therefore you would not expect to find much cleverness among them.

2. *Praepondere, etc.* This and the other infinitives, (without connectives, denoting a hasty enumeration of particulars) are in appos. with *multum . . . sollertiae*. C. and T. — *Nosse ordines*, they know their ranks in the military lines, and keep them — *Occasiones*. *Occasio* always means 'a favorable opportunity,' a sense our English word does not now necessarily possess.

3. *Disponere diem*. *Disponere* was a common word for stationing pickets, and arranging troops in due military order for their respective duties. Here the phrase means that

in the day-time they posted the various parts of their armies in due order, with outposts, pickets, etc.; at night they confined their soldiery (*vallare noctem*), after the Roman fashion, within ramparts and trenches.

4, 5. *Quodque = et quod*, sc. *est*. — *Nisi, except*.

7. *Ferramentis*, i. e., tools made of iron, e. g., spades, pickaxes, etc. — *Copis, provisions*. — *Proelium, battle; bellum*, a series of battles, a campaign, war.

8. *Rari* is predicated of *pugna*, as well as of *excursus*.

9. *Id proprium*, sc. *est*. This remark is not applicable to the Chatti, who had no cavalry, but is used with reference to cavalry engagements in general.

10. *Velocitas*, applying to cavalry, means that in the opinion of the Chatti, 'rapidity borders on alarm, while slowness of movement (*cunctatio*, applying to infantry) is more akin to steadiness.'

CHAP. XXXI. 11. *Populis*: dat. of agt. after *usurpatum*, which, with its modifiers, is the subject of *vertit*.

13. *Adoleverint*: subj. as referring the thought to the Chatti. — *Crinem barbamque submittere*: appos. with

submittere, nec nisi hoste caeso exuere votivum obligatumque virtuti oris habitum. Super sanguinem et spolia revelant frontem, seque tum demum pretia nascendi rettulisse dignosque patria ac parentibus ferunt. Ignavis et imbellibus
 5 manet squalor. Fortissimus quisque ferreum insuper anulum (ignominiosum id genti) velut vinculum gestat, donec se caede hostis absolvat. Plurimis Chattorum hic placet habitus; iamque canent insignes et hostibus simul suisque monstrati. Omnium penes hos initia pugnarum; haec prima
 10 semper acies, visu nova; nam ne in pace quidem vultu mitiore mansuescunt. Nulli domus aut ager aut aliqua cura: prout ad quemque venere, aluntur, prodigi alieni, contemptores sui, donec exsanguis senectus tam durae virtuti impares faciat.

usurpatum. There is an instance of this custom mentioned in the History (IV. 61), when Clivilis, the Bata-vian chief after a great slaughter of the Romans, shaved off the hair allowed to grow since the beginning of the war.

1. 2. *Nec . . . habitum:* appos. with *usurpatum.* Translate, *and not to strip off this guise of face, vowed and pledged to valor, until they had slain an enemy.*—*Revelant frontem,* by cutting their hair, and shaving the beard.

3. *Rettulisse,* repaid the debt due their country and parents for having been born.—*Dignosque,* sc. *esse.*

5. *Squalor,* i. e., the unshorn hair and beard.—*Insuper,* i. e., “besides the long hair and beard.” T.—*Anulum.* With the Romans the ring was an emblem of social rank, not as with the Germans, a badge of disgrace. Senators, chief magistrates, and, at last, *equites,* all wore gold rings, others iron ones, although certain noble families retained rings of the last metal. In the days of chivalry, vows similar to those here described were common. Vertot mentions a Duke of Bourbon, who, in order to win the favor of his mistress, with sixteen of his companions vowed to wear a ring round the left leg every Sunday for two years, until

they should meet with an equal number of opponents to contend with them in a tournament.

7. *Absolvat* (subj. after *donec*) i. e., from the disgrace attached to him.—*Plurimis = permultis.*—*Hic habitus,* i. e., of wearing rings and letting the hair grow. The idea is that even after killing an enemy, many of the Chatti permanently adopt the custom, for this seems to be the meaning of *placet.*

8, 9. *Hostibus:* dat. of the agt.—*Initia,* sc. *sunt.*

10. *Visu nova,* strange to behold. Cf. cap. XLIII., *primi in omnibus proeliis oculi vincuntur,*

11. *Mansuescunt,* properly used of wild animals, is here ‘do they soften down,’ lit., ‘do they become tame.’—*Nulli,* sc. *est,* i. e., to no warriors of this class.

12. *Contemptores.* These forms in or are great favorites with Tacitus. This particular word is found in Livy, Sallust, and the poets, but, according to Boeticher, *accumulator, concertator, detractor, extimulator, profigator, sanctior, subversor, vendicator, visor,* are found in him alone; and some seventeen or eighteen more, chiefly in later writers.

13. *Exsanguis, languid, feeble,* lit., *bloodless, lifeless.*

XXXII. Proximi Chattis certum iam alveo Rhenum, quique terminus esse sufficiat, Usipii ac Tencteri colunt. Tencteri, super solitum bellorum decus, equestris disciplinae arte praecellunt; nec maior apud Chattos peditum laus quam Tencteris equitum. Sic instituere maiores, posteri imitantur; 5 hi lusus infantium, haec iuvenum aemulatio, perseverant senes. Inter familiam et penates et iura successionum equi traduntur; excipit filius non ut cetera maximus natu, sed prout ferox bello et melior.

XXXIII. Iuxta Tencteros Bructeri olim occurrebant: 10 nunc Chamavos et Angrivarios inmigrasse narratur, pulsus Bructeris ac penitus excisis vicinarum consensu nationum,

CHAP. XXXII. 1. *Alveo*: abl. of respect, *i. e.*, where the stream is confined within fixed limits, and not divided and diffused as in the country of Batavi.—*Rhenum* = *Rheni ripam*.

2. *Qui = talis ut*, hence, *sufficiat*, subj. of result.—*Usipii ac Tencteri*. According to Caesar, these tribes, (generally mentioned together in geography and history), being expelled from their abodes by the Suevi, after three years' wandering seized the lands of the Menapii, between the Rhine and the Moselle. After their conquest by Caesar, the survivors took refuge among the Sygambri, and on the removal of the latter to Gaul, occupied their seats near the *Luppia* (Lippe). Afterwards the Usipii moved south between the Sieg and the Lahn; the Tencteri settled between the Sieg and the Ruhr.

3. *Solitum*, *i. e.*, with the German race.

5. *Tencteris*. We would expect the more regular *apud Tencteros*.

6. *Hi lusus*, *sc. sunt*, *i. e.*, equestrian exercises.—*Aemulatio*, the point of emulation.

7. *Inter familiam*, along with the slaves. *Penates*, *i. e.*, the house and all its adjuncts = "the homestead." T.—*Iura successionum*, *i. e.*, "all

that goes down by hereditary descent." T.

8. *Excipit* is here used in the unusual sense of *inherits*.—*Non, ut cetera . . . melior*. The horses become the property of the son, who is the bravest, whether he be the eldest or not.

CHAP. XXXIII. 10. *Bructeri*. The Bructeri lived between the rivers Rhine, Luppia (Lippe), and Amisia (*Ems*), in the modern districts of Westphalia and Over-Issel.—*Occurrebant*, *sc. oculis, met the view*.

11. *Chamavos*. According to Tacitus (*An. XIII. 55*) the Chamavi dwelt on the Rhine, in a district afterwards occupied by the Tubantes and Usipetes; afterwards they are found farther in the interior. They are subsequently enumerated with other tribes as members of the Frankish league.—*Angrivarios*. The Angrivarii dwelt between the Bructeri and the Fosi on both sides of the Visurgis (*Weser*), and extended eastward almost to the Albis (*Elbe*). They were separated by a mound from the Cherusci on the south. The earlier writers would have said *Chamavi narrantur* instead of *narratur*, *impers.*, which is very rare.

12. *Bructeris penitus excisis*. This entire destruction by other German

- seu superbiae odio, seu praedae dulcedine, seu favore quodam erga nos deorum. Nam ne spectaculo quidem proelii invidere; super sexaginta milia non armis telisque Romanis, sed, quod magnificentius est, oblectationi oculisque ceciderunt.
- 5 Maneat, quaeso, duretque gentibus, si non amor nostri, at certe odium sui; quando urgentibus imperii fatibus nihil iam praestare fortuna maius potest quam hostium discordiam.

XXXIV. Angrivarios et Chamavos a tergo Dulgibini et Chasuarii cludunt, aliaeque gentes haud perinde memoratae.
10 A fronte Frisii excipiunt. Maioribus minoribusque Frisiis

tribes must be intended as an exaggeration for they are afterwards mentioned by Pliny and Ptolemy as defeated by Spurrina in the reign of Trajan; and under the slightly varied names of *Burcturi* and *Brieteri* occur in the Itineraries and Sulpicius Alexander; being ranked by the last as members of the Frank confederacy.—*Consensu, coalition,*

1. *Odio*: abl. of cause. The arrogance of the Bructeri was largely due to the fact that they were governed by kings, and had maintained many wars against the Romans.

2. *Nos* = *Romanos*. — *Speetaculo* . . . *invidere*, sc. *nobis*. *Invidere* was construed by the Latins in four ways, viz; *invidere alicui alicui*; *alicui alicuius rei*; *alicui aliqua re*; *alicui in aliqua re*. This construction of the dat. of the person (*nobis*), and the ablative of the thing is characteristic of the silver age.

4. *Oblectationi oculis* is commonly regarded as a *hendiadys* for *ad oblectationem oculorum*. The allusion is to the gladiatorial combats. The slaughter alluded to is supposed to have happened near the canal of Drusus, from which place the Roman guard could have been spectators of it. The account of it first came to Rome in the first year of Trajan.

5. *Maneat*: subj. of wish.—*Quaeso*, sc. *deos*.—*Duretque*, "and continue strongly seated."

6. *Sui* is used reflexively, of each other.—*Urgentibus imperii fatibus*. These words were written in Trajan's reign, and before his great military enterprises were undertaken.

CHAP. XXXIV. 8. *A tergo* . . . *cludunt*. These words must imply that the Dulgibini and Chasuarii are South-east of the Chamavi and Angrivarii, judging from the other expression, *a fronte*, which can only mean on the North-west, from the position of the Frisii along the coast.—*Dulgibini*. The Dulgibini were settled near the sources of the Lippe and the Weser. Ptolemy places them across the Weser, but they probably moved about a good deal between the two dates.

9. *Chasuarii*. There is some doubt as to the locality of this people. Wilhelm places them north of the Chatti, and west of the Chamavi. According to Ptolemy, they are north-west of the Chatti and near the head-waters of the Ems. Afterwards they appear among the Franks in the duchy of Gueldres.—*Aliae gentes*, as the Ansibarii, Tubantes, Turonii, etc.

10. *A fronte*, i.e., toward the North-west.—*Frisii*. The Frisii have retained about the same settlements, always, and their descendants are still settled in the Islands west of Sleswig. They were steadfast allies of the Romans, and aided Drusus

vocabulum est ex modo virium ; utraeque nationes usque ad Oceanum Rheno praetextuntur, ambiuntque immensos insuper lacus et Romanis classibus navigatos. Ipsum quin etiam Oceanum illa tentavimus. Et superesse adhuc Herculis columnas fama vulgavit, sive adiit Hercules, seu quidquid 5 ubique magnificentum est in claritatem eius referre consensimus. Nec defuit audentia Druso Germanico ; sed obstitit Oceanus in se simul atque in Herculem inquiri. Mox nemo tentavit, sanctiusque ac reverentius visum de actis deorum credere quam scire. 10

and Germanicus in their war against the Cherusci. In A. D. 23 they revolted, when Olennius oppressed them, and after putting a number of Romans to the sword near the *Silva Baduhenna*, threw off the Roman yoke. In A. D. 59 they took possession of vacant lands near the Rhine; and on being threatened by Dubius Avitus, the governor of the province, with vengeance unless they retired, they sent their two kings, Verritus and Malorex to Rome; these distinguished themselves by their noble spirit, and were presented with the Roman citizenship. There is no farther mention of them until the fourth and fifth centuries, when they appear as members of the Saxon and Angle leagues and crossed into Britain with them.—*Maioribus minoribusque.* No other writer mentions this division.—*Frisiis*; dat. by attraction, agreeing with *illis* understood.

2. *Praetextuntur.* *Praetexto* is properly to 'weave a fringe or border at the extremity of anything;' the *toga praetexta*, for instance, being called so because it had a purple stripe along the edge. Cf. Vergil: *praetextunt litora puppes.*—*Luminosos insuper lacos.* The lakes here mentioned are the Flevo and others, which by the frequent inundations of the sea, afterwards became the Zuyder Zee.

3. *Romanis classibus navigatos.*

Suetonius (*Claudius L.*) informs us that Drusus first navigated the Northern Ocean, and his son Germanicus passed with four legions on board his ships, from the Rhine, by the Fossa Drusiana, through these lakes into the ocean, as far as the Ems (A. D. 60, *Ann.* II. 8). According to Suetonius Drusus was warned by a vision to go no farther.—*Quinetiam, moreover.*

4. *Ilia, sc. via, or regione.*—*Herculis columnas.* Besides the well-known Pillars of Hercules at the Straits of Gibraltar, maritime nations have feigned others, wherever the land seemed to terminate, and it appeared impossible to proceed farther.

5. *Seu quidquid . . . consensimus.* Note again the Roman construction put upon the German theology.

6. *Claritatem, renown.*

7. *Druso Germanico*, brother of Tiberius, styled Germanicus by the Senate on account of the eminent services performed in Germany.—*Obstitit inquiri, opposed farther inquiry.*

8. *Herculem, i. e.,* as regards his Pillars.—*Mox nemo tentavit, sc. oceanum, i. e.,* although others navigated the sea after Drusus, yet expeditions in this direction were soon abandoned.

9. *Visum, sc. est.* The idea is that it is more pious to believe that Hercules actually did visit here, and that the pillars actually exist, than to seek to ascertain their real position.

- XXXV. Hactenus in occidentem Germaniam novimus. In septentrionem ingenti flexu redit. Ac primo statim Chaucorum gens, quamquam incipiat a Frisiis ac partem litoris occupet, omnium, quas exposui, gentium lateribus ob-
- 5 tenditur, donec in Chattos usque sinuetur. Tam immensum terrarum spatium non tenent tantum Chauci, sed et implent, populus inter Germanos nobilissimus, quique magnitudinem suam malit iustitia tueri. Sine cupiditate, sine impotentia, quieti secretique nulla provocant bella, nullis raptibus aut
- 10 latrociniiis populantur. Id praeipuum virtutis ac virium argumentum est, quod ut superiores agant non per iniurias adsequuntur. Prompta tamen omnibus arma ac, si res poscat, exercitus, plurimum virorum equorumque; et quiescentibus eadem fama.
- 15 XXXVI. In latere Chaucorum Chattorumque Cherusci

CHAP. XXXV. 2. *In septentrionem ingenti flexu.* By this Tacitus means that the line of the coast, after a huge sweep to the North, returns to its old direction. He thus describes the Peninsula of Denmark, called *sinus* in cap. XXXVII. — *Primo statim*, i. e., at the very beginning of the bend.

3. *Chaucorum.* The Chauci were neighbors of the Frisii on the East, and lived between the Ems, and the Elbe. "Their name is still preserved in that of their harbor, *Cuxhaven.*" — *Incipiat*: subj. after *quamquam*; common in Tacitus, rare in Cicero.

4. *Quas exposui gentium.* These are the Frisii, Angrivarii, Chamavi, Dulgibini, Chausarii, etc. — *Lateribus*, i. e., the eastern.

5. *Sinuetur.* The country bends first in a southeastern and then in a southerly direction. For the construction, see A. 328; G. 574; H. 519, N. 2.

6. *Sed et, but even.*

7. *Quique — et talis ut, hence malit.*

8. *Impotentia, ungoverned desires.*

9. *Secreti, retired.*

11, 12. *Ut superiores agant, that they*

rank as superiors: obj. clause after *adsequuntur.* — *Omnibus*, dat. of possess. after *sunt* understood.

13. *Exercitus*, sc. *promptus est.* — *Plurimum*, a very great number. Tacitus seems to have added these words by way of explaining what he meant by *exercitus.* Some of the German tribes were powerful in infantry, like the Chatti; others in cavalry as the Batavi and Tencteri; the Chauci however had large numbers of each. — *Quiescentibus*, i. e., even when not engaged in war.

14. *Eadem*, sc. *quae in bello est.*

CHAP. XXXVI. 15. *Cherusci.* This people dwelt at this time between the Weser and the Elbe. They were on good terms with the Romans until the conduct of Varus roused them to rebellion, and they formed a league of their neighbors, and totally defeated Varus and his three legions, under the command of Arminius, who was therefore hailed as "Deliverer of Germany," and celebrated in ballad songs, many of which are preserved to this day. They appear afterwards as the head of the great Saxon confederacy.

nimiam ac marcentem diu pacem illacessiti nutrierunt. Idque iucundius quam tutius fuit, quia inter inpotentes et validos falso quiescas; ubi manu agitur, modestia ac probitas nomina superioris sunt. Ita qui olim boni aequique Cherusci, nunc inertes ac stulti vocantur; Chattis victoribus fortuna in 5. sapientiam cessit. Tracti ruina Cheruscorum et Fosi, contra terminam gens; adversarum rerum ex aequo socii sunt, cum in secundis minores fuissent.

XXXVII. Eundem Germaniae sinum proximi Oceano Cimbri tenent, parva nunc civitas, sed gloria ingens. Veturisque famae lata vestigia manent, utraque ripa castra ac

1. Take *diu* with *nimiam* and *marcentem*.—*Illacessiti* is found only in the writers of the silver age.

2. *Iucundius quam tutius*. Contrary to the usual use, Tacitus sometimes uses the positive in one part, when two adjectives or adverbs are compared together. To get the force turn the sentence in this way—of two courses it was the pleasanter, rather than the safer.—*Inpotentes*: cf. *impotentia* above.

3. *Falso quiescas, you may enjoy a false security*: potential subj.—*Manu agitur, when matters are decided by the sword*, i. e., when might rather than right decides the question.—*Modestia, moderation*.

4. *Nomina superioris*, i. e., moderation and mildness are only to be applied to those who having the power of injury over their neighbors refrain from using it. The inference is that the despicable cowardice of the weak is to be considered as praiseworthy moderation in the strong.—*Qui, sc. vocati sunt*. Tacitus does not mean that they had deteriorated; but that they were once powerful, and then their peaceful tendency appeared the result of moderation and justice. When their power was gone, this forbearance was regarded as a proof of weakness and cowardice.

5. *Chattis*: dat. of advantage. The Chatti were more lucky than the Chauai: they were victorious and

their superior fortune passed (*cessit*) for superior wisdom.

6. *Fosi*. They probably inhabited the banks of the Fusa, and were probably an appendage to the Cherusci.

7. *Ex aequo, on equal terms*.

8. *Minores fuissent, they had been less powerful*; subj. of concession.

CHAP. XXXVII. 9. *Eundem sinum, the same peninsula*. This refers to the Cimbric Chersonese, or promontory of Sleswig, Jutland, etc., alluded to in *ingenti fletu*, at the beginning of chap. XXXV.

10. *Cimbri*. The name of this people still exists in different localities in their route from Western Asia to the British Isles, e. g., the *Cimmerian Bosphorus*, the *Cimbric Chersonesus*, *Cumberland*, etc. It is a disputed point whether they were a Teutonic or Celtic race.—*Gloria*: abl. of specification, limiting *ingens*.

11. *Utraque ripa*. Whether these words refer to both banks of the Rhine, to the *Rhine and the Danube*, or to both shores of the Cimbric Chersonesus, cannot be definitely settled.—*Castra ac spatia*: appos. with *lata vestigia*. After defeating Papius Carbo at Noreia, between the Mur and the Drave, for a space of three years they plundered the provinces south of the Danube. During this period their encampments left traces visible in the days of Tacitus.

spatia, quorum ambitu nunc quoque metiaris molem manus-
que gentis et tam magni exitus fidem. Sexcentimum et
quadragessimum annum urbs nostra agebat, cum primum
Cimbrorum audita sunt arma, Caecilio Metello et Papirio
5 Carbone consulibus. Ex quo si ad alterum Imperatoris
Traiani consulatum computemus, ducenti ferme et decem anni
colliguntur; tam diu Germania vincitur. Medio tam longi
aevi spatio multa invicem damna. Non Samnis, non Poeni,
non Hispaniae Galliaeve, ne Parthi quidem saepius admo-
10 nuere; quippe regno Arsacis acrior est Germanorum libertas.
Quid enim aliud nobis, quam caedem Crassi, amisso et ipse
Pacoro, infra Ventidium deiectus Oriens obiecerit? At

1. "*Molem manusque gentis, the mass of their population and the number of their armies.*" T.

2. *Exitus, migration.* Plutarch says that they had 300,000 fighting men.—*Fidem, proof.*—*Sexcentimum . . . annum.* This is according to the Catonian Era, but according to the Varronian Era, commonly followed by moderns, this date would be A. U. C. 641 = B. C. 113.

4. *Audita sunt.* In Noricum, and on the banks of the Danube, where Carbo was defeated.

5. *Ex quo, sc. tempore.*—*Alterum consulatum.* Trajan was consul the second time in the 851st year of Rome = A. D. 98; in which year Tacitus composed this treatise.

7. *Vincitur.* This use of the present tense, with a particle of time, points out the duration of the fact for a long time past, and its continuance at the present moment. He means that the Romans have been so long in conquering Germauy, and the conquest is not completed yet. Germany never was conquered by the Romans.—*Medio spatio, i. e.,* of 210 years.

8. *Invicem, mutually.*—*Samnis.* The Samnites were the most stubborn enemies of Rome in Italy.—*Poeni* alludes to the several Punic wars.

9. *Hispaniae, Galliae.* Many of the Roman provinces were divided into two parts: there were *Hispania trans Iberum, and Hispaniacis Iberum:* also *Gallia Transalpina, and Gallia Cisalpina.*—*Parthi.* They had overthrown Crassus and checked the course of Marc Antony.—*Admonuere, sc. "nos cladibus, nos vinci posse."*

10. *Arsacis.* Arsaces was the founder of the Parthian empire, and the sovereigns after him were called *Arsacidae.* The idea is that the Germans, fighting in behalf of liberty, were more vigorous opponents than the Parthians, who only fought to maintain the power of their royal house.

11. *Crassi.* Crassus was defeated and slain by the Parthians, B. C. 53.

12. *Infra Ventidium deiectus, humbled beneath a Ventidius.* Ventidius Bassus was a native of Picenum, taken prisoner when young by the Romans in the Social War. After earning a living by furnishing mules to magistrates on their way to the provinces, he became known to Caesar, and rose in B. C. 43 to the rank of Praetor. In B. C. 39 he was sent by Antonius into Asia to oppose Labienus, who was supported by the Parthians. When these last attacked him he defeated them near Mt. Tau-

Germani, Carbone, et Cassio, et Scauro Aurelio, et Servilio Caepione, Cn. quoque Manlio fisis vel captis, quinque simul consulares exercitus Populo Romano, Varum trisque cum eo legiones etiam Caesari abstulerunt ; nec impune C. Marius in Italia, divus Iulius in Gallia, Drusus ac Nero et Germanicus 5

rus, and gained possession of Syria. The next year, Pacorus, son of Orodes, the Parthian king, advanced against him, but was defeated in Cyrrhæstia and fell in battle. By the words "*infra Ventidium deiectus*" Tacitus means that the East must have fallen low indeed to be defeated by a man of so lowly an origin as Ventidius. — *Obiecerit*. Cf. Note on *peteret*, chap. II.

1. *Carbone*. Carbo was defeated by the Cimbri at Noreia, B. C. 113. (Liv. *Epit.*, 63). — *Cassio*. Cassius Longinus was defeated and slain by the Tigurini, in the confines of the Allobroges, B. C. 107 (Caes. *B. G.* I. 7, 12). — *Scauro*. M. Aurelius Scaurus was defeated and taken by the Cimbri; and when, being asked for advice, he dissuaded them from passing the Alps into Italy, he was slain by a furious youth, named Boiorix (Liv. *Epit.* 67).

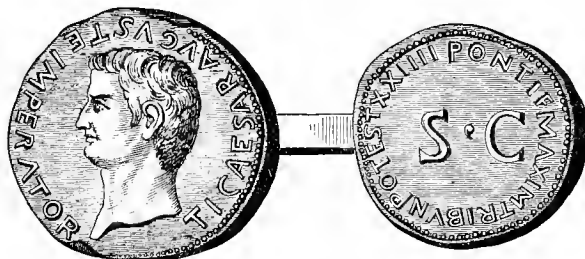
2. *Caepione*. Q. Servilius Caepio and Manlius through their rashness and dissensions, suffered a severe defeat from the Cimbri, near Tolosa, B. C. 105. (Liv. *Epit.* 67). — *Manlio*. His name should be written Cn. instead of M (frequently confounded in the MSS. and followed by some

editors) as after the condemnation of Marcus Manlius, the preserver of the Capitol when the Gauls took Rome after the battle of the Allia, on the charge of aiming at the supreme power, no person of the Manlian gens was allowed to bear the prænomen of Marcus (Liv. VI. 20).

3. *Populo Romano*, from the Roman people : dat. of disadv. The idea is: under the Republic, contrasted with the Empire under Augustus (*Caesari*). — *Varum*. The reference is to the defeat of P. Quinctilius Varus in A. D. 9 by the Germans under Arminius near the defiles of the *Saltus Teutobergiensis*, between Osna-bruck and Paderborn. This defeat lost the Romans all between the Rhine and the Weser; and they never succeeded in firmly re-establishing themselves in that part of Germany. The battle is placed by Prof. Creasy among the fifteen decisive battles of the world.

4. *Caius Marius*. The allusion is to the famous defeat of the Cimbri in the Campi Raudii, B. C. 101.

5. *Iulius*. Vid. Caes. *B. G.* I. 32, seq.; II. 1. seq.; IV. 1. seq.; VI. 9. seq. — *Drusus* i. e., Claudius Drusus, who invaded Germany four times



COIN OF TIBERIUS NERO.

in suis eos sedibus perculerunt. Mox ingentes Gaii Caesaris minae in ludibrium versae. Inde otium, donec occasione discordiae nostrae et civilium armorum, expugnatis legionum hibernis, etiam Gallias adfectavere; ac rursus pulsus, inde
5 proximis temporibus triumphati magis quam victi sunt.

XXXVIII. Nunc de Suevis dicendum est, quorum non una ut Chattorum Teneterorumve gens; maiorem enim Germaniae partem obtinent, propriis adhuc nationibus nominibusque discreti, quamquam in commune Suevi vocentur.
10 Insigne gentis obliquare crinem nodoque substringere; sic Suevi a ceteris Germanis, sic Suevorum ingenui a servis sepa-

and named Germanicus B. C. 11 and 10. Vid. N. chap. XXXIV. — *Nero*, i. e., Tiberius Claudius Nero, the emperor, who had command in Germany, B. C. 7-6; A. D. 3-6, 11-12. — *Germanicus*, son of Drusus, made four campaigns in Germany, A. D. 14-16.

1. *Mox*. A. D. 39. — *Gaii Caesaris*, i. e., Caligula, who after making vast preparations marched into Germany. After some ridiculous proceedings, detailed by Suetonius (*Calig.* XLVII), he drew up his army on the shore, and bade the soldiers gather shells as trophies of their bravery. According to Persius he was reduced to hire red wigs for his sham captives to wear.

2. *Inde otium*: during the reigns of Claudius and Nero. — *Discordiae nostrae et civilium armorum* refers to the disordered state of the Roman empire consequent on the violent deaths of Nero, Galba, and Otho, and the struggle between Vitellius and Vespasian.

3. *Expugnatis hibernis*: by the Batavi and Canninefantes, who, at the instigation of Civilis, threw off the Roman yoke.

4. *Adfectavere*, aimed at the possession of. Cf. Note on *adfectionem*, chap. XXVIII.

5. *Proximis temporibus*, in later times, under Domitian especially, and also Nerva, Trajan, and Hadrian.

— *Triumphati* refers to the sham triumph of Domitian for his successes over the Chatti, an enemy whom he had never seen "in which slaves, purchased and dressed out for the purpose, were borne as captives through the streets." T. Vid. Suet. *Domit.* VI.; Tac. *Agr.* XXXIX.

CHAP. XXXVIII. 6. *Suevis*. These are not to be confounded with the Suevi of Caesar (IV. 1-17). As before remarked his Suevi are the Chatti of Tacitus. The Suevi here mentioned were rather an aggregate of peoples, than a single tribe, and occupied the country from the Elbe to the Vistula, and from the Baltic to the Danube. They embraced many tribes enumerated in cap. XXXIX-XLV. "We still have a trace of their name in the modern *Suabia*."

8. *Adhuc* modifies *discreti*, still distinguished from one another.

9. *In commune*, in common: an expression peculiar to the silver age.

10. *Insigne . . . substringere*, it is a characteristic of the race to turn the hair back, and to fasten it up in a knot. The Suevi gathered up the hair in every direction, instead of letting it hang straight to the back part of the head, and then fastened it in a knot on the crown of the head. Cf. Sen. *de Ira*. III. 26; Juv. XIII. 164.

11. *A Germanis, a servis*. According to Tacitus the rest of the Germans, and the slaves seem to have

rantur. In aliis gentibus, (seu cognatione aliqua Suevorum seu, quod saepe accidit, imitatione,) rarum et intra iuventae spatium; apud Suevos usque ad canitiem horrentem capillum retro sequuntur, ac saepe in ipso solo vertice religant. Principes et ornatiorem habent. Ea cura formae, sed innoxia: 5 neque enim ut ament amenturve, in altitudinem quandam et terrorem adituri bella compti ut hostium oculis ornantur.

XXXIX. Vetustissimos se nobilissimosque Suevorum Semnones memorant. Fides antiquitatis religione firmatur. Stato tempore in silvam auguriis patrum et prisca formidine 10 sacram omnes eiusdem sanguinis populi legationibus coeunt, caesoque publice homine celebrant barbari ritus horrenda primordia. Est et alia luco reverentia; nemo nisi vinculo ligatus ingreditur, ut minor et potestatem numinis prae se

been cropped so short that they could not twist the hair into a knot.—*Separantur, ore distinguished*

2. *Rarum*, i. e., *obliquare crinem rarum (est) et intra iuventae spatium* (fielr solet).

3. *Horrentem, bristly.*

4. *Retro sequuntur, they put back*, lit., follow back, referring to their constant habit.

5. *Ornatiorem*. They not only tied their hair up, but by an elaborate process they raised it to a great height. — *Ea = talis*. — *Innoxia*. Tacitus means that although the Suevi are careful of their appearance, and deck themselves out, they have no immoral object in doing so. They do not trick themselves out like Roman Lotharios, to win the admiration and love of the fair sex: it has a warlike object, to terrify their enemies.

6. *In altitudinem et terrorem*, (but) "for the sake of (increased) height and terror, i. e., so as to appear taller and thus inspire terror."

7. *Hostium oculis*. Cf. cap. XLIII. *Nam primi in omnibus proeliis oculi vincuntur*.

CHAP. XXXIX. 9. *Semnones*. In *An. II.* 45, they are mentioned in

connection with the Langobardi. They inhabited a territory between the Elbe and the Oder.—*Fides antiquitatis, the credibility of their antiquity*. *Vetus* is old, that which has long been in existence; *antiquus, ancient*, that which belonged to a preceding age.

10. *In silvam*. This is placed by Willhelm between the Elster and the Spree, in the Finsterwald, or Sonnenwald. In this neighborhood, between Uebigan and Schlieben, remains of vessels used for sacrificial purposes have been found.—*Auguriis . . . sacram*. As all the commentators notice, this clause forms an hexameter. They have collected at least nineteen similar instances in Tacitus.—*Patrum = maiorum*.—*Prisca*. *Priscus* generally has the notion of primitive or old-fashioned attached to it.—*Formidine = religione*.

11. *Legationibus coeunt, convene by their representatives*.

12. *Publica = publica auctoritate*. This was probably a prisoner of war. Cf. *Ann. XIV.* 30.

13. *Primordia, beginning*.

14. *Minor, sc. numine*. Cf. *Hor. Odes I.* 12, 57; *III.* 6, 5.

ferens. Si forte prolapsus est, attolli et insurgere haud licitum; per humum evolvuntur. Eoque omnis superstitio respicit, tamquam inde initia gentis, ibi regnator omnium deus, cetera subiecta atque parentia. Adicit auctoritatem fortuna
5 Semnonum; centum pagis habitant, magnoque corpore efficitur ut se Suevorum caput credant.

XL. Contra Langobardos paucitas nobilitat; plurimis ac valentissimis nationibus cincti non per obsequium, sed proeliis et periclitando tuti sunt. Reudigni deinde et Aviones et Anglii et Varini et Eudoses et Suardones et Nuithones fluminibus aut silvis muniuntur. Nec quidquam notabile in singulis, nisi quod in commune Nerthum, id est terram matrem,

2. *Evolvuntur*, in a middle sense, — *se evolvunt*. — *Eo respicit*, has reference to this, i. e., has this in view.

3, 4. The clause *tamquam inde . . . parentia* is epexegetical of *eo*. — *Inde*, i. e., from the grove. — *Initia*, sc. *sint*. — *Deus*, i. e., Tuisto, *originem gentis*, cap. II. — *Adicit auctoritatem*, sc. *illi superstitioni*. — *Fortuna, greatness, prosperity*.

5. *Magno corpore = civitatis magnitudine*. *Corpus* is used to denote the aggregate association of several bodies. Cf. *An. XIII. 27; Hist. IV. 64*.

CHAP. XL. 7. *Langobardos*. This tribe is said to have come originally from Scandinavia, as the Winili, and to have received their name from the length of their beards. In their original locality they occupied the tract called Bardengau, west of the Elbe, between Luneberg and Magdeburg. Subsequently they were removed across the river by Tiberius, when they occupied that part of the country where are now Prignitz, Ruppin, and part of the Middle March. They afterwards founded the Lombard kingdom in Italy, which was destroyed by Charlemagne (A. D. 774), who took their king Desiderius, and subdued all Italy. — *Paucitas* is here contrasted with the *magno corpore* of the Semnonum in cap. XXXIX. — *Nobilitat, makes*

them famous: because they held their ground against the powerful tribes by which they were surrounded.

8. *Cincti* denotes concession, although surrounded. — *Per obsequium, proeliis et periclitando*. Note the varied construction, and compare Note on chap. XVI.

9. *Reudigni*. The Reudigni were probably situated in part of the duchy of Mecklenburg, and of Lauenburg. — *Aviones*. From their vicinity to the fore-mentioned nations, they must have inhabited part of the duchy of Mecklenburg. Formerly they had dwelt this side of the Elbe in Luneburg, which is now called *Ava*; whence, probably, the name of the people. — *Anglii*. Ptolemy places this people north of the Langobardi, and east of the Angrivarii, extending as far as the Elbe, in the old duchy of Magdeburg. They afterwards joined the Saxons in the invasion of England in the fifth century.

10, 11. *Varini, Eudoses, Suardones, Nuithones*. Ethnologists differ widely as to localities inhabited by these tribes. — *In singulis*, "among them individually." C.

12. *Nerthum*. The ancient name still remains in the German *Erde*, and in the English *Earth*. — *Matrem*. Cf. II. Tuistonem deum, terra editum.

colunt, eamque intervenire rebus hominum, invehī populis arbitrantur. Est in insula Oceani castum nemus, dicatumque in eo vehiculum veste coniectum. Attingere uni sacerdoti concessum. Is adesse penetrali deam intellegit, vectamque bubus feminis multa cum veneratione prosequitur. Laeti 5 tunc dies, festa loca, quaecumque adventu hospitioque dignatur. Non bella ineunt, non arma sumunt; clausum omne ferrum; pax et quies tunc tantum nota, tunc tantum amata, donec idem sacerdos satiata conversatione mortalium deam templo reddat. Mox vehiculum et vestes et, si credere velis, 10 numen ipsum secreto lacu abluitur. Servi ministrant, quos statim idem lacus haurit. Arcanus hinc terror sanctaque ignorantia, quid sit illud, quod tantum perituri vident.

XLI. Et haec quidem pars Suevorum in secretiora Germaniae porrigitur. Propior (ut, quo modo paulo ante 15

1. *Intervenire, takes part in.* — *Populis*: ablative.

2. *Insula.* This island is generally thought to be Rugen, "where the *secretus lacus*, mentioned below, is still shown, still associated with superstitious legends." T.—*Castum, unpolluted*, is more commonly the epithet of a person than of a thing. It is especially appropriate to a grove sacred to a goddess.

3. *Vehiculum.* Cf. Notes on *Isidi* and *signum*. Cap. IX.

4. *Concessum*, sc. *est.* — *Is*: emphatic, *he knows.*—*Penetrali* is here used for the covered car, as the abode of the divinity.

5. *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.—*Laeti, etc.* The full expression would be *laeti tunc dies aguntur, festa tunc illa loca sunt.*

6. *Dignatur*, "deems worthy."

10. *Templo*, i. e., the sacred grove. The word is here used in its strict sense of *τέμενος*, i. e., a place marked

out for sacred purposes.—*Si credere velis, numen.* By this it is clear that Tacitus means to imply that the goddess herself underwent ablutions (and not the image of the goddess; for in fact there does not seem to have been one, Vid. cap. IX.) in order to wash away the pollution arising from intercourse with mortals. The priests believed, or wished others to believe—not apparently succeeding in the case of the writer himself—that the goddess was actually present in the cart.

12. *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." An.

13. *Tantum perituri, only those who are doomed to perish.*

CHAP. XLI. 14. *Secretiora, more remote recesses; toward the north.*

15. *Propior, nearer.* i. e., to the Danube, and the Roman provinces along its right bank.

Rhenum, sic nunc Danubium sequar) Hermundurorum civitas, fida Romanis; eoque solis Germanorum non in ripa commercium, sed penitus atque in splendidissima Raetiae provinciae colonia. Passim et sine custode transeunt; et
 5 cum ceteris gentibus arma modo castraque nostra ostendamus, his domos villasque patefecimus non concupiscentibus. In Hermunduris Albis oritur, flumen inclitum et notum olim; nunc tantum auditur.

XLII. Iuxta Hermunduros Narisci, ac deinde Marcomani
 10 et Quadi agunt. Praecipua Marcomanorum gloria viresque, atque ipsa etiam sedes, pulsus olim Boiis, virtute parta. Nec Narisci Quadive degenerant. Eaque Germaniae velut frons est, quatenus Danubio peragitur. Marcomanis Quadisque usque ad nostram memoriam reges manserunt ex gente ipso-
 15 rum, nobile Marobodui et Tudri genus. Iam et externos

1. *Rhenum*, sc. *secutus sum*. — *Hermundurorum*. This people were first settled between the Elbe, the Sala, and Bohemia.

2. *Eoque*, i. e., because they are faithful. — *Non in ripa*, sc. *solum*.

3. *Commercium*, sc. *est*. — *Penitus*, far in the interior. — *Raetiae*. In Raetia Tacitus includes Vindellca, which was then a part of it.

4. *Colonia*, i. e., *Augusta Vindelicorum*, now *Augsburg*, founded by Augustus about A. D. 14. — *Passim*, i. e. wherever they please. — *Sine custode*. Others went *sub custode*. Cf. *Hist.* IV. 64.

5. *Cum*, although, denoting concession. Hence *ostendamus* is subj.

6. *Non concupiscentibus*, i. e., without exciting their cupidity.

7. *Albis*, the *Elbe*. The true source of the Elbe is in Bohemia, a country of which, surrounded as it is by mountains, Tacitus would know scarcely anything. He undoubtedly has confounded it with one of its affluents, the *Egra*. — *Notum olim*, by the conquests of Drusus, Tiberius, and Germanicus. At the time Tacitus wrote this book the Romans had retired from this part of Germany.

CHAP. XLII. 9. *Narisci*. This people lay east of the Hermunduri and west of the Marcomani, and were separated from the latter by the *Silva Gabreta*, occupying Upper Bavaria. — *Marcomani*: inhabitants of Bohemia. They are mentioned by Caesar, (*B. G.* I. 51), as allies of Ariovistus. The word means *men of the border*.

10. *Quadi*. They were settled to the east of the Marcomani in Moravia and northwestern Hungary. Both the Marcomani and the Quadi waged war with the Emperor Marcus Antoninus, A. D. 166.

11. *Pulsus olim Boiis*: about A. D. 7. — *Parta*, sc. *est*.

12. *Degenerant*, sc. *ab its virtute*. — *Frons*, the *front*, facing the Romans.

13. *Peragitur*, sc. *frons* as subject. It implies a long extended boundary.

15. *Marobodui*. Vid. *An.* II. 62; *Suet. Tib.* XXXVII., on this prince, and his alliance with the Romans against Arminius. — *Tudri*. *Tuder* or *Tudrus* is not mentioned elsewhere, nor by any other writer. — *Externos*, sc. *reges*. Cf. *An.* II. 62, 63 XII. 30.

patiuntur, sed vis et potentia regibus ex auctoritate Romana. Raro armis nostris, saepius pecunia iuvantur, nec minus valent.

XLIII. Retro Marsigni, Gothini, Osi, Buri terga Marcomanorum Quadorumque claudunt. E quibus Marsigni et Buri sermone cultuque Suevos referunt; Gothinos Gallica, 5 Osos Pannonica lingua coarguit non esse Germanos, et quod tributa patiuntur. Partem tributorum Sarmatae, partem Quadi ut alienigenis imponunt. Gothini, quo magis pudeat, et ferrum effodiunt. Omnesque hi populi pauca campestrium ceterum saltus et vertices montium iugumque insederunt. 10 Dirimit enim scinditque Sueviam continuum montium iugum, ultra quod plurimae gentes agunt. Ex quibus latissime patet Lygiorum nomen in plures civitates diffusum. Valentissimas

2. *Nec minus valent.* I. e., the German kings found the Roman subsidies of money as effectual a means of strengthening their position, as the support of the Roman arms.

CHAP. XLIII. 3. *Retro, farther back* (and north of the tribes just mentioned); opposed to *frons*.—*Marsigni.* This people probably extended from the Riesengebirge, in Northern Bohemia, to the Oder, occupying part of modern Silesia.—The *Gothini* were situated near the head-waters of the Marus (*March*), in Upper Silesia and Moravia.—The *Osi* were between the sources of the Oder, and the Grau, on the frontiers of Moravia and Hungary.—The *Buri* were between the Oder and the Vistula, between Cracow and Tropau, in Silesia. They were allies of Trajan in his war against the Dacians, and also of Marcus Aurelius in the Marcomantic War.—*Terga claudunt, close the rear.*

5. *Sermone cultuque.* It is probable that the Suevi were distinguished from the rest of the Germans by a peculiar dialect, as well as by their dress and manners.—*Referunt, resemble.* Cf. cap. XX.—*Gothinos.* The Gothini were probably a remnant of the expelled Boii. Hence

their Gallic language, or they may have been a remnant of the great Keltic migration eastward. Cf. cap. XXVIII.

6, 7. *Pannonica,* probably Slavonic; at all events their locality seems to have been Slavonic as far back as can be traced.—*Et quod tributa patiuntur:* subj. of *coarguit.* Quite a compliment to the Germans.—*Sarmatae.* It can not be proven what tribe is meant, probably the *Iazyges Metanastae*, who lived near the Quadi, or else the Sidones.

8. *Quo magis pudeat.* The Gothini were not bound to be ashamed of digging up iron, although this was generally the work of slaves and criminals; but the disgrace lay in this, that, instead of submitting to tribute, they did not convert the iron into swords and spears to free themselves from their oppressors.

9. *Pauca campestrium, but little of the level country:* poetical for the more usual *pauca campestria loca.*

10. *Ceterum* opposes *saltus* to the preceding *pauca campestrium.*—*Vertices, summits.*—*Iugum, the ridge* of a mountain chain.

13. *Lygiorum.* The Lygii inhabited the country between the Oder and the Vistula, extending from the

- nominasse sufficiet, Harios, Helveconas, Manimos, Elysios, Nahanarvalos. Apud Nahanarvalos antiquae religionis lucus ostenditur. Praesidet sacerdos muliebri ornatu; sed deos interpretatione Romana Castorem Pollucemque memorant.
- 5 Ea vis numini, nomen Alcis. Nulla simulacra, nullum peregrinae superstitionis vestigium; ut fratres tamen, ut iuvenes venerantur. Ceterum Harii super vires, quibus enumeratos paulo ante populos antecedunt, truces insitae feritati arte ac tempore lenocinantur. Nigra scuta, tincta corpora; atras ad
- 10 proelia noctes legunt, ipsaque formidine atque umbra feralis exercitus terrorem inferunt, nullo hostium sustinente novum ac velut infernum aspectum: nam primi in omnibus proeliis oculi vicuntur.

Trans Lygios Gothones regnantur, paulo iam adductius
15 quam ceterae Germanorum gentes, nondum tamen supra liber-

source of the latter river to the point near Brimberg, where it turns sharply to the North-east, in part of Gallicia and Western Poland.—*Nomen = gens.*

1. *Harios, etc.* The *Harii* were somewhere near Cracow; the *Helvecones*, near Warsaw; the *Manimi*, in Posen; the *Elysii* in Silesia (to which they are supposed to have given the name), near Breslau; the *Nahanarvali* were between the Wartha and the Vistula.

3. *Muliebri ornatu.* The flowing robe, probably worn by the priest, may have been mistaken for female apparel.



CASTOR AND POLLUX.

4. *Interpretatione Romana.* "The Romans, whenever giving accounts of the gods of other nations, transferred to them the names of their own deities, according to some slight, or perhaps fancied, resemblance." Tyler.

5. *Ea vis numini*, i. e., their attributes are the same.—*Alcis*, sc. *est iis*: dat. plu. by attraction.—*Peregrinae*, i. e., Greek or Roman.

6. *Superstitionis = religionis.*—*Tamen.* Note its force.

8, 9. *Arte ac tempore* is explained directly afterwards. The art is their practice of coloring their bodies: the time is the dark night they choose.—*Lenocinantur*, increase, lit., pander.

10. *Formidine*, frightfulness.—*Umbra* may refer to the real shadows of men, or to the general aspect of the army. The authorities differ.—*Feralis* is found as an adj., only in poetry, and in prose of the silver age.

14. *Gothones.* This people is probably the Getae of earlier, and the Goths of later history. Ptolemy says that they lived on the banks of the Vistula.—*Iam adductius.* *Iam* and *nondum* both have reference to the

tatem. Protinus deinde ab Oceano Rugii et Lemovii; omniumque harum gentium insigne rotunda scuta, breves gladii et erga reges obsequium.

XLIV. Suionum hinc civitates ipso in Oceano praeter viros armaque classibus valent. Forma navium eo differt, 5 quod utrimque prora paratam semper appulsui frontem agit. Nec velis ministrantur, nec remos in ordinem lateribus adiungunt; solutum, ut in quibusdam fluminum, et mutabile, ut res poscit, hinc vel illinc remigium. Est apud illos et opibus honos, eoque unus imperitat, nullis iam exceptionibus, non 10 precario iure parendi. Nec arma, ut apud ceteros Germanos, in promiscuo, sed clausa sub custode, et quidem servo, quia subitos hostium incursus prohibet Oceanus, otiosae porro ar-

writer's progress in going over the tribes of Germany, those tribes growing less and less free as he advances eastward; *already* under more subjection than the foregoing tribes, but *not yet* in such abject slavery as some we shall read of in the next chapter." Tyler.

1. *Protinus deinde ab Oceano, Immediately thereafter, along the ocean*, i. e., their territory extended from the ocean inwards to that of the Gothones. The "ocean" is the Baltic Sea.—*Rugii*. The island of Rugen is named from them. Their territory was around the mouths of the Oder.—*Lemovii*. These people were settled along the Baltic, about the modern Stolpe, Dantzig, and Lauenberg.

3. *Obsequium, willing submission*.

CHAP. XLIV. 4. *Suionum, Swedes*. They inhabited the south of Sweden, which Tacitus seems to have considered as an island. Pliny (IV. 27) certainly did: "*qui sinus Codanus* (i. e., the Baltic) *vocatur, refertus insulis quarum clarissima Scandinavia est, incertae magnitudinis*." Probably the name *Sweden* is only a corruption of *Suiones*.—*Ipsa* is emphatic, and contrasts *ab Oceano* of the previous chapter with *in Oceano* here.

5. *Differt*, i. e., from ours (Roman).

6. *Utrisque prora*, i. e., resembling an Indian canoe.

7. *Ministrantur, sc. naves*.—*In ordinem*, i. e., *ita ut ordo fiat*, to form a regular tier of oars after the Roman fashion.

8. *Solutum* means *loose*, not strapped in.—*In quibusdam fluminum*, e. g., where the banks were steep, so that the boat could be brought close to them.

9, 10. *Est . . . honos*. Cf. cap. V.—*Eoque*; because of his superior wealth.—*Unus* then means the *wealthiest* man among them.—*Nullis iam exceptionibus*. This expression marks the contrast between the Suiones and the Lygli and Gothones in the last chapter: here there are no limits to the authority of the king. For the force of *iam* here, see note on *iam adductus* in XLIII.

11. *Precario iure*. *Precarium ius* is a privilege only granted to a person's entreaty, as a favor, which cannot be claimed as a strict right. Cf. *Hist.* I. 52 and *An.* I. 42.

12, 13. *In promiscuo*, i. e., by the mass of the people.—*Et quidem, and he too*.—*Quia . . . Oceanus* gives the reason why the arms are locked up.

matorum manus facile lasciviunt. Enimvero neque nobilem neque ingenuum, ne libertinum quidem armis praeponere regia utilitas est.

- XLV. Trans Suionas aliud mare, pigrum ac prope inmo-
 5 tum, quo cingi cludique terrarum orbem hinc fides, quod ex-
 tremus cadentis iam solis fulgor in ortus edurat adeo clarus ut
 sidera hebetet; sonum insuper emergentis audiri, formasque
 deorum et radios capitis aspici persuasio adicit. Illuc usque
 (et fama vera) tantum natura.
- 10 Ergo iam dextro Suevici maris litore Aestiorum gentes
 alluuntur, quibus ritus habitusque Suevorum, lingua Britan-
 nicæ propior. Matrem deum venerantur; insigne supersti-
 tionis formas aprorum gestant. Id pro armis omnique tutela
 securum deae cultorem etiam inter hostes praestat. Rarus

1-3. *Lasciviunt*, "become demoralized."—*Enimvero . . . utilitas est* explains why the arms are in the custody of a slave. Tacitus seems to have had no conception of a king other than of the despotic oriental type. Even the worst of the Roman emperors, cloaking their tyranny under a guise, however thin, of constitutionalism, would hardly realize his idea of *rex*. Cf. *An.* XVI. 23; *Hist.* V. 8.

CHAP. XLV. 4. *Aliud mare* probably refers to the North Sea. He describes this sea in similar language in *Agr.* cap. X. Some, however, refer it to the Arctic Ocean.—*Pigrum ac prope inmotum*, i. e., on account of the ice.

5-7. *Hinc* (sc. *est*) refers to what follows, *quod extremus, etc.*—*Quod extremus . . . hebetet*. "The idea is, that though the sun sets, the evening and the morning twilights follow each other so closely, that there is no night; at least no night dark enough to show the stars." C. The cause of this is clearly explained by the true principles of astronomy. For Tacitus' explanation, see *Agr.* XII.—*Emergentis, sc. solis*. This has nothing to do with the belief prevalent among the ancients, that when the

sun sets in the West, his descent into the ocean is attended with hissings. Tacitus is speaking of the North, bending toward the East.—*Formasque deorum*. The commentators discuss the question who these gods were. I do not suppose that any particular gods are meant.

8, 9. *Radios capitis*. Some suppose this to refer to the Aurora Borealis.—*Persuasio, popular belief*.—*Illuc . . . natura, thus far only* (and the report is true) *does nature extend*. Sc. *est* with both *fama* and *natura*.

10. *Ergo iam* is a resumption of the subject broken off by the digression.—*Suevici maris*, i. e., the Baltic.—*Aestiorum gentes*. These people—the men of the East—occupied the coast of Eastern Prussia, and Courland. Their name is preserved in *Esthonia*.

11. *Ritus* is explained directly after to be the worship of Mother Earth, also prevalent among the Suevi.—*Habitus, dress*.

12. *Matrem deum*, i. e., according to the Roman interpretation, *Cybele*; but the same as *Nerthus* mentioned in cap. XL.

13. *Formas aprorum gestant*. These were no doubt small images of boars, worn round the persons as

ferri, frequens fustium usus. Frumenta ceterosque fructus patientius quam pro solita Germanorum inertia laborant. Sed et mare scrutantur, ac soli omnium succinum, quod ipsi glesum vocant, inter vada atque in ipso litore legunt. Nec quae natura quaeve ratio gignat, ut barbaris, quaesitum com- 5 pertumve. Diu quin etiam inter cetera eiectamenta maris iacebat, donec luxuria nostra dedit nomen. Ipsis in nullo usu; rude legitur, informe perfertur, pretiumque mirantes accipiunt. Sucum tamen arborum esse intelligas, quia terrena quaedam atque etiam volucra animalia plerumque interlucent, 10 quae implicata humore mox durescente materia cluduntur. Fecundiora igitur nemora lucosque, sicut Orientis secretis, ubi tura balsamaque sudantur, ita Occidentis insulis terrisque inesse crediderim; quae vicini solis radiis expressa atque liquentia in proximum mare labuntur, ac vi tempestatum in 15

amulets or charms. Many vestiges of this superstition remain to this day in Sweden. The peasants in the month of February, the season formerly sacred to the goddess Freya, make little images of boars in paste, which are applied to various superstitious uses.

2, 3. *Laborant*. This transitive use of the word is poetical.—*Suctinum*, Amber, so called because it was believed to be the juice (*sucus*) of a tree.—*Glesum*. "This name was transferred to *glass*, when it came into use." T.

5. *Natura*, sc. *sit eius*.—*Ratio*, process of nature.—*Compertumve*, sc. *is*, with which *ut barbaris* is in apposition.

6, 7. *Diu iacebat*. The Gothones, who formerly inhabited this coast, used it for fuel, and sold it, for that purpose, to the neighboring Teutones. Plin. XXXVII, 2.—*Eiectamenta*, things thrown up; a word of rare occurrence. We have no corresponding word in English.—*Luxuria nostra*. Amber was used in various ways by the Romans; for ornamenting drinking-cups (Juv. V. 38), for bracelets and

necklaces. Balls of amber were also carried by the Roman ladies in their hands, for the sake of the agreeable perfume given out by it when rubbed. Cf. Mart. V. 37, and III. 65.—*Ipsis in nullo usu*. It would seem that the ancient Germans held amber in some estimation, as small balls strung on horse-hair, and large unwrought pieces, have been found in tombs.

8. *Perfertur*. It reached Rome by an overland route, being carried by the inhabitants of the Baltic coast into Pannonia to Carnuntum on the Danube, and thence conveyed by the Veneti to the shores of the Adriatic, thence to Rome.

9. *Sucum arborum*. Amber is now known to be a fossil resin, thus establishing the ancient opinion of its vegetable origin.

11. *Implicata humore*, entangled in it while in a liquid state.—*Cluduntur* = *includuntur*.

12, 13. *Secretis*, sc. *terris*.—*Sudantur*, are exuded.—*Insulis*: dat. after *in*.

14. *Crediderim*, I am inclined to believe; subj. of softened assertion.—*Quae* (= *quorum succus*) refers gram-

adversa litora exundant. Si naturam sucini admoto igni tentes, in modum taedae accenditur, alitque flammam pinguem et olentem; mox ut in picem resinamve leutescit.

Suionibus 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. Peucinatorum Venetorumque et Fennorum nationes Germanis an Sarmatis adscribam dubito, quamquam Peucini, quos quidam Bastarnas vocant, sermone, cultu, sede ac domiciliis ut Germani agunt. Sordes omnium ac torpor procerum; conubiis mixtis nonnihil in Sarmatarum habitum foedantur. Veneti multum ex moribus traxerunt; nam quidquid inter Peucinos Fennosque silvarum ac montium erigitur, latrocinii pererrant. Hi tamen inter Germanos

matically to *nemora lucosque*, but Tacitus of course meant it to refer to the gums which exude from them. These gums are drawn out by the action of the sun near to them when he sinks into the west. They are carried by the ocean currents to the opposite shores, the far northeastern coasts.

1-3. *Admoto igni*, by applying fire to it, lit., by fire applied to it.—*Pinguem*, i. e., thick or smoky.—*Ut in picem resinamve*, as if into pitch or resin, i. e., into something resembling pitch or resin.

4. *Sitonum*, Norwegians, mentioned in this passage only.—*Continuantur*, are joined to, i. e., are contiguous to.—*Similes*, sc. *Suionibus*.

5. *In tantum*, so low, lit., to such a degree. Found only in late Latin.

6. *A servitute*. Elsewhere slaves, however degraded as in Oriental countries, are still ruled by men, and are not therefore sunk so low as the Sitones, who are ruled by a woman.—*Finis*, i. e., to the north.

CHAP. XLVI. 7. *Peucinatorum*. The Peucini were allies of Philip and Perseus, kings of Macedonia, and thus brought into contact with the Romans. Some of the classical authors make them Germans, others

Gauls, and it does not seem clear which they were. From Strabo it appears that they were a branch of the Bastarnae and inhabited the country about the mouth of the Danube, and particularly the island Peuce, now *Piczina*, formed by the river.—*Venetorum*. The Veneti were east of the Vistula along the *Sinus Veneticus*, or Gulf of Dantzic, in East Prussia and Courland. They were a Lithuanic or Slavonian people; and *Wends* is still the name by which the Slavonians are known to the Germans. Afterwards they seem to have been associated with the Huns and Goths on the Danube.—*Fennorum*. These were probably the Finns of Finland, and perhaps the *Φίννοι* of Ptolemy (III. 5).

8. (*Utrum*) *Germanis an Sarmatis*. This has not been definitely settled.

10. *Agunt = vivunt*.—*Sordes* (sc. est) . . . *procerum*. That is, all are filthily dirty; but the nobles enjoy the superior privilege of idleness besides. Cf. XV., *fortissimus quisque ac bellicosissimus nihil agens*.—*Torpor* (sc. est), laziness.

11, 12. *Conubiis mixtis*, by intermarriages, i. e., with the Sarmati.—*Habitum* here denotes personal appearance.—*Ex moribus*, sc. *Sarmatarum*.

potius referuntur, quia et domos figunt et scuta gestant et pedum usu ac pernecitate gaudent; quae omnia diversa Sarmatis sunt in plaustro equoque viventibus. Fennis mira feritas, foeda paupertas; non arma, non equi, non penates; victui herba, vestitui pelles, cubile humus; sola in sagittis 5 spes, 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 contendantur; huc redeunt iuvenes, hoc senum receptaculum. Sed 10 beatius arbitrantur, quam ingemere agris, inlaborare domibus, suas alienasque fortunas spe metuque versare. Securi adversus homines, securi adversus deos, rem difficillimam adsecuti sunt, ut illis ne voto quidem opus esset. Cetera iam fabulosa; Hellusios et Oxionas ora hominum vultusque, corpora atque 15 artus ferarum gerere; quod ego, ut incompertum, in medium relinquam.

1, 2. *Domos figunt*. The nomad life of the Sarmatians is described by Horace (*Car.*, III. 24, 10), whereas these people have fixed homes. The Sarmatae were the stock of the modern Russians.—*Sarmatis*: dat. with *diversa*.

5. *Cubile humus*. Note the change of construction. The nominative, as more emphatic, is substituted for *cubili*, which we should expect, to correspond with *victui* and *vestitui*.

6. *Asperant*, roughly point. A poetic expression, not found in Cicero. The Esquimaux and South Sea Islanders do the same thing to this day.

7, 8. *Comitantur*, sc. *viris*.—*Ferarum imbriumque*, from wild beasts and storms.

11. *Ingemere agris*, to groan over the fields, i. e., in tilling them. A very poetical use of *ingemere*.—*Inlaborare* is here formed upon the model of *ingemere*. It nowhere else occurs in this meaning.—*Domibus*, i. e., in building them.

12. *Spe metuque*, i. e., hope of gain

and fear of loss.—*Versare*, to be constantly employed in increasing.—*Securi*, without anxiety, as they have nothing to lose, and the pleasure or displeasure of the gods is all one to them.

14. *Illis*: emphatic. — *Cetera*, all further accounts.

15. *Hellusios et Oxionas*. People of Lapland. "The origin of this fable is probably due to the manner of clothing in these cold regions, where the inhabitants bury themselves in the thickest furs, scarcely leaving anything of the form of a human creature."

16. *In medium relinquam*. Cicero (*Pro Cluent.* XX.) has *in medio relinquam*; also Sallust (*Cat.* XIX). Tacitus, however, is fond of using the accusative after the preposition, as *An.* XIII. 41. *aliaque in eandem formam decernuntur*. Here it is used like *in ordinem*, in cap. XLIV., and is equivalent to *relinquam ita ut medium sit*, so as to be a neutral assertion, neither affirmed nor denied.

