

THIS

LIFE OF AGRICOLA

AND

GERMANY

BY

P. CORNELIUS TACITUS

EDITED BY

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## INTRODUCTION.

PUBLIUS \* CORNELIUS TACITUS, the greatest of the Roman historians, flourished in the reign of the Emperor

Trajan (A.D. 98-117). There is no positive evidence as to the place of his birth, or his date, or the time of his death. A tradition of no great value makes him a native of Interamna. This was the birthplace of the Emperor Trajan, who claimed kinship with the historian. As to the year of his birth, we know only that he was somewhat older than his intimate friend, the younger Pliny, who was born A.D. 61 or 62. Pliny himself says (Epp. vii. 20) that they were *prægenitibus æquantes*; but adds: *indubitanter, cum jam in fama gloriose forent, et æqui... conspicerentur*. These expressions may point to a difference in age of four or five, possibly even eight or ten, years; we cannot well place the birth of Tacitus earlier than 51 or later than 56. The best authorities are generally agreed upon A.D. 54. Two or three considerations tell in favor of an earlier date. In the Life of Agricola (Chap. III.) he appears to reckon himself among those who, being *juvenes* at the accession of Domitian, had received *ad senectutem* under the rule of that tyrant. Now forty-five was the age of *senectus* according to Roman law; and as Domitian died in 96, Tacitus can hardly have been born much later than 51. Again, the narration of

\* His *perennitas* has been usually given as *Græcia*, but is now generally accepted to have been *Publius*, on the authority of one of the best manuscripts.

the events of the years 68 and 69 in the *Histories*, appears to be that of an eye-witness; if so, we cannot suppose him to have been less than fifteen at that date. Another consideration is that Tacitus was *praetor* a.d. 88, which was the first year he could have held that office, under the rules of the Republic; if he had been born in 51. These rules were, it is true, no longer in force; nevertheless, it is reasonable to suppose that they still exerted some influence, and that this office would not be held much before the traditional age. It may be added that Pliny was probably not far from fifty-five when he made use of the expression *prope senectutem aequales*; and that this turn might apply very well to two men of fifty-five and sixty-three or five. He probably died about A.D. 116.

Of the events of his life very little is known. He married the daughter of Agricola in the year a.d. 78 (Chap. IX.), and it has been conjectured that he was a member of his military family during his administration of Aquitania the three previous years. He was *praetor* a.d. 88, and was afterwards absent from Rome for four years, during which period his father-in-law died, a.d. 93 (Chap. XLV.). He was consul under Nero, a.d. 97. We learn from several passages in Pliny that he was a distinguished lawyer and orator, as well as historian.

It is almost by accident that we possess the writings of Tacitus, for the manuscripts in which they have come down to us are very few, and badly mutilated. These writings are: 1. *The Dialogue of Orators* (*De Oratoribus*), an early composition, so different in style from his later works that many have thought it could not have been written by him. 2. *The Life of Agricola*. 3. *Germany*: a description of the nations of Germany, which forms our best source of information as to their early condition. It is about as large a work as the *Agricola*. 4. *The Histories*, in fourteen books: a detailed narration of events

from the death of Nero, a.d. 68, to that of Domitian, a.d. 96. Only the first four books and part of the fifth are extant. 5. *The Annals*: properly an introduction to the *Histories*, less full and minute, but in a more finished and mature style. It consisted of sixteen books, and embraced the period from the death of Augustus, a.d. 14, to that of Nero, a.d. 68. Four books and parts of four others are missing. He planned also a history of the good emperors after Domitian, but seems never to have undertaken it.

Tacitus was in theory a republican, and had no liking for the empire. He knew very well that the Republic could never be restored, and was satisfied that the beneficent rule of Nero and Trajan had solved the problem of government for the Romans, and that they now enjoyed the best practicable combination of liberty and authority. But he could not forget the horrors of the evil times that had gone before, and he gives full and unreserved expression to his hatred of the tyranny of Tiberius, Caligula, Nero, and Domitian. His style grows with maturity of feeling, and he speaks of them; and he often rises on these occasions into a stern and passionate eloquence. This appears also to have been his characteristic as an orator; for Pliny says that when engaged in the prosecution of a cruel and unjust provincial governor, he spoke *elegantissime et, quae est orationis orationis esse solent, serenas*,—which last word we may render, "in a steady, earnest style." As a writer, he had the same characteristics; he excels in graphic power, though he is often obscure from excessive condensation; but the student is always repaid for his efforts by the intrinsic excellence of his writings.

The *Life of Agricola* stands by itself in ancient literature as a biography of the modern type,—not merely the worldly realism of an eminent man, like those of Plutarch and Xenophon, but a personal tribute of affection and admiration by

one of his own household. No classical work is therefore better fitted to form part of a course which aims to contain only what is intrinsically best and most characteristic. It is one of those *bonæ voluntatis* which help to elevate and strengthen the moral nature and build up character.

My aim, in the present edition, has been to meet the needs of such a course. I have left special philological training to the teacher, only making occasional reference to the leading grammarians. On the other hand, I have undertaken to explain the historical references with great fullness, and to give needless assistance in all real difficulties. In the text I have for the most part followed Kritiz, but have not hesitated to vary from it when there seemed to be good reason, especially in several cases to restore the reading of the manuscripts. In preparing the commentary, I have been chiefly assisted by Kritiz, but have also made use of Dräger, Church and Brodricz, and Freund. My special thanks are due to Ersk. Tracy Peck of Cornell University, who has carefully read the whole proof, and whose suggestions have frequently caused me to change or modify my opinions.

It is my intention to follow this, as early as possible, with an edition of the Germania of Tacitus.

MADISON, WIS., May 20, 1880.

WILLIAM FRANCIS ALLEN

## THE LIFE OF AGRICOLA.

I. *Clarorum virorum facta moresque posteris tradere, antiquitas usitatur, ne nostris eisdem temporibus quamquam incuriosa seorum aetas omisit, quotiens magna aliqua ac nobilis virtus vicit ac supergressa est virtum parvis magnisque civitatibus commune, ignorantiam recti et iudicium. Sed apud priores ut agere dignam memoratum primum magnisque in aperto erit, ita celeberrimus quisque ingenio ad prodendum virtutis memoriam, sine gratia aut ambitione, bonae tantum conscientiae pretio docebatur. Ac plerique eorum ipsi vitam narrare hactenus potius veram quam interrogantem arbitri sunt, nec id Rutilio et Seneca citra fidem esse ebrietationi habit: adeo virtutes hanc temporibus optime aestimantur, quibus facillime gignuntur. At nunc narratur non vitam de iuncti hominis, venia ejus facti: quod non petissent incensuratus tam saeva et infesta virtutibus tempora.*

II. *Legimus, cum Aruleno Rustico Paetus Thrasea, Herennio Senecio, Pisonis Helvidius laudati essent, capitale fuisse; neque in ipsos modo auctores, sed in homines quoque eorum sevitum, delegato utiavideis ministerio, ut monumenta clarissimorum ingeniorum in conatio ac foro urentur. Scilicet illo igne vocem populi Romani et libertatem senatus et conscientiam generis humani abjecti arbitrabantur, expulsi insuper*

sapientiae professoris atque omni bono arte in exilium acta, ne quid usquam honestum recurreret. Declinans profecto grande patriciae documentum; et sicut vetus aetas vidit quid utinam in libertate esset, ita nos quid in servitute, ademptio per inquisitiones etiam loquenti; acerbisque commercio. Memoriam quoque ipsam cum voce perdidissemus, si tam in nostra potestate esset obivisci quam tacere. 11. Nunc demum rexit auctoritas; et quaequam primo statim beatissimi saeculi oratorum Nerva Caesar res olim dissocialibiles misceuerit, principatum ac libertatem, atqueque curthiae feliciter temporum Nerva Traiani, nec sepea modo ac vorata Securitas publica, sed ipsius voti fiduciam ac robur assumpsit: necura tamen inlicitatis humanae turpiora sunt remedia quam mala; et ut corpora nostra lente auferant, cito extinguantur, sic ingenta studiique oppresseris facilius curam revocaveris. Sinit quippe etiam ipsius inertiae ducere, et invisa primo desidia postremo amantur. Quid? si per quindecim annos, grande morralis aevi spatium, multi fortassis casibus, promptissimus quisque saevitia principis intercederent, parci, ut ita dixerim, non modo aliorum, sed etiam nostri superstitibus sumus, exemptis e necia vita tot annis, quibus juvenes ad severitatem, senes prope ad ipsos exactae aetatis terminos per silerium venimus. Non tamen pigebit vel incondita ac ricti voce memoriam prioris servitutis ac testimonium praesentium honorum composuisse. Hic interit ilber, honori Agricolae socii ricti destinatus; professione pietatis aut iudatus est aut excusatus.

IV. GRAEVS. JULIUS AGRICOLA, vetere et illustri Istoridensium colonia ortus, utrumque enim propretorem Caesarem habuit, quae equestris nobilitas est. Pater Julius Graecinus, senatorii ordinis, studio eloquen-

tio sapientiaeque notus, usque ipsis virutibus ram Gaii Caesaris meritis; namque M. Sillam accusare iussus et, quia abnuerat, interfectus est. Mater Julia Proclia fuit, rarae castitatis. In hujus sinu indulgentiaeque educatus per omnem honestatum artium cultum pueritiam adolescentianque transegit. Arcebat eum ab illecebris peccantium, praeter ipsius bonam integritate naturam, quod statim parvulus sedens ac magistrum studiorum Messianum haecidit, locum Graeca comitate et provinciali parsimonia iustum ac bene compositum. Memoria teneo solitum ipsum narrare se in prima juvena studium philosophiae acutus, ultra quam concessum Romano ac senatori, hausisse, ni praegeritum patris incensum ac flagrantem animum coarctasset. Scilicet sub fine et crectum ingenium percritiditorem ac speciem arguae excelsoque gloriae vehementius quam carae appetebat. Mox mitigavit ratio et aetas; retinuitque, quod est difficillimum, ex sapientia modum.

V. PRIMA castrorum rudimenta in Britannia Suetonio Paulino, diligenti ac moderato cueri, approbavit, electus quem conatuberno aestimaret. Nec Agricola, iuventa, more juvenum qui militiam in lasciviam vertunt, neque segriter ad voluptates et comereantis stultum tribuatus et inscitiam retrulit; sed noscere provinciam, nosci exercitui, discere a patris, sequi opturos, nihil appetere in iactationem, nihil in formidinem recitare, spiritumque et animum et intentus agere. Non sane alias exercitator magisque in ambiguo Britannia fuit. Praedidit veterani, incensae coloniae, intercepti exercitus; tum de salute, nox de victoria certare. Quae cuncta etsi consilia duceque aliterius agebantur ac summa rerum et reperturae provinciae gloria in ducem cessit, artem et usum et stimulos addidit juveni, interaque arrium militaris gloriae erigida, ingrata temporibus, quibus sinistra erga embrentes interpretatio nec minus periculum ex magna fama quam ex male.

- VI. Hinc ad capessendos magistratus in urbem digressus, Domitiam Decidiana, splendidis rarioribus ortam, sibi junxit; idque matrimonium ad majora nitenti decus ac robur fuit. Vixeruntque mira concordia, per multam caritatem et invicem se anteponendo; nisi quod in bona exore tanto melior pars, quanto in mala plus culpae est. Sors quaesturae provinciam Asiam, praeconsulem Salmium Titianum dedit; quorum neutro corruptus est, quamquam et provincia dives ac parva peccantibus, et praeconsul, in omnem aviditatem pronus, quantalibet facilitate redempturus esset; mutuum dissimulatorem mali. Auctus est ibi filia in subsidium simul et societas; nam fituro ante scilaturum brevi antisei. Mox inter quaestoriam ac tribunatam plebis atque ipsam etiam tribunatus annum quiete et otio transiit, generus sub Nerore temporum, quibus inertia pro sapientia fuit. Iam praeturae tenor et scientiam; nec enim iurisdicio obvenerat. Ludos et ianua honoris medio rationis atque abundantiae duxit, uti longe a luxuria, ita famae propior. Tum electus a Galba ad dona temporum recognoscenda, diligentissima conculsione fecit, ne cuius alterius sacrilegium respublica quam Neronis sensisset.
- VII. Secrens nonus gravi vultu acrimam domumque ejus afflixit. Nam classis Othoniana, receter vaga, dum Intemellos (Liguriae pars est) nostriliter populatur, matrem Agricolae in praediis suis interfecit, praediaque ipsa et magnam patrimonii partem diripuit, quae causa caedis fuerat. Igitur ad sollemnia pietatis profectus Agricola, nuntio affectu a Vespasiano imperii deprehensus ac statim in partes transgressus est. Initia principatus ac statum urbis Mucianus regabat, juvene adroccum Domitiano et ex paterna fortuna tantum iocentiam usurpante. Is missum ad delectus agendos Agricolam integreque ac strenue versatum, vicissimae regioni, carce ad sacramentum transgressae, praeposuit, ubi

- decessor seditiose agere narrabatur; quippe legatis quoque consularibus armis ac fortitudinis erat, nec legatus praetorius ac cohibendum petens, incertum suo animatum ingenio. Ita successor simul et tutor electus, rarissima moderatione maluit videri invenisse bonos quam fecisse.
- VIII. Praerat tunc Britanniae Vettius Bolanus placidus quam feroci provincia dignum est. Temperavit Agricola vim suam ardoremque compossuit, ut inrecceret, peritus obsequi crudelisque vitia horrestis iudicere. Brevis deinde Britannia consulari Petium Corialem accepit. Habuerunt virtutes spatium exemplorum. Sed primo Corialis labores modo et discretissima, mox et gloriam communicabat; saepe parti exercitus in experimentum, aliquando maioribus copiis ex eventu praefecit. Nec Agricola unquam in suam famam gestis exultavit; ad auctorem et ducem ut minister fortunam referebat. Ita virtute in obsequendo, veteranda in praedicando, extra invidiam nec extra gloriam erat.
- IX. Revertentem ab legatione legionis divus Vespasianus inter patricios ascrivit, ac deinde provinciae Aquitaniae praeposuit, splendidae in principis dignitatis administratione ac spe consularis, cui deservarat. Creduat plerique militibus ingentis subtilitatem, deesse, quia castrensis jurisdictione secum et obtusior ac plura tramu agens calliditatem fore non exerceat. Agricola naturali prudentia, quamvis inter cogatos, facie iustaque agebat. Jam vero tempora curam remissionumque divisa; ubi conventus ac iudicia posecerat, gravis, intertus, severus, et saepius misericors; ubi officio satis factum, nulla ultra potestatis personae. Tristitiam et arrogantiam et avaritiam exortat; nec illi, quod est tantissimum, aut facilitas auctoritatem aut severitas amorem eumhuit. Integritate atque abstinentia in tanto viro referre iustitia virtutum fuerit. Ne famam

cuidem, cui saepe etiam boni indulgent, ostentanda virtute aut per artem quaesivit; procul ad aemulationem adversus collegas, procul a contentione adversus procuratores, et vincere ingloriam et aeterni sordidum arbitrabatur. Minus triennium in ea legatione detentus ac statim ad spem consulatus revocatus est, comitante opinione Britanniam ei provinciam dari, nullis in hoc suis sermonibus, sed quia par videbatur. Haec semper errat fama; aliquando et elegit. Consul egregiae tunc spei aeternam juveni mihi despondit ac post consulatum collocavit; et statim Britanniae praepositus est, adjecto pontificatus sacerdotio.

x. Britanniae spem populosque multis scriptoribus memoratos non in comparationem curae ingenive referam, sed quia tum primum perdomita est; ita quae priores nondum competere eloquentia percipere, rerum fide tradunt. Britannia, insularum quas Romana notitia complectitur maxima, spatio ac caelo in orientem Germaniae, in occidentem Hispaniae obtenditur; Gallis in meridiem etiam inspicitur. Septentrionalia ejus, nullis contra terris, vasto aeque aperto mari pulsanantur. Formam totius Britanniae Livius veterum, Fabius Rusticus recentium eloquentissimi auctores, oblongae sententiae vel bipenni assimulaverunt. Et est ea facies citra Caledoniam, unde et in reversum famu est transgressa; sed immensum et enorme spatium procerentium extremo jam litore terrarum velut in cuneum tenentur. Hanc oram novissimi maris tunc primum Romana classis circumvoluta insulam esse Britanniam affirmavit, ac simul incognitas ad id tempus insulas, quas Orcadas vocant, invenit domicique. Dispecta est et Thule, quia haecenus iussum, et hinc appetebat. Sed mare pigrum et grave remigantibus; peribant ne ventis quidem perinde altissimi; credo, quod rariores terrae

montesque, censa ac materia tempestatuum, et profunda proles continui maris tardius impellitur. Naturam Oceani atque aestus neque quaerere hujus operis est, ac multi retulere. Unum addiderim, nequam latus dominari vultu, multum fluminum huc atque illuc ferre, nec litore terras accrescere aut resorbere, sed influere penitus atque ambire, et jugis etiam ac montibus inseri velut in suo.

xi. Ceterum Britanniam qui mortales initio convenerint, indigenae ac adveci, et inter barbaros parvam compertum. Habitus corporum varii, atque ex eo argumenta Namque rutillae Caledoniam habitantium comae, magis atque Germanicam originem asseverant. Silurum colorati vultus, totum perveniuntque crines, et posita contra Hispania Iberos veteres trajecisse cuscae sedes occupasse fidem faciunt. Proximi Gallis et similes sunt, seu durante originis vi, seu procurantibus in diversa terris, postea caeli corporibus habitum dedit; in universum tamen aestimanti Gallos vicinam insulam occupasse credibile est. Formam sacra ceptibentias, superstitiosum persuasiviores; sermo haud multum diversus; in elapsendis periculis eandem formido. Plus tamen ferociae Britanni praeferebant, ut quos nondum longa pax erolliverit. Nam Geros quoque in bellis fortasse acceptissimus; mox segnitia cum otio intravit, amisse virtute pariter ac libertate. Quae Britannorum olim victis eventit; ceteri manent quales Galli fuerunt. xii. In pedite robur; quaedam nationes et cura procliantur; honestior aetate, cientes propugnant. Olim regionibus parabant, nunc per principes factionibus et studiis tractantur; nec a vulgus adversus validissimas gentes pro nobis atque quam quod in communi non consultant. Rerum duabus tripasse civitatibus ad procurandam commune periculum conveniunt; ita singuli pugnant, universi vincunt. x.



Caelum crebris imbris ac nebulis foedum; asperitas  
 figorum abest. Dierum spatia ultra nostri orbis men-  
 suram; nox clara et extrema Britanniae parte brevis,  
 ut finem atque initium Lucis exiguo discrimine inter-  
 noscas. Quod si nubes non officiant, aspici per noctem  
 solis fulgorem, nec occidere et exurgere, sed transire  
 affirmant. Scilicet extrema et plana terrarum, humili  
 umbra, non erigunt tenebras, infraque caelum et sidera  
 nox cadit. Solum, praeter oleam vitemque et cetera  
 calidioribus terris oriri sueta, patiens frugum, fecun-  
 dum; tarde mitescunt, cito proveniunt, eademque utri-  
 usque rei causa, multus humor terrarum caelique.  
 Fert Britannia aurum et argentum et alia metalla,  
 pretium victoriae. Gignit et oceanus margarita, sed  
 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.

20 XIII. Ipsi Britanni delectum ac tributa et injuncta  
 imperii munera impigre obeunt, si injuriae absint; has  
 aegre tolerant, jam domiti ut pareant, nondum ut servi-  
 ant. Igitur primus omnium Romanorum divus Julius  
 cum exercitu Britanniam ingressus, quamquam prospera  
 pugna tenuerit incolas ac litore potitus sit, potest videri  
 ostendisse posteris, non tradidisse. Mox bella civilia,  
 et in rempublicam versa principum arma, ac longa  
 obliivio Britanniae etiam in pace. Consilium id divus  
 Augustus vocabat, Tiberius praeceptum. Agitasse Gaium  
 30 Caesarem de intranda Britannia satis constat, ni velox  
 ingenio, mobilis paenitentiae, et ingentes adversus Ger-  
 maniam conatus frustra fuissent. Divus Claudius auc-  
 tor iterati operis, transvectis legionibus auxiliisque et  
 assumpto in partem rerum Vespasiano; quod initium  
 35 venturae mox fortunae fuit. Domitiae gentes, capti  
 reges, et monstratus fatis 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 Cogidunno regi donatae (is ad  
 5 nostram usque memoriam fidelissimus mansit) ut, vetere  
 ac jam pridem recepta populi Romani consuetudine,  
 haberet instrumenta servitutis et reges. Mox Didius  
 Gallus parta a prioribus continuat, paucis admodum  
 castellis in ulteriora promotis, per quae fama aucti  
 officii quaereretur. Didium Veranius excepit, isque  
 10 intra annum extinctus est. Suetonius hinc Paulinus  
 biennio prosperas res habuit, subactis nationibus firma-  
 tisque praesidiis; quorum fiducia Monam insulam, ut  
 vires rebellibus ministrantem, aggressus terga occa-  
 sioni patefecit. XV. Namque absentia legati remoto  
 metu Britanni agitare inter se mala servitutis, con-  
 ferre injurias et interpretando accendere. Nihil profici  
 patientia, nisi ut graviora tanquam ex facili toleranti-  
 20 bus imperentur. Singulos sibi olim reges fuisse, nunc  
 binos imponi, e quibus legatus in sanguinem, pro-  
 curator in bona saeviret. Aequae discordiam praepo-  
 sitorum, aequae concordiam subjectis exitiosam; alterius  
 manum, centuriones, alterius servos vim et contumelias  
 miscere. Nihil jam cupiditati, nihil libidini exceptum.  
 25 In proelio fortiozem esse, qui spoilet; nunc ab ignavis  
 plerumque et imbellibus eripi domos, abstrahi liberos,  
 iungi delectus, tanquam mori tantum pro patria  
 nescientibus. Quantulum enim transisse militum, si  
 sese Britanni numerent? Sic Germanias excussisse  
 jugum, et flumine, non Oceano, defendi; sibi patriam,  
 conjuges, parentes, illis avaritiam et luxuriam causas  
 belli esse. Recessuros, ut divus Julius recessisset,  
 modo virtutes majorum suorum aemularentur. Neve  
 35 procelli unius aut alterius eventu pavescerent; plus

impetus, majorem constantiam penes miseros esse. Jam Britannorum etiam deos misereri, qui Romanum ducentem absentem, qui relegatum in alia insula exercitum detinerent; jam ipsos, quod difficillimum fuerit, delibere. Porro in ejusmodi consiliis periculosus esse deprehendi, quam audere.

XVI. His atque talibus invicem instincti, Boadicea generis regii femina duce (neque enim sexum in imperiis discernunt) sumpsere universi bellum; ac sparsos per castella milites consecrati, expugnatis praesidiis, ipsam coloniam invasere ut sedem servitutis. Nec ullum in barbaris saevitiae genus omisit ira et victoria. Quod nisi Paulinus, cognito provinciae motu, proptere subvenisset, amissa Britannia foret; quam unius proeli fortuna veteri patientiae restituit, tenentibus arma plebisque, quos conscientia defectionis et propius ex legato timor agitabat, ne quamquam egregius cetera arrogant in ditos et, ut suae cuiusque injuriae ultor, durius consuleret. Missus igitur Petronius Turpilianus tanquam exorabilior; et delictis hostium novus eoque paenitentiae mitior, compositis prioribus nihil ultra ausus Trebellio Maximo provinciam tradidit. Trebellius segnior et nullis castrorum experimentis comitate quadam curandi provinciam tenuit. Didicere jam barbari quoque ignoscere vitis blandimentibus, et interventus civilium armorum praebuit justam segnitiae excusationem. Sed discordia laboratum, cum assuetus expeditionibus miles otio lasciviret. Trebellius fuga ac latebris viata exercitus ira, 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 Bolanus et nullis delictis invisus caritatem paraverat loco auctoris.

XVII. Sed, ubi cum cetero orbe Vespasianus et Britanniam recuperavit, magni duces, egregii exercitus, minuta hostium spes. Et terrorem statim intulit Petrius Cerialis, Brigantum civitatem, quae numerosissima provinciae totius perhibetur, aggressus. Multa proelia, et aliquando non incruenta; magnamque Brigantum partem aut victoria amplexus est aut bello. Et Cerialis quidem alterius successoris curam famamque obruisset; *sabiz* sustinuitque molem Julius Frontinus, vir magentem armis subegit, super virtutem hostium locorum quoque difficultates elucatus.

XVIII. Hunc Britanniae statum, has bellorum vices media, jam aestate transgressus Agricola invenit, cum et milites velut omissa, expeditione ad securitatem et hostes ad occasionem verterentur. Ordovicum civitas, haud multo ante adventum ejus, alam in finibus suis agentem prope universam obriverat, eoque initio erecta provincia; et quibus bellum volentibus 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 incohatur, et plerisque custodiri suspecta potius videbatur, ire obviam discrimini statuit; contractisque legionum vexillis et modica auxiliorum manu, quia in aequum degressi Ordovices non audebant, ipse ante agmen, quo ceteris par animus similis periculo esset, erexit aciem. Caesaque prope universa gente, non ignarus instandum famae, ac, prout prima cessissent, terrorem ceteris fore, Monam insulam, cujus possessione revocatum Paulinum rebellionem totius Britanniae supra memoravi, redigere in potestatem animo intendit. Sed ut in dubiis consiliis naves decrant; ratio et constantia ducis transvevit. Depositis omnibus sarcinis lectissimos auxiliarium, quibus nota

vada et patrius nandi usus, quo simul seque et arma et equos regunt, ita repente immisit, ut obstupefacti hostes, qui classem, qui naves, qui mare expectabant, nihil arduum aut invictum crederint sic ad bellum venientibus. Ita petita pace ac decita insula, clarus ac magnus haberi Agricola; quippe cui ingredientem provinciam, quod tempus alii per ostentationem et officiorum ambitum transigunt, labor et periculum placuisset. Nec Agricola, prosperitate rerum in vanitatem usus, expeditionem aut victoriam vocabat victos continuisse; ne laureatis quidem gesta prosecutus est. Sed ipsa dissimulatione famae famam auxit aestimantibus quanta futuri spe tam magna tacuisset.

xix. Ceterum animorum provinciae prudens, simulque doctus per aliena experimenta parum profici armis, si injuriae sequerentur, causas bellorum statuit excidere. A se suisque orsus, primum domum suam coeruit, quod plerisque haud 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 fdisissimum putare; omnia scire, non omnia exsequi; parvis peccatis veniam, magnis severitatem commodare, nec poena semper sed saepius paenitentia contentus esse; officiis et administrationibus potius non peccaturos praepone, quam damnare cum peccassent. Frumenti et tributorum exactionem aequalitate numerum mollire, circumcisus quae in quaestum reperta ipso tributo gravius tolerabantur. Namque per ludibrium assidere clausis horreis et emere ultro frumenta, ac ludere pretio cogebantur; devortia itinerum et longinquitas regionum indicebatur, ut civitates, proximis hibernis, in remota et avia deferrent, donec, quod omnibus in promptu erat, paucis lucrosam feret.

xx. Haec primo statim anno comprimendo, egregiam

famam paci circumdedit, quae vel incuria vel intolerantia priorum haud minus quam bellum timebatur. Sed, ubi aestas adventit, contracto exercitu multus in agrum, laudare modestiam, disiectos coercere: loca castris ipse capere, aestuaria ac silvas ipse praetentare; et nihil interm apud hostes quietum pati, quo minus subitis excursibus popularetur; atque, ubi satis terruerat, pariendo rursus irritamenta 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 Britanniae nova pars *partiter* illaccessa transierit.

xxi. Sequens hiems saluberrimis consiliis absumpta. Namque, ut homines dispersi ac rudes eoque bello faciles quieti et otio per voluptates assuescerent, hortari privatim, adjuvare publice, ut templa fora domos exstruerent, laudando promptos et castigando segnes. Ita honoris aemulatio pro necessitate erat. Jam vero principum filios liberalibus artibus erudire, et ingenia Britannorum studiis Gallorum anteferre, ut, qui modo linguam Romanam abnuebant, eloquentiam concupiscerent. Inde etiam habitus nostri honor et frequens togae, palliatumque discessum ad delenimenta vitorum, porticus et balnea et conviviorum elegantiam; idque apud imperitos humanitas vocabatur, cum pars servitutis esset.

xxii. Tertius expeditionum annus novas gentes aperuit, vastatis usque ad Tanam (aestuario nomen est) nationibus. Qua formidine territi hostes quamquam confictatum saevis tempestatibus exercitum lacessere non ausi; ponendisque insuper castellis spatium fuit. Annotabant periti non alium ducem opportunitates locorum sapientius legisse. Nullum ab Agricola positum castrum aut vi hostium expugnatum aut pactone ac fuga desertum; crebrae eruptiones; nam adversus moras

obsidionis annuis copiis firmabantur. Ita intrepida ibi hiems, et sibi quisque praesidio, irritis hostibus eoque desperantibus, quia soliti plerumque damna aestatis hibernis eventibus pensare, tum aestate atque hieme juxta pellebantur. Nec Agricola unquam per alios gesta avidus intercepit; seu centurio seu praefectus incorruptum facti testem habebat. Apud quosdam acerbius in conviciis narrabatur; ut erat comis bonis, ita adversus malos injucundus. Ceterum ex iracundia nihil supererat secretum, ut silentium ejus non timeres; honestus putabat offendere quam odisse.

xxiii. Quarta aetas obtinentis quae percurreret 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 praesidiis firmabatur, atque omnis propior sinus tenebatur, summotis velut in aliam insulam hostibus.

xxiv. Quinto expeditionum anno, aëve prima transgressus, ignotas ad id tempus gentes crebris simul ac prosperis proeliis 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 ejus, si Britanniae compareretur, angustius, nostri maris insulas superat. Solum caelumque et ingenia cultusque hominum haud multum a Britannia differt in melius; aditus portusque per commercia et negotiatores cogniti. Agricola expulsum seditione domestica unum ex regulis gentis exeperat 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.

xxv. Ceterum aestate, qua sextum officii annum incohabat, amplexus civitates trans Bodotriam sitas, quia motus universarum ultra gentium et infesta hostiliis exercitus itinera timebantur, portus classe exploravit. Quae ab Agricola primum assumpta in partem virium sequebatur egregia specie, cum simul terra simul mari, bellum impelleretur, ac saepe iisdem castris pedes equesque et nauticus miles, misti copiis et laetitia, sua quisque facta suos casus attollerent; ac modo silvarum ac montium profunda, modo tempestatum ac fluctuum adversa, hinc terra et hostis, hinc vicus Oceanus militari jactantia compararentur. Britannos quoque, ut ex captivis audiebatur, visa classis obstupesciebat, tamquam aperto maris sui secreto ultimum victis perfugium clauderetur. Ad manus et arma conversi Caledoniam incolentes populi, paratu magno, majore 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 et perita locorum circumiretur, diviso et ipse in tres partes exercitu incessit.

xxvi. Quod ubi cognitum hosti, mutato repente consilio, universi nonam legionem ut maxime invalidam nocte aggressi, inter somnum ac trepidationem caesis vigilibus irrupere. Jamque in ipsis castris pugnabatur, cum Agricola, iter hostium ab exploratoribus edoctus et vestigiis insectus, velocissimos equitum peditumque assultare tergis pugnantium jubet, mox ab universis adici clamorem; et propinqua luce fulsere signa. Ita ancipiti malo territi Britanni; et Romanis rediit antennis, ac securi pro salute de gloria certabant. Ultro quin

etiam erupere, et fuit atrox in ipsis portarum angustiis  
 proellum, donec pulsi hostes, utroque exercitu certante,  
 his, ut tulisse opera, illis, ne egruisse auxilio viderentur.  
 Quod nisi paludes et silvae fugientes texissent, debella-  
 5 tum illa victoria foret. xxvii. Cujus conscientia ac  
 fama ferox exercitus nihil virtuti suae invium et pene-  
 trandam Caledoniam inveniendumque tandem Britan-  
 niae terminum continuo proelliorum cursu fremebant;  
 atque illi modo cauti ac sapientes, prompti post eventum  
 10 ac magniloqui erant. Iniquissima haec bellorum con-  
 dicio est; prospera omnes sibi vindicant, adversa uni  
 imputantur. At Britanni non virtute *se victos*, sed  
 occasione et arte ducis rati, nihil ex arrogantia re-  
 mittere, quo minus juventutem armarent, conjuges ac  
 15 liberos in loca tuta transferrent, coetibus ac sacrificiis  
 conspirationem civitatum sancirent; atque ita irritatis  
 utrinque animis discessum.

xxviii. Eadem aestate cohors Uspiorum, per Ger-  
 manias conscripta et in Britanniam transmissa, magnam  
 ac memorabile facinus ausa est. Occiso centurione ac  
 militibus, qui ad tradendam disciplinam immixti manipu-  
 lis exemplum et rectores habebantur, tres Iburnicas  
 adactus per vim gubernatoribus ascendere; et uno remi-  
 gante, suspectis duobus eoque interfectis, nondum vul-  
 25 gato rumore ut miraculum praevehebantur. Mox ad  
 aquam atque utilia rapientes cum plerisque Britannorum  
 sua defensantium proelio congressi, ac saepe victores,  
 aliquando pulsi, eo ad extremum inopiae veneré, ut in-  
 firmissimos suorum, mox sorte ductos vescerentur. At-  
 30 que ita circumvecti Britanniam, amissis per inscitiam  
 regendi navibus, pro praedonibus habiti, primum a Sue-  
 vis, mox a Frisiis interepta sunt. Ac fuere quos per  
 commercia venundatos et in nostram usque ripam mu-  
 tatione eminentium adductos indicium tanti casus illus-  
 35 travit.

xxxix. Initio aestatis Agricola, domestico vulnerere  
 ictus, anno ante natum filium amisit. Quem casum  
 neque ut plerique fortium virorum ambrosiose, neque  
 per lamenta rursus ac maerorem muliebriter tulit; et  
 in luctu bellum inter remedia erat. Igitur praemissa  
 5 classe, quae pluribus locis praedata magnum et incer-  
 tum terrorem faceret, expedito exercitu, cui ex Britan-  
 nis fortissimos et longa pace exploratos addiderat, ad  
 montem Graupium pervenit, quem jam hostis insederat.  
 Nam Britanni, nihil fracti pugnae prioris eventu et  
 10 ultionem aut servitium exspectantes, tandemque docti  
 commune periculum concordia propulsandum, legationi-  
 bus et foederibus omnium civitatum vires exciterant.  
 Jamque super triginta milia armatorum aspiciebantur,  
 et adhuc affluebat omnis juvenus et quibus cruda ac  
 15 virtutis senectus, clari bello et sua quisque decora ges-  
 tantes, cum inter plures duces virtute et genere praes-  
 tans, nomine Calgacus, apud contractam multitudinem  
 proellum poscentem in hunc modum locutus fertur:

xxx. "Quotiens causas belli et necessitatem nostram  
 20 intueor, magnus mihi animus est hodiernum diem con-  
 sensumque vestrum initium libertatis toti Britanniae  
 fore. Nam et universi servitutis expertes, et nullae  
 ultra terrae, ac ne mare quidem securum, imminente  
 25 nobis classe Romana; ita proellum atque arma, quae  
 fortibus honesta, eadem etiam ignavis tutissima sunt.  
 Priores pugnae, quibus adversus Romanos varia fortuna  
 certatum est, spem ac subsidium in nostris manibus  
 habebant; quia nobilissimi totius Britanniae, eoque in  
 30 ipsis penetrabilibus siti nec servitium litora aspicien-  
 tes, oculos quoque a contractu dominationis inviolatis  
 habebamus. Nos terrarum ac libertatis extremos, re-  
 cessus ipse ac sinus famae in hunc diem defendit; nunc  
 terminus Britanniae patet. Atque omne ignotum pro  
 magifico est. Sed nulla jam ultra gens, nihil nisi fluc-  
 35

tus et saxa, et infestiores Romani, quorum superbiam frustra per obsequium et modestiam effugeris. Raptores orbis, postquam cuncta vastantibus defuere terrae, iam et mare scrutantur: si locuples hostis est, arari, si pauper, ambitiosi; quos non Oriens, non Occidens sataverit. Soli omnium opes atque inopiam pari affectu concupiscunt. Auferre, trucidare, rapere, falsis nominibus imperium, atque ubi solitudinem faciunt, pacem appellant. xxxi. Liberos cuique ac propinquos suos natura carissimos esse voluit; hi per delectus alibi servituri auferuntur: conjuges sororesque, etiam si hostilem libidinem effugiant, nomine amicorum atque hospitum polluantur. Bona fortunaque 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 servitutum suam cottidie emit, cottidie pascit. Ac sicut in familia recentissimus quisque servorum etiam conservis ludibrio est, sic in hoc orbis terrarum veterere famulatu novi nos et viles in excidium petimur. Neque enim arva nobis aut metalla aut portus sunt, quibus exercendis reservemur. Virtus porro ac ferocia, subsectorum ingrata imperantibus; et longinquitas ac secretum ipsum quo tutus, eo suspectus. Ita sublata spe veniæ tandem sumite animum, tam quibus salus, quam quibus gloria carissima est. Brigantes, femina duce, exurere coloniam, expugnare castra, ac, nisi felicitas in socordiam verisset, exuere jugum 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 adesse creditis? Nostris illi dissenisionibus ac discordiis clari, vitia hostium in gloriam exercitus sui vertunt; quem contractum ex diversissimis gen-

tibus, ut secundae res tenent, ita adversae dissolvent — nisi Gallos et Germanos et (pudet dictu) Britannorum plerosque, licet dominationi alienae sanguinem 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 Romani conjuges accedunt, nulli parentes fugam exprobraturi sunt; aut nulla ple-risque patria, aut alia est. Paucos numero, trepidos ignorantia, caelum ipsum ac mare et silvas ignota omnia circumspectantes, clausos quodammodo ac vinc-tos di nobis tradiderunt. Ne terreat vanus aspectus et auri fulgor atque argenti, quod neque tegit neque vult. In ipsa hostium acie inveniemus nostras manus; agnoscent Britanni suam causam, recordabuntur Galli priorem libertatem, deserent illos ceteri Germani, tamquam nuper Usipii reliquerunt. Nec quicquam ultra formidinis; vacua castella, senum coloniae, inter male parentes et injuste imperantes aegra municipia et discordantia. Hic dux, hic exercitus; ibi tributa et metalla et ceterae servientium poenae, quas in aeternum perferre aut statim ulcisci in hoc campo est. Proinde futuri in aciem et majores vestros et posteros cogitate.”

xxxiii. Exceperè orationem alacres, ut barbaris moris, cantu fremituque et clamoribus dissonis. Jamque agmina et armorum fulgores audentissimi cuiusque pro-cursu; 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 auspiciis imperii Romani fide atque opera vestra Britanniam vicistis; tot expeditionibus, tot proeliis, seu fortitudine adversus hostes seu patientia ac labore paene

adversus ipsam 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  
 5 arnis tenemus. Inventa Briannia et subacta. Equi-  
 dem saepe in agmine, cum vos paludes montesve et  
 flumina fatigaret, fortissimi cuiusque voces audiebam:  
 quando dabitur hostis, quando acies? Veniunt, e late-  
 10 bris suis extrusi; et vota virtusque in aperto, omniaque  
 prona victoribus, atque eadem victis adversa. Nam, ut  
 superasse tantum itineris, silvas evasisse, transisse  
 aestuaria pulchrum ac decorum in frontem; ita fugien-  
 15 tibus periculosissima, quae hodie prosperrima sunt.  
 Neque enim nobis aut locorum eadem notitia aut com-  
 meantium eadem abundantia; sed manus et arma et in  
 his omnia. Quod ad me attinet, jam pridem mihi de-  
 cretum est neque exercitus neque ducis terga tuta esse.  
 Proinde et honesta mors turpi vita potior, et incolumitas  
 ac decus eodem loco sita sunt; nec inglorium fuerit in  
 20 ipso terrarum ac naturae fine cecidisse. xxxiv. Si  
 novae gentes atque ignota acies constitisset, aliorum  
 exercituum exemplis vos hortarer; nunc vestra decora  
 recensete, vestros oculos interrogate. Hi sunt quos  
 proximo anno unam legionem furto noctis aggressos  
 25 clamore debellastis; hi ceterorum Britannorum fuga-  
 cissimi, ideoque tam diu superstites. Quomodo silvas  
 saltusque penetrantibus fortissimum quodque animal  
 contra ruere, pavida et inerta ipso agminis sono pelle-  
 30 bantur, sic acerissimi Britannorum jam pridem cecide-  
 runt, reliquus est numerus ignavorum et metuentium.  
 Quos quod tandem invenistis, non restiterunt, sed de-  
 prehensi sunt; novissima res et extremo metu corpora  
 defixere aciem in his vestigiis in quibus pulchram et  
 35 spectabilem victoriam egeretis. Transigite cum expe-  
 ditionibus; imponite quinquaginta annis magnum diem;

approveate reipublicae numquam exercitui imputari po-  
 tuisse aut moras belli aut causas rebellandi."

xxxv. Et alloquente adhuc Agricola militum ardor  
 eminebat, et finem orationis ingens alacritas consecuta  
 5 est statimque ad arma discursum. Instinctos ruen-  
 tesque ita disposuit, ut peditem auxilia, quae octo mi-  
 llum erant, median aciem firmarent, equitum tria milia  
 cornibus affunderentur; legiones pro vallo stetero, in-  
 gens victoriae decus citra Romanum sanguinem bellandi,  
 10 et auxilium, si pellerentur. Britannorum acies, in spe-  
 ciem simul ac terrorem, editoribus locis constiterat ita,  
 ut primum agmen aequo, ceteri per acclive jugum co-  
 nexi velut insurgerent; media campi covinnarius et  
 15 eques strepitu ac discursu complebat. Tum Agricola  
 superante hostium multitudine veritus, ne in frontem  
 simul et latera suorum pugnaretur, diductis ordinibus,  
 quamquam porrectior acies futura erat et aressendas  
 plerique legiones admonebant, promptior in spem et  
 20 firmus adversis, dimisso equo pedes ante vexilla com-  
 stitit.

xxxvi. Ac primo congressu eninus certabatur; simu-  
 que constantia simul arte Britanni ingentibus gladiis et  
 25 brevibus cetris missilia nostrorum vitare vel excutere,  
 atque ipsi magnam vim telorum superfundere, donec  
 Agricola Batavorum cohortes ac Tungrorum duas co-  
 hortatus est, ut rem ad mucrones ac manus adducerent;  
 quod et ipsis vetustate militiae exercitatum, et hostibus  
 30 inhabile parva scuta et enormes gladios gerentibus.  
 Nam Britannorum gladii sine mucrone complexum armorum  
 et in arto pugnam non tolerabant. Igitur, ut Batavi  
 35 miscere ictus, ferire umbonibus, ora foedare, et stratis  
 qui in aequo asisterant erigere in colles aciem coepere,  
 ceterae cohortes, aemulatione et impetu conisae, proximos  
 quosque caedere; ac plerique semineces aut integri  
 festinatione victoriae relinquebantur. Interim equitum

turmae fugere; cœvinnarii peditum se proelio miscere, et, quamquam recentem terrorem intrulerant, densis tamen hostium agminibus et inaequalibus locis haerebant; minimeque equestris ea jam pugnae facies erat, cum aegre clivo asstantes simul equorum corporibus impellerentur; ac saepe vagi currus, exterriti sine rectoribus equi, ut quemque formido tulerat, transversos aut obvios incursabant. xxxvii. Et Britanni, qui adhuc pugnae expertes summa collium insederant et paucitatem nostrorum vacui spernebant, degressi paulatim et circumnitere terga vincentium coeperant, ni id ipsum veritus Agricola, quattuor equitum alas, ad subita belli retentas, venientibus opposuisset, quantoque ferocius accucurrerant, tanto acrius pulsos in fugam disiecisset. Ita consilium Britannorum in ipsos versum, transvectaque praecepto ductis a fronte pugnantium alae, aversam hostium aciem invasere. Tum vero patentibus locis grande et atrox spectaculum; sequi, vulnerare, capere atque eosdem oblati aliis trucidare. Jam hostium, prout cuique ingenium erat, catervae armatorum paucioribus terga praestare, quidam inermes ulro ruere ac se morti offerre; passim arma et corpora et laceri artus et cruenta humus; et aliquando etiam victis ira virtusque. Postquam silvis appropinquaverunt, identidem primos sequentium incautos collecti et locorum gnari circumveniebant. Quod ni frequens ubique Agricola validas et expeditas cohortes indaginis modo, et, sicubi artiora erant, partem equitum dimissis equis, simul rariores silvas equitem persultare jussisset, acceptum aliquod vulnus per nimiam fiduciam foret. Ceterum ubi compositos firmis ordinibus sequi rursus videre, in fugam versi, non agminibus, ut prius, nec alius alium respectantes, rari et vitabundi invicem, longinqua atque avia petiere. Finis sequendi nox et satietas fuit.

35 Caesa hostium ad decem milia; nostrorum trecenti

sexaginta cecidere, in quis Aulus Atticus praefectus cohortis, juvenili ardore et ferocia equi hostibus illatus. xxxviii. Et nox quidem gaudio praedaeque laeta victoribus. Britanni palantes mistoque virorum mulierumque ploratu, trahere vulneratos, vocare integros, deserere domos ac per irani ulro incendere; eligere latebras et statim relinquere; miscere invicem consilia aliqua, dein separare; aliquando frangi aspectu pigrorum suorum, saepius concitari; satisque constabat saevisse quosdam in conjuges ac liberos, tanquam miserarentur. Proximus dies faciem victoriae latius aperuit; vastum ubique silentium, secreti colles, fumantia procul tecta, nemo exploratoribus obvios. Quibus in omnem partem dimissis, ubi incerta fugae vestigia neque usquam conglobari hostes compertum et exacta jam aestate spargi bellum nequibat, in fines Borestorum exercitum deducit. Ibi acceptis obsidibus, praefecto classis circumvehi Britanniam praecipit. Datae ad id vires, et precesserat terror. Ipse peditem atque equites lento itinere, quo novarum gentium animi ipsa transitus mora terrentur, in hibernis locavit. Et simul classis secunda tempestate ac fama Tritulensem portum tenuit, unde proximo Britanniae latere lecto omnirederat.

xxxix. Hunc rerum cursum, quamquam nulla verborum jactantia epistulis Agricolae auctum, ut Domitiano mortis erat, fronte laetus, pectore anxius excepit. Inerat conscientia deivisi fuisse nuper falsum e Germania triumphum, emptis per commercia, quorum habitus et cœnes in captivorum speciem formarentur; at nunc veram magnamque victoriam tot milibus hostium caesis ingenti fama celebrari. Id sibi maxime formidolosum, privati hominis nomen supra principis attolli; frustra studia fori et civillum artium decus in silentium acta, si militarem gloriam alius occuparet; et cetera.



utcumque facilius dissimulari, ducis boni imperatoriam virtutem esse. Talibus curis exercitus, quodque saevae cogitationis indicium erat, secreto suo satiatus, optimum in praesentia statuit reponere otium, donec impetus famae et favor exercitus languesceret; nam etiam tum Agricola Britanniam obtinebat.

XI. Legitur triumphalia ornamenta et illustris statuæ honorem et quicquid pro triumpho datur, multo verborum honore cumulata, decerni in senatu jubet, addique insuper opinionem, Syriam provinciam Agricolae destinari, vacuum tum morte Atilii Rufi consularis et majoribus reservatam. Credidere plerique libertum ex secretioribus ministeris missum ad Agricolam codicillos, quibus ei Syria dabatur, tulisse cum praecepto ut, si in Britannia foret, traderentur; eumque libertum in ipso freto Oceani obvium Agricolae, ne appellato quidem eo, ad Domitianum remeasse: sive verum istud, sive ex ingenio principis factum ac compositum est. Tradiderat interim Agricola successori suo provinciam quietam tutamque. Ac ne notabilis celebritate et frequentia occurrentium introitus esset, vitato amicorum officio, noctu in urbem, noctu in palatium, ita ut praeceptum erat, venit; exceptusque brevi osculo et nullo sermone turbæ serventium immixtus est. Ceterum, ut militare nomen, grave inter otiosos, aliis virtutibus temperaret, tranquillitatem atque otium penitus auxit, cultu modicus sermone facili, uno aut altero amicorum comitatus, adeo ut plerique quibus magnos viros per ambitionem aestimare mos est, viso aspectoque Agricolae, quaerent famam, pauci interpretarentur.

XLI. Crebro per eos dies apud Domitianum absens accusatus, absens absolutus est. Causa periculi non crimen ullum aut querella laesi cuiusquam, sed infensus virtutibus princeps et gloria viri ac pessimum inimicorum genus, laudantes. Et ea insecta sunt reipublicae

tempora, quae sileri Agricolam non sinerent: tot exercitus in Moesia Daciaque et Germania et Pannonia, temeritate aut per ignaviam ducum amissi; tot miliares viri cum tot cohortibus expugnati et capti; nec jam de limite imperii et ripa, sed de hibernis legionum et possessione dubitatum. Ita cum damna damnis comminarentur atque omnis annus funeribus et cladibus insigniretur, poscebatur ore vulgi dux Agricola, comparantibus cunctis vigorem et constantiam et expertum bellis animum cum inertia et fornicidine ceterorum. Quibus sermonibus satis constat Domitiani quoque aures verberatas, dum optimus quisque libertorum amore et fide, pessimi malignitate et livore primum deterioribus principem exstimulabant. Sic Agricola simul suis virtutibus, simul vitiiis aliorum in ipsam gloriam praeceps agebatur.

XLII. Aderat jam annus, quo proconsulatum Asiae et Africae sortiretur, et occiso Civica nuper nec Agricolae consilium deerat, nec Domitiano exemplum. Accessere quidam cogitationum principis periti, qui iturans esset in provinciam ultro Agricolam introirent. Ac primo occultis quietem et otium laudare, mox operam suam in approbanda excusatione offerre; postremo non jam obscuri suadentes simul terretesque petraxere ad Domitianum. Qui paratus simulatione, in arrogantiam compositus, et audit praecæ excusantis, et cum annuisset, agi sibi gratias passus est, nec erubuit beneficii invidia. Salarium tamen, pro consuli consulari solitum offerri et quibusdam a se ipso concessum Agricolae non dedit; sive offensus non petitum, sive ex conscientia, ne quod veterat videretur emisse. Proprium humani ingenii est odisse, quem laeseris; Domitiani vero natura, praiceps in iram, et quo obscurior, eo irrevocabilior, moderatione tamen prudentiaque Agricolae leniebatur, quia non contumacia

neque inani jactatione libertatis famam fatumque pro-  
vocabat. Sciant, quibus moris est illiicia mirari, posse  
etiam sub malis principibus magnos viros esse, obsequi-  
umque ac modestiam, si industria ac vigor adsint, eo  
laudis excedere, quo plerique per abrupta, sed in nullum  
reipublicae usum, ambitiosa morte inclaruerunt.

XLIII. Finis vitae ejus nobis luctuosus, amicis tristis,  
extraneis etiam ignotisque non sine cura fuit. Vultus  
quoque et hic aliud agens populus et ventitravere ad  
domum et per fora et circuitos locuti sunt: nec quis-  
quam audita morte Agricolae aut haeratus est aut statim  
oblitus. Augebat miserationem constans rumor veneno  
interceptum; nobis nihil comperti affirmare ausim.  
Ceterum per omnem valetudinem ejus, crebrius quam  
ex more principatus per nuntios visentis, et libertorum  
primi et medicorum intimi venere; sive cura illud sive  
inquisitio erat. Supremo quidem die momenta ipsa def-  
cientis per dispositos cursores nuntiata constabat, nullo  
credente sic accelerari quae tristis audiret. Speciem  
tamen doloris animo vultuque prae se tulit, securus jam  
odii, et qui facilius dissimularet gaudium quam metum.  
Satis constabat, lecto testamento Agricolae, quo cohe-  
redem optima uxori et piissimae filiae Domitianum  
scripsit, haeratum eum velut honore iudicioque; tam  
caeca et corrupta mens assiduis adulationibus erat, ut  
nesciret a bono patre non scribi heredem nisi malum  
principem.

XLIV. Natus erat Agricola Gaio Caesare tertium  
consule Idibus Junii, excessit quarto et quinquages-  
imo anno, decimo Kalendas Septembris, Collega Pris-  
coque consulibus. Quod si habitum quoque ejus posteri  
noscere velint, decentior quam sublimior fuit; nihil  
metus et impetus in vultu, gratia oris supererat. Bo-  
num virum facile crederes, magnum libenter. Et ipse  
quidem, quamquam medio in spatio integrae aetatis

exceptus, quantum ad gloriam, longissimum aevum pere-  
git; quippe et vera bona, quae in virtutibus sita sunt,  
impleverat, et consulari ac triumphalibus ornamentis  
praedito quid aliud adstruere fortuna poterat? Oplius  
amici non gaudebat, speciosae contigerant. Filia atque  
uxore superstitibus, potest videri etiam beatus; incoli  
dignitate, Florente fama, salvis affinitatibus et amicitiis  
futura effugisse. Nam sicuti *non leuit* durare in hanc  
beatissimi saeculi lucem ac principem Trajanum videre,  
quod augurio votisque apud nostras aures ominabatur,  
ita festinatae mortis grande solacium tulit, evasisse pos-  
simum illud tempus, quo Domitianus non jam 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 strage tot consularium caedes, tot nobilissi-  
marum feminarum exsilia et fugas. Una adhuc victoria  
Carus Metius censebatur, et intra Albanam arcem sen-  
tentia Messalini strepebat, et Massa Baebus tam reus  
erat. Mox nostrae duxere Helvidium in carcerem ma-  
nus, nos Maurici Rusticique visus, nos innocenti san-  
guine Senecio perdidit. Nero tamen subtraxit oculos  
Domitiano miscrarium pars erat videre et aspici, cum  
suspria nostra subscriberentur, cum denotandis tot  
nominum palloribus sufficeret saevus ille vultus et rubor,  
quo se contra pudorem maniebat.

Tu vero felix, Agricola, non vitae tantum claritate,  
sed etiam opportunitate mortis. Ut perhibent qui  
interfuere novissimis sermonibus tuis, constans et  
ipens fatum excepisti, tamquam pro virili portione inno-  
centiam principi donares. Sed mihi filiaque ejus, prae-  
ter aeditatam parentis erepti, auget maeritiam, quod  
assidere valetudini, fovere deficientem, satiari vultu  
complexuque non contigit; excepissemus certe man-

data vocesque, quas penitus animo figeremus. Noster hic dolor, nostrum vulnus; nobis tam longae absentiae condicione ante quadriennium amissus est. Omnia sine dubio, optime parentum, assidente amantissima uxore, superfluere honori tuo; paucioribus tamen lacrimis comploratus es, et novissima in luce desideravere aliquid oculi tui. XLVI. Si quis piorum manibus locus, si, ut sapientibus placeat, non cum corpore extinguuntur magnae animae, placide quiescas, nosque domum tuam ab infirmo desiderio et multebribus lamentis ad contemplationem virtutum tuarum voces, quas neque lugeri neque plangi fas est. Admiratione te potius, quam temporalibus laudibus, et, si natura suppeditet, aemulatione decoremus. Is verus honos, ea conjunctissimam cujusque pietas. Id filiae quoque uxorisque praeceptorum, sic patris, sic mariti memoriam venerari, ut omnia facta dictaque ejus secum revolvant, formamque ac figuram animi magis quam corporis complectantur; non quia intercedendum putem imaginibus, quae marmore aut aere finguntur; sed ut vultus hominum, ita simulacra vultus imbecilla ac mortalia sunt, forma mentis aeterna, quam tenere et exprimere non per alienam materiam et artem, sed tuis ipse moribus possis. Quicquid ex Agricola amavimus, quicquid mirati sumus, 25 manet mansurumque est in animis hominum, in aeternitate temporum, fama rerum. Nam multos veterum, velut inglorios, et ignobiles, oblivio obruit; Agricola posteritati narratus et traditus superstes erit.

## NOTES.

## NOTES.

### Argument.

Cæsar, 1-3. Reasons for writing the book. The better times under Nerva and Trajan.  
 4. A.D. 40. Birth of Agricola. — 5, 6. His military experience and civil career. —  
 7, 8. A.D. 70. Placed in command of a legion. — 9. A.D. 74. Governor of Aquitania and  
 of Britain. — 10-12. Description of Britain until the arrival of Agricola. — 13, 14. A.D.  
 of Boudicca. — 15, 16. — Insurrection  
 of Britain. — 17. The government of Britain until the arrival of Agricola. — 18, 19. A.D.  
 of Boudicca. — 20, 21. A.D. 79. His peaceful administration. — 22. A.D. 80.  
 War with the Ordovices. — 23. A.D. 81. To the Clota and Bodotria. — 24. A.D. 80. De-  
 conquest to the Tanais. — 25-27. A.D. 83. War with the Caledonians. — 28. Adventure of the  
 legion of Ireland. — 29. A.D. 84. Renewal of the war. — 30-32. Speech of Calpurnius —  
 Ulpian cohort. — 33-37. Battle of Mons Graupius. — 38-39. Subjection of  
 Britain. — 40. A.D. 85. Return of Agricola to Rome. — 41, 42. His treatment by Domi-  
 tian. — 43. A.D. 93. His death. — 44. His character and demeanour. — 45. The character  
 of the times. — 46. Conclusion.

NOTE. — In the grammatical references, *Gr.* stands for *Allen and Greenwood's Latin Grammar*; *G.*, for *Gildersleeve*; and *H.*, for *Harkness*.

### CHAPTER I.

1. *2. usitatum*: this participle qualifies the clause *clarorum tradere*, where we might rather expect a relative clause. It is a common construction in Tacitus: — *ne nostris quidem*, etc., "even our generation, indifferent as it is."
3. *quamquam incuriosa*: this use of *quamquam* and some other conjunctions with adjectives or participles, that is, without any complete predicate, is common with Tacitus and the writers of his age. So in English, *although* [it is] *indifferent*. — *suorum, its great man*; objective genitive after *incuriosa, indifferens*.
9. *gratia, partiality or partisanship*, desire to gratify; *ambitione, self-seeking*, desire to get favor or reputation for themselves.
11. *fiduciam morum, confidence in their own character*, consciousness of rectitude; in apposition with *suam* . . . *narrare*.
12. *Rutilio*: P. Rutilius Rufus, a friend of Laelius and Scipio, a statesman, orator, and Stoic philosopher, a man of unblemished

integrity in an age of corruption. He was banished about B.C. 92 by an unjust verdict, because his strict administration of his province had brought upon him the enmity of the public contractors. He wrote (probably in his banishment at Smyrna) an autobiography; also (in Greek) a Roman history. — **Scamro**, M. Emilius Scamrus, consul B.C. 115. He was the leader of the aristocracy during the period of reaction between the Gracchi and the civil war; a man of pride and some show of dignity, but venal. He wrote his own life. — **citra**, in writers of the silver age, used in the sense of *without*. — **obtreccioni**, dative of end or service. This union of different constructions to express the same relation, *citra fidem et obtreccioni*, is common in Tacitus.

13. **adeo**, used, as it frequently is, to qualify the whole sentence; *so true it is that*, etc.

14. **nuno**, in these bad times.

15. **opus fuit**, perfect, *I have been obliged to ask*. This first chapter is, as it were, an apology for his undertaking.

16. **incausaturnus**, a protasis, *if I had been about to attack*; in this case, such was the depraved public sentiment, he would not have needed indulgence. — **infesta vindictive**. — He now proceeds to give examples of the evil times.

#### CHAPTER II.

18. **legimus**, perfect: this does not refer to books. — Tacitus did not need to go to them for the events of his own time, — but to the **acta diurna**, an official bulletin published by authority of the emperor, and serving much as a morning paper to the citizens of the capital. — **Aruleno**, etc. Arulenus Rusticus and Herennius-Senecio were men eminent for their abilities and virtues, who were put to death by Domitian, because they had eulogized these victims of former tyranny; Paterius Thrasea was put to death by Nero, Helvidius Priscus was banished by him, and afterwards suffered death under Vespasian. — **Aruleno** and **Herennio** are dative of agency, a very common construction in the silver age.

21. **saevitium** [esse], *vengeance was wreaked*. — **triumviris**, sc. **capitalibus** or **nocturnis**: an inferior grade of officers, invested with certain police powers, as assistants of the *redies*, as well as in certain classes of civil cases. They were the public executioners when the punishment was inflicted in the prison. Their being deputated to the work of burning the books was designed to increase the contumely, as the burning of books was regularly performed by the

*redies*, magistrates of high rank; so, in modern times, burning by the common hangman.

23. **in comitio ac foro**. The *comitium* was the upper part of the forum, towards the Capitoline mount: the words **in foro** are added to indicate the publicity of the act.

2. 1. **sapientiae, philosophy**. — **professoribus**, in the modern meaning of the word. The teachers of philosophy were banished about A.D. 94. — **omni bona arte**: this relates to the same act, — by the banishment of the professors, every high aspiration in art and science was driven into exile.

2. **occurreret**, used without an object, *should meet one*: almost in the modern sense, *occur*. Notice that **honestum** qualifies **quid** as an attribute, *anything that is honorable*; **quid** . . . **honesti** would mean, *any virtue or honor*.

5. **inquisitiones**. This refers to the trade of informer, or delator, which was at its height under Domitian. (See Merivale, *History of the Romans under the Emperors*, Vol. vii., p. 127; see also Vol. vi., p. 130).

#### CHAPTER III.

8. **nunc demum**; *i.e.*, after the death of Domitian, who was assassinated in September, 96.

9. **saeculi**, a cycle of years, originally identified with the longest age of a man, which was reckoned to be 100 years (Mommсен, *Römische Chronologie*, p. 174). It is used here in a more general sense, *age*, and especially as the reign of a given prince. — **Nerva** **Caesar**. Nerva reigned from September, 96, to January, 98; the use of this expression shows that this work was composed in his reign; for if he had died, he would have been called "Divus Nerva." The same thing is shown by the use of the perfect tense, **miscerit**.

10. **miscuerit**. Tacitus generally uses the subjunctive after **quoniam**. — **principatum**, the office of prince or emperor, *monarchy*; this mixture of royalty and liberty makes a constitutional monarchy.

12. **Nerva Trajanus**. Trajan was adopted by Nerva, and associated with him in the empire in September, 97, adding the name of Nerva to his own. This expression, therefore, taken in connection with *Nerva Caesar* above, shows that this work was written at some time between September 18, 97, and January 27, 98.

13. *fiduciam ac robur* may be regarded as a hendiadys; *frenly grounded confidence*.
16. *oppresseris* and *revocaveris*: the common use of the perfect subjunctive, second person singular, to express an indefinite subject; *one can*, etc.
17. *subit, creeps upon us*. — *quippe*: this particle is primarily asseverative, *in truth*; but being frequently used in causal clauses, it is used by late writers as equivalent to *quoniam*. In this place it comes nearer to its original meaning, but still with a slight causal force; *Nay, more than this*, etc.
19. *quindecim annos*. Domitian reigned from A.D. 81 to 96.
23. *juvenes, those of us who were young*. The age *juvenitus* was at least 45 at the accession of Nerva, and that he must therefore have been born as early as A.D. 51.
26. *memoriam*. This refers to his *Histories*, which embraced the period from the death of Nero (A.D. 68) to that of Domitian (A.D. 96). — *testimonium* is an allusion to his intention of writing a history of the reigns of Nerva and Trajan. — a plan which he appears never to have carried into execution.

## CHAPTER IV.

32. *Forojulensium* (the name of the people put, as is very common, for that of the town). Forum Julii (*Fryjins*) was a colony founded by Julius Caesar, B.C. 44. It had an excellent harbor, for which reason Augustus sent there the ships captured at Actium, and made it a naval station to guard the coast. It was during the empire the chief naval station of this coast. — *colonia*: see note, Chap. XXXII. — *procuratorem*. The procurators (agent or "proctor") were the financial officers of the emperor, one of whom was stationed in each province. In the senatorial provinces, which were administered by a proconsul and quaestor, the procurator had charge only of the revenues which were especially destined to the *fiscus*, or privy purse of the emperor; in the imperial provinces, the procurator was the sole financial officer. In the lowest grade of imperial provinces, a procurator had the entire charge of the administration of the province. See note on *legatis consularibus*, Chap. VII.
33. *equestris nobilitas*: the office of procurator was confined to persons of equestrian rank, which is here contrasted with real or senatorial nobility; this term has also been explained as meaning

- that this office conferred a certain distinction upon members of the equestrian order, somewhat akin to nobility proper, which, it will be remembered, belonged to persons any of whose ancestors had held curule office; equites, whose ancestors had held the procuratorship, enjoyed *equestrian nobility*.
34. *senatorii ordinis*. The senatorial and equestrian "orders" were not fixed categories of rank, but, as is shown in the case of Agricola himself, often indicated the stage of honor which the individual had attained.
3. 2. *Gaii Caesaris*, better known as Caligula, emperor after Tiberius, A.D. 37-41; a cruel, dissolute youth, no doubt insane. Seneca says of Gracchus: *quem C. Caesar occidit ob hoc nimis, quod melior vir esset quam esse quinquam tyranno expediret*. *De Benef.* ii. 21. Gracchus wrote a treatise *De Virtutibus*. Columella, I. 1, 14.
- *M. Sillanum*. M. Junius Sillanus, whose daughter married Caligula, was hated by this tyrant, and commanded by him to kill himself.
4. *sinu indulgentiaque*: a kind of hendiadys, *in her tender protection*.
6. *arcebat*: the subject is the clause, *quod . . . compositum*.
7. *peccatorum = peccatorum*: similar uses of the participle are common in Livy and Tacitus.
9. *Messilium*. *Marselles*, an ancient Greek town of high reputation for culture and character.
10. *mistum*: note the construction, where the English would say, *in which were mingled*.
13. *Romano ac senatori: i.e.*, in view of the dry and practical tastes of the Romans, and especially the merely political qualities needed by a senator: — *hausisse* represents here *hauriebat* of direct discourse; *Ha began to drink in*, etc. Gr. § 308. b; G. § 599. k. 2; H. § 510. II.
17. *caute, for cautious*: Gr. § 192. b. The most characteristic quality of Agricola was energy.
18. *ex sapientia: i.e.*, as a result of his philosophical studies. — *modum: i.e.*, of character.

## CHAPTER V.

19. *castrorum, military science*, of which the rules of encampment (fortification) formed a principal part. — *Suetonio Paulino* see Chap. XIV; dative after *approbavit*.

20. **moderato**: his most prominent characteristic as a general was caution.
21. **contubernio**, ablative of means; **aestimaret**, subjunctive of purpose: *test him by having him as a tent-mate.*
23. **titulum tribunatus et insectian**, referring to the idleness and ignorance of those who received the rank of tribune merely as an empty title. This is the military tribuneship; six tribunes commanded each legion.
24. **noscere**, etc.: the historical infinitive, very common in Tacitus.
27. **exeritator**: this was the time of the famous revolt of Boadicea, A.D. 60; see Chaps. XV. and XVI.
29. **coloniae**. There was but one regularly organized colony in Britain, Cannodunum (Colchester); but there were populous settlements of Roman citizens in London and other places.
30. **mox**: in late writers this usually has the meaning *afterwards*.
34. **temporibus**: best taken as ablative; these qualities were not unacceptable to the age, but to the ruling authorities (the emperor) in the age.
35. **erga eminentes**: connected with **interpretatio**, — an unfavorable interpretation was put upon every thing that they did.

## CHAPTER VI.

4. 1. **ad capessendos magistratus**: it was necessary to pass through the several grades of magistracy in order to rise to high stations in the army. See notes below; also Chap. VII. — **capessere** is a technical expression in this use.
3. **decus ac robur**: not merely *honor*, but also positive *awards*; **decus** was derived from this marriage.
5. **nisi quod**, etc. There is an ellipsis here, suggested by **Invicem**: "this mutual regard is equally a credit to both of them, *unless* — good wives being so rare, — it should be considered *that*, etc."
7. **sors quaesturae**. The quaestorship stood first in the series of honors; forty were elected each year, who were then assigned by lot to service in the city and the several provinces. Their functions were financial; they attended to the finances of the state and its treasury, **aerarium**, while the procurators had charge of the finances of the emperor and his private purse, **fiscus**. The quaestorship could, in the Empire, be held at the age of 25. —

- Asiam. This province embraced the western part of Asia Minor; being an old and quiet province, it belonged to the class of senatorial provinces, and was therefore governed by a proconsul: see note, Chap. VII. — **Salvium Titianum**, brother of the emperor Otho, and, like him, a corrupt and greedy man.
8. **neutro**, neuter, relating to both circumstances, the richness of the province and the venality of the governor.
11. **facilitate**: *i.e.*, in making unlawful gains. — **redempturus**, **erret, was ready to purchase**.
12. **subsidium**: by the Lex Papia Poppaea a certain precedence in taking honors was allowed to those who had children.
13. **sublacum**: the child soon after birth was laid at its father's feet, and he, by lifting it up, **toltere**, recognized it, and pronounced his intention to rear it. If he did not do this, the child was exposed in the forest and left to perish.
14. **tribunatum plebis**. This was the second stage of honors; either this or the rediesship was, in the Empire, required of all except patricians before they could hold the pretorship (Mommsen's *Römische Staatsrecht*, Vol. i., pp. 439, 456, 471).
16. **pro sapientia fuit, sword for or was a mark of wisdom**; see end of last chapter.
17. **jurisdicho**: the administration of justice in civil cases belonged to only two out of the whole college of pretors (fourteen, fifteen, or sixteen in all at this time), the *urbans* and *peregrinus*; the others gradually lost their criminal jurisdiction, as presiding in the *quaestiones perpetuae*, and, on the other hand, received the charge of the public games in place of the redies.
18. **medio**, *in a man between*.
19. **duxit, he conducted**.
20. **Galba**, the successor of Nero, A.D. 68. — **ad dona . . . re-cognoscenda**: that is, those which had been lavished by Nero, or plundered by his favorites. Agricola got back all except those which had come into the hands of Nero himself.

## CHAPTER VII.

23. **sequens annus**: A.D. 69. On the 15th of January Galba was murdered by the Praetorian Guard, and succeeded by Otho; Agricola, having been an officer of Galba, was exposed to the resentment of his successor.
25. **Intemelios**. Albium Intemelium was a free town, *municipi-*

*pinum*, upon the seacoast of Liguria, a few miles east of Nicea. *Nice* here the name of the inhabitants is put, as in the case of *Forojulianum*, Chap. IV., for that of the town. Both manuscripts here read, *in templo*; the correction is easily made from Tacitus, *Hist.* ii. 13: *Obthonis miles revertit viros in municipium Albium Intemelium*. — *Liguria*. Liguria was the ninth of the eleven regions into which Augustus divided Italy: it was bounded on the north by the Padus, *Po*; on the east by the Trebia and Macra.

27. *patrimonii*: the original meaning, of an inherited estate, appears to have been lost, and the word is used here especially to denote furniture and household property.

29. *Vespasiano*. Oho had been succeeded, after a short reign, by Vitellius, and he in turn by Vespasian, governor of Judaea. Vespasian's general, Licinius Mucianus, governor of Syria, led the advance against Vitellius, overthrew his power, and administered affairs in Rome for some time before Vespasian arrived in Italy from the East. All these events took place A.D. 69.

30. *in partes, to the party*: *sc. Vespasiani*.

31. *principatus, reign*: the republican Tacitus uses in preference the emperor's title as civil head of the state. *princeps*, rather than *imperator*, which implies the possession of military and autocratic power.

32. *Domitiano*, Domitian, the younger son of Vespasian, afterwards infamous for his vices and tyranny as emperor, accompanied Mucianus to Italy as representative of his father.

34. *viodesimae legioni*: this legion, known as *Victrix*, was stationed in Britain.

5. 1. *decessor*: his name was Roscius Calpurnius. — *legatus consularibus*. The provinces which were so completely brought under the authority of the Empire as to need no armed force (eleven in all), were administered, as in the Republic, by proconsuls (see Asia, Chap. VI.). The rest of the provinces were placed under the immediate rule of the emperor as proconsul, who governed them through his *legati*, or, — in the case of nine of inferior importance, — by mere agents, *procuratores*. The rank of the *legati* depended upon the importance of the province; provinces like Aquitania (Chap. IX.), which required only a single legion, were assigned to a *legatus pro praetore* (with praetorian power) *praetorius* (of praetorian rank) — the commander of a legion was *legatus praetorius legionis*: provinces which, as Britain, had more than one legion, were given to *legati pr. pr.*

*consulares* (*i.e.*, of consular rank). There were twelve provinces of each grade. *Legatus consularis* means, therefore, *Governor of an imperial province of the first rank*; *legatus praetorius* may mean, as here, *commander of a legion*, or, as in the case of Agricola's office in Aquitania, *Governor of an imperial province of the second rank*.

2. *nimia, too powerful*. — *legatus praetorius*, Roscius Cellius.
3. *suo, sc. ingenio*: *i.e.*, by his own fault.
4. *successor et ultor*, predicate after *electus*; *successor* relates to the governor, *ultor* to the mutinous soldiers.
5. *vident*: *i.e.*, by working upon their feeling of honor.

## CHAPTER VIII.

9. *inresceret, become too prominent*: the subject is Agricola.
10. *obsequi and miscere*: poetic construction after adjectives.
11. *consularum, sc. legatum, governor*: a common ellipsis.
12. *exemplorum*, objective genitive: *non to display themselves*.
14. *communioabat, sc. cum eo*.
15. *ex [eventu]*, *after*: *i.e.*, in consequence of success.
16. *gestis*, ablative of cause with *exultavit*.
17. *autorem*, the one under whose authority and by whose auspices he acted.

## CHAPTER IX.

20. *revertentem* (not *reversum*), *on his way back*.
- legatione, sc. praetoria, command of the legion*. See note to *legatus consularibus*, Chap. VII.
21. *patricios*. The old patriciate had become almost extinct, no additions had been made to it since the very earliest days of the Republic; the emperors therefore adopted the policy of bestowing this rank upon persons of high birth and distinction, in order to increase the splendor of their court, and in order that certain priesthoods, held only by patricians, might be filled. — *provinciae Aquitaniae*. See note on *legatus consularibus*, Chap. VII.
22. *dignitatis*, genitive of quality with *provinciae*.
25. *castrensis iurisdicchio, military law*, exercised by a commander over his soldiers. — *secura, free from solicitude*, as not being subject to appeal, to the caprice or ignorance of juries, or to the scrutiny of opposing counsel; *obtusior, simple*: *i.e.*, resting



upon blunt common sense, not upon acute legal analysis; *manu agentis, off hand, summary.*

26. *forti*: the Roman courts of justice were upon the forum; hence our word "forensic."

27. *togatos = civēs*: the toga being the garb of peace; as commander of a legion, his *jurisdictio* was *castrēnsis*; as governor of a province, it was *inter togatos*. The word cannot be confined here, as usual, to Roman citizens, but is used to contrast the civil with the military jurisdiction.

28. *iam vero, moreover.*

29. *divisa: i.e.*, from one another. — *conventus*, the judicial districts into which the provinces were divided; it was also used for the assemblies held in the districts for the purposes of jurisdiction. These were a kind of judicial circuit: by *judicia* is meant the regular administration of justice by the governor in the city of his residence. — *poscerent*, Gr. § 309. *b.*; C. § 569. Rem. at end; H. § 486. 5.

30. *et [saepius], and at the same time.*

31. *persona, (mask), putting on of the dignity of power.*

32. *exuerat, had kept himself free from.*

6. 3. *collegas*, the governors of neighboring provinces; *procuratores*, the imperial agents in his own province: see note, Chap. IV. As the procurators were directly responsible, not to the governors, but to the emperor, quarrels appear to have been very common between them and the governors (Arnold, *Roman Provincial Administration*, p. 110).

6. *statim* in sense qualifies *ad spem*. — *consulatus*: the office of consul was now hardly more than a title, held usually for two months. Agricola held it with Domitian during the last six months of A.D. 77.

7. *in hoc, to this effect.*

9. *elegit*, perfect definite.

12. *pontificatus*: an ancient priesthood having, in the Republic, the general supervision of the religion of the state; it had now become a mere dignity, all its power being exercised by the emperor, who was *ex officio* its head, *pontifex maximus*.

Chaps. X–XVIII. contain a digression upon the nature and previous history of the island preparatory to the account of Agricola's administration.

## CHAPTER X.

13. *multis scriptoribus: e.g.*, Caesar, Strabo, Pliny. It is in the dative.

14. in *comparationem: i.e.*, in order to surpass former writers in these respects.

16. *comperta = satis certa*. — *rerum, facts*, "with historical accuracy."

18. *spatio ac caelo, in extent and in latitude.*

19. *Hispaniae (dative):* Caesar, B. C. v. 12, makes the same mistake.

20. in *meridiem*, like in *orientem* etc., denotes the general direction: *to the south*. — *inspicitur, is visible*: *Gallia* is the so-called dative of the agent.

21. *in illis . . . terris*, ablative absolute; *contra*, adverbial.

22. *Livius: i.e.*, in his 105th book, as is known from the Epitome. — *veterum and recentium, sc. auctororum*. — *Fabius Rusticus* wrote a history of the emperors beginning with the reign of Claudius.

25. *oitra, as far as*. Caledonia is that part of Scotland which lies north of the Forth and Clyde.

27. *extremo iam litore: i.e.*, when one seems to have already reached the end, where the island narrows at the firths of Forth and Clyde. — *velut in cuneam tenuatur: i.e.*, it first widens, then again narrows like a wedge.

28. *novissimi, most distant*. — *tunc primum: i.e.*, under Agricola's administration: see Chap. XXXVIII.

31. *dispecta, seen dimly.*

32. *hactenus, only so far*: these reasons are given for not visiting the land.

33. *pygmaum*: this adjective, applied also in the *Germania* (Chap. 45) to the northern sea, is sometimes explained as *pygmaum*. That this is not the case in this passage is shown by the explanation which follows. Probably the explorers fancied — it is hard to guess why — that they found these northern waters more sluggish than those of the Mediterranean; they noticed, at any rate, that squalls were more sudden in the shallower seas.

34. *perinde, sc. atque alia maria.*

7. 4. *fluminum, currents*. — *huc atque illuc: i.e.*, on both coasts.

5. *litore tenuis, only to the shore.* — *accrescere aut resorberi* *flow or abh.*
6. *inseri* reflexive, *make their way.*
7. *in suo, in their own dominions.*

## CHAPTER XI.

10. *ut inter barbaros, sc. feri solet.*
11. *varii*: *i.e.*, in different parts of the island. — *argumenta* *i.e.*, as to their origin, that they were not of one nationality.
12. *rutilae comae, etc.*: not red, but reddish yellow; in the *Germania*, Chap. 4, Tacitus speaks of the rutilae comae, magna corpora of the Germans. This resemblance serves to support the theory that the Picts of Caledonia, or northern Scotland, were of Teutonic race.
13. *colorati, swarthy.*

14. *posita contra*: a common idiom of the participle; *the fact that Spain lies opposite* [which, however, it does not]; the Silurians were in South Wales. The features here described were characteristic of the Iberians of Spain.

16. *proximi Galis, etc.*: Caesar says the same, *B. G. v. 12, maritima pars ab his [incolitur] qui praeclae ac belli imperandi causa ex Belgis transierunt*; adding, Chap. 14, *neque nullum a Gallis different consuetudine.*

Here we have three distinct nationalities, in the north, the west, and the south; of the first two we have the physical features carefully described; of the third, the statement of both Caesar and Tacitus that they were of Belgian origin. — But the Belgians themselves were of doubtful nationality (*Caes., B. G. ii. 4*). Caesar does not tell us of any distinctions among the aborigines of Britain, such as Tacitus here indicates.

17. *in diversa, in opposite directions*: *i.e.*, towards one another.
19. *aestimanti, when one considers*: this use of the present participle in the dative (of reference), a common construction in Greek, is often used in Latin by Livy and the later authors.
20. *eorum*: *i.e.*, the Gauls.
21. *persuasiones*: the manuscripts read *persuasione*; but while identity of sacred rites, *sacra*, might prove identity of belief, *persuasiones*, the converse would not be the case. — *in deopocendis, etc.*: cf. *Caes., B. G. iii. 19, ut ad bella suscipienda Gallo-roman alacris ac promptis est animus, sic molles ac minime resistens ad edamittendas profertendus mens corporum est.*
24. *emolliert*: *Gr.* § 320, *ε*; *G.* § 636; *H.* § 519.

25. *nam Gallos quoque*: so *Caes., B. G. vi. 24, ac fuit antea capillus, cum Germanos Galli virtute superarent.*
28. *Galli, an attribute, when Gauls.*

## CHAPTER XII.

28. *robur, principal strength.*
29. *honestior auriga*: just the opposite of the Greek custom, as illustrated in Homer.
31. *factiombus, of the chiefs*; *studia, of the people.* — *nece simul, etc.*: a general proposition, not referring to the Britons alone.
33. *duobus tribusve, two or three, not necessarily excluding even more*; *tribusque* (the reading of one manuscript) would mean, *two, and occasionally three.*
35. *singuli, sc. populi.*

3. *caelum, etc.*: a good description of the climate at the present day; Caesar also says, *B. G. v. 12, remissioribus frigidibus, ac comparat with Gaul.*

2. *nostris orbis, our part of the world.*

7. *transire*: *i.e.*, above the horizon; the midnight sun of more northern latitudes is referred by Tacitus' informants to northern Britain. — *schist extrema, etc.* Tacitus appears to have conceived the earth as a disc moderately rounded to its centre, like a shield; the sun passing along the very edge of this world cast no shadow except at some distance from the circumference. — *extrema et plana terrarum*: this kind of a partitive genitive is very common in the late writers.

14. *pretium victoriae, worth fighting for.*

16. *in rubro mari, the Persian Gulf.*

18. *ego facilis, etc.*: a good illustration of the keen, cynical humor characteristic of Tacitus.

## CHAPTER XIII.

20. *ipsi Britannii*. After describing the island (Chap. X.), its inhabitants (Chap. XI.), and customs, climate, etc. (Chap. XII.), Tacitus proceeds to its history.
21. *Obcauti*: a case of zeugma, as this verb applies only to *munera, services*; with *delectum*, may be supplied *patiturur*; *sin tributa, conferunt*. These three make up the amount of the obligations resting upon the provincials. For the nature of these

*munera*, see Chap. XXXI. — *imperii* is here to be understood not as *empire*, but *authority*: *i.e.*, of the emperor. — *absint*: subjunctive of a case supposed or conceived of, implying that it is not a usual occurrence.

23. *Igitur, novo*: not an unusual meaning: — *divus Julius*, Julius Caesar.

24. *Britanniam ingressus*, B.C. 55 and 54: see Caesar's *Gallie War*, Books IV. and V.

25. *terrærit*: the late writers frequently use the subjunctive after *quamquam*.

26. *bella civilia*: *i.e.*, of Caesar and Pompey, and those that followed.

27. *principum*, Caesar and Pompey.

28. *Constitutum, . . . præceptum, a matter of policy . . . a rule of the empire. Augustus adhiberat . . . consilium coarctandi intra terminos imperii, incertum metu an per invidiam. Annals, i. 11.* See also Gibbon, Chap. 1: Augustus "bequeathed as a valuable legacy to his successors, the advice of confining the empire within those limits which nature seemed to have placed as its permanent bulwarks and boundaries." Notice that Tacitus gives the epithet *divus* only to the good emperors.

29. *Gaium Caesarem*, the crazy Caligula, the grandson of Augustus, and successor to Tiberius, A.D. 37-41.

30. *velox ingenio, mobilis paenitentiae, sc. fuisse*: *mobilis paenitentiae* is a genitive of quality. This change of construction is quite characteristic of Tacitus.

31. *ingentes . . . conatus*. So in the *Germania*, Chap. 37, *ingentes C. Caesaris minae in luctibus versae*.

32. *Divus Claudius*, successor of Caligula, reigned A.D. 41-54: it was he that made Britain into a province. His expedition, in which he himself took part, remaining sixteen days upon the island, was A.D. 43.

33. *iterati operis*, by a common idiom, *the renewal of the work*.

— *legionibus auxiliisque*: a contrast constantly made: the legions were always composed of Roman citizens.

34. *assumpto*: *i.e.*, as commander of the second legion.

35. *fortuna*: this would seem to refer to all that follows, — the elevation of Vespasian as well as the conquest of Britain.

36. *fatis* may be considered either ablative, or dative of the agent; some take it as meaning "to the destinies."

## CHAPTER XIV.

9. 1. *Aulus Plautius* was governor A.D. 44-47; *Ostorius Scapula*, 47-51. — in *formam provinciarum*: the appointment of a governor, *legatus consularis*, established the provincial organization, and this was made complete by the division of the territory into census districts and other financial arrangements.

4. *colonia*: this was *Camulodunum*, usually identified with *Colchester* in Essex.

8. *et reges*. The territories of tributary princes were regarded as practically forming an integral part of the empire. See Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, i., p. 340; also Arnold's *Romanesque Administration*, page 10 and following: — *haberet instrumenta*: note the peculiar order of thought; the logical subject is *populus Romanus*, and the principle of policy here indicated is given as if it were the purpose of this special act. — *Didius Gallus* was governor A.D. 51-57; *Vernanius*, A.D. 58; *Suetonius Paulinus*, A.D. 59 and 60.

10. in *utroque*: *i.e.*, beyond the organized province. — *aucti officii*: *i.e.*, doing more than his duty.

13. *biennio* = *per biennium*.

14. *Mona, Anglesæ*. — *quorum fiducia, through confidence in which*: qualifies *aggressus*.

## CHAPTER XV

19. *ex facili* = *facile*.

20. *singulos, one at a time*. — *binos*: *i.e.*, the governor, *legatus consularis*, and fiscal agent, *procurator*. — *e quibus*: *equivalent to the partitive genitive quorum*.

23. *alterius manum*, etc.: the officers detailed to assist the governor in administration formed a kind of staff, *manus*; the fiscal agent acted through clerks and accountants, who were regularly slaves.

26. In *proelio*, contrasted with *numo*.

28. *nescientibus*, agreeing with *sibi* understood, dative after *scripsi*, etc.

29. *quantulum*, diminutive, *rebel a mere handful*.

30. *Germanias*: this refers to the successful uprising of Arminius and the defeat of Varus, A.D. 9, which was, however, confined to Lower Germany. — *flumine*: *i.e.*, nothing but a river, the Rhine.

32. *illis*, the *Romans*.

10. 1. *Jan*: *i.e.*, things had come to such a pass.  
 4. *quod difficultimum fuerit*: *i.e.*, they have taken the first and most difficult step.  
 5. *deprehendi*: connected logically with *consiliis*.—When one has once begun to entertain such schemes, etc.

## CHAPTER XVI.

7. *Boadicea*: the manuscripts vary as to the spelling of this name. The form here given is that familiar in literature; so with *Thule*, Chap. X., where the manuscripts read *Thyle*.  
 15. *tenentibus*, concessive, *although*, etc.; that is, he suppressed open rebellion although most still maintained a threatening attitude.  
 16. *propius* qualifies *agrabat*, with special emphasis upon *timor*.  
 18. *ut suae conjusque*, etc.: *i.e.*, *punishing each wrong to the state as if done to himself*; *ut, as*, qualifies *suae*.  
 19. *Petronius Turpilianus* was governor A.D. 63-64.  
 20. *novus*: *i.e.*, *unexperienced*.  
 21. *prioribus* is neuter.  
 22. *Trebellio Maximus*: he governed Britain A.D. 64-69.  
 24. *curandi* is used absolutely, *attending to matters*.  
 26. *civilium armorum*: following the death of Nero, A.D. 68.  
 27. *discordia*: *i.e.*, with Roscius Caelius, commander of the twentieth legion; see Chap. VII.  
 30. *precario*: *i.e.*, only by the sufferance of the soldiers.—*pacti, sc. sunt*, agrees with *exercitus* and *dux*; *velut, as if were*.  
 31. *Vettius Bolanus*: A.D. 70.  
 34. *nisi quod*: *i.e.*, the only difference was that, etc.; see Chap. VI., line 5.

## CHAPTER XVII.

11. 4. *Fetilius Cerialis*, governor A.D. 71-75.—*Brigantium*: the Brigantes occupied the whole north of England, and were thus at this time outside of the Roman province.  
 9. *subit*: this word does not stand in the manuscripts, but something like this is necessary for the sense.—*Julius Frontinus*, one of the most distinguished men of the day, author of a work *de Aquaeductibus* and *de Strategematis*.—*quantum* *liberat* qualifies

- instinctu*: Frontinus was *vir magnus* without any qualification; *non* were the times C. Vespasian (newly-standing his parsimony), *officiale* *vixitibus*, like those of Nero and Domitian.  
 10. *Silurum*: the Silures inhabited South Wales.

## CHAPTER XVIII.

14. *aeetate*: A.D. 78.  
 15. *omissa*: *i.e.*, for this year.  
 16. *vertebantur*: note the tense,—they were making up their minds to idleness.—*Ordoviconum*: they inhabited North Wales.  
 17. *aliam*: a division of auxiliary cavalry, divided into *tunnacae*, *agudonae*.  
 18. *agenteum, statione*.—*erecta* *provincia*: the insurrection, beginning among the free Britons, spread to the province.  
 19. *quibus* relates to it understood, subject of the historical infinitive *probari*; it is in the possessive dative, and has *volentibus* agreeing with it, in the sense of *in accordance with whose will*; *qui bellum volebant*.  
 20. *annuum, tempus*.  
 22. *numeri*: a common term for detached bodies of troops; *supply erat* with *transvecta*, etc.  
 23. *tarda et contraria*: in apposition with the preceding clause.—*incohatur*: used generally,—*one who intends to begin*.  
 25. *vexillis*. The regular standard of the Roman legions was called *signum*,—a metal figure, *insigne* (a disc, hand, eagle, etc.), at the top of a staff: the legion, the cohort, and the manipule, each had its *signum*. The *vexillum* was a small square of cloth, stretched to a cross-bar at the top of a staff (often connected with the *signum*). It was used for various special purposes; it was the standard of the cavalry, and probably of the auxiliaries (see Chap. XXV.); and a red *vexillum*, placed upon the general's tent, was the signal for advancing into battle. When a company of soldiers was detached on special service, its *signa* were left with the legion, and its look with it a *vexillum* instead; hence such detached bodies of troops are often, as here, called *vevilia*; it refers to *numeri*.  
 26. *quia*, etc.: this causal clause, as is often the case, refers to the statement which follows.  
 28. *erexit, loci ipsi, i.e.*, the mountain.  
 29. *instandum, sc. esse*.  
 30. *caessissent* represents *caessissent* (fut. perf. ind.) of direct

discourse; it is a past tense, as depending upon *intendit*. — *celestis*, masculine: the rest of the insurgents.

33. *dubius*: not that his plans were wavering, or uncertain, but the war was unexpected.

35. *auxiliarium*: these were no doubt Batavians, who lived in a land of rivers and marshes; by *vada* is meant not these particular shallows, but waters of this kind.

12. 3. *qui classem*, etc.: that is, they looked for an attack by sea, and were unprepared for an approach from the mainland. In the repetition of *qui* we have the figure called anaphora.

4. *crediderint*: Gr. § 287. c; G. § 513; H. § 482. 2. — *venit* entibus: dative after *arduum*.

7. *officiorum ambitum*: *ager* seeking after the *pagantia* of *officia*, — a common meaning of *officia*.

9. *expeditionem aut victoriam*: predicate after *esse* understood, in apposition with *victos contumisse*.

11. *Laureata, sc. litteris*: letters announcing victory were often wreathed with laurel.

12. *aestimantibus*, see *aestimanti*, Chap. XII.

#### CHAPTER XIX.

16. *injuriæ*: the manuscripts read *incuriæ*, but the whole chapter describes his measures to prevent *injuriæ*, wrongs done to the provincials.

17. *domum*: *i.e.*, his staff, assistants, etc.

19. *publicæ rei limite nihil*.

21. *accire* (for the manuscript reading *nescire*), *sc. in numerum accensurum*, *detail* for special duty at headquarters, — then, as now, regarded as a privilege; they were called *beneficarii*.

23. *exæqui = ulcisci*, *punish*.

25. *officiis et administrationibus*: this appears to refer to a higher grade of duties, — the command of forts, detached posts, etc.

28. *circumcisit, sc. his*: neuter.

29. *Namque*, etc. The rest of the chapter presents considerable difficulty, but is to be taken as explaining the abuses which were *tributa granaria*. These were two in number; the obligation of the provincials, it will be remembered, was to furnish corn. First, when the Romans had already an abundant supply, while the provincials would have preferred to pay money; they refused to receive money, so that the Britons were forced in *misery to sell*

inside the closed (because fully granaries (of the Romans), and by *non, unliberis*, and thus make a *fancy price* (*iudere pretio*), secondly, as they had the power to direct the corn to be delivered wherever they pleased, they would select for this purpose distant and inaccessible places.

34. *in promptu*: *i.e.*, under fair conditions.

#### CHAPTER XX.

13. 1. *intolerantia, intolerable haughtiness*.

13. *aestas*: A.D. 79. — *multus in agmine*: this refers to his all-reading personality; it may be rendered *ever present* etc.

4. *modestiam, good discipline*; *dissectos, stragglers*.

5. *praeventare*: *i.e.*, in order to find a passage.

6. *quominus*, etc.: the idea of hindrance is contained in *quominus*; leaving them in quiet would prevent him from making incursions.

9. *ex æquo*: *i.e.*, *independent*.

11. *transerit*: *i.e.*, no newly-acquired territory had before this time been annexed with so little molestation. The word *pariter* is not found in the manuscripts.

#### CHAPTER XXI.

14. *bello*: the manuscripts read *in bello*, which has no meaning.

16. *publicæ = ex ætario*. — *ut templa*, etc.: wherever the Romans set their foot, they left memorials of their rule in the form of noble public buildings.

18. *Tam vero, moreover*.

19. *ingenio*, etc.: *i.e.*, that the Britons could accomplish more by natural genius than the Gauls by diligence.

22. *toga*: the toga was the distinctive dress of a Roman citizen; it was like the adoption of dress coats and silk hats by the Japanese.

25. *humanitas, civilization*.

#### CHAPTER XXII.

The events of this chapter were A.D. 80.

28. *Tanaum*: this is the manuscript reading, for which most editions read *Taunum, Tivy*. But Agricola did not reach the Tay, as shown by the next chapter. It was probably the Tyne, just north of Dunbar, the only estuary of any size on the Scottish coast south of the Forth.

29. *quamquam* belongs with *conflictatum* : see note on *quamquam incutiosa*, Chap. I.

35. *eruptiones* : *i.e.*, from the fortresses.

14. 1. *amavis copis, supplices for a year.*  
 2. *quisque* : *i.e.*, commander of a post.—*littis, baffled.*  
 4. *pensare, balance.*  
 6. *intercepti* : *i.e.*, take the credit of.—*centurio*, a legionary officer; *praefectus*, a commander of auxiliaries or cavalry.  
 10. *secretum, hidden grudge.*

CHAPTER XXIII.

12. *Quarta aestas*: A.D. 81.  
 14. *terminus, ex imperii.*  
 15. *Clota et Bodotria, Clyde and Forth*: as these are given as the limit of what *Agricola percurritur*, it is clear that he did not reach the Tay, which lies further north.  
 18. *sinus*: not *bay*, but winding shore enclosing the bay. So in *Germania*, Chap. I; *propior sinus*, the southern shore of the firths.

CHAPTER XXIV.

20. *have prima* : *i.e.*, as soon as navigation opened, A.D. 82.—*transgressus* : *i.e.*, from the southern shore of the Clota.  
 22. *eam partem* : this would seem to be the long peninsula of Cantire, the part of Britain which approaches nearest to Ireland.  
 23. *in spem* : *i.e.*, of future conquest.  
 26. *valentissimam imperi partem* : the three countries of Britain, Gaul, and Spain, which formed the prefecture of the *Galliae* in the organization of Constantine. It was really the most vigorous part of the empire. According to Tacitus's geographical notions (see Chap. X.) Ireland formed a connecting link, *miscuerit*, between these.  
 28. *nostri maris* : the Mediterranean.  
 29. *haud multum differit in melius* : *differit not much, but is on the whole better.* The verb is in the singular as relating to the several subjects taken as a whole.  
 33. *in occasionem* : he never appears, however, to have found the opportunity.  
 34. *ex eo* : *i.e.*, *Agricola.*

CHAPTER XXV.

15. 3. *Ceterum, etc.*: the operations of this year, A.D. 83, were in the lowlands upon the eastern coast, north of the Forth.  
 5. *hostilis exercitus* : *i.e.*, of the Romans; their marches were made *instita* by the attacks of the enemy.  
 10. *misti copis et laetitia, sharing rations and joining in merriment.*

12. *profunda, recesses* : *adversa, dangers.*  
 13. *hinc... hinc* : by the land and the naval forces respectively;  
 15. *tamquam* in late writers often has the meaning, *on the ground that.*  
 22. *specie prudentium, under the show of prudence.* The Latin often uses an adjective where the English would prefer an abstract noun.

CHAPTER XXVI.

31. *vestigis* : ablativus. This is a kind of adverbial ablativus, used in military operations.  
 32. *ab universis* : the *velocissimam* had gone in advance, and now the legions, following up, raised a united shout, *universi* and at the same time the gleaming of their standards was seen.

CHAPTER XXVII.

16. 1. *erupere* : *i.e.*, the soldiers of the ninth legion.  
 2. *utroque exercitu* : *i.e.*, those in the camp, and those that brought aid.  
 8. *remebant* : plural, with the collective noun *exercitus*.—*illi* relates to *ignavi specie prudentium*, Chap. XXV.  
 11. *uni* : *i.e.*, the commander.  
 16. *senioient, make firm, establish.* This is the primitive meaning of the word : that of holiness, *sanctus*, is a secondary meaning.  
 17. *discessum* : *i.e.*, the opposing armies. The campaign was at an end.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

18. *Uspiorum* : this nation, called by Caesar *Usipetes*, is placed by Tacitus (*Germania*, 32) on the right bank of the Rhine, in the neighborhood of Cologne. The body here mentioned probably

belonged to those troops that were posted on the west coast, opposite Ireland (Chap. XXIV.).

21. *manipulis*: three maniples, of two hundred men each, made a cohort; ten cohorts, a legion.

22. *Iburnicae*: swift galleys, called from the country Iburnia, where they were first used by the pirates who infested that coast.

23. *remigante*: *i.e.*, directing the oarsmen.

25. *ut miraculum praevehebatur*: they sailed around the north of Scotland, exciting amazement as they passed. — *Mox ad aquam*, etc. This is Kritze's reading; and perhaps the best emendation of a very corrupt passage. The manuscripts read *ad aqua utique ut illa raptis secum plerisque*. — *ad aquam*, *sc. egressi*: by *ut* we should understand food and other necessaries.

28. *eo inopiae, to that degree* (thither) *of want*.

31. *primum a Suevis*, etc.: *i.e.*, part by one and part by the others. The Frisians occupied the northern part of what is now the Kingdom of the Netherlands, and the adjoining coast of Germany; but they may have come to the sea on predatory expeditions by the Rhine and other rivers.

32. *fuere quos*: we should expect the subjunctive after a relative with indefinite antecedent; but this phrase seems to have acquired somewhat the force of an indefinite = *quosdam*: *cf.* Horace, *Odes*, l. 1, 3, *sunt quos . . . juvat*.

33. *in nostram ripam*: *i.e.*, the left bank of the Rhine, which was in possession of the Romans. — *mutacione eminentium*: *i.e.*, by passing from hand to hand.

34. *casus, adventure*.

#### CHAPTER XXIX.

17. 3. *ambitiose, with ostentatious self-control*.

8. *ad montem Graupium*: this passage has a curious story. The manuscript reading is that given here; but the earliest editions, by an error of the editor, read *Grampium*, and the Scotch antiquaries naturally busied themselves to find some hill with a modern name which might have been derived from this. There was none; therefore searching for some locality where the battle might naturally have been fought, they pitched upon the great mountain range north of Perth, and gave it the name *Grampian Mount*, which it has continued to bear to the present day. See Burton's *History of Scotland*, Vol. I., p. 16. The name, however, is no older than the

nineteenth century. As to the locality, it is plain from the expressions *præmissa classe*, etc., that the scene of the battle was near the sea-shore. At any rate, it is far from likely that Agricola reached a point so far north as the Grampian Hills; and moreover the battle would not receive its name from a great range of mountains, but from some moderate hill which the enemy had invested, *quem hostis jam insectorat*.

10. *pugnæ prioris*: *i.e.*, of the former year; Chap. XXVI.

15. *cruda ac viridis senectus*: this phrase is taken from *Ver-*

*gil. Æn.* vi. 304.

16. *decora, badges of honor*.

#### CHAPTER XXX.

21. *animus, confidence*.

23. *nullæ ultra terræ*: *i.e.*, for refuge.

28. *in nostris manibus*: contrasted with those Britons by whom in the previous battles *certatum est*.

29. *eoque*: this is the manuscript reading, which has been altered into *hique*, on the ground that their nobility was no reason for their occupying the *peninsula* of Britain. But if we consider *hæbissimi* to be used in its primitive sense, as relating to birth, we shall see that the *purest born*, the *autochthons*, would naturally be *in præis penetrabilibus siti*.

30. *servientium*: *i.e.*, the Gauls, who were subject to Rome.

32. *terrarum ac libertatis extremos*: one of Tacitus' nervous expressions, — *the remotest on the earth, and the last refuge of freedom*.

33. *sinus famæ*: this figure is taken from the *sinus* or pouch made by a fold in the toga, and is best explained as meaning the *obscurity of their fame*; *recessus ac sinus* may be regarded as a kind of hendiadys, — the obscurity of fame resulting from distance.

34. *Atque omne ignotum, etc.*: as long as we were unknown, we were dreaded. But now that we are reached, this dread can no longer exist, for there is no other nation beyond us, which can take our place.

18. 3. *defenere terræ*: they have no more lands to conquer.

8. *imperiū* is to be joined with *appellanti*; this sentence is a powerful example of Tacitus' sententious eloquence, as indeed is the whole speech of Calgacus.

## CHAPTER XXXI.

12. *amicorum atque hospitum*: that is, in peace, in the organized province.

13. *Bona fortunaeque*: the manuscript reading is quite unintelligible; *bona fortunae quae in tributum aegerat annus in frumentum . . . conterunt*. The emended reading here given appears to be the best. *Annus* is used for the yearly produce; see *Cornelia*, Chap. 14.

15. *emmiendis, constructing roads through*. The Roman military roads were constructed with such solidity that they were like a fortification, and the word regularly used for making roads was *munire viam*.

16. *mancipia*: this word, meaning originally a formal method of purchase, and then applied to the objects conveyed by this formality, was in later times used especially for slaves. — *senael, only once*.

17. *altro, over and above, in addition*.

18. *familia*: *i.e.*, of slaves; a common use of the word.

21. *nobis*: *i.e.*, as compared with the rest of the Britons, — they are subdued for purposes of gain, we for destruction.

26. *Brigantes*: see Chap. XVI. *Boadicea* was queen of the 'Trinobantes'; *Calgacus*, however, mentions the Brigantes of Northern Britain, probably as being better known to the Caledonians.

29. *Iberatam*: the manuscripts have in *liberatam*. By this expression he means that the Caledonians will not sink into supineness, *soccordia*, as the Britons had done; *paenitentiam* means "change of purpose."

## CHAPTER XXXII.

19. 2. *puđet dictu*: a very rare construction.

4. *hostes*: in apposition with *Gallios* etc.

10. *alia*: *i.e.*, some other than Rome. The Romans had large numbers of barbarians as auxiliaries in their armies.

11. *ignota omnia*: in apposition with *caelum* etc.

15. *nostra manus*: *i.e.*, they will desert to us.

17. *tamquam = quemadmodum (tam quam, so as)*.

18. *ultra*: *i.e.*, if we gain this victory.

19. *sennum*: *praedicate*, — *the colonies are composed of old men*. The only genuine colony in Britain was *Camulodunum* (Colchester); *Londinium* and *Verulamium* (St. Albans) were *municipia*.

These two classes of towns differed in their origin: colonies were founded by Rome, *municipia* were native towns invested with Roman citizenship. There was at this period no practical difference between them, but the colonies stood higher in rank.

21. *Hic dux*, etc.: the contrast (*hic* and *ibi*) is between the Caledonians and the enemy, — the leader and army whom they could trust, and the oppression and exactions which they must endure if they should lose. — *metalla*: labor in the mines was a common form of servitude.

## CHAPTER XXXIII.

26. *moris, sc. est*: a genitive of possession.

27. *cautu*, the war-shout of all barbarous nations.

29. *acies, sc. Britannorum*: the Romans were still in their encroachments; see Chap. XXXV.

31. *adhuc = insuper*.

32. *Octavus annus*: it was really the seventh year, as *Agricola* came in 78. He reckoned probably from his consulship (*Evrend*).

33. *auspicis imperii*: the auspices, without which no important enterprise was undertaken, were, in the Republic, taken by the magistrate, and were his auspices; they were now the auspices of the empire or the emperor.

30. 1. *rerum naturam, Nature*.

2. *egressi*: agrees with *ego* and *vos*.

12. *in frontem, as long as we are advancing*; — *fugientibus, you should retreat*.

14. *Neque enim, etc.*: that is, in case of their retreat, — the comparison is with the pursuing Caledonians.

16. *mihi decretum est, my mind has been made up*.

## CHAPTER XXXIV

21. *novae gentes*: *i.e.*, the enemy.

24. *proximo anno*: see Chap. XXVI.

27. *penetrantibus, sc. nobis*. The early editors understood this to be general, — *those who penetrate*, — and therefore changed *penetrantibus* into *pelhantur*. It is better understood to refer to the northward march just accomplished.

32. *novissima res, etc.*: the straits they are in, and their bodies in the extremity of fear.

34. *Transigite, have done*.



35. *quinguenta annis*: this was really the forty-second year since Claudius began the conquest of Britain; see Chap. XIII.

## CHAPTER XXXV.

21. 5. *discursum*. Notice the distributive force of the prefix: they were gathered to listen to his address, and then ran apart.
6. *peddium*: a partitive genitive, — *the auxiliary infantry*.
7. *firmament*: formed a firm body, *composed*.
9. *clita Romanum sanguinem*: *i.e.*, If Roman blood should not be shed. The brunt of the battle was thrown on the auxiliaries, and the legions, which were composed of Roman troops, were held in reserve. — *bellandi*, as well as *victoriae*, limits *decus*.
10. *pellentur*, *sc. auxilia*.
12. *aequo*, *on the level ground*.
13. *media campi*: *i.e.*, between the front lines of the two armies. — *covinarius*: these were the war-chariots, described by Caesar (*B. G.* iv. 24, 33) as *essedarii*. The word *et* is not found in the manuscripts, but seems necessary, as Caesar constantly distinguishes the war-chariots from the cavalry of the Britons (see *B. G.* v. 15).
17. *porrector*, *too extended*. — *futura erat*, *would be*: *i.e.*, as a result of this action.
19. *ante vexilla*: see note to Chap. XVIII. Agricola stood on foot in front of the standards.

## CHAPTER XXXVI.

22. *gladiis* and *cestris*, ablative of instrument: explained by some as ablative of characteristic (*being armed with*, etc.).
25. *Bataavorum*, etc.: these tribes lived in the Roman province of Lower Germany, — the Batavians at the mouth of the Rhine, the Tungri in Belgium (Tongern). — *duas*, *sc. cohortes*.
27. *quod*: *i.e.*, this style of fighting.
30. *in arto*: the manuscripts read *in aperto*; but a fight in open ground was just what the claymores of the Caledonians were fit for.
32. *qui in aequo assiterant*: *qui* relates to its understood, used absolutely with *stratis*; these were the *primum agmen* (Chap. XXXV).
33. *ceterae cohortes*: *i.e.*, of the auxiliaries. Tacitus regularly uses this term for auxiliary troops in contrast with the Roman legionaries.

35. *equitum turmae*: *turma* is the term regularly used for a division of Roman cavalry. It is used also, however, as a general term for the cavalry of other nations, and is to be understood here of the Caledonians. Agricola's cavalry, consisting of auxiliaries, spoken of in the next chapter as *atae*, the regular expression for auxiliary cavalry.

22. 2. *recentem terrorem*, etc.: the war-chariots at first caused some confusion among the assaulting party (the Romans), but soon became useless on the hilly ground, and mixed in with the mixed ranks of their own countrymen; *hostium* must, from Tacitus' point of view, be the Caledonians.

4. *minime equestris*: the ground not being suited to horses, this battle of the war-chariots, which would properly be ranked with cavalry engagements, became *minime equestris*. The same expression, *minime equestris more pugnae*, is used by Livy (xxii. 47) with reference to the battle of Cannae, where, as here, the horse became useless from the closeness of the action and the nature of the ground.

5. *aegre olivo astantes*: the manuscripts read *egra din aut tante*, manifestly corrupt. Kritiz reads *olivo instantes*; Halm and Draeger, *adstantes*. It will be noted that in the round hand of the manuscripts *olivo* could be easily mistaken for *din*. This appears to refer to the Caledonians; while the following indicative clause, *ac saepe... incursabant*, describes both parties. In this difficult passage, Kritiz (following Wez) reads *aegua nostris* for *equestris* of the manuscripts, and *instantes* for *aut stante*, making the confusion refer to the Romans. It is evident, however, from the following chapter, *circumire terga vincentium*, that the Romans were successful so far, and were making their way triumphantly up the hill. The events of the battle had been as follows: first, the skirmishing *emimus*; next, the assault made by the Batavians and Tungrians; third, the joining of the war-chariots in the battle; after the cavalry had been routed (*Interim... haerebant*). Then follows a description of the mixed nature of the battle (*minime... impellerantur*), and the confusion caused by the frightened horses (*ac saepe... incursabant*).

## CHAPTER XXXVII.

3. *qui adhuc*: this clause is restrictive, — *those Britons who*,

10. *vacui, sc. cura.*

13. *equitum alas*: the auxiliary cavalry were always divided into *alae*; these stood, as has been seen, in Agricola's front line.

16. *a fronte, etc.*: *i.e.*, the *alae equitum* having repulsed the Britons who were taking the Romans in the rear, were now transferred from the direct front, and came round by a circuit upon the backs of the enemy, *aversam aciem invaserunt*; in this way the strategy of the Britons was turned against themselves, *consistit in ipsos versum*.

19. *oblatas alitis*: after taking prisoners, *capere*, they fell in with others of the enemy, and, not being able to keep both in security, slaughtered the first.

21. *armatorum* is contrasted with *inermes, catervae* to *paucioribus*.

25. *gnari*: the manuscripts have *ignari*, which must be corrected either to *gnari* or *ignaros*; *gnari* seems better, as being joined with *collecti*—*frequens ubique, everywhere present*.

27. *validas, etc.*: fresh cohorts, probably of auxiliaries—*indaginis modo*: the method of hunting by surrounding the woods with dogs, nets, &c.; a figure frequently used by the historians.

28. *artiora, sc. loca*: it is contrasted with *rarios silvas* through which he sent the mounted cavalry.—*dimissis equis ablative absolute, or of quality (diminutive)*.

29. *persultare*: there is a kind of Zeugma here. The word strictly applies only to the cavalry.

31. *compositos, etc.*: this refers to the fresh cohorts. As they marched up in good order the enemy fled, so that it was no longer necessary to carry out the orders just given.

33. *invicem, one another*.

23. 1. *praefectus cohortis*: *i.e.*, of auxiliaries. The legionary cohort was commanded by a *centurio primipilus*,—as we should call it; the senior centurion of the three maniples which composed the cohort.

2. *ferocia, unmanagelichens*.

#### CHAPTER XXXVIII.

8. *pignorum, pledges of affection*,—wives and children.

10. *saevissime in occidisse*—*tamquam miserentur*: *tamquam* appears to be used here as in Chap. XVI., *tamquam exco-*

*horum*, to express a real reason,—*on the ground that*. Some see in its original sense, *as if*, and interpret their pity as a *pre-emptive*.

12. *secreti, deserted*.

12. *sparsi, protruded*.

16. *into itinere, after a slow march*.

23. *unde qualifex lecto*. The situation of this port is uncertain, but it was probably on the Firth of Forth, the point from which they had started. The fleet appears to have coasted the whole eastern shore, and then returned. This is the voyage of discovery referred to in Chap. X.

#### CHAPTER XXXIX.

20. *ut Domitiano, etc.*: compare *ut barbaris moris*, Chap. XIII.

28. *falsum triumphum*: Suetonius, a nearly contemporary writer says (*Dom. 7*) that he fought a few battles, *varia proelia*; Cassius Dio, more than a century later, that he did not even see the enemy. No doubt it was a trifling campaign; nevertheless, it must have been a real one. We must remember that Tacitus was embittered against Domitian by his tyranny, and in especial by his subsequent treatment of his father-in-law. See Mervale, *History of the Romans under the Empire*, Vol. viii., p. 82. This barren expectation of the emperor was in the same year (A.D. 84) as Agricola's brilliant victory.

34. *stridia fori, etc.*: see Chap. II. As usual, *forum* refers to the bar, while by *civiles artes* is meant the practice of politics, especially in the senate.

24. 1. *imperatoriam virtutem, the proper excellence of an emperor*. He remembered, no doubt, that his own father, Vespasian, had been a mere governor of a province, and had been made emperor by his soldiers after exploits no ways so brilliant as those of Agricola.

5. *Nam etiamtum, etc.*: he must at any rate remove him from his governorship and thus make him impotent.

#### CHAPTER XL.

7. *triumphalia ornamenta*: *ornamenta* are the distinguishing insignia of some office or dignity, granted by the senate, as a special privilege to be borne upon state occasions by persons who

have not held the office or dignity itself. /, under the empire, the honor of a triumph was restricted to the emperor, private citizens could only have the *ornamenta triumphalia*; and of these the most important—the laurel crown, the sceptre, the gilded throne—were confined to the emperor. The *ornamenta* granted Agricola could, therefore, have been hardly more than the *toga praetexta*. (Mommsen, *Römische Staatsrecht*, i., p. 378.)

12. *maioribus*: Syria was an imperial province of the first rank governed by a *legatus consularis*, in this ranking with Britain and a number of others; but it ranked as the most important province in a military point of view, being on the frontier opposed to the great rival empire of Parthia. — *Credidit plerique, id eam generaliter habere*. — *libertum*: freed slaves still continued in the service of their former masters, and in close personal relation to them, like that of client to patron. Emperors of the type of Nero and Domitian made use of their freedmen, cunning and unscrupulous fellows, as agents in all confidential affairs; and some of these freedmen rose to great wealth and influence.

16. *freto Oceani*: the English Channel.

18. *ex ingenio principis, to suit the character of the prince*; construed with *factum*, etc.

20. *celebritate*: this word does not seem to be used in its primitive sense, which is nearly synonymous with *frequentia*, but in the less common, although perfectly classical meaning of *dignitas*.

24. *palatium*: this word is in its origin only another form of *Palatinus*, the hill of Rome upon which the earliest city was built. This hill was selected by Augustus for his residence; and his successors built splendid houses upon it. The name then was gradually transferred from the hill to the edifice, in which sense it has passed into the modern languages as *palace*. The name *Palatium* is derived from that of *Palas*, goddess of herbs and flocks, upon whose festival, the *Palilia* (April 21), common tradition placed the founding of Rome. (Preller, *Römische Mythologie*, p. 364.)

25. *grave inter otiosos, a source of apprehension in time of peace*.

30. *quaerere famam, asked what made him so famous*. — *interpretantur* does not refer to answers to the questions, but to other strangers, — most asked, few understood without asking; the object is *enim* understood.

## CHAPTER XLI.

35. *laudantes*, not *laudatores*, which would mean a person who made this a practice; the participle is strictly temporary, — *ut qui prae se ont*. This praise is sometimes understood as a kind of secret enemies; it is better to understand it of the inopportune, although sincere, praise of injudicious friends; see *optamus quisque libertorum* below.

25. 5. *limite*: this word properly means a path left as a boundary between two estates; from this there is a natural transition to a boundary line. Under the empire it is used for a fortified frontier. — *ripa*: no doubt from what goes before, the banks of the Rhine and Danube were meant; the special reference is, however, to the Danube, where the Goths invaded the Roman provinces.

6. *possessio*, *sc. provincialiarum*. — *damnis*, *dativae*.

7. *omnis annus, the whole year*.

12. *optimus quisque*: these were the *laudantes* referred to above.

14. *deterioribus*, neuter.

16. *praecipis agebatur*: *id est*, to a glory which was his ruin.

## CHAPTER XLII.

17. *proconsulatum Asiae et Africae*. In his previous consular commands Aquitania and Britannia, Agricola had acted simply as *agens* or deputy of the emperor, in administering provinces of which the emperor himself was in theory governor; it was now his aim to become himself the governor, *proconsul*, of a senatorial province (see note, Chap. VII.). This office, in which the governor had, in theory, independent power, was superior in dignity to that of the imperial provinces, in which the governor was only a deputy, but it was inferior in effective power, because he exercised only civil authority. It was bestowed, as in the republic, on one who had held magistracies; Asia and Africa alone to those who had been consuls; the other nine to past praetors. But, whereas in the Republic they were given to the magistrates immediately upon leaving their office, under the empire there must be an interval of some years, — at this period generally thirteen years. (Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, i., p. 405.) The office was held for only a year at a time. (Mommsen, *Römische Staatsrecht*, i., p. 234.)

Agricola was consul A.D. 77; and the thirteenth year after this would be 90, which was probably the year of the events narrated in this chapter.

18. *Civica*: he was proconsul of Asia, and was put to death by Domitian on a charge of treason. His fate might serve to Agricola as a warning, *consilium*, and to the tyrant as *exemplum*.

22. *laudare*: *z.e.*, the emissaries of Domitian.

28. *proconsuli consulari, a proconsul of consular rank*, as those of Asia and Africa: see note above. The manuscript reading is *proconsulari*; but this adjective could have no meaning here. The reading here given is that of Mommsen, *Röm. Staatsrecht*, vol. I., p. 242, note 1. The amount of the *salarium* of the consular proconsul was one million sesterces, equal to about \$50,000.

34. *irrevocabillior, sc. ab ira*.

26. 2. *illiocta*: *z.e.*, revolutionary acts.

5. *per abrupta sed, etc.*: *z.e.*, such violent or offensive acts as could do no good, except to exhibit their own spirit of resistance.

#### CHAPTER XLIII.

7. *nobis*: *z.e.*, his family.

9. *aliud agens*: attending to something else, = *indifferens*.

10. *circulos*, "social circles," — in public (*per fora*) and private.

13. *nilhil comperti, sc. esse*, "I dare affirm so much, — but no more."

16. *medicorum intini*: there is generally thought to be here an insinuation that he was poisoned.

18. *per dispositos cursores*: Domitian was probably at some distance from the city, perhaps at his Alban villa, see Chap. XLV.

20. *prae se tulit, manifestat*.

22. *coheredem*: *z.e.*, probably *ex dimidia parte*, that is, a share equal to that of both the others.

26.  *nisi malum principem*: *z.e.*, in the fear that the bad ruler would declare the will invalid, and seize the whole, he bought him off by the bequest of half his fortune.

#### CHAPTER XLIV.

28. *Gaio Caesare*: this was the emperor Caligula; his third consulate was A.D. 40, that of Colliga and Priscus was A.D. 93.

29. *quarto*: the manuscripts read VI<sup>o</sup>, which, as is easily seen, does not correspond to the dates of his birth and death. The mistake is one very easily made.

27. 1. *quantum ad gloriam, sc. attinet*.

9. *consulari*: this is the manuscript reading, which many change to *consularibus*. But he did not enjoy the *consularia ornamenta* (see note, Chap. XL.), but the consular dignity itself, and was therefore *consularis*.

6. *incolunt dignitate*: see in the next chapter, the indignities which followed soon after his death.

8. *sicut . . . ita, although . . . yet*. The words *non licuit* are not found in the manuscripts.

10. *augurio votisque*: these words describe his sagacity in foreseeing the coming man, and the earnestness of his desires.

#### CHAPTER XLV.

15. *obessam curiam*: this fact is not known from any other source.

16. *eadem strage*: *z.e.*, with one another.

28. *Carus Mettus*: Mettus, Messalinus, and Babius were notorious *delatores* or informers under Domitian. — *intra Albanam arcem, z.e.*, in a villa of Domitian, situated here, where he often summoned the Senate.

20. *nostrae manus = nos senatores*. — *Helvidium*: this was a son of Helvidius Priscus, mentioned in Chap. II.

21. *Maurici Rusticique*: these were two brothers belonging to the Julian gens. — *visus is, by zeugma, subject of perititit (= perititit)*.

23. *Senecio*: see Chap. II.

32. *ejus*: Tacitus passes here from address to narration.

28. 3. *ante quadriennium*: Tacitus was praetor A.D. 88, and appears to have left Rome the next year for some office in a province. He returned to Rome shortly after the death of Agricola.

CHAPTER XLVI.

- 10. *domum tuam, thy household*: in apposition with *nos*.
- 13. *aemulatione*: the manuscripts read *multitudo* and *multitudo*, they also omit *quam* in the line above.
- 27. *fama rerum*: *i.e.*, history. *Fama* is ablative of means, or may perhaps be taken as governed by *in*.

GERMANY.

## INTRODUCTION.

THIS treatise upon Germany, by the historian Tacitus, appears to have been written A.D. 98 : for in the thirty-seventh chapter he refers to this year, *ad alterum consulatum imperatoris Trajani*, in terms which imply that it was the year in which he was writing. It was produced, therefore, somewhat later than the *Life of Agricola*, which was composed at latest in January, 98 (see notes on *Agricola*, p. 33). Like this, it is a work almost unique in Roman literature,—a monograph upon the geography, institutions, and customs of a foreign people. Earlier authors, especially Caesar and Pliny, had given much incidental information of this sort, and writers like Strabo and Mela had composed treatises upon general geography ; but this is the first and perhaps the only special treatise of this class in Roman literature.

The book is divided into two parts of nearly equal length, separated by the twenty-seventh chapter. The first, after a general introduction, contains an account of the institutions and manner of life of the Germans ; the second, of their geography and tribes. In each we have the most complete account extant of the subject treated ; in each of these departments, therefore, the *Germania* of Tacitus stands as the first authority, supplemented and sometimes corrected by others, but seldom in any matter of the first importance. Brief as is the treatise, it is



have been desirable, the lesser questions that came up incidentally in the course of the work. I feared to make the commentary too long, and have, therefore, in many such cases, simply presented my own view without noticing the views that I have rejected. Probably in these I have erred on the side of brevity, and perhaps in the more elaborate discussions have erred on the side of fulness.

At the end of this Introduction I have given a list of the editions and treatises of which I have made use. I may say that I have drawn my material far more from formal treatises upon the geography and institutions of the ancient Germans than from the special editions of this work. I have long been convinced that the *Germania* should be approached from the point of view of modern historical investigation rather than of classical philology.

In conclusion, I will express my great obligations to Prof. TRACY PECK of Yale College, and to Mr. LUCIUS HERRING, Instructor in Latin in the University of Wisconsin, for corrections and suggestions which have saved me from some mistakes and assisted me to some positive merits.

WILLIAM FRANCIS ALLEN

MADISON, Wis., July 14, 1881.

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proximi Oceano Ingaevones, medii Hermionhes, ceteri  
 Istaevones vocentur. Quidam, ut in licentia veterum  
 pluris deo ortos plurisque gentis appellationes, Mares  
 Gambriuos, Suevos, Vandillos affirmant, eaque vera  
 antiqua nomina. Ceterum Germaniae vocabulum ve  
 cens et nuper additum, quoniam qui primi Rhenum  
 transgressi Gallos expulerint, ac nunc Tungri, tunc  
 Germani vocati sint. Ita nationis nomen non genu  
 evaluisse paulatim, ut omnes primum a victore ob  
 tum, mox etiam a se ipsis invento nomine Germani  
 vocarentur. III. Fuisse apud eos et Herculem me  
 rant, primumque omnium virorum fortium itur  
 proelia canunt. Sunt illis haec quoque carmina, quae  
 rum relatu, quem barditum vocant, accendunt amato  
 15 futuraeque pugnae fortunam ipso cantu augurantur.  
 Terrent enim trepidantve, prout sonuit acies; nec  
 voces illae quam virtutis concentus videntur. Affertur  
 tur praecipue asperitas soni et fractum murmur, obiectum  
 ad os scutis, quo plenior et gravior vox repercussu  
 20 mescat. Ceterum et Ulixen quidam opinantur. Longe  
 illo et fabuloso errore in hunc Oceanum delatum ad  
 Germaniae terras, Aschburgiumque, quod in ripa Rheni  
 situm hodieque incolitur, ab illo constitutum nomina  
 25 tunque; aram quin etiam Ulixi consecratam, adfecto  
 Laertae patris nomine, eodem loco olim repositam  
 monumentaque et tumulos quosdam Graecis litteris  
 inscriptos in confinio Germaniae Raetiaeque adhuc  
 exstare. Quae neque confirmare argumentis neque  
 30 refellere in animo est; ex ingenio suo quisque demat  
 vel addat fidem.

IV. Ipse eorum opinionibus accedo, qui Germaniae  
 populos nullis aliis aitarum nationum conubiis infestes  
 propriam et sinceram et tantum sui similem gentem  
 existisse arbitrantur. Unde habitus quoque corporum  
 35 quamquam in tanto hominum numero, idem omnibus

et caerulei oculi, rutilae comae, magna corpora  
 ad impetum valida; laboris atque operum  
 patientia: minimeque sitim aestumque tole  
 rant. frigora atque inediaem caelo solove assueverunt.  
 Terra, etsi aliquanto specie differt, in universum  
 aut silvis horrida aut paludibus foeda; humidior  
 Gallias, ventosior qua Noricum ac Pannoniam  
 sicut; satis ferax, frugiferarum arborum impatiens,  
 sativa fecunda; sed plerumque improcera. Ne ar  
 5 gentis quidem suis honor aut gloria frontis; numero  
 vident, eaque solae et gratissimae opes sunt. Ar  
 gumentum et aurum propitii an irati di negaverint dubito.  
 tamen affirmaverim nullam Germaniae venam  
 aurumve gignere; quis enim scrutatus est?  
 10 sione et usu haud perinde afficiuntur. Est videre  
 illos, argentea vasa, legatis et principibus eorum  
 meri data, non in alia vilitate quam quae humo fini  
 tur quamquam proximi, ob usum commerciorum,  
 aurum et argentum in pretio habent, formasque quasdam  
 15 hae pecuniae agnoscunt atque eligunt. Interiores  
 huius et antiquius permutazione mercium utuntur.  
 amiam probant veterem et diu notam, serratos biga  
 20 que. Argentum quoque magis quam aurum sequuntur  
 nulla affectione animi, sed quia numerus argenteo  
 facilius usui est promiscua ac villa mercantibus.  
 Ne ferrum quidem superest, sicut ex genere telo  
 25 colligitur. Rari gladiis aut maioribus lanceis utun  
 tur. Hastas, vel ipsorum vocabulo frameas, gerunt  
 et brevi ferro, sed ita acri et ad usum habili, ut  
 30 amp telo, prout ratio poscit, vel cominus vel eminus  
 erant. Et eques quidem scuto frameaque contentus  
 pedites et missilia spargunt, pluraque singuli at  
 35 tumensum vibrant nudi aut sagiis leves. Nulla  
 huius factatio; scuta tantum leccissimis coloribus distin  
 guunt. Paucis loricae, vix uni alterive cassis aut galeae.

Equi non forma, non velocitate conspicui. Sed  
variare gyros in morem nostrum docentur; in resurgunt  
aut uno flexu dextros agunt, ita conjuncto orbe ut non  
posterior sit. In universum aestimanti plus penes  
ditem roboris; eoque misti proeliantur, apta et con-  
gruente ad equestrem pugnam velocitate pedum, quoniam  
ex omni juventute delectos ante aciem locant. De-  
tur et numerus; centeni ex singulis pagis sunt, requi-  
ritur inter suos vocantur, et quod primo numerus in-  
ipsam nomen et honor est. Acies per cuneos componi-  
tur. Cedere loco, dummodo rursus instes, consue-  
tur. Cedere loco, dummodo rursus instes, consue-  
quam formidinis arbitrantur. Corpora suorum etiam  
dubius proelis referunt. Scutum reliquisse præcep-  
flagitium, nec aut sacris adesse aut concilium inhi-  
15 nomioso fas; multique superstites bellorum intan-  
laqueo finierunt.

VII. Reges ex nobilitate, duces ex virtute sumuntur.  
Nec regibus infinita aut libera potestas, et datus  
exemplo potius quam imperio, si prompti, si conspici-  
20 si ante aciem agant, admiratione præsent. Ceterum  
neque animadvertere neque vincere, ne verberare, quod  
dem nisi sacerdotibus permissum, non quasi in potestate  
nec ducis jussu, sed velut deo imperante, quem adesse  
bellantibus credunt; effigiesque et signa quaedam  
25 tracta lucis in proelium ferunt. Quodque præcipuum  
fortitudinis incitamentum est, non casus nec fortuna  
conglobatio turmam aut cuneum facit, sed familiaris  
propinquitates, et in proximo pignora, unde feminam  
nilatus audiri, unde vagitus infantium: hi cuique, san-  
30 tissimi testes, hi maximi laudatores. Ad matres  
conjuges vulnera ferunt; nec illae numerare aut exigere  
plagas pavent, cibosque et hortamina pugnantibus  
tant. VIII. Memoriae proditur quasdam acies inclinat  
jam et labantes a feminis resitutas constantia præce-  
35 et objectu pectorum et monstrata cominus captivitas

longe impatientius feminarum suarum nomine  
adeo ut efficacius obligentur animi civitatum,  
inter obsides puellae quoque nobiles imperantur.  
quæ etiam sanctum aliquid et providum putant,  
3 consilia earum aspernantur aut responsa negli-  
vidimus sub divo Vespasiano Veleam diu apud  
que numinis loco habiam. Sed et olim Auriniam  
comphures alias venerati sunt non adulatione nec  
dam facerent deas.

Mercurium maxime Mercurium colunt, cui certis  
10 Mercurium maxime Mercurium colunt, cui certis  
ois humanis quoque hostiis litare fas habent. Her-  
ne ac Martem concessis animalibus placant. Pars  
15 et Isidi sacrificat; unde causa et origo  
sacro parum comperi, nisi quod signum  
in modum liburnæ figuratum docet advectam  
10nem. Ceterum nec colibere parietibus deos  
que in ullam humani oris speciem assimilare ex-  
solitudine caelestium arbitrantur; hecos ac memora-  
15 corant, deorumque nominibus appellant secretum  
quod sola reverentia vident. X. Auspicia sor-  
20 que ut qui maxime observant. Sortium consuetudo  
16x. Virgam frangere arbori decisam in surculos  
17ant, eosque notis quibusdam discretos super  
18am vestem temere ac fortuito spargunt; mox, si  
19se consultetur, sacerdos civitatis, sin privatim, ipse  
20 familiaris precatus deos caelumque suspiciens ter-  
21 res, tollit, sublatos secundum impressam ante  
22 interpretatur. Si prohibuerunt, nulla de eadem  
23 eundem diem consultatio; sin permissum, aus-  
24 piciam adhuc fides exigitur. Et illud quidem etiam  
25 eorum, avium voces volatusque interrogare: pro-  
26 gentis equorum quoque præesagia ac monitus  
27 28 Publice aduntur iisdem memoribus ac lucis  
29 30 31 et nullo mortali opere contacti; quos pressos  
32 33 34 35 curru sacerdos ac rex vel princeps civitatis

comitantur, hincitque ac fremius observant  
 ulli auspicio major fides non solum apud plebem  
 apud proceres, apud sacerdotes; se enim minis  
 deorum, illos conscios putant. Est et alia obser-  
 5 auspiciorum, qua gravium bellorum eventus explorant.  
 Eius gentis cum qua bellum est captivum quoquoque  
 interceptum cum electo popularium suorum, per  
 quemque armis, committunt; victoria huius vel illius  
 pro praesidio accipitur.

10 XI. De minoribus rebus principes consultant  
 majoribus omnes, ita tamen ut ea quoque, quae  
 penes plebem arbitrium est, apud principes per-  
 tentur. Coeunt, nisi quid fortuitum et subitum inordi-  
 certis diebus, cum aut incohatur luna aut imple-  
 15 nam agendis rebus hoc auspicatissimum initium  
 dunt. Nec dierum numerum, ut nos, sed noctes  
 computant; sic constituunt, sic condecunt; nox die  
 diem videtur. Illud ex libertate victim, quod non sum-  
 nec ut iussi conveniunt, sed et alter et tertius, et  
 20 cunctatione coeuntium absuntur. Ut turbae pae-  
 consistunt armati. Silentium per sacerdotes, quibus  
 tum et coerendi jus est, imperatur. Mox rex vel prin-  
 cept, prout aetas cuique, prout nobilitas, prout de-  
 bellorum, prout facundia est, audiuntur; auctori-  
 25 suadendi magis quam iubendi potestate. Si dispi-  
 sententia, fremitu aspernantur; sin placuit, frange-  
 concutiunt. Honoratissimum assensus genus est  
 laudare. XII. Licet apud concilium accusare quos  
 et discrimen capitis intendere. Distinctio poenam  
 30 ex delicto. Proditores et transugas arboribus suspi-  
 dunt; ignavos et imbelles et corpore infames ca-  
 ac palude injecta insuper crate mergunt. Diversis  
 supplicii illuc respicit, tamquam scelera ostendi ap-  
 teat dum puniuntur, flagitia abscondi. Sed et leviter  
 35 bus delictis pro modo poena. Equorum pecorumque

convicti multantur; pars multae regi vel civi-  
 tati ipsi qui vindicatur vel propinquis ejus exsol-  
 5 piguntur in iisdem conciliis et principes, qui  
 per pagos vicisque reddunt. Centeni singulis ex  
 comites, consilium simul et auctoritas, adsunt.

Nihil autem neque publicae neque privatae rei  
 10 communi agunt. Sed arma sumere non ante cuiquam  
 quam civitas suffectorum probaverit. Tum in  
 concilio vel principum aliquis vel pater vel propin-  
 15 sculo framaque juvenem orant. Haec apud  
 20 toga, hic primus juventae honos; ante hoc domus  
 videntur, mox reipublicae. Insignis nobilitas aut  
 patrum merita principis dignationem etiam ado-  
 25 sculis assignant; ceteris robustioribus ac jam pri-  
 probatis aggregantur, nec rubor inter comites  
 30 Gradus quin etiam et ipse comitatus habet  
 quoque, quem sectantur; magnaque et comitum  
 35 stato, quibus primus apud principem suum locus,  
 principum, cui plurimi et acerriimi comites. Haec  
 40 hae vires, magno semper electorum juvenum  
 et circumdandi; in pace decus, in bello praesidium.  
 45 solum in sua gente cuique, sed apud finitimas quo-  
 50 mitates id nomen, ea gloria est, si numero ac vir-  
 comitatus eminent; expectantur enim legationibus  
 55 muneribus ornantur et ipsa plerumque fama bella  
 60 praeferunt. XIV. Cum ventum in aciem, turpe principi  
 65 esse vinci, turpe comitatus virtutem principis non  
 70 sequere. Jam vero infame in omnem vitam ac pro-  
 75 nam superstitem principi suo ex acie recessisse.  
 80 nam defendere, tueri, sua quoque fortia facta gloriae  
 85 assignare praecipuum sacramentum est. Principes  
 90 victoria pugnanti, comites pro principe. Si civitas  
 95 sua orti sunt longa pace et otio torpent, plerique  
 100 eorum adolescentium petunt ultro eas nationes, quae  
 105 bellum aliquod gerunt, quia et ingrata genti quies,

et facilius inter ancipitia clarescunt, magnaque  
tatum non nisi vi belloque tuare. Exiguam  
principis sui liberalitate illum bellatorem equum  
cruentam victicemque framam. Nam eputae et  
5 quam incompti largi tamen apparatus pro stipen-  
cedunt; materia munificentiae per bella et rapta  
arare terram, aut expectare annum tam facile per-  
seris quam vocare hostes et vulnera mereri. Pige-  
quin immo et iners videtur sudore acquirere quod pos-  
10 sanguine parare.

XV. Quotiens bella non ineunt, non multum ven-  
bus, plus per otium transigunt, dediti somno, ciboque  
fortissimus quisque ac bellicosissimus nihil agens, de-  
gata domus et penatium et agrorum cura feminis, so-  
15 busque et infirmissimo cuique ex familia; ipsi hebet-  
nira diversitate naturae, cum iidem homines sic ante  
inertiam et oderint quietem. Mos est civitatibus  
ac virum conferre principibus vel armentorum  
frugum, quod pro honore acceptum etiam necessitate  
20 subvenit. Gaudent praecipue finimarum ger-  
donis, quae non modo a singulis sed publice mittuntur  
electi equi, magna arma, phalerae torquesque. Jam  
pecuniam accipere docuimus.

XVI. Nullas Germanorum populis urbes habitari  
25 notum est, ne pati quidem inter se iunctas, sed  
Colunt discreti ac diversi, ut fons, ut campus, ut nem-  
placuit. Vicos locant non in nostrum morem con-  
et cohaerentibus aedificiis; suam quisque domum spa-  
circumdat, sive adversus casus ignis remedium, sive  
30 inscitia aedificandi. Ne caementorum quidem apud  
illos aut tegularum usus; materia ad omnia vitium  
informi et citra speciem aut delectationem. Quaedam  
loca diligentius illuminant terra ita pura ac splendens,  
picturam ac lineamenta colorum imitetur. Solent  
35 subterraneos specus aperire, eosque multo insuperficio

suffragium hiemi et receptaculum frugibus, quia  
eiusmodi locis molliunt, et si quando  
rigorum aperta populatur, abdita autem et defossa  
advent, aperta populatur, abdita autem et defossa  
5 morantur aut eo ipso fallunt quod quaerenda sunt.  
Tegumen omnibus sagum fibula aut, si desit,  
consertum; cetera intecti totos dies juxta focum  
legem agunt. Locupletissimi veste distinguun-  
te genem agunt. Locupletissimi veste distinguun-  
10 tur. Fluitante, sicut Sarmatae ac Parthi, sed stricta  
angulos artus exprimente. Gerunt et ferarum pelles,  
omni apae negligenter, ulteriores exquisitius, ut qui-  
nibus per commercia cultus. Eligunt feras et  
15 cetera velamina spargunt maculis pellibusque belu-  
quas exterior Oceanus atque ignotum mare gignit.  
Suis feminis quam viris habitus, nisi quod feminae  
20 pnis lineis amictibus velantur, eosque purpura vari-  
antemque vestitus superioris in manicas non ex-  
antem, nudae brachia ac lacertos; sed et proxima pars  
25 eis patet.

Quamquam severa illic matrimonia, nec ullam  
30 in partem magis laudaveris. Nam prope soli bar-  
orum singulis uxoribus contenti sunt, exceptis admo-  
pauca, qui non libidine sed ob nobilitatem plurimis  
35 ambulantur. Dotem non uxor marito, sed uxori  
maritus offert. Intersunt parentes et propinqui, ac  
40 testis, nec quibus nova nupta comatur, sed boves  
fenatum equum et scutum cum framea gladioque  
45 nec munera uxor accipitur, atque invicem ipsa  
maritum aliquid viro affert; hoc maximum vinculum,  
50 sacra sacra, hos conjugales deos arbitrantur.  
se mulier extra virtutum cogitationes extraque bel-  
55 tum casus putes, ipsis incipientis matrimonii auspiciis  
60 aperitur venire se laborum periculorumque sociam,  
65 in pace, idem in proelio passuram ausuramque.  
68 sancti boves, hoc paratus equus, hoc data arma 35

denuntiant; sic vivendum, sic pereundum; accipere quae liberis inviolata ac digna reddat, quae nurus accipiant rursus, quae ad nepotes referantur. XIX. Nullis saepta pudicitia agunt, nullis spectaculorum illecebris nullis convivorum irritationibus corruptae. Letterarum secreta viri pariter ac feminae ignorant. Paucissimi tam numerosa gente adulteria, quorum poena praesens et maritis permessa. Accisis criminibus, nudatam, solum propinquis expellit domo maritus, ac per omnem vitam non formae agit. Publicatae enim pudicitiae nulla, nulla non forma, non aetate, non ophiibus maritum inextinguibilem Nemo enim illic vitia ridet, nec corrumpere et committere saeculum vocatur. Melius quidem adhuc eae coguntur in gubus tantum virgines nubunt, et cum spe veluti uxoris semel transigitur. Sic unum accipiunt maritum, quomodo unum corpus unamque vitam, ne ulla cogitatione ultra, ne longior cupiditas, ne tanquam maritum tanquam matrimonium 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 accipiuntur in haec corpora, quae mirantur, excreseunt, quemque mater uberibus alit, nec ancillis ac nutriciis delegantur. Dominum ac servum nullis educatione deliciis dignoscas; inter eadem pecora, in eadem huius degunt, donec aetas separet ingenuos, virtus agrestis Sera juvenum Venus, eoque inexhausta pubertas. Nihil virgines festinantur; eadem juvena, similis proceris pares validaeque miscentur, ac robora parentum. Epitheta referunt.

Sororum filii idem apud avunculum qui apud matrem honor. Quidam sanctiorem arctioremque frater nexum sanguinis arbitrantur, et in accipiendis, observantibus magis exigunt, tanquam et animum firmius dominum latius teneant. Heredes tamen successores

suam cuique liberi, et nullum testamentum. Si non sunt, proximus gradus in possessione fratri, patru, avunculi. Quanto plus propinquorum, major affinium numerus, tanto gratiosior senectus; nulla orbitatis pretia. XXI. Suscipere tam inimicis seu patris seu propinqui quam amicitias necesse. Nec implacabiles durant; luitur enim etiam homicidium certo armentorum ac pecorum numero, proinde satisfactionem universa domus, utiliter in eum, quia periculosiores sunt inimicitiae juxta

accidit. Conviviis et hospitii non alia gens effusius inveniuntur. Quemcumque mortalium arceri tecto nefas est, pro fortuna quisque apparatus epulis excipit, nec detecere, qui modo hospes fuerat, monstrator hostis et comes; proximam domum non invitati adeunt. Interest; pari humanitate accipiuntur. Notum quoque, quantum ad jus hospitii, nemo discenit, nisi si quid poposcerit, concedere moris; et potestatem in vicem eadem facilitas. Gaudent muneribus, nec data imputant nec acceptis obligantur. Victus hospites comis.

Statin e somno, quem plerumque in diem excedunt, levantur, saepius calida, ut apud quos plurimum occupat. Lanti cibum capiunt; separatae singulae sedes et sua cuique mensa. Tum ad negotia nec minus saepe ad convivia procedunt armati. Diem noctem continuare potando nulli probrum. Crebrae inter vinolentos rixae raro conviciis, saepius caede liberibus transiguntur. Sed et de reconciliandis inimicis et jungendis affinitatibus et asciscendis veribus, de pace denique ac bello plerumque in consiliis consultant, tanquam nullo magis tempore aut ad magis cogitationes pateat animus aut ad magnas nequeat. Gens non astuta nec callida aperit adhuc

secreta pectoris licentia joci; ergo detecta et  
 omnium mens. Postera die retractatur, et salva  
 usque temporis ratio est: deliberant dum finger  
 ciunt, constituunt dum errare non possunt.  
 5 Potui humor ex hordeo aut frumento, in quandam  
 fluidinem vini corruptus; proximi ripae et vinum  
 cantur. Cibi simplices; agrestia poma, recens  
 aut lac concretum. Sine apparatu, sine blandimen  
 expellunt famem. Adversus sitim non eadem  
 10 rantia. Si indulsis ebrietati suggerendo quam  
 concupiscunt, haud minus facile vitis quam  
 vincuntur.

XXIV. Genus spectaculorum unum atque in  
 coetu idem. Nudi juvenes, quibus id ludicum  
 15 inter gladios se atque infestas franeas salu jactu  
 Exeritatio artem paravi, ars decorum; non in qua  
 tum tamen aut mercedem; quamvis audacis lesu  
 pretium est voluptas spectantium. Aleam, quod m  
 sobrii inter seria exercent tanta lucrandi perendi  
 20 temeritate, ut cum omnia defecerunt, extremo ac  
 vissimo jactu de libertate ac de corpore contentam  
 Victus voluntariam servitutum adit; quamvis juvent  
 quamvis robustior, alligari se ac venire patitur. Eae  
 in re prava pervicacia; ipsi fidem vocant. Servos co  
 25 dicionis hujus per commercia tradunt, ut se quocu  
 pudore victoriae exsolvant. XXV. Ceteris servis non  
 nostrum morem, descriptis per familiam minister  
 utuntur; suam quisque sedem, suos penates reg  
 Frumenti modum dominus aut pecoris aut vestis  
 30 colono injungit, et servus hactenus parat; cetera  
 mus officia uxor ac liberi exsequuntur. Verberare  
 vum ac vinculis et opere coercere rarum. Ocedi  
 solent, non disciplina et severitate, sed impetu et  
 ut inimicum, nisi quod impune est. Liberti non  
 35 tum supra servos sunt. Raro aliquod momentum

quo, nunquam in civitate, exceptis dumtaxat iis gen-  
 que regnantur: ibi enim et super ingenuos et  
 nobles ascendunt; apud ceteros impares liber-  
 5 libertatis argumentum sunt.

VI. Fenus agitare et in usuras extendere ignotum,  
 que magis servatur quam si vetitum esset.

pro numero cultorum ab universis in vices  
 atur, quos mox inter se secundum dignationem  
 10 tur. Facilitatem paritendi camporum spatia prae-  
 ara per annos mutant, et superest ager. Nec  
 am libertate et amplitudine soli labore contendunt,  
 ara conserant et prata separant et hortos rigent;  
 ae seges imperatur. Unde annum quoque ipsum  
 eisdem digerunt species: hiems et ver et aestas  
 15 hactem ac vocabula habent; autumni perinde nomen  
 oha ignorantur.

XXVI. Funerum nulla ambitio; id solum observatur,  
 20 opora clarorum virorum certis lignis cremantur.  
 nem rogi nec vestibus nec odoribus cumulant; sua  
 ae arma, quorundam ligni et equus adicitur. Se-  
 cum caespes erigit; monumentorum arduum et  
 osum honorem ut gravem defunctis aspernantur.  
 menta ac lacrimas cito, dolorem et tristitiam tarde  
 25 unt. Feminis lugere honestum est, viris meminisse.

haec in commune de omnium Germanorum origine  
 30 nobis accepimus. Nunc singularum gentium in-  
 ritusque, quatenus differant, quae nationes e  
 tiam in Gallias commigraverint, expediām.

XXVII. Validiores olim Gallorum res fuisse summus  
 35 arcum divus Julius tradit; eoque credibile est etiam  
 40 in Germaniam transgressos. Quantum enim  
 obsistat quo minus, ut quaeque gens evaluerat,  
 45 periret permittaretque sedes promiscuas adhuc et  
 50 regnorum potentia divisas? Igitur inter Hercy-

niam silivam Rhenunqque et Moenum amnes. Helvetia  
ulteriora Boii, Gallia utraque gens, tenuere. Ad Rhenum  
adhuc Bohemi nomen, signatque loci veterem, Germaniam  
riam quamvis mutatis cultoribus. Sed utrum Aravis  
5 in Pannoniam ab Osis Germanorum natione, an Osi  
Araviscis in Germaniam commigraverint, cum eorum  
adhuc sermone, institutis, moribus utantur, incertum  
est; quia, pari olim inopia ac libertate, eadem utriusque  
ripae bona malaque erant. Treveri et Nervii, in  
10 affectationem Germanicae originis ultro ambitiosius  
tamquam per hanc gloriam sanguinis a similitudine  
inertia Gallorum separantur. Ipsam Rheni ripam  
dubie Germanorum populi colunt, Vangiones, Treveri  
Nemetes. Ne Ubii quidem, quamquam Romanorum  
15 nia esse meruerint ac libentius Agrippinenses conditi  
sui nomine vocentur, origine erubescunt, transgressi  
olim et experimento fidei super ipsam Rheni ripam  
locati, ut arcerent, non ut custodirentur.

xxxix. Omnium harum gentium virtute praecipua  
20 tavi non multum ex ripa sed insulam Rheni am-  
colunt, Chattorum quondam populus et seditione  
mestica in eas sedes transgressus in quibus passi-  
mani imperii ferent. Manet honos et antiquae soe-  
tatis insigne. Nam nec tributis contempnuntur, nec  
25 publicanus atterit; exempti oneribus et collatione  
et tantum in usum proeliorum sepositi, velut relictam  
arma, bellis reservantur. Est in eodem obsequio  
Mattiacorum gens; protulit enim magnitudo pro-  
Romani ultra Rhenum utraque veteres terminos  
30 perii reverentiam. Ita sede finibusque in sua  
mente animoque nobiscum agunt, cetera similes. Hi  
vis, nisi quod ipso adhuc terrae suae solo et  
acrius animantur.

Non numeraverim inter Germaniae populos quos  
35 quam trans Rhenum Danubiumque consederint, eos qui

res agros exercent. Levissimus quisque Gallo-  
nopia audax dubiae possessionis solum occu-  
max limite acto promotisque praesidiis sinus  
et pars provinciae habentur.

Ultra hos Chatti initium sedis ab Hercynio  
habant, non ita effusis ac palustribus locis ut  
vitates in quas Germania patescit; durant  
colles, paulatim rarescunt, et Chattos suos  
Hercynius prosequitur simul atque deponit.  
genti corpora, stricci artus, minax vultus et  
10 gigni vigor. Multum ut inter Germanos ra-  
sollicitae: praepone relectos, audire prae-  
posse ordines, intellegere occasiones, differre  
disponere diem, vallare noctem, fortunam inter-  
rentem inter certa numerare; quodque rarissi-  
15 ec nisi ratione disciplinae concessum, plus  
in duce quam in exercitu. Omne robur in  
quem super arma ferramentis quoque et copiis.

Alios ad proelium ire vitacos, Chattos ad  
20 Rari excursus et fortuita pugna. Equestrium  
primum id proprium, cito parare victoriam, cito  
velocitas juxta formidinem, cunctatio propior  
25 mentiae est. XXXI. Ut aliis Germanorum populis  
quorum raro et privata cujusque audentia apud Chat-  
tensium vertit, ut primum adoleverint, crinem  
que submittere, nec nisi hoste caeso exuere voti-  
30 que tantumque virtuti oris habitum. Super sangui-  
spolia revelant frontem, sequae tum demum  
nascenti retulisse dignosque patria ac parentibus  
Ignavis et imbellibus manet squalor. Fortis-  
35 que quisque ferream insuper anulum (ignominiosum  
geni) velut vinculum gestat, donec se caede hostis  
Plurimis Chattorum hic placet habitus; jam-  
ment insignes et hostibus simul suisque mon-  
40 Omnium penes hos initia pugnarum; haec 35



prima semper acies, visu nova; nam ne in pace, quibus  
vultu mitiore mansuescunt. Nulli domus aut ager  
aliqua cura: prout ad quemque venere, aluntur, pro  
alieni, contemptores sui, donec exsanguis senectus  
duræ virtuti impares faciat.

xxxii. Proximi Chatius certum jam alveo. Rursus  
quique terminus esse sufficiat, Usipi ac Tencteri, qui  
Tencteri, super solitum bellorum decus, eques-  
cipinae arte præcellunt; nec major apud Cham-  
10 peditum laus quam Tencteri equitum. Sic insu-  
majores, posterî imitantur; hi lusus infantium  
juvenum æmulatio, perseverant senes. Inter em-  
et penates et jura successionum equi traduntur, et  
filius non ut cetera maximus natu, sed prout fer-  
15 et melior.

xxxiii. Juxta Tencteros Bructeri olim occurre-  
nunc Chamavos et Angrivarios immigrasse nar-  
pulis Bructeris ac penitus excisis vicinarum con-  
nationum, seu superbiæ odio, seu prædæ dulcedine  
seu favore quoddam erga nos deorum. Nam hæc  
20 taculo quidem procelli invidere; super sexaginta  
non armis telisque Romanis, sed, quod magnifera  
est, oblectationi oculisque ceciderunt. Maneat, et  
dureque gentibus, si non amor nostri, at certe  
25 sui; quando urgentibus imperii fatis nihil jam patri-  
fortuna majus potest quam hostium discordiam.

xxxiv. Angrivarios et Chamavos a tergo. Duri-  
et Chasuarii cludunt, aliaque gentes haud penitus  
moratae. A fronte Frisii excipiunt. Majoribus  
30 ribusque Frisii vocabulum est ex modo virum  
que nationes usque ad Oceanum Rheno prætere-  
ambuntque immensos insuper lacus et Romanis  
bus navigatos. Ipsum quin etiam Oceanum ille  
vimus. Et superesse adhuc Herculis columnas  
35 vulgavit, sive adit Hercules, seu quicquid ubique

est in claritatem eius referre consensimus.  
rebit audentia Druso, Germanico; sed obstitit  
in se simul atque in Herculem inquiri. Mox  
tentavit, sanctiusque ac reverentius visum de  
40 eorum credere quam scire.

Hæcenus in occidentem Germaniam novi-  
in septentrionem ingenti flexu redit. Ac primo  
Chaucorum gens, quamquam incipiat a Frisii ac  
in litore occupet, omnium quas exposui gentium  
45 bus obhenditur, donec in Chattos usque sinuetur.  
immensum terrarum spatium non tenent tantum  
sed et implent, populus inter Germanos nobilis-  
quique magnitudinem suam mali justitia tueri  
50 cupiditate, sine impotentia, quieti secretique, nulla  
gent bella, nullis raptibus aut latrocinii populan-  
Et præcipuum virtutis ac virium argumentum est,  
ut superiores agant non per injurias assequuntur.  
propria tamen omnibus arma ac, si res poscat, exerci-  
plurimum virorum equorumque; et quiescentibus  
55 et fama.

In latere Chaucorum Chattrumque Cheru-  
nam ac marcentem diu pacem illacessiti nutri-  
Idque jucundius quam tutius fuit, quia inter-  
60 gentes et validos falso quiescas; ubi manu agitur,  
extra ac prohibitas nomina superioris sunt. Ita qui  
boni æquique Cherusci, nunc inertes ac stulti vo-  
Chattis victoribus fortuna in sapientiam cessit.  
65 Chausorum et Fosi, contemmina gens;  
Cheruscorum et Fosi, contemmina gens;  
70 rum rerum ex æquo socii sunt, cum in secundis  
fuisent.

Eundem Germaniæ sinum proximi Oceano  
75 fient, parva nunc civitas, sed gloria ingens.  
que fanæ lata vestigia manent utraque ripa  
80 ac spatia, quorum ambitu nunc quoque metaris  
85 mansque gentis et tam magni exitus fidem.

Sexcentessimum et quadragessimum annum urbs agebat, cum primum Cimbrorum audita sunt arma, cilio Metello et Papirio Carbone consultibus, si ad alteram Imperatoris Trajani consulatum societas, mus, ducenti ferme et decem anni colliguntur. Germania vincitur. Medio tam longi aevi spatium invicem damna. Non Sannis, non Poeni, non Parthiae Galliaeve, ne Parthi quidem saepius admodum quippe regno Arsacis acrior est Germanorum, ipse Pacoro infra Ventidium dejectus Oriens objurgat. At Germani, Carbone, et Cassio, et Scatro, Antiocho Servilio Caepione, Cn. quoque Manlio fuis, vel quinquae simul consulares exercitus Populo Romano, rum trisque cum eo legiones etiam Caesari absculenti nec impune C. Marius in Italia, divus Julius in Gallia Drusus ac Nero et Germanicus in suis eos sedibus perlerunt. Mox ingentes Gaii Caesaris minae in iudicio versae. Inde otium; donec occasione discordiae, traee et civilium armorum, expugnatis legionum, etiam Gallias affectavere; ac rursus pulsati, inde pro temporibus triumphati magis quam victi sunt.

xxxviii. Nunc de Suevis dicendum est, quoniam una ut Chattorum Teneterorumve gens; majorem Germaniae partem obtinent, propriis adhuc nationibus nominibusque discreti, quamquam in commune invocentur. Insigne gentis obliquare crinem non substringere; sic Suevi a ceteris Germanis, sic Chattorum ingenui a servis separantur. In aliis gentibus cognatione aliqua Suevorum seu quod saepe accidit, tatione, rarum et intra juventae spatium; apud Suevos usque ad canitem horrentem capillum retro sequuntur ac saepe in ipso solo vertice religant. Principes, etiam tiorum habent. Ea cura formae, sed innoxiae, neque enim ut ament amentur, in altitudinem guardantur.

adituri bella compi ut hostium oculis ornantur. Vetusissimos se nobilissimosque Suevorum memores memorant. Fides antiquitatis religione firmitate Stato tempore in silvam auguriis patrum et primordiae sacram omnes ejusdem sanguinis populi ab his coeunt, caesoque publice homine celebrantur horrenda primordia. Est et alia ludo reneho nisi vinculo ligatus ingreditur, ut minor systema numinis prae se ferens. Si forte prolapso atollit et insurgere haud licitum; per humum atollit. Eoque omnis superstitio respicit, tamquam gentis, ibi regnator omnium deus, cetera sub quoque parentia. Adicit auctoritatem fortuna Semper centum pagi iis habitantur, magnoque corpore cui ut se Suevorum caput credant.

Contra Longobardos paucitas nobilitat; plurimis mississimis nationibus cincti non per obsequium, omnis et periclitando tuti sunt. Reudigni deinde omnes et Anglii et Varini et Endoses et Suardones nationes Fluminibus aut silvis manuntur. Nec quae nota in singulis, nisi quod in commune semper id est terram matrem, colunt, eamque in rebus hominum, inveni populi arbitrantur. In maria Oceani castum nemus, dicanturque in eo vestem veste conlectum. Attingere uni sacerdoti design. Is adesse penetrati deam intellegit, vectantibus, feminis multa cum veneratione prosequitur. tunc dies, festa loca, quaecumque adventu hospitum dignatur. Non bella ineunt, non arma sumunt; pax omne ferrum; pax et quies tunc tantum nota, tantum amata, donec idem sacerdos satiatam contentum mortaliu deam templo reddat. Mox vehiculas et, si credere vells, numen ipsum secreto ablatum. Servi ministrant, quos statim idem iacis

haurit. Arcanus hinc terror sanctaque ignorantia  
sit illud quod tantum perituri vident.

XLI. Et haec quidem pars Suevorum in septentrionalibus Germaniae porrigitur. Propior (ut, quo modo, ante Rhenum, sic nunc Danubium sequar) Hermannorum civitas, fida Romanis; eoque solis Germanorum in ripa commercium, sed penitus atque in spem maxima Rætiae provinciae colonia. Passim et sine intermissione transeunt; et cum ceteris gentibus arma modo, modo que nostra ostendamus, his domos villasque patentes non concupiscentibus. In Hermannuris Alsis flumen inclitum et notum olim; nunc tantum arduo mari et Quadi agunt. Praecipua Marcomanorum ria viresque, atque ipsa etiam sedes pulsis olim virtute parta. Nec Naristi Quadive degenerant Germaniae velut frons est, quatenus Danubio, per Marcomanis Quadisque usque ad nostram mentem reges manserunt ex gente ipsorum, nobile Marobodu Tudri genus. Jam et externos patiuntur, sed vis potentia regibus ex auctoritate Romana. Raro nostris, saepius pecunia juvantur, nec minus valent.

XLIII. Retro Marsigni, Gotini, Osi, Buri terga manorum Quadorumque claudunt. E quibus Marcomanorum et Buri sermone cultuque Suevos referunt; Gallia, Osos Pannonica lingua coarguit non esse manus, et quod tributa patiuntur. Partem tributa Sarmatae, partem Quadi ut alienigenis imponantur, tui, quo magis pudeat, et ferrum effodiunt. Omnia que hi populi pauca campestrium, ceterum silvarum vertices montium jugumque insederunt. Dirimunt scinditque Sueviam continuam montium jugum quod plurimae gentes agunt. Ex quibus laetissimum Lygiorum nomen in plures civitates diffusum, tissimas nominasse sufficit, Harios, Helveonas

Harios, Nahanarvalos. Apud Nahanarvalos anti-  
quioris Iucus ostenditur. Praesidet sacerdos  
sacrorum; sed deos interpretatione Romana Cas-  
polluenteque memorant. Ea vis numini, nomen  
Nulla simulacra, nullum peregrinae superstitionis  
signum; ut fratres tamen, ut iuvenes venerantur.  
Harri super vires, quibus enumeratos paulo  
appulos antecedunt, truces insitae feritati arte  
prope lenocinantur. Nigra scuta, tineta corpora;  
proelia noctes legunt, ipsaque formidine atque  
foralis exercitus terrorem inferunt, nullo hostium  
novum ac velut infernum aspectum: nam  
omnibus proeliis oculi vincuntur.

Lygios Gotohes regnantur, paulo jam adduc-  
tiorum ceterae Germanorum gentes, nondum tamen  
libertatem. Protinus deinde ab Oceano Rugii  
nocti, omniumque harum gentium insigne ro-  
strata, breves gladii et erga reges obsequium.  
Suionium hinc civitates ipso in Oceano prae-  
fatos armatae classibus valent. Forma navium eo  
quod utrinque prora partam semper appulsuri  
agit. Nec velis ministrantur, nec remos in  
lateribus adiungunt; solum, ut in quibusdam  
et mutabile, ut res poscit, hinc vel illinc  
Est apud illos et opibus honos, eoque unus  
nullis iam exceptionibus, non precatio jure  
Nec arma, ut apud ceteros Germanos, in pro-  
sed clausa sub custode, et quidem seruo, quia  
hostium incursus prohibet Oceanus, otiosa porro  
sua manus facile lasciviunt. Linihero neque  
neque ingenuum, ne libertinum quidem armis  
regere regia utilitas est.

Frans Suionas aliud mare, pigrum ac prope  
quo cingit cludique terrarum orbem hinc fides,  
aeremus cadentis jam solis fulgor in ortus edurat

adeo clarus ut sidera hebetet; sonum insuper en-

audiri, formaeque equorum et radios capitis as-

suasio adicit. Illuc usque, et fama vera, tantum

Ergo jam dextro Suevici maris litore Astu-

tes alluuntur, quibus ritus habitusque Suevorum

Britannicae propior. Matrem deum venerantur,

superstitutionis formas aprorum gestant. Id pro-

omniumque tutela securum deae cultorem etiam

hostes praestat. Rarus ferri, frequens, fustium

Frumenta ceterosque fructus patientius quam pro-

Germanorum inerta laborant. Sed et mare ser-

ac soli omnium succinum, quod ipsi glesum vocant,

vada atque in ipso litore legunt. Nec quae

quaeve ratio gignat, ut barbaris, quaesitum, e-

tumve. Diu quin etiam inter cetera ejectamentis

jacebat, donec luxuria nostra dedit nomen. Fisi-

nullo usu; rude legitur, informe perfertur, petunt

mirantes accipiunt. Succum tamen arborum esse

ligas, quia terrena quaedam atque etiam volu-

20 mala plerumque interlucent, quae implentur, im-

mox durescente materia cluduntur. Fecundiora

memora luccosque, sicut Orientis secretis, ubi nihil

samaque sudantur, ita Occidentis insulis terrigena

esse crediderim; quae vicini solis radiis expresse

25 liquentia in proximum mare labuntur, ac vi temperata

in adversa litora exundant. Si naturam suam

igni tentes, in modum taeedae accenditur, atque

30 mam pinguem et olentem; mox ut in picem reser-

lentescit.

30 Sutionibus Sitionum gentes continentur. Ger-

miles uno differunt, quod femina dominantur; in

non modo a libertate, sed etiam a servitute degen-

Hic Sueviae finis.

XLVI. Peucinatorum Venetorumque et Fennor-

35 tiones Germanis an Sarmatis ascribam dubites.

Penetini, quos quidam Bastarnas vocant, sermone,

Penetini, quos quidam Bastarnas vocant, sermone,

ac domitibus ut Germani agunt. Sordes

ac torpor procerum; conubis mistis nonnulli in

ac torpor procerum; conubis mistis nonnulli in

Penetini habitum foedantur. Veneti multum ex

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NOTES.

## NOTES.

### Argument.

CHAP. I. Geography of Germany. — 2-4. Its people. — 5. The land. — 6. Military system. — 7, 8. Government. Influence of women. — 9, 10. Religion. — 11, 12. The public assembly. — 13-15. The chiefs and their followers. — 16. Dwellings. — 17. Dress. — 18, 19. Marriage. — 20. Inheritance. — 21. Hospitality. — 22, 23. Eating and drinking. — 24. Games of chance. — 25. Slaves. — 26. Agriculture. — 27. Funerals. — 28. Nationality. — 29. The Bavarii. The Agri Decumates. — 30, 31. The Chatti. — 32. The Usipi and Tencteri. — 33, 34. Lesser tribes of the North. — 35. The Chauci. — 36. The Cherusci. — 37. The Cimbri. — 38-45. The Suevi. — 39. The Semnones. — 40. The Longobardi. etc. — 41. The Hermunduri. — 42. The Marcomani. etc. — 43. The Lygii. etc. — 44. The Siones. — 45. The Fenni. — 46. The nations of the East.

NOTE. — In the grammatical references, *Gr.* stands for *Allen and Gerrenough's Latin Grammar* (revised edition); *G.* for *Gilbert's Greek*; and *H.* for *Harbous.*

The manuscripts referred to are: *B.*, *Vaticanus*, 1822; *C.*, *Vaticanus*, 1518; *A.*, *Pontanus*; *e.*, *Neapolitanus*. *B.* and *C.* are generally regarded as of most weight, but *W*aitz has given strong reasons for preferring *C.* and *e.*

### CHAPTER I.

I. 1. **Germania omnis, Germany as a whole**, as in *Cæs.*, *B. G.* i. 1, *omnis Gallia*. Here free Germany, the subject of Tacitus' treatise, is contrasted with the two Roman provinces of Upper and Lower Germany, which were upon the left bank of the Rhine, and therefore a part of Gaul proper, although separated from Gaul for the purposes of administration.

It will be noticed that Germany in the time of Tacitus extended further to the east than at present, and not so far to the west and south. A few German tribes had got a foothold to the west of the Rhine, but this territory was mostly occupied by Celtic tribes. South of the Danube, embracing a large portion of Wirttemberg, Bavaria, and Austria, was also in the possession of Celts, who had even held territories north of the Danube, where the Celtic nation of the Boii have left their name to the country *Bohemia* (see Chap. XXVIII.). The Germans, a conquering race, had thrust themselves into the narrow strip of land between the Rhine and the head-waters of the Danube, the modern Baden, and part of Wirttemberg, and Heese Darmstadt, which had been formerly occupied by the Helvetii; but even here the Germans had been pushed back by the Romans, who held this territory under the name *Decumates Agri* (see Chap. XXIX.). On the other hand, it will be seen that in the east the Germans occupied a region which is now purely Slavonic.









33. **in immensum** refers to the distance.—**nudus** but without outer garment; just so Cincinnatus was **nudus** (Plin. xviii. 3, 20), when word was brought him that he had been appointed dictator; then *togam e hinc proferre* (Liv. iii. 26). Vergil too directs the husbandman **nudus** (*Georg.* i. 299). The **sagum** of the Romans (*Georg.* i. 299) denote its commonness) was a military cloak, worn here over the tunic. This passage therefore means that they were in the tunic alone, or with a cloak worn so lightly as not to cumber them. See Chap. XVII.: **tegumen omnibus sagum**.  
34. **cultus** refers of course to military equipment.—**Germanicus** (Tac. *Ann.* ii. 14) speaks of the shields of the Germans as *fiactas colore tabulis*. This is probably the origin of the custom of distinguishing the shield by special devices.  
35. **cassis**, of metal; **galea**, of leather.

4. 2. **variare egressos** refers to complicated manoeuvres of which the course was shifted from one direction to another, the figure 8; in their exercises the Germans use only simple movements. The movement here described is to be understood as military exercise merely, not an evolution in battle; it is hardly by some as wheeling, but the expression **conjuncto** can hardly mean anything but riding about in a closed circle of equal intervals, *ut nemo posterior sit*.

4. In **universum aestimanti, judicant** them on the whole.  
*Agriicola*, Chap. XI.

5. **misti**: Caesar also (*B. G.* i. 48) describes this German practice of combining infantry with cavalry. According to Tacitus were in equal numbers, each cavalryman picking out his companion: *equitum milia sex, totidem numero pedes*. . . *quosque in singulis . . . delegerant: cum his in praetibus versabantur, eos se equites recipiebant: hi, si quid erat durius, conatibus, quos non sublevari cursum adlagnerent.*

7. **Definitur et numerus**, etc.: this passage probably denotes the composition of the army, not to that of the man just described; that is, is to be connected with the passage that follows rather than that which precedes. Tacitus says postquam the "hundred" here described had no numerical value, was a name—**quod prius numerus fuit, jam nomen et honor**

known that the subdivisions of the Germans, as well of the people as of the units, were called "hundreds," and that this word had ceased to have any meaning in the time of Tacitus, before the beginning of authentic history. In all probability Tacitus, as he says in Chap. XII. (p. 7, l. 4), refers to these historical divisions, but without effect; in the latter case that the name was nothing but a name. See Walz, *op. cit.* p. 100.

**omnes**: this old Germanic order of battle, called **schack**, is described by Saxo Grammaticus, as composed of four divisions, in the first line, four in the second, and so on.  
**nam formidinis, sc. potius**.  
**concilium**: the public assembly of all freemen, described in Chap. XI. and XII.

## CHAPTER VII.

**Reges ex nobilitate**, etc.: it is seen, from other passages, that not all the German nations had kings. It appears that the natives of the east and north, with most of the west and northwest, for which reason they were better known to the Romans. Caesar, indeed, says explicitly (*B. G.* vi. 17) that the Germans of his acquaintance had no chief magistrate: **magister est communis magistratus**.

**acerdotibus**: Caesar (*B. G.* vi. 21) says, that the Germans had several passages in Tacitus, that the Germans had no sacred rites. No doubt, therefore, Caesar only means to describe the excessive superstition of the Gauls and the power of their priests, with the simpler and more rational religious system of the Germans. The word is "student," which implies devotion.

**signa et sterna**: not simulacra, idols in human form. The Germans were symbolic images, generally in the form of animals, as the sterna of Odin, the ram of Tiu; the signa were attributes like the sterna of Thor. (Schweitzer-Sidler.) Tacitus says, in the revolt of the Marcomanni, (*Hist.* iv. 22): *inde deprimptae sternis hincque formam*—*ut unique genti tunc bellum mos est*, a passage which describes the same custom as that here mentioned.

**castrum**: here a division of infantry, as **turma** is a division of cavalry.—**familiae et propinquitates**: Caesar says (*B. G.* vi. 27) that the assignments of land were **gentibus cognationibusque**—From the two passages, it appears that the divisions and military divisions were alike founded upon kinship.

28. *plēnora*: *i.e.*, wives and children.  
 29. *audiri*: historical infinitive.  
 31. *exigere, examine carefully*: a late use of the word.

## CHAPTER VIII.

35. *objectu pectorum*: *i.e.*, by exposing themselves to perils of the battle; *e.g.*, in the battle of Aquæ Sextie.

5. 4. *Inesee, sc. feminis* — *providam, prophetic*.

6. *Velédam*: Tacitus tells of her in the fourth and fifth of his Histories, in the revolt of Civilis. His descriptive authority (iv. 61) illustrates the present passage: *et dicitur Bructeræ late imperitabat, valere apud Germanos more, quoque femininum fatidias et augescere superstitione arvirum*.

7. *Aurthiam*: nothing is known of this woman from any source. Most editions read, by conjecture, *Albrunnam*.

8. *neq tamquam, etc.*: *i.e.*, they were not goddesses, but tum aliquid inerat.

## CHAPTER IX.

10. *Deorum*:

Tacitus seems here to contradict Caesar, who says (*B. G.* vi. 21) that the Germans had a pure nature worship, — *deorum numera eas solus dicunt, quos certant aperire opibus humanis, Saturn et Vulcanum et Lunam, reliquos acceperunt*, — that is, sun, moon, and fire. They agree, however, on the words of the German gods was Wodan (Odin or Woden), who agrees with Mercury (Wodensday) is in French *Mercure* (*dies Mercurii*). He was originally and is referred to by Caesar as *Sax*. The next of the great gods was Donar, thunderer, whose adventures resemble those of Hercules, and whose adventures remind of Vulcan. As wielder of the thunderbolt he was more commonly known as Jupiter, whence Thursday, in French *Jeudi* (*dies Jovis*). Mars is easily identified with Tu or Ty, — Tuesday is in French *Mardi* (*dies Martis*). This name agrees with the same as *Zeus* or *Jupiter*, the god of the sky; perhaps he became god of the sun's rays, which are in many mythologies symbolized as arrows of fire, and cannot be positively identified. Tacitus calls her worship a foreign rite, probably *scævum*, and some have therefore conjectured that the worship of the Egyptian Isis made its way to the Germans. It is more likely that the galley, which formed a ceremonial, reminded Tacitus of the *prolegium falis*, or Roman festival, in which day a procession took place to the senators, and a ship filled with out to sea. Probably she is to be identified with some native German goddess, the Nerthus mentioned in Chap. XI. Possibly she is the same as *Cesaræ*, which is hardly likely, as Isis was a goddess of the earth, not of the moon. It may be reminiscences of rites connected with a ship have been traced in modern parts of Germany.

*humanis hostis*: see Chap. XXXIX. The human sacrifices were, however, confined to Odin. (Schweizer-Sidler.)

*concessis, such as are allowed*. — *adocet advoctam religionem, i.e.*, the ship is a symbol of the origin. As has been already said, it is more likely that the influence in rites suggested the identity with Isis.

*generum, etc.*: this simplicity of worship and freedom from the characteristic of the Aryan nations in their early history. The Romans Varro testifies: *plus quam annos centum et septuaginta sine simulacro ebuisse*. Augustinus, *C. D.* iv. 31.

*magnum, consistit with the greatness*. This concept of dignity is hardly likely to be the correct explanation; they did not feel the need and the impulse of giving definite to a spiritual being abstractly conceived. — *secretum quod sola vera valent*. Their gods, although not clothed with human were nevertheless distinctly personified and named.

## CHAPTER X.

*notas*: Caesar (*B. G.* i. 50) states the custom of the Germans to have been: *ut matres familiarum corvum sortibus et vitibus declarant, utrum proelium committi ex usu esset*.

*ut qui maxime observant* is to be understood with both *notas* — they observe them as they do *tollo observe them most*.

*fragiferæ arbori*: oak, beech, or hazel, for the Germans had *notas*; see Chap. XXVI. The method here described was of not the only one observed. (Schweizer-Sidler.)

*notas*: *i.e.*, runes.

*consultatur*: this is Halm's reading; the manuscripts have *consultatur*, but a future tense seems here wholly inadmissible.

*ter singulos*: *i.e.*, three times one at a time.

*adhuo, in addition*: *i.e.*, the sanction of the lot was not of complete unless confirmed by auspices. — *etiam hic, i.e.*, among the Germans. As is well known, this was the usual method of taking auspices among the Romans.

*proprium gentis, peculiar to the race*.

*heredem hereditatis ac lucris, i.e.*, those mentioned in the

Chapter XI.  
*phocephs*: see Chap. XI.





relation, the word *client* was used; Tacitus sometimes uses the word *clientes* to denote the *comites*. Naturally, therefore, a subject of remark that, among the Germans, this relation is no indignity.

#### 18. *apud principem suum* :

It is a question whether the chiefs who were authorized to have a *comitatus* in connection, it will appear that they were the same. Mention has just been made of the judicial *principes*; immediately it is said that *principes* showed his arms upon the youth; then, that if the youth was of noble or princely parentage, this honor was more readily attained by him. The honor of *comes* — is next described, and again reference is made to *principes*. The word is used five times in sixteen lines, and it seems impossible that it should be every time in the same sense. Caesar seems to support the same view (vi. 23), after mentioning the judicial *principes*, he goes on to speak of *comites* in war: *ubi quis ex principibus in consilio dicit se ducem fore, pro profectantur, consurgunt in, etc.* The temporary relation described by Caesar easily grow into the permanent one described by Tacitus.

#### 19. *Haec dignitas, etc.* : of course, of the *princeps*.

#### 22. *culque follows id nomen, ea gloria est.*

24. *expetuntur* : *i.e.*, the princes who have a disreputable train of followers.

26. *profligant, bring to an end.* Holzmann translates *vent* ("verhindern").

### CHAPTER XIV.

29. *principi* is dative after *superestrem*, which agrees with *comitem* understood. We have here a description of that relation between chief and follower which was developed into a similar relation between lord and vassal in the feudal system.

33. *torpeat* : this subjunctive is to be referred to the general conditions (Gr. § 309). Gildersleeve would probably refer it under Ideal Conditional Sentences, with a Universal Present, the Apodosis (§ 598; H. § 511, it.).

8. 2. *tuae* : this is the reading of most manuscripts, including *C. c.* It is the second person singular of the subjunctive referring to an indefinite subject, and practically equivalent to a Participle. — *one maintains a retinue = a retinue is maintained.* — *Etiam enim, etc.* : these were probably the gifts in virtue of which a young man entered into the relation of *comes* (Waltz). This equipment of the warrior by his lord with arms which revert to the lord on the death of the follower, is what was known as *heriot*.

*Nam epulae, etc.* : this is to explain that their sustenance was the nature of pay for services, while the equipment was the remuneration upon which they entered into the service. (Schweizer.)

*apparatus* : this may be taken as genitive of quality (*etiam in iudicio*) : so in Livy, xxvii. 6, *ludis magnifici apparatusis fuerunt* ; it may be a hendiatris with *epulae, abundant banquet*.

*Sec. arate, etc.* : this statement applies to the *comites*, not to the *comes* as a race. (Kritz.)

*annum, the fruits of the year, as in Agricola, Chap. XXXI.*

### CHAPTER XV.

The statements in this chapter apply directly to the chiefs and their followers, who have just been described; they must, nevertheless, be understood to be true also of the rest of the Germans in leading features. (Waltz, p. 377.)

*non multum* : this seems inconsistent with Caesar's statement that the *comitatus* was *consistit*. Is it not, however, consistent with what we know of the military class in barbarous nations? Long seasons of idleness and idleness with occasional hunting expeditions. It is to be remembered that Tacitus does not speak here of the Germans as a whole, but of the chiefs and their followers; moreover, that they were not agricultural people, with whom hunting was not a necessary part of life, as with savage nations.

*Mos est civitatis, etc.* : this is the beginning of taxation, the *comitatus* contributions rendered by every man, *virtutum* ; for the *comitatus* by which they became compulsory see Lodge's *Essay on the German Land Law*, p. 62.

*amentorum* : this is a partitive genitive, depending upon the indefinite idea of part, such as is common in Greek; see Gooden's *Greek Grammar*, § 168, Note 2.

1. *publice = a gentibus.*

2. *et pecuniam* : this was nearer akin to direct bribery, which the Romans never scrupled to use in order to bring foreign princes under their influence. *Jam* shows that this was recent.

### CHAPTER XVI.

*Mullas . . . urbes* : here is indicated the most fundamental difference between the early institutions of the Greeks and Romans

and those of the Germans. The Greeks and Romans in a period adopted the custom of living in cities, and had their type of free government; the Germans confined their villages or scattered habitations (Höfe) until after the time of the Great. See Bryce, *Holy Roman Empire*, p. 132. In these cities generally followed at once upon their conquest of (Arnold, p. 232.)

25. *ne pati quidem*, etc.: the position of *quidem*, since the emphasis is placed upon *pati*; *inter se* qualifies *pati*, and *tas aedes* is to be taken as equivalent to *urbes*. (Waltz, p. 117.)  
 26. *Colunt discreti ac diversi*: in this passage is seen a distinct advance from the condition of things depicted by Caesar (vi. 22), from which individual possession and separate seem to be entirely absent. (Inama-Sternegg, p. 10.) Nevertheless, to take this passage as describing a general practice of isolated dwelling, but rather the possibility of this, and the villages, *vici*, described in the next sentence, are simply of this practice of living *ut fons, ut campus, ut nemus*, &c. Both ways of living, in villages and in scattered houses, were trusted to the *junctas aedes* of the Romans. (Waltz, p. 117.) They usually lived in villages is implied in the description XIX.) of the punishment of adultery: *per omnium viciniam*.

These two systems, that of scattered habitations, *Höfe*, and of villages, *Dörfer*, both in practice among the early Germans. The village system, an outgrowth of the organization, has been investigated by Von Maurer and others, whose views will be best represented in English in Sir Henry Maine's *Village Communities*. (Maine, p. 11.) The village system, as far from being as universal as is often assumed. See also *Studies in the Early History of Institutions*, by D. W. Ross (Cambridge, 1880), who undertakes to assign to the theory of village communities. The present passage in Tacitus is one of the most important pieces of evidence on the subject. It is often taken (as by Schwert, *Silv. Ant.*, p. 117) to describe the two systems, — the *Hof* in *colunt discreti*, etc.; the *Dorf* in *locauta*, etc. It is not likely, however, that Tacitus distinguished so minutely between the rural life of the Germans as contrasted with the urban life of the Romans. Another contrast is pointed out in the village itself, in which the houses stood by themselves with little court-yards, *spatio orbati*, data, as at present in America, not as in the Italian villages (and in those of the present day), *conexis et cohaerentibus aedificiis*.

29. *remedium*: in apposition with the preceding clause, may be questioned whether either of these reasons is the reason probably it was the native fancy of the Germans for individualism.

30. *insociāta*, ablativus.

31. *materia, timber*.

*informal, unketen*: not, however, log cabins; the beams were vertically (hence the word *stockwerk*), the spaces between being sometimes filled with earth. (Arnold, p. 246.) — *citra*, see *Agricola*, Chap. I.

*picturem* cannot mean *house-painting*, — covering the house with uniform color, but such a combination of colors as gives the effect of a picture, without, however, representing actual colors. It is only *intertur*; *lineamenta colorum, colored lines*. The spaces were probably daubed upon the earth or clay which the nations, at any rate not the same persons, who lived in

*eo ipso . . . quod: for the very reason that. — fallunt, voice.*

#### CHAPTER XVII.

*caetera intecti: i.e., when in the house. Caesar says (B. G. vi. 22) that the Sueti had no clothing but skins: quorum propter*

*indidit magna est corporis pars aperta.* The distinction between *caetera* and *intecti* is not in their having such an under-garment, — for *caetera* and *intecti* are both in their quality and material. (Schweizer-Sidler.) — *fruantur*: such flowing garments have always been characteristic of the Asiatic nations.

*ripae, sc. Rheni: — ut guttus, sc. sit.* (Cf. § 320, *et*; G. H. § 519, 3, 1.) The idea of the passage is that those near the frontier obtain by trade woven stuffs which they like better; the more distant and less civilized take pride in the elegance of their furs. Compare the modern Japanese, who wear broadcloth and silk hats.

*maculis pellibusque: a hendiatys, — spots made from the skins of animals here referred to, quas . . . Oceanus . . .*

*maculis* are probably emmines, seals, etc.  
*amicibus*: the outer garment, as distinguished from the *stola*. — *purpura*: probably a border colored red from some plant in *maunicas non extendant*: the *stola* of the Roman women

#### CHAPTER XVIII.

*plumibus unguis, dative; cf. Verg. Aen. vii. 333; canibus*  
*Latium.* As an example, Ariovistus had two wives, one

of his own nation, the other sent by her brother, the Noricans (*R. G.* i. 53).

23. **Dotem**: the **dos** of the Romans was strictly *portio*, brought by the wife to the husband on marriage. Here mentioned, which retained this name in medieval usage. The opposite; it was a price paid by the husband to the wife, in whose *manus* (*mundum*) she was, for the sake of this authority, or rather its transference to him. (*See Historische Zeitschrift*, vol. xxxi. p. 291.)

24. **propinquus**: a sort of family council, in which the relations were founded. (Waltz, p. 61.)

27. **scutum cum framea gladioque**: Sohn (p. 551) is this ceremonial as essentially the same with that in Greek in both cases the *mundum* of the father is dissolved, and authority established by the gift of sword and spear, — in case by the lord, in the other case by the husband.

28. **in haec munera, in reverentia ad haec gifts.**

29. **hoc . . . haec . . . hos**: notice the attraction of demonstratives to agree with their appositives.

10. 3. **rursus, quae**: most editions read *rursusque* with equally good manuscript authority (*b*; *c*. has *quae*). It however, appear to make the accusative *quae* subject of *referant* moreover, the reading here given marks more distinctly the *sive* acts on the part of the daughter-in-law, — *quae accipit, quae . . . referantur*.

#### CHAPTER XIX.

4. **saepa pudicitia, with well-guarded modesty** — *epu* *lorum* . . . *conviviorum*: the indecencies of the public shows, the familiarities and excitements of conviviality.

5. **Litterarum secreta, clandestine correspondence**, — *doux*."

7. **poena praesens et maritis permissa**: the authority of man over his wife and children was similar to that of the *paterfamilias*, but not so extensive and well defined.

8. **Accisis**: this is the reading of all the best manuscripts. Few have *abscessis*, which would perhaps be preferable, though much better as to overbalance the weight of authority, *abscessis* would mean *storn*, while *accisis* is rather *clipped*.

13. **saeculum, the spirit of the times**. — *adhuc* = *etiam* *civitates*: implying that it was not a universal practice among

*ne tangamur maritum* etc.: *i.e.*, their love is not placed in the man to whom they are united, but upon the married state, once entered upon, is perpetual for them even after the husband's death.

**Numerum liberorum**, etc.: the German father had, like the *paterfamilias*, power of life and death over his children, and was included the right of exposing and thus putting to death his children; but this legal power was limited by public *boni mores*.

**agnatus**: not in its legal sense of descendants in the male line, but in the popular meaning, *after-born children*; *i.e.*, born *post nuptias constitutum*, when the inheritance is already determined, their exists whose rights would be disturbed.

**liberi**: *i.e.*, particularly in Rome.

#### CHAPTER XX.

**nudi**: see note on *nudi*, Chap. VI. (p. 3, l. 33). — **sordidi**, especially in clothing; that they were not dirty is shown by *ignis bathis* (Chap. XXII.).

**Dominum ac servum**: this describes the mild and patriarchal type of slavery found in early society.

**Sorum filius**: this close relation between the nephew and his mother's side is frequently observed among primitive nations. Inheritance is often in the same line; not, however, the Germans, as is shown by the expression *heredes* . . . *agni liberi*, etc. The Latin name of the uncle on the mother's side, *avunculus*, "little grandfather" — points to the same connection of things. This usage is generally explained by the promise of marriage and uncertainty of parentage among savages; but among Aryan nations it appears to be because after the father's death the sister came under the guardianship of the brother.

**in nullum testamentum**: this is the universal custom of primitive peoples: see Maine, *Ancient Law*, chap. vi. **fratres patrum avunculi**: *i.e.*, inheritance was in the male preference to the female.

**Quanto** is correlative to **tanto**; **quo** is ablative of cause. **quidam quanto**, making this phrase also correlative to **tanto quo**, *B. C.*, **tanto**). — **propinquorum, blood relations**, is used with **affinium, connections by marriage**; **propinquus** is, in a word of more general meaning, indicating any close relationship of kinship, neighborhood, or obligation.



5. *orbitatis*: in Rome, childless old men and women very special attentions from fortune-hunters, in the hope of being remembered in their wills. As Horace says (*Epistles*, i. 1. 20),

*Cruxta et hontis vitibus venentur arvora  
sunt qui  
Ereptantque senes, quos in revaria mittant.*

## CHAPTER XXI.

5. *Suscipere*, etc.: this right of feud was a natural consequence of the institution of the family, — not based upon the right of inheritance, but developed side by side with it. (Waitz, p. 21.)

7. *Intur*: this is the wergild of later times (*satisfactio*, *positio*). It will be noticed that it went to the family, not to the representative: *recipit satisfactioem universa domus*.

9. *utiliter in publicum*: this commutation of the blood into a money payment was of advantage for the public peace.

10. *juxta, in connection with*: according to Holtzmann's *portion to*.

12. *hospitiis*: compare Caesar, *B. G.* vi. 23: *hospitem fac non putant; qui quacunquē de causa ad eos venient, adhibent, sanctos habent; hucque omnium domus patet communicatur.*

15. *Cum defecere*: this appears to refer to the old German custom of not extending this right of hospitality longer than three days. (Holtzmann) — *hospes, host*.

21. *data imputant*: *i.e.*, as imposing an obligation.

## CHAPTER XXII.

23. *In diem*: the Romans, as is well known, were early in this chapter; indeed, contains a number of contrasts between man and Roman oriners.

24. *calida*: Caesar says (*B. G.* iv. 1), *locis frigidissimis lavantur in fluminibus*. Warm baths were common among Germans in the middle ages (Schweizer-Stüler).

26. *sua ouique mensa*: this probably means that, like most civilized people, they ate by themselves and where they pleased at a common table.

27. *Diem noctemque continare, turn day and night*.

29. *raro conviviis*: a strong contrast to the more social nations, with whom a slight dispute is argued with loud words and violent gestures.

*asciscendis principibus*: this expression has been much used but appears to refer to the election of the magistrates referred to in Chap. XII.; these banquets were a sort of caucus for the election of candidates, as well as other matters of public interest, *et bello*, and also family alliances, *ingendis affinitate*. . . . It is to be noticed that the election was not made for a long time, but for life, or at least for as long as the person possessed the requisite strength and vigor (Waitz, p. 271); for this of the word *ascisco*, denoting properly the reception into a body or corporation, is precisely in place.

1. *simplices, open-hearted*.

2. *ad hoc qualiter secreta*.

3. *salva utriusque temporis ratio est, each time receives in consideration*. Temporis is objective genitive.

## CHAPTER XXIII.

1. *frumento = tritico, wheat*.

2. *corruptus, fermented*.

3. *lao conortum*: not cheese (*caseus*), but *curds*. — *blandimenta*: *i.e.*, spices, etc.

## CHAPTER XXIV.

1. *infestas*: *i.e.*, pointed towards them.

2. *quamvis qualiter audacis*.

3. *quod mixere, a matter of surprise*; *quod* relates to the case. Among the Romans games of chance were only allowed in public places, etc.

4. *inventor*: this form is common in late Latin.

5. *fidem, honor*.

6. *per commercia tractant, "trade off"*.

## CHAPTER XXV.

1. *Ceteris servis*: these were serfs, bound to the soil and to the land, but otherwise free, like the Roman *colonus*. Each had his own and assigned lot of land, for which he paid in produce and articles — a very mild form of servitude, strongly contrasted with the excessive cruelty of Roman household slavery.

2. *descriptis per familiarum ministeriis*: the Roman household had a large number of slaves, each with his duties precisely and minutely defined.



18. **crementur**: the custom of burning the dead was not in vogue until Christian times.
22. **gravem**: in its physical meaning; cf. Ovid (*Am.* iii. 11) *sit humus cineri non onerosa tuo*.
24. **ponunt, lay aside**.

## CHAPTER XXVIII.

30. **divus Julius**: Caesar says (*B. C.* vi. 24), *ful ante me regnum Germanos Galli virtute superavit, ubi bella experiri propter hominum multitudinem agrisque inopiam trans Rhodanum colonas mitterent*. — **etiam Gallis**. . . **transgressos**. . . **ab eo** back to **quae nationes**. . . **commigraverunt**. . . At present the Gauls the Germans that invade Gaul; formerly it was the other way. As a matter of fact, however, the Gauls in Germany were present not invaders, but a remnant left behind on their migration from east to west. (Schweizer-Sidler.)

33. **promiscuas adhuc, still common**.

34. **Hercyniam silvam**: the *Hercynian Forest* was a general name for the great mountain range stretching easterly from the country of the Chatti (Hesse, Chap. XXX.) to the Carpathians north of Hungary. It includes, therefore, all the ranges which surround Bohemia; the Marcomani, who certainly occupied Bohemia, are said by Velleius Paterculus (ii. 108) to have occupied *inter Rhodanum et Hercyniam silva campos*. The territory here described by Tacitus is easily identified by a glance at the map. The Rhine, the Moselle (which runs west into the Rhine), and the *Böhmervald* (forming the western boundary of Bohemia), form a rude quadrangle, embracing the northern part of Bavaria and portions of Württemberg, Baden, and Hesse Darmstadt, which was the territory formerly occupied by the Helvetians. Beyond the *Böhmervald*, **ulteriora**, was the territory of the Boii, *Bohemum*, from which they had been expelled by the Marcomani (Chap. XLII.).

14. 5. **Germanorum natione**: the Osi lived on the confines of Moravia and Hungary, a part of Germania, in the geographical sense of the word as used by Tacitus. In Chap. XLIII. we learn that the Osi were not German by nationality, but Pannonian; that is, that they were of the Illyrian race, represented by the modern Albanians.

8. **inopia and libertate**: ablative absolute. **Olim retis** is a common time before their migration, — "they were free and poor than they have neither bettered their condition nor made it worse." — **in usque ripae**: *i.e.*, of the Danube; the Araviscl lived on its right bank, in Lower Austria.

**Treveri et Nervii**: he here passes to the subject proposed in the last chapter, **quae nationes ex Germania in Gallias commigraverunt**. Both these tribes are familiar from Caesar's *Gallia* (i. 51); the Treveri have also left their name to the modern city of Treves (*Augusta Treverorum*), in Rhenish Prussia; the Nervii were in central Belgium. Like all the Belgian tribes (see *Caes. B. C.* i. 4) they claimed a German origin, and may be assumed to have been at all events partly German. Strabo (iv. 3, 4) says distinctly that the Nervii were *Ἰσπανικοῦ ἔθους*; but of the nation of the Treveri, Caesar [Hirtius] only says (*B. C.* viii. 25), *calli et jerviate nonnulli Germanis differunt*, while a late writer states positively that their language was Gallic. — **circa, in respect to**; **originis** is affectationem.

2. **haud dubie** qualifies **Germanorum**: the nations previously mentioned were of doubtful nationality. The four nations here indicated held the left bank of the Rhine — the Ubii about Cologne, the Vangiones about Worms, the Nemetes about Spire, the Triboci about Strasburg. All of these are mentioned by Caesar, and the last were among the followers of Ariovistus.

4. **Ubii**. These were the first Germans who entered into friendly relations with Rome. As early as B. C. 55 they allied themselves with Caesar (*B. C.* iv.) against the powerful Suevi. They were afterwards, B. C. 39, removed across the Rhine, where they received a grant of land occupying a relation to the empire somewhat like that of the *coloniae* of the later empire, rendering military service (**ut arcereant**). A.D. 50 a Roman colony was founded in their territories, called *Colonia Agrippina* (Cologne), from Agrippina, daughter of Germanicus and mother of Nero. The masculine condition, is used here for a woman; it may be, however, that the colony was named after Agrippina, from whom the colony was named, but her father Agrippa, who removed them across the Rhine.

7. **experimento fidei**: ablative of cause, *because of their proved fidelity, not as a test of their fidelity*.

## CHAPTER XXIX.

9. Having spoken of the four German tribes within the limits of the two provinces of Germany, on the left bank of the Rhine, he proceeds to speak of the Batavians, next below the Ubii, but occupying principally the delta of the Rhine, with only a little of the bank, **non nullum ex ripa**. These, too, were subjects of Rome, **pars**

**Romani imperii** Caesar also (*R. G.* iv. 10) says that the *insulam efficit Batavorum*.

21. **Chattorum** : see Chap. XXX. Nothing is known of migration from any other source, but Tacitus repeats the statement *Hist.* iv. 12, giving them, however, *extrema galliæ orbe trans montibus sinuque insulam inter vada sitam*.

23. **antiquæ societatis** : see *Agricola*, Chap. XXXV. The old alliance did not, however, prevent unjust aggressions on the part of the Romans, which led to the dangerous uprising of A.D. 69, narrated by Tacitus in the fourth book of his *Historia*.

24. **contemnuntur, treated with indignity**. This passage describes perfectly the condition of the *Laeti*, holding their land in the empire on the tenure of military service. The Austrian Military Frontier, for defence against the Turks, is occupied in precisely the same manner.

28. **Mattiacorum** : they inhabited the modern Nassau or right bank of the Rhine, and of the Main. The mention of the *completes the enumeration of the tribes subject to the empire*.

32. **ipso adhuc terræ suæ solo** : the fact that they, unlike the Batavians, still inhabit their native soil, inspires them with a peculiar courage.

**15. 1. Decumates agros :**

This is the corner of Germany lying between the Rhine and the upper course of the Danube, now comprising the principal part of Baden and Württemberg. This was part of the territory formerly occupied by the Helvetians, and left vacant when they migrated to Switzerland ; it was then occupied by poor settlers, and afterwards fortified and made part of the empire. The frontier of the empire at this point presented no natural defence, it was therefore necessary to construct a *linias limitæ actæ*, or artificial line of fortifications, such as the Romans constructed in many places, especially in Belgium. This *linias* was begun by Domitian, and finished by his successors ; was, therefore, in process of construction at just about the time that the *Germania* was written, A.D. 98. It was divided into parts. That which started from the Rhine near the mouth of the Lahn in Nassau, an earthen wall with ditch, and strengthened with palisades ; the eastern end, reaching the Danube west of Raasdorf, was a wall of masonry. Extensive remains of both are still extant. Fortifications also extended along the Rhine above the mouth of the Lahn. *Linias* presented a formidable obstacle to German invasion, and formed the boundary of the empire until the Allemans forced their way across it in the fourth century, and converted the Agri Decumates into German territory, known as Swabia (from *Suevi*). The name Agri Decumates is probably identical with *Agri Decumates* used by Cicero (*Verr.* Act. ii. iii. 6, 13), and designating land held of the state upon the payment of a tenth of the produce. The word *decumates* does not occur anywhere else. For a full description of the *Linias*, and its influence upon civilization, see *Antiquitates* *Germanicæ*, Chap. iii.

2. **antiquæ possessionis : i.e.**, they occupied it before its possession was fully secured ; they were therefore exposed to raids from the German tribes.

**provinciae** : partly of Upper Germany, partly of Rætia. This tract of fertile land had no formal organization, but was held under military law, the commanders of the troops being under the authority of the governors of the two adjoining provinces (Baunsmark).

CHAPTER XXX.

**Chatti** : with these begins the enumeration of the independent German tribes. They occupied the territory just beyond the *linias* of the Main, still known by the name of Hesse (etymologically identical with *Chatti*). — perhaps the only part of Germany, except *Saxonia*, in which population and name have remained essentially unchanged from the time of Augustus until now. — **ab Hereroyno**, *i.e.*, the mountain region just east of the Rhine and north of the Main. The Hessians occupied this whole tract, north of them the flat lands of Westphalia. **effusus ac palustribus locis**, inundated by the tribes mentioned in Chaps. XXXII. and XXXIII. **durant siguidem colles, etc.** : this is an obscure passage, the difficulty appears to lie in its elliptical character. I follow the *luch* and *Broderib* in understanding both verses, **durant ac rescent**, to apply at once to the Chatti and the mountains ; *they continue as long as the hills continue, gradually becoming sparse as the hills grow less*.

1. **simul atque** : not *as soon as*, but = *et . . . et*. So also *Q. I. 3. Depontit, lays down*, used figuratively as *takes leave of*.

2. **electos** : as in Chap. XXII. (P. 7, l. 3), for elected officers. The emphasis falls upon this word, — *choose with care the officers whom they obey*. The whole following passage has reference to military discipline.

3. **ordines, sc.** *militares, ranks* : referring in general to the organization of the army. — **occasionalis : i.e.**, of attack, ambuscades, and other military operations ; it is explained further by **interire impetum**.

4. **disponere diem, divide the day off** into its appropriate uses. **vallare noctem**, make the night secure by fortifications.

6. **ratione** : this is the reading of some of the best manuscripts although most manuscripts (*B.* and *b.*) and editors have **romane**. **Ratione** certainly makes best sense, — *by systematic*.

**discipline**, — moreover, the present is a case in point, that it was possible under some other discipline than the Roman.

9. **copiis, supplies of food, etc.**

- 20. **Rari** qualifēs **pugna** as well as **excoursus**.
- 22. **juxta**, *nearly allied to*.

CHAPTER XXXI.

- 24. **usurpatum** agrees with the clause **ut primum tum**. Render: *the usage practised among*, etc.
- 25. **in consensum veritū** = *has become a general one*.

The custom here described is illustrated in the case of Crills, who, in his book a similar vow, and did not cut his hair until he had accomplished the stipulated term. (Tacitus, *Hist.* iv. 61.) It is also illustrated by the special case of the "long-haired kings," *reges criniti*, of the Merovingian Franks. The evidence before, that this **squator** belongs especially to **ignavis** et **imbellis**, is not unwarranted. (Holzmann.) We have here three distinct statements: the hair, the hair unshorn, the custom of wearing the ring, and the special honors and immunity enjoyed by those who thus set themselves apart. They are described as a hereditary fraternity, who received their support from the other members of the tribe.

31. **ignominiosum id genti**: *id.*, in other relations, as of servitude; *e.g.*, of debtor to creditor. It is suggested by Wolffhoff that the usage here described was symbolical of consecration to the god of war, **Tiu**. (Schweizer-Sidler.)

33. **Plurimis**: superlative of eminence, *very many*. — **jam nomen**: *id.*, they remain so long in this condition, **ut jam certum**, etc.

16. i. nova, strange.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

- 6. **certum jam alveo**: most commentators consider this marking a contrast to the upper Rhine, which is broken up into islands; moreover, Tacitus is here proceeding from the country of the Chatti down the river. The contrast, however, is far more marked with the lower Rhine, which divides into several channels and it is here that Tacitus has already spoken of the river, in connection with the Batavians. Moreover, he is speaking of it here as a boundary, **qui terminus esse sufficit**, and the upper Rhine not a boundary, but flowed through the territory of the empire.
- 7. **Usipi ac Tenctēri**: these occupied the right bank of the Rhine below Coblenz, in the territory formerly occupied by the gambri. They afterwards moved to the south, and became the nucleus of the powerful confederacy of the Alemanni.
- 13. **jura successioinum, rights of inheritance**.

**maximus natu**: nothing is known from any other source of the right of primogeniture among the Germans, and this statement is too vague to found an argument upon. (Waitz, p. 66.) It will be noticed that nothing is said of any such right in Chap. XXXI, and it may have been peculiar to the Tenctēri. See, on the same subject, the *Anglo-Saxon Family Law*, p. 132.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

**juxta**: this seems to mean *by the side of, id.*, away from the river. The **Usipetes** and **Tenctēri** dwelt upon the Rhine, the latter east of them, about the modern city of Münster. The **Chamavi** Veleda (Chap. VIII.), who was so prominent in the connection of Civilis, belonged to this tribe. They were not so early cut to pieces, **penitus exstis**, but that they are several times afterwards mentioned, and gave their name to the medieval *Bengeltra*.

**Chamāvōs et Angrivarios**: the **Angrivarii** lived upon the upper about Minden, where they gave their name in the middle ages to the middle district of the Saxons, *Engern*. The **Chamavi** probably southwest of them, in the neighborhood of Hamm.

13. **penitus exstis**: nothing is known of this event from any other source.

15. **oblectationi oculisque**: a headlady, *for a delight to their eyes*.

17. **tingentibus imperi fatis**: some interpret this as meaning Tacitus apprehends the overthrow of the empire at the hands of the Germans. It is hardly likely, however, from the tone of the book, to have so specific an application as this; only a slight allusion that the empire is in a decline.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

- 7. **a tergo**: this must mean to the south, *id.*, further up the river, since the **Frisii**, a **fronte**, were to the north.
- 9. **Frisii**: this nation, like the Chatti, have retained name and numbers from that day to this. They inhabited the coast of the North Sea from the mouth of the Rhine to that of the Ems, *id.*
- 12. **lacus**: a portion of these inlets were, in 1282, converted by the inundation into the **Zuyder Zee**.

33. *illa, sc. parte.*  
 34. *superesse* . . . *vulgari*: some sailor's story of him out of the ocean. (Schweizer-Sidler.) See the mention of him in Chap. III.

17. 2. *Druso, Germanico*: it is a question whether the belongs here. Drusus, brother of Tiberius, received the name Germanicus, in virtue of his German victories; still it never became common appellation for him, but is given generally to his son, as well as he, conducted expeditions in these regions. The expedition of Drusus was B.C. 12; that of Germanicus, A.D. 14. The asyndeton is quite characteristic of Tacitus.

## CHAPTER XXXV.

7. *Ingenti flexu*: this refers to the peninsula of Jutland.  
 8. *Chaucorum gens*: the description given of their residence hard to understand. It is clear that they occupied the coast of the Frisians to the peninsula, but it is incredible that they have extended along the frontiers of all these nations, *laevam obtenditur*, so as to touch the Chatti. Probably the extension is to be found in the next chapter. The space here described was occupied by the Cherusci and Fosi, who had sunk into a graded condition. Tacitus does not say that they were vassalage to the Chauci, but it seems probable, and the word *latera Chaucorum Chattorumque* may mean that they extended from the Chauci to the Chatti.—Inciplat: Gr. § 313, G. § 668, R. 1; H. 516, i. 2, end. Tacitus is fond of using subjunctive with both *quannquam* and *donec*: see next note.  
 10. *sinnetur*: Gr. § 328; G. § 574, Rem.; H. 522, ii. 1.  
 12. *populus* . . . *nobilissimus*, etc.: this encomium upon Chauci appears to have been called out by their having been in alliance with the Romans. Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* xiv. 2) describes Chauci as an eye-witness, as a miserable race of fishermen on a barren sea-coast,—evidently only an outlying portion of the people. Velleius Patenculus (ii. 106) speaks of *Chaucorum gentis, infuuta numero, immanis corporibus, siva beorum turissimum*.  
 14. *impotentia, want of self-control, turbulent*; so in Horace *Od.* iii. 30, 3, *Aquila impotens*.—*secreti, secluded*.  
 17. *ut superiores agant*: the clause is object of *assequantur*.  
 20. *eadem fama, sc. quae ballantibus*.

## CHAPTER XXXVI.

*Cherusci*: see note on last chapter. They inhabited between the Weser and Elbe, north of the Harz mountains. This nation which, under Arminius, led the uprising against Rome, A.D. 9; afterwards they disappear from history, or rather are merged in the new nation of the Saxons, of which they, the Chauci, and Agriuarii were the principal elements. (Arnold.)  
*impotentes, turbulent*; see note on *impotentia*, Chap. XVII.—*quiescas*: Gr. § 311 a; cf. G. § 250.  
*modestia, modesty; nomina, reputation*.  
*in sapientiam*: *sc.*, its reputation.

## CHAPTER XXXVII.

- sinnum*: as in Chap. I., *bent of land*. The peninsula of Jutland's name, Cimbric Chersonesus, from this nation; Ptolemy places them at its northern end. One is tempted to identify the *sinnum* with the *Kymori* (Welsh), and thus to make them out to have been Keltic; and Latham, who always limits the German peninsula where he can, thinks that not only they, but their comrades the Teutones, were Keltic.  
 2. *gloria* is best taken as nominative.  
 3. *utraque ripa*: this must mean both banks of the same river, and this can hardly have been any but the Rhine, as that is the one generally referred to when *ripa* is used.  
 4. *castra ac spatia*: a hendiadys,—*the spaces occupied by camps*; so *molem mannaque, magnitude of their forces*.  
 5. *tam magni exitus*: this refers to their defeat by Marius on Raudian Fields, B.C. 101.  
 15. 1. *Sexcentessimum et quadragessimum annum*: it was A.U.C. 641, B.C. 113. The second consenship of Trajan was in 98, in which year the *Germania* was written.  
 2. *vinolitur, the conquest has been going on*.  
 3. *Arsaces*: the name Arsaces was assumed by every king of Parthia, in honor of an alleged ancestor, just as Caesar was by every Roman emperor.  
 70. *caedem Craesii*: Marcus Crassus, the colleague of Pompey in the consenship (B.C. 70 and 55), received the government of the *Asia* province, but was defeated at Carrhae (B.C. 53), and after-

wards killed. — **amisso et ipse Paucoro**, etc. : Paucōrus, son of Parthian king Orōdes, was defeated and killed by Ventidius, officer of Mark Antony, B.C. 38. There is a touch of sarcasm in the expression, as Ventidius had been in early life a mule-driver, and the ablative absolute **amisso Paucoro**, the English would render "active construction, the subjection of the East to Ventidius (see Rem. a), and that, too, after losing [his commander] Paucoro".

12. **Carbone**, etc. : all the five here mentioned, were defeated by the Cimbric except Cassius, who was defeated and killed by Tigurini (a Helvetican nation, therefore Gauls) B.C. 107, see B. G. i. 12. The other disasters took place in the great Cimbrian invasion; Carbo's defeat was B.C. 113, the other three, 105.

14. **Varum** : this decisive victory of the Germans was a turning-point in the history of the world. 16. **C. Maritus** : he gained great and decisive victories over the Teutones, B.C. 102, and the Cimbric, 101. The campaigns of Caesar were during his Gallic War, B.C. 58 to 49; Drusus and his brother Tiberius (Nero) and son Germanicus conducted successful campaigns during the reign of Augustus; Germanicus also, in 14, of Tiberius.

18. **Gall Caesaris** : the emperor Caligula; see *Agricola*, chap. XIII.

19. **occasione discordiae nostrae** : this refers to the civil war of A.D. 68 and 69, and to the revolt of the Batavian Civilis, described by Tacitus in the fourth and fifth books of the *Historiae*.

22. **triumphati . . . sunt** : the fictitious triumph of Domitian A.D. 84; see *Agricola*, Chap. XXXIX.

Baumstark says of the historical sketch in this chapter, "The ranks among the most brilliant passages of the *Germanica*."

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

The Sueti of Tacitus present a puzzling problem. His description of them occupies eight chapters, ending **He Suevinae fides**, at the end of Chap. XLV. According to this, their confederacy embraced far more than half of the Germans, including as it did Suetones of Sweden and the Aestii of Livonia as the Marcomanni of Bohemia and the Juthungi of Jutland. This is hard to accept. Another puzzle arises from the fact that Caesar mentions the Sueti, as Tacitus does, as the greatest and most powerful nation of Germany, but places them further to the west, where they came immediately in contact with the Romans. It is generally assumed that the Sueti of Caesar were the Chatti, whom Tacitus does not mention. Strabo, too (vii. p. 290), says that they extended *ad ród Pólyi* (the *ród* "Aabios", and, in part, *πέρλαρ τóδ* "Aabios", but mentions the *Xáτρων* (modernly, One is strongly tempted to accept Mommsen's opinion (*Hist. of Rome*, p. 283) that *Sueti* was a general term, meaning "the wandering people or nomads (from *sknochein*)". It is certain that the Sueti of Tacitus comprise the less settled civilized tribes, excluding only the more civilized nations of the west.

**quorum** : possessive genitive.

**obliquae crinem** : this appears to describe the custom of arranging the hair back from every side, — thus *sideribus* for the most part, — and twisting it in a knot on the crown. Sidorius Vellintus describes as follows Theodorice the Visigoth: *capitis rotundibus, in quo panchum a plantie frontis in verticem carnis refigna crispatur*. See also Juvenal (xiii. 164), *Germani carnis refigna crispatur et multilo torquentem cornua curva*.

**apud Suevos** : some editors take this passage as describing a mode of arranging the hair; it seems, however, to be only a repetition of that described before, introduced by way of emphasizing the contrast with other nations, and showing that it was kept in an old age.

**horrentem, shaggy**. — **retro sequuntur** : a rhetorical way of saying that they *smooth* their hair back. **in ipso solo vertice** : a puzzling expression, probably meaning a single knot on the top of the head.

**hostium oculis** : i. e., not unbecomingly, *ut videntur*.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

**Semnonēs** : these are supposed by some to have been the Semnones described by Caesar in the fourth book of his *Gallic War*. They were known in later times as Juthungi, and were the source of the Sueti or Swabians of modern history. They inhabited between the Elbe and the Oder, in Lower Lusatia, and northerly to the neighborhood of Berlin and Frankfurt. — **antiquitatis** : an objective; *the belief in their antiquity*.

**Stato tempore** : a regularly recurring anniversary; **statuto tempore** would imply a special appointment for the time.

**ejusdem sanguinis** : probably this refers to the entire body of the Sueti, inasmuch as this celebration, held among the Semnones, is the voucher for their rank as the most ancient tribe of the race. "This assembly of the Nationality (*Stamm*) had," says Mommsen, "no political functions, but only sacrificial"; it was a sort of polygamy.

**hominē** : no doubt a captive. This usage would indicate a more degree of civilization than that of the more westerly tribes.

**horrenda primordia** : it was in the opening rites that the *horrenda* of existence existed.

11. *atcolli* and *evoluntur* are used reflexively, like the middle.
12. *Ho respicit*, has reference to this; explained by *tantum* etc.
13. *initia gentis*, etc.: *i.e.*, the god from whom they were sprung had his residence in this grove.
14. *Adiicit auctoritatem, addit auctoritatem* (power), *i.e.*, to sanctify.
15. *centum pagi*: so *Cæsar*, *B. G.* iv. 1.; but see *notum centum* Chap. XII.—*magno corpore*: *i.e.*, corporeal extent of power.

## CHAPTER XL.

17. *Longobardos*: this is the reading of the manuscripts. *Langobardos*, as given in most editions. They lived on the left bank of the Lower Elbe, in the territory of Lüneburg, where their name is represented by the modern city of Bardewic. The name is variously explained, as *long beards* and *long battle-axes*. They were the source of the Longobards or Lombards, who conquered Italy under Alboin, A.D. 568.—*plurimus ac valentissimis nationibus* they, the Chauci on the west, the Cherusci on the south, and the Semnones on the east.

19. *Reudigni deinde*, etc.: as he has approached the Longobardi from the south, *deinde* would imply proceeding in the same direction; all these petty tribes are placed to the north, in Mecklenburg, Lauenburg, and the Cimbric peninsula. The Angli are not only ones of importance, as it was they who conquered Britain, but gave it the name England.
23. *terrani matrem*: this is a Roman and uncertain interpretation of the name, derived probably from the resemblance of the procession and the bath to the worship of Magna Mater in Rome. The name Nerthus is probably connected with *Njord*, the Scandinavian god of the sea, father of *Frey* and *Freyja*, in whose worship some usages are traced similar to those here described.
25. *Iusula*: perhaps Alsen, off the eastern coast of Schleswig, where remains of a sanctuary have been discovered. Rügen, which it is used to be identified, is evidently too far to the east.
34. *numen ipsium, the goddess herself (si credere velis)*, is her image.

## CHAPTER XLI.

20. 3. *secretiora, more subdita, i.e., more distant*. *Hermundurorum*: these were afterwards the Thuringians; inhabited the central region of Thuringia (the Saxon duchies), and extended southward to the Danube.
- In ripa, sc. Danubii*.
- colonia*: this is Augusta Vindelicorum, the modern Augsburg.
- Pasium: i.e.*, wherever they please, not in one prescribed place, as usual with barbarian nations.
- Albis ortur*: this statement is certainly incorrect,—the river rose in the country of the Marcomani. Either Tacitus was misinformed, or, as Latham suggests, and seems probable, the Saddle does rise in Thuringia, was taken as the true Elbe.
- notum olim: i.e.*, in the campaigns of Drusus (A.D. 9), and others. "Now these invasions have ceased."

## CHAPTER XLII.

*Marsti*: these lived upon the confines of Bavaria and Bohemia; the Marcomani in Bohemia, the Quadi in Moravia.

*Ipsa etiam sedes, etc.*: the Marcomani were situated, in the time of Drusus, upon the river Main, and passed thence to Bohemia, where their king Maroboduus founded a powerful kingdom. Their importance was in later history; the wars of Marcus Aurelius with the Marcomani and Quadi were the beginning of that series of distress which ended with the overthrow of the empire. It should be noted that Mommsen regards this name too as a general appellation of *Pontiersuavi*; see note on *Suevi*, Chap. XXXVIII.

*Tudri*: this king is not known from any other source; neither anything known of the *externos reges* mentioned in the next sentence.

22. *nec minus valent: i.e.*, than if we assisted them with arms. See also Chap. XV.

## CHAPTER XLIII.

*Marsigni, etc.*: these tribes, of various nationality, were in the mountain region north of Bohemia and Moravia. *Retro evincendi*, means behind, from the point of view of the Danube. "There



is no improbability whatever in Tacitus' statement that the Goths were Kelts, a remnant of the primitive Keltic occupation. Latham conjecture that *Gallica* = *Gallitan*, — the name of Hallstesh of Russia, — is plausible, but would place them too far to the east.

29. *quo magis pudeat: i.e.*, they should use it in making weapons.

32. *continuum montium jugum*: this must be the Riesengebirge or the Carpathians. The tribes here mentioned were north of the Carpathians, in the country east of the Oder; none of them however, except the Lygii, can be fixed with any certainty. They occupied the territory between the Oder and Vistula, in the modern provinces of Silesia, Posen, and Little Poland. The singularity of the name to the native name of the Poles, *Lechi*, gives probability to Latham's view, that the Lygii were Slavs, the ancestors of the modern Poles.

21. *i. antiquae religionis*: certain features of this religion point also to a Slavonic character. Priests *vestiti mantibus* mentioned in Courtland. The Slavic mythology has twin gods, Veles and Perel, who would have their Roman equivalents in Castor and Pollux; and among the Prussians a worship of the elk, *Alceus*, is recorded, which might easily arise from a misapprehension of the name *Alci*. (Latham.)

5. *Alcis*: this is usually taken as a dative.

7. *super vires . . . truces, besides their strength . . . distinguishing for ferocity, etc.*; *lenocinantur, they enhance their native savageness*.  
9. *fincta corpora*: the Britons stained their bodies, as is well known, but it is not related of any Germanic nations.

10. *formidine atque umbra, terror-inspiring and shadowy aspect*.

14. *Gotones*: these are generally assumed to be the Goths occupying modern Prussia, north of the Lygii, upon the shores of the Baltic; they moved afterwards to southern Russia. — *regnantibus* from this it would appear that most of the nations previously mentioned were not governed by kings. — *adductus, more strictly*.

16. *Rugii et Lemovii*: these were in Pomerania, about the mouth of the Oder; the Rugii have left their name to the island Rügen. It is remarkable that Tacitus omits all mention of the powerful Burgundiones, who were north of the Lygii.

17. *harum gentium*: this must refer only to the last mentioned tribes, — Gotones, Rugii, and Lemovii.

## CHAPTER XLIV.

19. *Sutnum*: this name is identical with that of the Swedes, neither the *n* of the one nor the *d* of the other belonging to the root; the modern name is *Sue-tige*, "the realm of the Swedes." It appears that Tacitus considered Scandinavia an island, and that the people of the north were as noted seamen in ancient times as in the middle ages.

21. *utrimque . . . agit*: like the dories of modern fishermen, this is still the usual form of fishing-boats in Scandinavia, and the ancient custom is illustrated by a viking-boat discovered in 1880 in Norway. See an illustrated account of it in *Harper's Weekly*, Aug. 14, 1880, and the *Gartenlaube*, 1880, No. 29. See also Lindsey's *History of Merchant Shipping*, Vol. I. p. 336.

22. *neq remos, etc.*: this appears to refer to the *ortines remorum* of the Greek and Roman galleys. The *solutum . . . et mutabile remigium* may be the action of paddling, as in canoes, but this would not give force enough for boats to sail the ocean. Probably it refers to the use of thole-pins to hold the oars, instead of having them fastened by thongs or swivels to the sides of the boat, as was the custom among the Romans, and still is the custom in southern Europe, while the nations of the north have their oars free. For an interesting discussion of the revolution wrought by the Scandinavians in the art of navigation, see Burton's *History of Scotland*, Vol. I. p. 306.

25. *opibus honos . . . unius imperat*: this description of a strongly monarchical government is surprising, in the face of the generally democratic character of Germanic institutions, and especially those of the modern nations of Scandinavia; and Holtzmann suggests that the Sutes were the old inhabitants, before the migration of the Germanic Scandinavians. It may, however, be remarked that, with all their free institutions, the royal power was very great among these nations in the middle ages, — it was the aristocracy that were held in check. Moreover, if the inhabitants had migrated farther from Germany, it is a familiar fact that conquering migrations tend to elevate the power of the king. (Teijer, *Geschichte von Schweden*, Vol. I. p. 10, says that the kings exercised an authority resting upon religious sanction, which to a stranger might have the appearance of being absolute, but in reality was not. *Opes* is to be taken here not as *riches*, but *power*, — their high notion of power leads them to place supreme authority in the hands of one man. (Baumstark.)

26. *Jam*: in this word lies a comparison with the German nations which were under kings; these were still subject to some restrictions, **exceptionibus**. — *precario*, *resting upon a concessive*, therefore *revocable*; in this word, too, lies a comparison with the royalty of the Germans proper.

29. *otiosa*: this is the manuscript reading; *manus* must be taken as collective.

## CHAPTER XLV.

33. **ptigrum**: (see *Agricola*, Chap. X.) probably here means *frozen*, *i.e.*, in parts. It is called by Ptolemy *νεκρὸς ἀέρας*, and by Pytheas *περὶ γὰρ θάλασσαν*, — something like *curried*.

35. **extremus**, etc.: see also a description of the midnight sun in the *Agricola*, Chap. XII.

22. 1. **sonum**, etc.: the fanciful description here given is probably derived from the accounts of the northern lights, combined with reminiscences of the Egyptian statue of Memnon and similar stories. Most manuscripts read **deorum**, but **equorum** has authority, and the entire description — horses, and rays about the head — applies accurately to the conception of the sun-god.

3. **tantum** qualifies *illuc usque*, *only so far*; as an ancient writer says: *post omnia Oceanus, post Oceanum nihil*. — **Ergo**: with this he returns from fable to description.

4. **dextro litore**: this is the eastern coast of the Baltic, beyond Prussia, where the coast bends abruptly to the north. The *Aestii* were undoubtedly the same people who have given their name to the modern Esthonians. They were of the Lithuanian race, like the modern Prussians. The statement that the language was similar to that of Britain must rest upon a misapprehension. Latham considers the name identical with *æst*, — the name given by the Germans to the people east of them.

7. **formas aprorum**: *i.e.*, as amulets.

8. **omnium**: Objective genitive.

12. **soil omnium**: at the present day amber is found on the coast of Prussia more abundantly than in the countries further east in ancient times also it was gathered by the *Gutones* (*Gotones*) (Plin. *N. H.* xxxvii. 35) from which Latham infers that these were the same with the *Aestii*.

14. *ut barbaris, as one would expect of barbarians.*

22. **secrets**, *in the distant parts.*

27. **tentee**: Gr. § 309, a; Gr. § 597, 3; H. § 512.

30. **Sutonibus** . . . **continuatur**: Tacitus passes here back to the western shore of the Baltic, north of the Swedes. Nothing is known of the *Sitones*, but it is surmised that a Finnish people in this region, called *Cuennas*, are meant; the name being confounded with the Germanic *quen*, woman, and thus giving rise to the story that *femina dominatur*. The name *terra feminarum* is in later times found in use for this region.

## CHAPTER XLVI.

34. **Penchorum**: the *Penchii*, or *Instarne*, were situated upon the lower Danube, — the most remote of the Germanic tribes, and the earliest mentioned, as they are met in the time of Philip of Macedonia. They are one of the five branches into which the Germans are divided by Pliny (see note, Chap. II.). It appears from the present passage that they were a mixed race, by intermarriages with the *Sarmatians*, **contubis mistis**. — **Venditorum**: these must be taken to be the *Wends*, or *Slavs*; the name is familiar from the *Wendic* kingdom in Mecklenburg in the tenth and eleventh centuries.

— **Fennorum**: this name is obviously that of the *Fins*. The description, however, does not apply to the *Fins*, a manly, intelligent race, but to the *Lapps*. Latham suggests that the name was general for both branches of the *Ugrian* race, but that it is used by Tacitus only for the *Lapps*, while the true *Fins* are described under their tribal name, *Sitones* (Chap. XLV.). The name is probably German, meaning "Fen-people." (Schweizer-Sidler.)

35. **Sarmatis**: as remarked in the note to Chap. I., the *Sarmatians* are to be understood to be *Tartars*. From this important passage it appears that Tacitus had no notion of the *Slavonic* race as such, but reckoned the *Slavonians* as belonging either to the *Germans* or the *Sarmatians*.

23. 2. **Sordes omnium ac torpor procerum, all are dirty, and the chiefs are lazy.**

4. **ex moribus, sc. Sarmatarum.**

5. **traxerunt, have derived.**

6. **silvarum ac montium**: mostly the former, — the great wooded plains of Poland and Russia.

8. **domos figunt, they have fixed abodes.**

10. *in planastro equoque viventibus*: a characteristic description of the customs of the Tartars. So Horace (*Od.* iii. 24, 9).

*Seydlitz*  
*Quorum planastro vagus rite trahunt tonos.*

17. *aliquo ramorum nexu*: *i.e.*, wigwams.

19. *domibus*: probably to be taken as dative, like *agris*. Kritz however, explains it as ablative of place, on the ground that these three phrases describe the three forms of industry, *agricultura*, *opificum*, *mercatura*.

22. *illis*, the Fenni; *voto*, ablative after *opus esset*.

23. *Hellusios et Oxionas*: it is hardly necessary to say that these fabulous stories have no known groundwork of fact.

#### NOTE TO CHAPTER VII. (4, 17)

(See Notes, p. 35.)

**Nobilitate** is evidently used here not in the sense of *a body of nobility*, but a quality (like *virtute*), *noble birth*. Tacitus several times mentions **nobilitas** and **nobilitas**, but nowhere defines the terms, and nowhere, except in the present passage, ascribes any political influence or power to the nobility. The origin of this nobility is uncertain, and if it had any special powers or privileges, we do not know what these were. The political constitution, as described by Tacitus, was essentially democratic, but members of rich and noble families would undoubtedly be preferred for offices of responsibility and power.

It is not to be understood that the two classes of officers mentioned, *reges* and *duces*, existed side by side. In those nations that had kings, the kings were the leaders in war, and these kings were, as has been shown, always of noble birth, regularly elected from some one family. In the nations that had no kings, Caesar tells us (*B. G.* vi. 23) that in case of war *magistratus qui et bello present . . . diliguntur*. The Saxons, as we learn from the venerable Bede (*H. E.* v. 10), did not elect these leaders *ex virtute*, but selected them by lot from among the regular magistrates; *without acquaintance* *sortes*; *per quemcumque sortis ostenderit, hunc tempore belli ducem omnes sequuntur*. A certain analogy between these kings chosen *ex nobilitate* and leaders *ex virtute* is found among the North American Indians, whose hereditary "sachems" exercise civil authority only (but not *in militia aut libere potestas*), while the elected "chiefs" are leaders in war. (See Morgan's *Ancient Society*, p. 71.)

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