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THE ANNALS OF TACITUS, I.–VI.

W. F. ALLEN
COLLEGE SERIES OF LATIN AUTHORS

TACITUS

THE ANNALS

BOOKS I.-VI.

Edited, with Introduction, Notes, and Indexes

BY

WILLIAM FRANCIS ALLEN
Professor of History in the University of Wisconsin

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PREFACE.

Professor Allen died very suddenly at his home in Madison, Wisconsin, December 9, 1889. The Introduction to this volume, the Latin text and the commentary were already in type, and now appear, in their characteristic features, essentially as he left them. The indexes were in manuscript and unfinished, but they have been completed in accordance with his intention.

Professor Allen's long and successful experience as a college teacher, his intimate acquaintance with Roman history, and the fascination which he felt in the study of Tacitus and of the character of Tiberius in particular, gave him exceptional qualifications for editing the Annals, and the work was intrusted to him with unusual confidence. His interest in the College Series had been intelligent and helpful, and the editors feel his death as a serious personal loss. In a wider view, his great attainments in several fields of research, his catholic tastes and interests, the openness and alertness of his mind, his joyous readiness in communicating his acquisitions, and the genuine modesty and nobility of his character made him a permanent honor to scholarship and to life.

The text of this volume is based upon that of Halm's fourth edition of Tacitus (Leipsic, 1882). Deviations from this standard consist largely in a closer adherence to the readings of the manuscript. The most important variants are discussed in the Appendix. The orthography of Halm's edition is that of the Medicean manuscript; for the purposes of this edition it has seemed better to adopt, though not with painful consistency, the best-established results of specialists in this field,—
notably, of Brambach. A full Index of Names and an Index to the Notes will, it is hoped, add to the usefulness of the book.

As the commentary assumes that the reader is at a somewhat advanced point in his Latin studies, little attention is paid to the commonplaces of grammar; on the other hand, considerable prominence is given to the idiosyncracies of Tacitus' Latinity, and to the changes which the language had undergone since the Ciceronian period. A leading aim in the commentary is to present a connected view of the character and reign of Tiberius, and to trace the constitutional and administrative changes which took place under that emperor. To make the view more complete, the lost portions of the fifth and sixth Books have been, in a measure, supplied by extracts from Dio Cassius, Suetonius, and Juvenal.

The long and concentrated study of Tacitus has accumulated a rich store of illustrative material that is now the common property of scholarship. This material has been freely used for the present edition; but special acknowledgment is due for aid derived from the editions of Furneaux (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1884), Nipperdey (8th edition, by Andresen, Berlin, 1884), Dräger (4th edition, Leipsic, 1882), and Pfitzner (Gotha, 1884), and also from Dräger's Syntax und Stil des Tacitus (3d ed., Leipsic, 1882), and Gerber and Greef's Lexicon Taciteum (A–M, Leipsic, 1877–88). In the discussion of constitutional and antiquarian questions Mommsen's labors have been of great service; Marquardt and Madvig have also been frequently consulted. Indebtedness to other recent works and monographs is acknowledged at the pertinent points in the Introduction and the notes.

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CONTENTS.</th>
<th>PAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Preface</td>
<td>v, vi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INTRODUCTION</td>
<td>ix to xl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Life and Writings of Tacitus</td>
<td>ix to xii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Character of Tiberius</td>
<td>xiii to xx</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Extent, Provinces, and Administration of the Roman Empire</td>
<td>xx to xxviii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Imperial Family</td>
<td>xxviii to xxx</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Language and Style of Tacitus</td>
<td>xxx to xl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TEXT AND NOTES</td>
<td>1 to 406</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MAP OF NORTHWESTERN GERMANY</td>
<td>104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GEOGRAPHY OF THE CAMPAIGNS OF GERMANICUS</td>
<td>105 to 109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QUOTATIONS FROM DIO CASSIUS, JUVENAL, AND Suetonius</td>
<td>343 to 353</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Textual Notes</td>
<td>407 to 411</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INDEX OF PROPER NAMES</td>
<td>412 to 439</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INDEX TO THE NOTES</td>
<td>440 to 444</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PORTRAITS.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tiberius</td>
<td>viii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agrippina</td>
<td>195</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germanicus</td>
<td>196</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drusus</td>
<td>337</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
INTRODUCTION.

Tacitus.

i. Very little is known of the life or personality of the historian Tacitus. Even his name is matter of doubt. He is commonly spoken of without prænomen, as Cornelius Tacitus. Sidonius Apollinaris, a Christian writer of the fifth century, calls him Gaius, and the same name is given by some manuscripts of inferior authority. The name Publius, however, contained in the best manuscript of his writings, the so-called First Medicean, is now generally accepted. As to his place of birth, it has been guessed to be Interamna, because this was the birthplace of the emperor Tacitus (A.D. 275-6), who claimed relationship with him.¹ The slighting tone, however, in which he mentions municipali adultero (IV. 3) and oppidenum genus (VI. 15), would make it more probable that he was a native of Rome. The date of his birth can be fixed with only an approach to certainty. His intimate friend, the younger Pliny, who was born A.D. 61 or 62, says (Epp. VII. 20) that they were propemodum aequales; adding, adulescentulus, cum iam tu fama gloriaque flores, te sequi . . . concupisciebam. He was thus enough older than Pliny to be a man of established reputation when Pliny was a very young man, adulescentulus; a difference of age which can hardly have been less than eight or ten years. The year A.D. 54 is probably as late as we can place his birth. This date is also supported by the facts of his official career. He says of himself (Hist. I. i) that his course of

¹ Cornelium Tacitum, scriptorem historiae Augustae, quod parentem suum eundem diceret, in omnibus bibliothecis collocari iussit. Flav. Vop., Tac. 10.
honors was under the three emperors Vespasian, Titus, and Domitian; it is known that he held the prætorship a.d. 88. As Vespasian died a.d. 79, it is not likely that he was less than twenty-five at this date, this being the earliest age at which the quaestorship, the first of the honores, could be held.

2. In the year 78 Tacitus married the daughter of the eminent soldier Agricola, whose life he afterwards wrote. After his prætorship in the year 88, he was absent from Rome for several years; it is conjectured that he held some governmental office during this interval, perhaps in Germany, where he may have gathered the materials for his work descriptive of that country. During his absence his father-in-law Agricola died. His own death was probably a.d. 116; as the description of the empire given in the Annals (nunc rubrum ad mare patescit, II. 61) corresponds to the condition of things in the last year of Trajan, who died in 117. This includes territories which were annexed to the empire by Trajan, a.d. 115, but immediately surrendered by his successor Hadrian.

3. The works of Tacitus are:

(1) Dialogus de Oratoribus, a short treatise, in a studied Ciceronian style, so different from that of his later works that its authenticity has been a subject of doubt and controversy.

(2) De vita Iulii Agricolae, written a.d. 97 or 98: a masterpiece of biographical composition.

(3) Germania, or De origine, situ, moribus ac populis Germanorum, written in the year 98; our best source of information with regard to the ancient Germans.

(4) Historiae, a history of his own times, from the accession of Galba (69) to the death of Domitian (96). Of the fourteen books of this work there are extant the four first books and part of the fifth, embracing in part the events of the years 69 and 70.

(5) Annales,\(^1\) entitled in the manuscript Ab excessu divi

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\(^1\) The title Annales appears to have been prefixed to the true title by Rhenanus, a scholar of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and then to
Augusti, serving as an introduction to the Histories, in the author’s most mature style, and generally regarded as his masterpiece. It was in sixteen books, of which about one-third, the central portion of the work, is lost.

It may be estimated roughly that about one-third of the writings of Tacitus is extant.

4. The reputation of Tacitus during his own lifetime, both as an historian and an orator, was very high. Pliny says of him (II. 11, 17) that, when engaged in the prosecution of a cruel and unjust governor, he spoke eloquentissime et, quod eximium orationi eius inest, σευνως, which last word we may render, ‘in a stately, earnest style.’ Again, in mentioning Tacitus as delivering the funeral oration at the death of the distinguished Verginius Rufus, he says (II. 1): hic supremus felicitati eius cumulus accessit, laudator eloquentissimus. In another letter (IX. 23) he tells of a conversation held by Tacitus with a chance acquaintance, who asked him after some talk on literary subjects, Tacitus es an Plinius?—a coupling of names which delighted Pliny exceedingly. But during the Middle Ages the name of Tacitus fell into oblivion, and his works seemed entirely lost. In the revival of learning some portions of his writings were rescued. In November, 1425, the distinguished scholar and discoverer of manuscripts, Poggio Bracciolini, received a letter from Germany in which was mentioned the discovery of aliqua opera Cornelii Taciti nobis ignota. But much correspondence and inquiry failed to bring the book, and Poggio died in 1459 without sight of the much desired treasure. Soon after, however, the manuscript, containing the Dialogus, the Germania, and a work of Suetonius, was brought to Italy. The Agricola was discovered at about the same time; but the original manuscripts disappeared shortly after being copied, so that of these smaller works of Tacitus we have nothing but fifteenth

have been used by itself through a misunderstanding. It may be noted that Tacitus himself (IV. 32, 1) speaks of the work as annales.
INTRODUCTION.

The extant portions of the larger works are contained in two manuscripts of the ninth, tenth, or eleventh century; one (the First Medicean) containing the four first books of the Annals with what remains of the fifth and sixth, the other (the Second Medicean) the remaining portion of the Annals (Books XI. to XVI.) with the Histories. These manuscripts were brought from Germany to Italy, and are now in the Medicean Library of Florence. The latter portion was printed in 1470; the earlier portion, that contained in the present edition, was brought to Rome in 1508, and printed by order of Pope Leo X. in 1515.

THE ANNALS.

5. The form of the Annals is, as the name indicates, strictly chronological. The events of each year are told by themselves, so that any independent series of events can be read in connection only by taking in succession several detached passages; to this rule there are but one or two exceptions (e.g. VI. 31–37). As has been already said, the extant portions of the work consist of two distinct parts, separated by a gap of four books. This gap covers the reign of Caligula and most of that of Claudius (A.D. 37 to 54), while the two extant portions comprise the reigns of Tiberius and Nero respectively. The accounts of these two reigns are preserved nearly complete. The present edition contains the first part, the reign of Tiberius, comprising the first six books, of which, however, nearly the whole of the fifth book and perhaps a quarter of the sixth are missing. The missing portions contained the year 30 with the greater part of 29 and 31, the reign of Tiberius extending from A.D. 14 to 37. In biographical importance, for estimating the character of Tiberius, and understanding the puzzling events of the closing years of his reign, these lost parts of the work must have ranked among the very highest, for they contained an account of the destruction of the family of Germanicus and the downfall of Sejanus.
CHARACTER OF TIBERIUS.

6. It is from this history of the reign of Tiberius, supported as it is in most particulars by the testimony of Suetonius and Dio Cassius, that the accepted view of the character of this emperor, as a gloomy and suspicious tyrant, has been derived. This is the view presented by, I believe, all the historians who have treated of this period except Merivale, and by all the editors except Furneaux. Merivale and Furneaux, in part at least, reject the traditional view. Mommsen also, wherever he has occasion to speak of Tiberius, mentions him with respect, giving him the highest praise as a ruler and not condemning him severely as a man. The first attempt of any importance to vindicate the character of the emperor was made by Dr. Sievers in two Hamburg school programmes of 1850 and 1851. He was soon followed by Adolf Stahr, who, in a series of able works, has made himself the foremost German champion of Tiberius; the latest of these is Tacitus' Geschichte der Regierung des Kaisers Tiberius, übersetzt und erklärt von Adolf Stahr (Berlin, 1871). In the same line is Tiberius und Tacitus von L. Freytag (Berlin, 1870). Tiberius has also been defended in England by Prof. E. S. Beesly in Catiline, Clodius, and Tiberius (London, 1878); and in this country by Prof. Fred. Huidekoper, in a chapter of Judaism at Rome (New York, 1876).

7. The modern fashion of whitewashing the disreputable characters of history is one with which I have little sympathy, except so far as it must be admitted that no man is wholly bad, as no man is wholly good. Neither can I agree at all with those who would defend Tiberius by depreciating the motives of his historian. That Tacitus sympathized with Germanicus and Agrippina, as against Tiberius, is no doubt true; it was his right as a patriot and an historian to choose his side. That he constantly imputes to Tiberius sentiments and motives for which the narrative gives no evidence, thus carrying his preconceived theories and prejudices into the interpretation of historical
events, is a more serious charge against him, but one which we must admit to be true. But at the same time it must be acknowledged that he carries his prejudice only into the interpretation of historical facts, not into the statement of the facts themselves. His statements constantly afford a corrective to his judgments, and these statements have on the whole withstood all criticism in point of accuracy. An instructive illustration of this is afforded by the case of Gnaeus Piso, Books II. and III. Tacitus appears himself to have believed that Piso was guilty of the death of Germanicus, and has at any rate by his language so completely impressed this belief upon the world, that most historians accept it as a matter of course; but his narration of the events affords absolutely no evidence for it.

8. The case of Tiberius differs from that of most "rehabilitations" of historical characters, in the fact that there was a distinct crisis in his life, which made him a tyrant, if he was one. If he had died in the year 29, after a reign of fifteen years, he would have come down to posterity as one of the best of the Roman emperors,—not a faultless man, nor a faultless ruler, but a wise, sagacious, and, on the whole, humane prince. It is just at this date that the work of his eulogist, Velleius Paterculus, closes; and the eulogy passed upon him by this writer is hardly stronger than the known facts up to that time warrant. Even Tacitus, in summing up his character (VI. 51), admits that down to the death of his mother in 29 he was inter bona malaque mixtus, and that he had succeeded in concealing his faults, occultum ac subdolum fingendis virtutibus, until the death of Drusus in 23.

9. The event, or rather the series of events, crowded into the years 29, 30, and 31, which formed a crisis in the life of the unhappy emperor, was the alleged conspiracy of Agrippina and her sons, rapidly followed by the discovery that the trusted Sejanus was false to him, and by the horrible revelation of the murder of his son Drusus by Sejanus in complicity with Livia, the wife of Drusus. Such a succession of blows as this might well
unsettle the moral nature of a young man; how is it with a man of seventy? Professor Beesly puts the case forcibly and conclusively, as against the imputed change in the character of Tiberius after assuming the purple at fifty-six, against the assumption of Tacitus that a man *egerius vita famaque, quoad privatus vel in imperiis sub Augusto fuit*, all at once became a hypocrite and a tyrant. "I would put it to you, have you in your own experience found that men come out in an entirely new character after fifty-six?" One can only say "no" to this question, for at fifty-six Tiberius was still in the prime of his powers. But it is not so certain that an old man of seventy, broken in body and spirit, betrayed, disappointed, morbidly brooding in solitude upon his wretchedness, knowing no one whom he could trust, that such a man may not have at least allowed the bad qualities which he had hitherto held in abeyance, to get the mastery over him. And this is what I believe to have been the case with Tiberius.

10. Tiberius was by nature cold, reserved, self-distrustful, stern,—characteristics not in themselves bad, but which can easily be mistaken for jealousy, suspiciousness, and harshness, and which indeed easily pass into these unamiable qualities. The innate liberality, justice, and integrity of his character were obscured in the eyes of superficial observers by these less attractive characteristics, especially when they were contrasted with the popular manners and sunny disposition of his brother Drusus and nephew Germanicus. It may readily be believed that the morbid tendencies of his nature were increased when, on the command of Augustus, he was obliged to put away his much-loved wife Vipsania and marry the haughty and licentious Julia, who disliked and despised him. In a fit of moody impatience and disgust he withdrew from the court, and lived in retirement several years at Rhodes; and this episode, too, may well have developed still further the unamiable side of his nature. And yet Augustus, alienated from him for a time, recalled him to Rome, and designated him as his successor
with marks of high confidence and even with terms of affection (*Vale iucundissime Tiberi, et feliciter rem gere*, Suet. *Tib.* 21), not without expressions, at the same time, which showed that he recognized in him dangerous elements of character. Tiberius himself seems to have been fully aware of the presence of these evil impulses in his nature, and shrank with what we have no right to call an insincere reluctance from the assumption of absolute power. And yet, during the fifteen years from his accession to his retirement at Capri, it is hard to point out a single act of his which was manifestly unjust and cruel. So well was the worse side of his nature kept under by his better qualities.

**xi.** It is most unfortunate that we are left so much in the dark as to the occurrences of the three eventful years described in the lost chapters of the fifth and sixth books. All we can say is, that when we return to the lucid and eloquent narrative of the historian, the emperor seems like a different man. As to the charges of extreme debauchery, they may be passed over as unlikely or at least exaggerated. Such charges are generally brought against persons who live a secluded life, especially when they are unpopular for other reasons. But I do not see how it is possible to acquit him of the charge of cruelty and tyranny in these last years. It is easy enough to explain away, as Stahr does, individual instances, and to show that the list of known victims, spread over the space of six years, does not after all give a high average. But, after making all allowances, it seems impossible to avoid the conclusion, from the detailed accounts of the historians, and the incidental allusions of other writers, that these six years were a veritable reign of terror. Nor is it possible to vindicate the emperor by throwing the responsibility upon his ministers and the senate. What an absolute ruler permits he performs. The decay of literature at this time is significant. The punishment of Clutorius Priscus (III. 49) and Cremutius Cordus (IV. 34) may be excused, and perhaps justified; but it is none the less true that from this time the
free expression of thought is silenced, and creative literature is at an end.

12. The explanation of the change is, I believe, to be found in a morbid apprehension of danger by which his mind was at this time mastered. The plots against his life and crown and the stability of his household,—which he believed without question, whether on good grounds or not,—seem to have thrown him into an unreasoning panic, in which he struck wildly at all from whom his distempered fancy apprehended danger. His was a nature prone to panic, lacking in self-reliance and in moral courage. Suetonius calls him prætrepidus (Tib. 63), and gives several examples of this quality. His own expression, in description of his situation, lupum se auribus tenere (Suet. Tib. 25) is well known, and helps to explain his vacillation in accepting the throne. Suetonius tells us further (Tib. 65) that, after the conspiracy of Sejanus, per novem menses non egressus est villa quae vocatur Iovis.

13. Tacitus, like the champions of Tiberius at the present day, finds it impossible to believe that his character really changed in his last years; but while his defenders account for the apparent change by denying the stories to his dis discredit, the historian explains it by declaring him to have been during all his previous life a hypocrite. This theory is harder of belief than either of the others. It is not easy to believe that these stories of cruelty and tyranny are false or exaggerated; it is not easy to believe that a man's character is radically changed at the age of seventy; but hardest of all is it to believe that his real character was concealed under a cloak of hypocrisy until this age, and that then for the first time he showed himself as he really was. It is not necessary, however, to suppose that his character was radically changed, but its unamiable side may have received a sudden and abnormal development from the shocks given to his moral nature. Not so sudden, however, but that we can trace his deterioration for some years before he became thoroughly demoralized. Tacitus himself, accurate in the observa-
tion of facts, although unsound and prejudiced in explaining them, marks clearly enough (VI. 51) the stages of this deterioration.

14. If we read impartially the account of the treason trials under Tiberius, it is plain that Libo in the second book, Silanus in the third, and even Cremutius Cordus and Sabinus in the fourth, were justly punished; while in the miserable affair of Piso the emperor acted with dignity and moderation. But from the death of Drusus (IV. 8, a.D. 23) we mark a gradual change; the emperor is no less just, and perhaps no less merciful, but appears suspicious and ungenerous towards the family of Germanicus (IV. 12), and gradually develops moodiness and bitterness of temper. This is especially apparent after he was made acquainted with the lampoons of Votienus (a.D. 25, IV. 42), which appear to have wounded deeply his proud and sensitive nature. The breach with Agrippina the next year (IV. 53), joined with the solicitations of Sejanus, prompted him to withdraw into that sullen seclusion with which his name is most familiarly associated. But even now, while we cannot acquit him of undue suspiciousness and cruelty, he cannot, at least until after the fall of Sejanus, be charged with positive injustice; his victims appear to have been guilty, even if their punishment was excessive. This deterioration of character showed itself also in other acts. In the early years of his reign he would not have been a party to the trick by which the condemnation of Sabinus was secured (IV. 68); his interference with the action of the senate (VI. 3) is not after the model of his conduct on assuming the throne (see I. 25); his greediness for gain (VI. 19) is in painful contrast with his earlier freedom from covetousness (II. 48; III. 18); while his violent and public abuse of Agrippina and her son Drusus (VI. 25, 24) shows the total loss of the dignified reticence which had once characterized him. Even the infamous delator Fulcinius Trio could charge upon him, fluxam senio mentem (VI. 38), and the words attributed to Arruntius, cum Tiberius post tantam rerum experientiam vi
dominationis convulsus et mutatus sit (VI. 48), are no doubt a truthful expression of the way his change in character and administration struck a contemporary.

15. The attitude of Tiberius towards the Delations, or criminal informations brought by individuals, throws a very instructive light upon his character. With these delations are associated the worst abuses of the worst periods of the empire, and they are especially notorious under Tiberius and Domitian. The treason trials of the empire, in their wilful disregard of motives, and their straining to derive condemnatory evidence from indifferent actions or incidents, were as fertile a source of injustice as the trials for constructive treason which have at various times disgraced the administration of English law.¹ Their worst feature, however, was after all not the oppressive procedure of the trial, but the encouragement given to private animosity or greed, through the practice of allowing prosecutions to be inaugurated by private individuals, who were to receive a certain proportion of the fines and confiscations as their reward. That Tiberius insisted strongly upon the necessity of employing and rewarding delations by private persons (I. 72, IV. 30), has been a leading reproach against him. It is not always noticed, however, that he gave his reason for this, in the fact that the delations were an essential part of the machinery for criminal justice, and that without them crimes would go unpunished. In truth, the fault was a fundamental one in the Roman judicial system, and the real short-coming of Tiberius was, not in putting in execution the existing machinery, but in not devising some more efficient machinery.

16. The Roman system of criminal justice, having its source in a time which confused the distinction between public and private wrongs, made no provision for bringing malefactors to justice except in the voluntary activity of individuals. There was no public prosecutor. During the Republic the tribunes of

the plebs served to a certain extent as prosecuting officers in offences of a political character; but ordinary crimes, and, after the establishment of the *quaestiones perpetuae* by Sulla, all classes of crimes, were left to the interest or public spirit of individuals. If individuals did not take them up, they went unpunished. Hence the dangerous resource of inviting individuals to search out and indict criminals, by rewarding them in case of conviction; the result of which was that delation in cases of treason became a regular profession. Tiberius, who, as Merivale points out (Vol. IV. p. 130, chap. 44), was very much of a pedant, and who lacked the originality of mind to devise any substitute for this procedure of the Republic, seems to have believed that the only security for justice was to carry out the laws with the utmost rigor, but to mitigate their severity after conviction by the liberal exercise of his power of pardoning or of commuting sentences (II. 50; III. 18, 51, 69; IV. 30, 66), and by reproving or punishing delators who should be actuated by malice or rapacity (III. 19, 56; IV. 31, 36; VI. 30). We note during his first years a constant effort to moderate the severity to which the senate was disposed. In the last part of his reign he seldom showed this merciful or forgiving spirit, and the mischiefs which are inherent in the system of delations had full scope.

**The Roman Empire.**

17. The Roman Empire at the accession of Tiberius embraced all the lands in the circuit of the Mediterranean Sea except Mauretania, Thrace, Lycia, and Rhodes. Cappadocia was added to the empire during the reign of Tiberius; these other countries, together with Britain, under Caligula and Claudius. The empire was sharply divided into two portions, — the ruling part, or Rome (now extended so as to comprise the whole of Italy, as well as the Roman colonies and *municipia* outside of Italy), and the subject part, the provinces. The provinces, twenty-eight in number, were administered by gov-
ernors sent from Rome with absolute authority over all provincials; it is to be understood, however, that within the borders of nearly every province there were not only communities of Roman citizens, but also cities and principalities which had retained their nominal independence as allies of the Roman people, and that neither of these classes was in law subject to the governor. During the reign of Tiberius the number of provinces was increased to thirty by the annexation of Cappadocia, and the division of Germany into Upper and Lower. Of the twenty-eight provinces, eleven were governed, after the method of the Republic, by proconsuls commissioned by the senate; one, Egypt, was in strictness of speech not a province at all, but a kingdom, of which the emperor was king; the other sixteen were placed under the immediate government of the emperor, who administered them by deputies, legati, clothed with complete governmental authority, as his representatives, or by fiscal agents, procuratores.

18. The following is a classified list of the provinces at the death of Augustus:

A. SENATORIAL PROVINCES.

I. Governed by proconsules consulares.

1. Asia, the richest and most important of the senatorial provinces, comprising the western coast of Asia Minor, having on its east the provinces of Bithynia, Galatia, and Pamphylia, and the free federal republic of Lycia. The island of Rhodes was also an independent republic.

2. Africa, comprising also a portion of Numidia, conquered by Julius Caesar. This was the only one of the senatorial provinces which had troops regularly stationed in it. It had one legion, and during the insurrection of Tacfarinas (Books II. and III.) received another.

II. Governed by proconsules praetorii

4. Cyprus.
5. Creta et Cyrene.
6. Achaia: Greece proper, including Thessaly and Epirus.
INTRODUCTION.

7. Macedonia: extending west to the Adriatic, and north to the mountains separating it from Moesia.
8. Sicilia.
10. Gallia Narbonensis: extending from the Alps to the Pyrenees, and embracing the valley of the Rhone.
11. Baetica: southern Spain, formerly known as Hispamia Ulterior.

B. IMPERIAL PROVINCES.

I. Governed by legati consulares.

12. Syria: including at this time Judæa; extending from the Mediterranean to the Euphrates.
13. Moesia: the country between the Danube and the Hæmus Mountains (Balkan).
15. Illyricum: afterwards known as Dalmatia, the country upon the eastern coast of the Adriatic.
16. Germania: stretching from the Rhine to the Elbe. The defeat of Varus had forced the Romans to evacuate most of this territory, and it was now placed with the Tres Galliae under Germanicus. It was divided into two military districts, which were afterwards erected into the independent provinces of Germania Superior and Inferior, with their headquarters at Moguntiacum (Mentz) and Colonia Agrippina (Cologne).
17. Tarraconensis: the northern half of Spain, formerly known as Hispamia Citerior.

II. Governed by legati praetorii.

18. Cilicia. Usually at this time under the governor of Syria.
19. Pamphylia.
20. Galatia.
21. Aquitania. — 22. Gallia Lugdunensis. — 23. Gallia Belgica. These three provinces, known as the Tres Galliae, had been conquered by Julius Cæsar, and were now, together with Germany, placed under the command of Germanicus.
24. Lusitania: the modern Portugal.

III. Governed by procuratores, of equestrian rank.

26. Raetia, including Vindelicia.
27. Alpes maritimae: a small district on the coast, between Italy and Gallia Narbonensis.
POWERS OF THE EMPEROR.

IV. Governed by a praefectus.

28. Aegyptus: really ranking as a kingdom, of which the emperor was king.

19. The power in virtue of which the emperor was invested with the government of his provinces was the imperium pro-consulare, which was conferred upon him at the beginning of his reign, and carried with it full military and judicial authority. In the last century of the Republic the consuls, during their term of office, were required to remain in Rome (that is, Italy), within the limits of which they were forbidden to exercise any but civil authority; they could not command armies or pass sentence of death in Italy unless by express permission of the senate. But when, after the expiration of their terms of office, they went into the provinces as proconsuls, the full imperium revived, and they governed the provinces with the irresponsible authority of kings. The dignity of consul, therefore, and the consular power, when conferred upon the emperor, gave him only the exercise of civil administration. The proconsular power enabled him to command armies and administer criminal justice in all parts of the empire except Italy. All the armies of the empire were under his sole rule; for the so-called senatorial provinces were the old, well-ordered parts of the empire, where no troops were required, except in the province of Africa, the proconsul of which had a single legion put at his disposal by the emperor. The title of the emperor, as invested with proconsular power, and thus exercising sole military authority, was imperator, emperor.

20. The Roman legions were stationed exclusively in the provinces, and the proconsular imperium was properly limited to the provinces, although the presence of a large body-guard, the praetorian cohorts, in Italy, and in the reign of Tiberius concentrated in Rome, gave the emperor practically as real a military authority in Italy as in the provinces. The emperor held the consulship from time to time like other citizens; but his civil authority was regularly exercised in virtue of the
tribunicia potestas, which was conferred upon him for life, and
gave him the powers of the tribunate without the limitations to
which this magistracy was subject. The tribunician power,
making his person sacred, giving him an unlimited right to
prohibit the actions of other magistrates, and making him in a
peculiar sense the representative of the people, was the con-
summation of his authority, being always bestowed after the
proconsular power. As pontifex maximus too he possessed
the entire control of the organized religion of the state, and
the essential powers of the censorship were placed in his
hands under the title regimen morum. The title which de-
scribed the emperor as the possessor of this bundle of powers,
military and civil, was princeps;¹ prince; and this is the term
usually employed by Tacitus.

21. All the powers thus gathered in the hands of the prince
were recognized powers of Roman magistrates. The Empire
as a system of government did not, in its first years, contain a
single principle which had not already existed under the Repub-
lic. What was novel was the combining of all these powers in
the hands of one man as a permanent possession. The prince
was a magistrate, created by law, and amenable to law; the
new magistracy fitted perfectly into the republican scheme.
But it was an assemblage of powers so extraordinary and
controlling that its possessor was in practice raised far above
every other person or body of persons in the state. (See the
interesting letter of Tiberius, III. 53.) It may be compared to
the dictatorship of the early Republic, which consisted in the
bestowal of extraordinary power upon one man, to meet an
extraordinary crisis. The crisis had now become chronic, and
the dictatorship was made permanent. (See Seeley's first lecture
on Roman Imperialism.)

¹ This title of prince is usually associated with the republican dignity
of princeps senatus. According to Mommsen, however (Römisches Staats-
recht, II. 734), he was rather chief of the citizens, der gewichtigste und
angesehenste Bürger; the title princeps senatus was never given to the
emperor until the time of Pertinax (id., III. 971).
22. Besides the emperor, there was no real possessor of power except the senate. The people, the ultimate source of authority in the Republic, were stripped of all effective share in the government; the emperor, by virtue of his tribunician power, may be regarded as embodying in himself the popular element of the constitution. The elections of magistrates were now mostly transferred to the senate (I. 15), while the edicts of the princeps and, by degrees, the ordinances of the senate acquired the force of law. The constitution of the empire is described by Mommsen as a Dyarchy, in which the powers of government were shared between the senate and the emperor. But in a partnership like this, in which the exclusive military power and supreme administrative authority were vested in one of the two partners, nothing could prevent absolute power from eventually centring in his hands—a result which was hastened by the servility and obsequiousness of the senate. It was a real monarchy, although obscured under the forms of a republic.

23. As in the Republic, the magistrates were the organs of the senate, being now in a considerable part appointed by that body. The administrative authority of the emperor within the city was exercised through a body of officers, praefecti and curatores, appointed by him and responsible solely to him; and it followed as a matter of course that these officers soon crowded the regular magistrates out of the chief part of their functions. Two of these praefects by the nature of their duties became the leading officers in the state; the praefectus praetorio, who, as commander of the body-guard, exercised chief military authority in Italy; and the praefectus urbi, who, in the reign of Tiberius, was the chief municipal officer. The praefect of the city exercised criminal justice in the name of the emperor, concurrently with the quaestiones perpetuae, presided over by the prætors; but his authority was not long in superseding the quaestiones, which before the end of the second century had disappeared entirely. The prætors who exercised
INTRODUCTION.

civil jurisdiction, the *urbanus* and *peregrinus*, continued for a while to perform the same functions; the others attended to financial matters, or presided over the games. It was important that the magistracies should be regularly filled in order that there might be a sufficient number of *consulares* and *praetorii* to hold proconsulships and other offices held only by persons of this rank. But all the magistracies became more and more merely formal and nominal. Tiberius is more than once spoken of by Mommsen as the one who brought the monarchy to completion — *der Vollender der Monarchie*. He received as a perpetual grant the *imperium* which Augustus received only for ten years at a time; he systematically maintained and enlarged the privileges of the senate, and its share in the government; while he as systematically ignored the powers of the popular assemblies, and reduced the republican magistracies to a mere shadow.

24. Wholly independent of the powers of the emperor was the divinity with which his office was invested. This is something entirely different from the consecration which converts a king of England into “his sacred majesty”; nor was it in any way connected with the sanctity that attached to his person in virtue of his tribunician power. It was an outgrowth of that sense of the immanence of deity which led the ancients to recognize the action of a divine spirit, *numen*, in every object and operation of nature; which regarded the entrance upon the future life as the assumption of a divine nature (see Cic. *Cat. Mai.* 22, 81). Great and noble souls were by this acquisition of divinity placed directly among the greater gods, under the title of demigods and heroes: so it was with Hercules and with Romulus (Hor. *Od.* III. 3), and with Julius Cæsar, to whom a temple was erected immediately after his death. As this was not a change of nature, but only the passage into a new phase of life, it was not hard to accept the beneficent ruler while living upon the earth as a present god — *deus, deus ille, Menalca!* And as the native religion of Rome had now
lost much of its vitality, it is not strange that the worship of Augustus rapidly became the most wide-spread and popular cult within the bounds of the empire. Augustus, during his lifetime, shrank from a thorough-going acceptance of the divine honors offered to him, and required them to be associated with the Genius of Rome. After his death his worship was celebrated without stint or reserve. Tiberius furthered the worship of Augustus in every way; but his sober good sense and clearness of vision made him impatient at any effort to bring himself or any other living members of the family within the sacred group. His successors were less diffident, and even as early as Caligula we meet with the grossest and most shameless assertions of divinity.

25. The sacred character thus described belonged to the ruler as such, as incorporating in himself the dignity and sanctity of the State. Of a different nature was the formal apotheosis, resting upon a decree of the senate, by which the deceased prince was not merely recognized as a divine being, but was elevated to a place among the celestial gods. To those who had received this honor the title *divus* was given, and it is to be noticed that a sense of propriety withheld it from all who were plainly unworthy of it. Of the emperors of the first century it was bestowed only upon Julius, Augustus, Claudius (on the whole a worthy prince, although there may have been here a touch of sarcasm), Vespasian and Titus; also upon some female members of their families. Each consecrated emperor had his flamen or special priest, and for their worship special colleges were organized. The first establishment of such a college is described in the present work (I. 54); its members, at first called *Sodales Augustales*, were known as *Augustales Claudiales* after the cult of the emperor Claudius was joined with that of Augustus.¹ The worship of the emperor rapidly spread in the provinces, and became the centre of organized

¹ Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverfassung*, III. 451.
INTRODUCTION.

provincial life. In this cult Rome was regularly associated with Augustus, and no very nice distinction appears to have been made between divus Augustus and the reigning emperor, who also was lawfully known as Augustus. 1

26. It was a matter of course that some of the sacredness of the present deity attached to the members of his family. Augustus, as adopted son of Julius Cæsar, called himself Divi filius; and it may be that here is found in part the explanation of the contempt which Julia, daughter of Augustus, felt for her husband Tiberius (I. 53), for Tiberius was not as yet adopted into the imperial family.

The relations between the several members of this family are shown in the table on page xxix. The following (besides Tiberius) appear prominently in the Annals:

a. Livia, the mother of the emperor, was a woman of great personal beauty, and an ambitious, domineering spirit; apparently not one who would scruple long at any means to secure her ends. She exercised a great ascendancy over her husband, and expected to exercise the same over her son; and nothing in the history of Tiberius is more noteworthy than the effort he made to preserve the due balance between the dutiful affection for his mother, characteristic of Roman family life, and his determination to keep the reins of government in his own hands (see I. 72; II. 34; III. 17.64; IV. 57; V. 1).

b. Germanicus, son of Drusus, and adopted by his uncle Tiberius. A brave, honorable man, of genial temper and great personal popularity. A good but not a great commander. His early death prevents us from knowing with certainty what his capacities were.

c. Drusus, son of Tiberius, a man of strong will and the capacity to command. He, too, died young, and his death is one of the most pathetic incidents in the narration. If he had lived, it seems certain that he would have been an able and energetic ruler; but the sternness of temper which in Tiberius developed into cruelty only at the very close of his life, was a predominant characteristic of his son from the first, and would probably have made him a tyrant.

da. Agrippina, daughter of Marcus Agrippa and Julia, and wife of Germanicus. A woman of high spirit and ambition, and of unblemished personal character. It is impossible for us to know whether her ambition

1 Guiraud, Les assemblées provinciales dans l'empire romain.
Genealogical Table of the Imperial Family.

1. Julius Caesar

2. Julia

3. Atia

4. C. Octavius

5. Augustus = 6. Livia Augusta

m. Scribonia

8. Mark Antony = 7. Octavia

m. C. Marcellus

15. Antonia

m. Drusus (13) III. 3

16. Antonia

m. Drusus Verg. Aen. VI. 862

14. Marcellus


m. Vipsania

m. Antonia (16)

21. Gaius

22. Lucius

23. Agrippa

Postumus

24. Agrippina

m. Germanicus

17. Drusus = 19. Livia

18. Germanicus

20. Claudius

m. Agrippina

25. L. Domitius


IV. 75

33. Nero

27. Nero

28. Drusus

29. Gaius (Caligula)

30. Drusilla

31. Julia (Livilla)

V. 3

VI. 23

VI. 46

VI. 15

VI. 15
really carried her to the point of treason, but Tiberius believed it did, and her life ended in disappointment and misery.

c. Antonia Minor, daughter of Mark Antony, the triumvir, and Octavia, sister of Augustus; wife of the elder Drusus and mother of Germanicus. By personal beauty, dignity and purity of character, and an abstinence from intrigue which distinguished her from Livia and Agrippina, she deserves to rank as perhaps the noblest example of her age of a typical Roman matron.

f. Of the children of Germanicus and Agrippina we know too little to judge, except of the infamous Caligula and Agrippina. Nero, the eldest, would seem to have been relatively free from the vices of the others; but he was guilty of great indiscretion (IV. 59), was implicated in his mother's treason (or suspicion of treason), and perished untimely.

The Language and Style of Tacitus.

27. The student who passes abruptly from the writings of the classical age to those of Tacitus, finds himself dealing with a vocabulary and forms of speech very different from those to which he is used. The new author seems very difficult at first, and indeed his writings can never be called easy. But to a greater degree than in most authors it is found that the difficulties consist in peculiarities of style, which soon become familiar, and cease to give trouble. These peculiarities of Tacitus belong partly to his age, but are chiefly characteristics of his own style.

28. The Latinity of the so-called Silver Age presents no more contrasts with that of the Augustan Age than may be expected in the case of any healthy language in the same space of time. There were about one hundred and fifty years between Cicero and Tacitus, a longer distance of time than that which separates us from Burke, Johnson, and Gibbon. And the change in the language, as shown by a comparison of Cicero with Quintilian or the younger Pliny, was certainly no greater than the English language has suffered in this interval. And the change has been very much of the same general character,—a change in the direction of simplicity and naturalness. The elaborate periods of Cicero may be compared to the ponderous and
sonorous sentences of Johnson; the easy flow of Quintilian to the lucidity and elegance of Prescott. The style of the Silver Age was more colloquial—men wrote more as they talked; just as is the case with the English of the present day, as compared with that of a century ago.

29. But along with this revolution in the structural features of style, there were changes in vocabulary and syntax which partially obscure the result just pointed out, by cultivating forms of expression and construction which lacked the simple dignity of earlier writers. In other terms, while the flow of words followed a more natural order, corresponding more closely to the natural order of thought, the diction became more strained and artificial. There was of course a constant flux in the vocabulary—old words were dropped and new ones adopted. The acquisitions were from two principal sources: the Greek language, and the usages of the poets; and from these sources were derived not only new words and new meanings of old words, but, although not so abundantly, new forms of construction. The expressions borrowed from the Greek stand in the Latinity of the Silver Age about as the contributions of French and German stand in the English language, partly assimilated, partly still regarded with a certain degree of suspicion. It is the influence of the poets that is chiefly seen in these writers, especially in Tacitus. It is to be noted that all the Latin poets of high merit and great popularity are later than Cicero—later, at least, than the period in which he formed his style. Their influence was marked upon Livy, who was almost their contemporary: upon Tacitus it was powerful. The same tendency towards a figurative and brilliant style was fostered by the political situation.¹ Except in the courts of law there was no longer any genuine debate, and of course no genuine oratory. The student was trained on artificial rhetorical exercises, which

¹ Si antiquum sermonem nostro comparemus, paene iam quidquid loquimur figura est, ut . . . incumbere 'illi,' non 'in illum.' (Quint. IX. 3. 1.)
INTRODUCTION.

— as there was no substance of political discussion — necessarily took shape in florid verbiage.

30. As to syntactical changes, it is enough to quote Dräger's remark in relation to the history of the Latin language, that "in the course of nearly eight hundred years it experienced relatively slight changes in its grammatical construction." A few such changes will be pointed out in the notes.

31. The larger part of the peculiarities of Tacitus are his own, not those of his age. He has the characteristics of his age, but they are so inconspicuous in comparison with his individual characteristics as to be almost obscured; he is hardly less strongly contrasted with Pliny and Quintilian than with Cicero and Sallust. If his style does not appear simple and colloquial like theirs, it is because he carried into it not the characteristics of every-day life and conversation, but the qualities of the forensic orator. Furneaux remarks: "The special qualities of his style are no doubt due, in no small measure, to his professional career. As the first forensic orator of the day, we might assume that he had perfected such gifts as were prescribed to a pleader by the prevailing fashion; and he has himself described to us the difference between the rolling periods of Ciceronian eloquence and the style demanded in his own age, when jury and listeners soon wearied of a long harangue, were impatient of the speaker's preamble, and recalled him peremptorily from a digression."

32. This suggestion does not confine itself to his literary style alone, but to his style of thought and manner of presenting his theme. When we consider that Tacitus was not a literary man, but an advocate by profession, we understand better the tone of partisanship which we meet in so many parts of his work. Tacitus was as far removed as possible from the objective standard of historical composition which rules at the present day. He did not consider it his duty in controverted points to present both sides impartially, but to present his own side; and when his own mind was made up, he could not see
that the facts, as he gave them himself, did not, as we can see now, always prove his point. In this, as we have said, there appears no trace of insincerity, no attempt to conceal or distort the facts. But his conception of the duties of an historian was that of his own age, different from ours. I cannot agree with the special defenders of Tiberius, who act as if the only way to vindicate their hero was to impugn the motives of his historian. Tacitus no doubt formed his opinions from a conscientious study of the evidence, even if his judgment may have been warped by his preconceived ideas. But this once done, he ceases to act as a judge, and appears as an advocate, urging his case with an intensity of conviction and a burning eloquence that have seldom been surpassed. He writes as an advocate, but as one who appeals, not as one who aims to convince.

33. He is not in any sense of the word a philosophical historian, even in the sense of tracing the relations of cause and effect in the field of political and domestic affairs. He is not to be classed with Thucydides or Sallust; as great, perhaps, but not of the same order. It is as a painter with words that he excels. No historian surpasses him, perhaps none equals him, in the graphic power of depicting a scene or an action in few words; and when to this picturesqueness we have added the intensity of feeling, the ethical passion, that dominates him, we have a writer who, for instructiveness and tonic power, has no rival, certainly in Roman literature. These qualities make him the most dramatic of historians, the most powerful in the delineation of character. To quote Macaulay¹: "In the delineation of character Tacitus is unrivalled among historians, and has very few superiors among dramatists and novelists. By a delineation of character we do not mean the practice of drawing up epigrammatic catalogues of good and bad qualities, and appending them to the names of eminent men. No writer, indeed, has done this more skilfully than Tacitus; but this is not his peculiar glory. All the persons who occupy a larg

¹ Essay on History.
INTRODUCTION.

space in his works have an individuality of character which seems to pervade all their words and actions. We know them as if we had lived with them.

34. This dominant characteristic as an historian serves to explain one of his most conspicuous characteristics of style, — fondness for poetical words and phrases, and especially his close relation to Vergil. Vergil, too, was a writer of a lofty ethical tone, and was evidently a favorite with Tacitus, who, as has been often pointed out, copies freely his phrases and turns of speech. So marked is his predilection for poetical words and phrases, that it is hard to say whether his style borrows more from the poets or from the habits of speech of the forensic orator. On the whole, it is only in his diction that he has borrowed from the poets; his abruptness and compression of style, his sententiousness and earnestness, are qualities that he has brought from the court-room. This explains a tenderness of feeling which often goes to the length of sentimentality; in treating of Tiberius, for example, he persistently depicts stern justice as harshness, economy as niggardliness (II. 38), modesty as meanness of spirit (IV. 38), and a peaceful and self-contained policy as a degenerate temper (II. 26; IV. 32).

35. The grammatical and stylistic peculiarities of Tacitus are for the most part such as show the influence of the poets on the working of a poetic temperament. If, as has been said above, the student who passes from Cicero to Tacitus meets with much that is strange and difficult, the student of Vergil finds himself often on familiar ground. Most of these peculiarities will be pointed out in the notes; but it will be of service to enumerate here a few of the most striking and characteristic of them, passing over in general those which may be called regular if unusual forms of expression. It should be noted that most of the usages here pointed out are rather characteristics than peculiarities of Tacitus; that is, they are found also in other writers, but are especially common with him.

a. The fondness for abstract nouns, whether as substitutes
for concrete, or in the plural, thus turning them into concretes. This is one of the usages which mark most distinctly the transition to modern turns of expression; for one of the chief points of difference between the ancients and moderns consists in the choice of concrete and abstract forms of speech; e.g. nonanus, sc. miles, the soldiers of the ninth legion, I. 30. 4; matrimonia ac pecunias hostium, the wives and moneys of the enemy, II. 13. 3; qui infamias subiere, who underwent infamy [on different occasions], IV. 33. 4.

Sometimes, on the other hand, Tacitus uses a concrete expression where we should expect an abstract; e.g. specie recusantis, with a show of rejecting, I. 3. 2, where the participle serves the purpose of a gerund.

b. The use of simple verbs where the prose writers employed compounds is especially characteristic of the Annals. The greater precision of the compounds fitted them for the uses of prose speech, while the poets, whom Tacitus here imitates, appear to have found a certain freedom and picturesqueness in the simple forms: e.g. posuit for proposuit, put forth, I. 7. 5; versa for eversa, overturned, II. 42. 4; firmabat for confirmabat, strengthened, I. 71. 5.

Compound verbs are often used with an accusative where the rule would require a preposition or a dative; e.g. pugnam aut vincula elapsi, having escaped from battle or prison, I. 61. 6.

c. Also borrowed from the poets is the frequent omission of the copula. A characteristic illustration of this is found in the second chapter of the first book, where postquam is followed by arma [erant], oppressus [est] and reliquus [erat].

d. The construction of the partitive genitive is carried to a great length, particularly as depending upon abstract nouns or the neuter (usually plural) of adjectives used abstractly, and even masculine and feminine adjectives; e.g. uligines paludum, marshy swamps, I. 17. 5; subjecta vallium, the valleys below, I. 65. 1; (but prominentia montium, the spurs of the mountains, II. 16. 2;) tacita suspicionum, silent suspicions, IV. 41. 1;
INTRODUCTION.

lubrico paludum, in the slippery marsh, I. 65. 6; levis cohortium, the light cohorts, III. 39. 1.

c. The genitive of reference with adjectives is very common; e.g. furandi melior, better in pilfering, III. 74. 1; occultos consili, reticent about plans, VI. 36. 3.

d. Tacitus shares with the poets a fondness for the dative case, especially the dative of service or purpose (very common in the gerundive), of agency, and the dative as substituted for ad with the accusative; thus we find it not infrequently as end of motion; e.g. Gaius Caesar componendae Armeniae deligitur, Gaius Caesar is selected to put in order the affairs of Armenia, II. 4. 2; qui tributo aderant, who had come for tribute, IV. 72. 5; claris scriptoribus, by renowned writers, I. 1. 4; centurionem morti deposcit, if [the legion] demands the centurion to put him to death, I. 23. 6; altius coniectantibus, in the eye of those who would see under the surface, I. 32. 7; paci firmator, confirmor of peace, II. 46. 6.

e. Purpose or effect is also frequently expressed by an accusative in apposition with a clause of action; e.g. manus intentantes, causam discordiae, threatening with their hands, a cause of discord, I. 27. 1.

f. The use of the accusative, ablative, and locative to express local relations of rest or of motion to or from a place, used regularly only with towns and small islands, is extended by the poets and by Tacitus to the largest islands, and even to countries, and other names of places; e.g. remeantem Armenia, on his way home from Armenia, I. 3. 3; Aegyptum proficiscitur, he proceeds to Egypt, II. 59. 1; campo aut litore, on plain or shore, IV. 74. 6.

i. In the use of prepositions his fondness for figurative expressions is very marked; e.g. apud for cum, and in the sense of 'in'; inter like an ablative absolute or a clause; citra for sine (not in the Annals); circa and super, meaning "in respect to"; per, to denote manner; iuxta, to denote resemblance; in, to express purpose or result; e.g. apud Nolam, at
Nola, I. 5. 5; inter temulentos, while they were drunk, I. 50. 7; per ferociam, impatiently, II. 17. 1; in speciem ac terrem, for display and terror, II. 6. 3; circa bonas artes, in respect to good practices, XI. 15. 1.

He is also fond of rare prepositions (in the Annals, however, only simul), and of placing the preposition after the word which it governs (anastrophe); e.g. Magnetibus simul, together with the Magnesians, IV. 55. 3.

j. In respect to conjunctions, his principal peculiarity is the frequency of asyndeton; e.g. clamore telis, by shouts and weapons, IV. 48. 4; socios regna, allied nations and kings, III. 55. 3.

Notice, too, the fondness for such variety in combination as: Tiberii Gaiae et Olandii ac Neronis, of Tiberius, Gaius, Claudius, and Nero, I. 1. 5.

Other usages of conjunctions unfamiliar to the student of earlier Latin are donec, (until), and quamquam, almost invariably with the subjunctive; quamquam also without a finite verb; quamvis equivalent to quamquam; quotiens (whenever); quatenus, equivalent to quoniam; tamquam and similar particles to express an alleged reason; perinde quam; e.g. quamquam multi cecidissent, although many had fallen, IV. 73. 6; (but quamquam id quoque dictum est, although that too was said, I. 76. 7;) donee deterrentur, until they were deterred, I. 1. 4; (but donee fama eadem tuliit, until the same report brought word, I. 5. 6;) quamquam exercitu contracto, although his army had been got together, I. 48. 1; quamvis domus delaberetur, although the house was falling, II. 38. 10; tamquam auctus liberis Drusus domum Germanici magis urgeret, because [as they said] the birth of children to Drusus was another blow to the house of Germanicus, II. 84. 3; quotiens oculos ad multitudoletem rettulerant, whenever they turned their eyes to the crowd, I. 25. 2.

k. The historical infinitive, though not peculiar to Tacitus, is found very abundantly in his writings; peculiar to him is its use
in subordinate temporal clauses; e.g. *Ubi Artabanus minitari* when *Artabanus threatened*, II. 4. 4.

He is very fond of stringing a number of historical infinitives, one after another, in the way of enumeration; e.g. *lascivire miles, disoordare, pessimi cuiusque sermonibus praebere aures*, etc., the soldiers fell into lawlessness and disorder, lent their ears to the talk of every mischief-maker, etc., I. 16. 3.

I. The complementary infinitive is common after verbs and adjectives where earlier prose writers would have used a subordinate clause or a gerund; e.g. *perfringere nisi, attempting to burst through*, I. 64. 1; *dato sacerdotibus . . . vera discernere, the priests being authorized to distinguish the genuine*, VI. 12. 4.

m. In clauses of comparison he commonly omits the correlative *eo or tanto*, and often uses a positive instead of a comparative in one or both of the clauses; e.g. *claris maioribus quam vetustis, ancestors rather distinguished than ancient*, IV. 61. 1; *quanto incautius efferverat, paenitentia patiens, the more indiscreetly he had boiled over with rage, the more patient when his anger was over*, I. 74. 7.

n. In the gerund and gerundive there is great freedom in the use of the genitive; e.g. *cognoscendae antiquitatis, for the purpose of studying antiquity*, II. 59. 1; *tuendae libertatis et firmandae concordiae, for the purpose of protecting liberty and establishing harmony*, III. 27. 1.

o. There is great freedom also in the use of the participle, especially in the ablative neuter, used absolutely with a word understood, or with a clause or phrase; e.g. *concedente, sc. eo, with his permission*, VI. 16. 5; *addito acutiorem esse, adding that it was sharper*, I. 35. 6.

Another common construction is the omission, in ablative absolute, of the subject when it is antecedent to a relative; e.g. *provisis quae tempus monebat, having made provision of such things as the exigency demanded*, I. 5. 6.

p. Very characteristic also, and conducive to brevity, is the
use of the participles (principally in perfect passive), both absolute and agreeing with the subject, to connect one clause with another, sometimes co-ordinated in sense with an infinitive, where the English would use a succession of verbs; e.g. posito triumviri nomine consulém se feres... insurgere paulatim, he laid aside the title of triumvir, appeared as consul, and gradually rose in power, I. 2. 1; Quintilium Varum... cernere... visus est, non tamen obsecutus et manum intendentis reppulisse, it appeared to him that he saw Quintilius Varus, but yet did not follow him, and repelled the hand which he stretched out to him, I. 65. 2.

q. The combination of a substantive with a participle, adjective, or other substantive, where the English would use an abstract or verbal noun, or a clause, is found in Livy and other historians, but is peculiarly common in Tacitus; e.g. cum occisus dictator Caesar aliis pessimum, aliis pulcherrimum facinus videretur, when some thought the slaying of the dictator Caesar a wicked, others a noble deed, I. 8. 7; exemplum atrox, reus pater, accusator filius, a horrible incident—that a father was on trial, his son the accuser, IV. 28. 1.

r. Nothing is more characteristic of Tacitus than the neglect of concinnity, or uniformity and parallelism of construction. While the early writers regularly aimed to express co-ordinate ideas by similar expressions, Tacitus, in his morbid straining after variety, appears on the other hand to have purposely avoided uniformity of expression; e.g. per acies aut prorsum, in battle or by proscription, I. 2. 1; dextro lateri... in laevum, on the right and left flank, I. 64. 8; censuit comitia habenda utque legionum legati iam tum praetores destinarentur, he proposed that the election should be held and that the commanders of the legions should be immediately appointed to the praetorship, II. 36. 1; plebe valida vel cum patres pollerent, when the plebs or the Senate was strong, IV. 33. 2.

s. As purely Greek or poetic constructions may be instanced: immotum fixumque Tiberio fuit, it was immovably fixed in the
mind of Tiberius, I. 47. 1; ut quibusque bellum invitis aut cupientibus erat, according as each was opposed to war or desired it, I. 59. 1; falsa exterritum, terrified without reason, IV. 28. 3; minor quadringentorum milium, less than 400,000, IV. 63.

2. Many words are used only by Tacitus, and others only by him in a certain meaning, e.g. finire, die, VI. 50. 9; inturbidus, undisturbed, III. 52. 1; circumfluui, surrounded by, VI. 37. 4.

As the style of Tacitus exaggerates all the characteristics of the Latinity of the Silver Age, so his style in the Annals, his latest work, pushes his own peculiarities to their extreme. It is in this work that his harshness and crabbedness of style are found in their fullest development. Some sentences seem like mere strings of disconnected words, the relation of which to one another can only be discovered by assiduous study and analysis. The Annals stands to the Dialogus, in respect to style, very much as Carlyle's Frederick the Great to his Life of Sterling.
CORNELII TACITI

AB EXCESSU DIVI AUGUSTI

LIBRI I.–VI.
ARGUMENT OF BOOK I.

A.D. 14; Sex. Pompeius, Sex. Appuleius, Coss.

1-15. Introductory.


31-49. Mutiny of the German Legions.

50, 51. Expedition against the Marsi. 52. Action of Tiberius. 53. Death of Julia. 54. Honors to Augustus.

A.D. 15; Drusus Caesar, C. Norbanus, Coss.

55-71. First campaign of Germanicus.

Urbem Romam a principio reges habuere; libertatem et consulatum L. Brutus instituit. Dictatae ad tempus sumebantur; neque decemviralis potestas ultra biennium, neque tribunorum militum consulare ius diu valuit. Non Cinnae, non Sullae longa dominatio; et

1. Urbem . . . habuere: these words form a hexameter verse. Such verses, occurring in prose, were considered faulty by the ancients; nevertheless, the measured rhythm of this sentence affords a stately and worthy introduction to the great history. Livy, too, began with a rhythmical passage, facturusne operae pretium sim—and Quintilian (IX. 4. 74) remarks that he could not have changed the order of these words without weakening the sentence.

libertatem et consulatum: the republic, the second period of Roman history, extending from B.C. 509 to the establishment of the principatus by Augustus, B.C. 27. The following magistracies are named as temporary interruptions of the libertas et consulatus.

2. ad tempus, temporarily (not to exceed six months); that is, to meet special emergencies. Notice the force of the imperfect, sumebantur.

ultra biennium: in fact, the Decemvirs held their office for more than two years and a half (from May 15, B.C. 451, to Dec. 13, 449). Only two years, however, were legitimate rule, potestas. The third year Livy calls them privati pro decemviris, and adds regnum haud dubie videri (III. 38).

consulare ius: the office of military tribune with consular power is first mentioned B.C. 445; from this time until B.C. 408 tribunes alternated irregularly with consuls; from B.C. 408 until 367 military tribunes were elected every year except two, when there were consuls, and five years in which no magistrates were elected.

3. Cinnae . . . Sullae: Cinna was consul four years in succession, B.C. 87 to 84; Sulla was made perpetual dictator B.C. 82, and laid down his office in 79. The word dominatio, used to designate their despotic authority, is contrasted with the constitutional potestas of the

4 decemvirs and ius of the military tribunes, as well as with the personal potentia of the first triumvirate, the irregular military power, arma, of the second, and the legally recognized military authority, imperium, of the empire. No doubt, also, Tacitus, here as elsewhere, sought to avoid tautology by the use of synonymous terms.

potentia . . . arma: the so-called triumvirate of Pompey, Crassus, and Caesar (B.C. 60) was simply a coalition of party-leaders, which established a potentia resting upon the personal ability or influence of its members: this power shortly fell to Caesar. The Second Triumvirate, of Lepidus, Antonius, and Caesar (Octavianus), was a commission rei publicae constituenae formally established by law, Nov. 27, B.C. 43, for a period of five years. It was then extended by the triumvirs by their own authority for five years longer, after which time, civil war having broken out between them, they continued their commands without formal authority. Lepidus was forced to submit to Caesar B.C. 36; Antony, in 31.

nomine principis: this is the correct name of the new dignity established B.C. 27, when Caesar (Octavianus) laid down his extraordiary powers, received the name of Augustus, and entered upon his new office. See 9. 6: non regno tamen neque dictatura, sed principis nomine, constitutam rem publicam.

4. sed: there is an ellipsis here: (these early times deserve an historian,) but they have already received worthy treatment.

veternis . . . adversa: the times of the kingdom and the republic.

claris scriptoribus: Intr. 35 f.
temporibus . . . dicendis: dative after defuere.

decora ingenia: especially Livy, whose history ended at the death of Drusus, B.C. 9. Also Asinius Pollio, Crementius Cordus (IV. 34), and others.

detterrenur: Intr. 35 f.

5. Tiberii, etc.: these are the reigns embraced in the present work—heretofore they have received no impartial treatment.

que . . . et . . . ac: an arbitrary confusion in the use of the conjunctions, common in Tacitus. Intr. 35 f.

falsae, which had been falsified.

recentibus odiis, while the hatred against them was fresh.

6. pauc a . . . et extrema: a few of the closing events only, because the greater part of his reign had
tradere, mox Tiberii principatum et cetera, sine ira et studio, quorum causas procul habeo.

Postquam Bruto et Cassio caesis nulla iam publica arma, Pompeius apud Siciliam oppressus, exutoque Lepido, interfectori Antonio ne Iulianis quidem partibus nisi Caesar dux reliquus, posito triumviri nomine already found worthy historians. et is here emphatic: and those, too, the last.

cetera, the rest, i.e. the events which followed, ending with the death of Nero, at which point the Histories of Tacitus begin.

ira et studio: prejudice, either against or for.

2. postquam, etc.: in this long and involved sentence the principal verbs are the historical infinitives insurgere and trahere; the force of the postquam continues through reliquus [erat], and ferens agrees with the subject (understood) of insurgere, referring to Caesar. Notice also the characteristic use of the participle to express the relation of a subordinate clause (Intr. 35 o), the omission of the copula (id. r), and the constant change of construction (id. r).

Bruto et Cassio caesis, etc.: Brutus and Cassius slew themselves after their defeat at Philippi, B.C. 42; Sextus Pompeius was defeated at Mylae, near Sicily (apud Siciliam), B.C. 36, and soon after put to death; the same year Lepidus was deprived of all power, but was suffered to live in private life, still holding the dignity of pontifex maximus, until B.C. 12, when he died. The two remaining triumvirs soon fell out; Mark Antony was defeated at Actium, B.C. 31, and the next year put himself to death.

nulla . . . arma: this was the end of the republic,—the younger Pompey fought for himself rather than for the Senate. “Ce ne furent plus les soldats de la république, mais de Sylla, de Marius, de Pomée, de César.” Montesquieu, Considérations.

ne Iulianis quidem partibus: the leaders of the opposite party—Brutus, Cassius, the Pompeys—had perished before. Now, by the death of Antony, the party of Caesar, too, was reduced to a single leader.

Caesar: Gaius Octavius (the emperor Augustus), great-nephew of Julius Caesar, was adopted by him, and took his name, Gaius Julius Caesar. To distinguish him from his great-uncle, he is commonly known as Octavianus; in his own time, however, he was simply Gaius Caesar.

posito triumviri nomine: see note on potentia, I. 3. Augustus never formally laid down his authority until B.C. 27. He was triumvir from 42 to 33, consul in the year 31, and every year after until 23. For the year 32, therefore, he had no legal authority, unless as triumvir. Mommsen, therefore (Staatsrecht, II. 676), concludes that he continued to act as triumvir after the second term had expired, and that it was only by an afterthought that, in the Monumentum Ancyranum (4. 1) he says, συνέχεσαν τὴν ἀκολουθων δέκα (cf. Sueton. Oct. 27; triumviratum reipublicae constitutendiæ per decem annos administravi). According to Mommsen, an officer appointed for revising the constitution was not held to any term: certainly Antony did not lay down his office at the
consulem se ferens et ad tuendam plebem tribunicio iure contentum, ubi militem donis, populum annona, cunctos dulcedine otii pellexit, insurgere paulatim, munia senatus magistratuum legum in se trahere, nullo adversante, cum ferocissimi per acies aut proscriptione cecidissent, ceteri nobilium, quanto quis servitio prompt

end of 33, and was never accused of usurpation for it.

The office was created, in conformity with an ancient custom of vesting full constitutive as well as governmental powers in a single man or a board, for the purpose of regulating the constitution after the disorders of civil war, and this purpose was expressed in the title triumvir rei publicae constituentiae. In like manner Sulla, after the first civil war, B.C. 82, was made dictator rei publicae constituenda. As a matter of course, the triumvirs received the full imperium.

**consulem se ferens**: implying a certain ostentation in the use of the republican name.

**tribunicio iure**: Intr. 20. The tribuniciun authority (summi fas-tigii vocabulum, III. 56) was given to him B.C. 36. This was the foundation of his office upon its civil side, as the pro-consular power was upon the military side. By it the person of the emperor was made inviolable, sacrosanctus, and through the ius auxili, which was the starting-point of the power of the tribunes, he was the formal representative and defender of the common people, thus continuing the traditions of the Gracchi, Marius, and Cæsar. This office also gave authority to convocate the Senate and the Comitia.

**contentum**: he rejected the titles of king and dictator.

**donis**: bounties in money and land. (See note on divisiones agrorum, 10. 1.) The bounties in land were in the form of military colonies, of which he planted twenty-eight in Italy, and others in ten provinces, enumerated in the Monumen tum Ancyraum, 5. 35. In money he bestowed (in colonis militium meorum), one thousand sesterces apiece upon about 120,000 men, id. 3. 17.

**annona**: this refers, says Furneaux, "not to the regular corn dole [which he reduced from 200,000 to 150,000] . . . but to the careful organization of the supply from Egypt and elsewhere, and to special distributions, gratuitous or at a price below cost, in times of scarcity." He says (Mon. Anc. 3. 10): Consul undecimum [B.C. 23] duodecim frumentationes frumento privatim coemple emensum sum. Suetonius says (Oct. 41): Frumentum . . . sese levissimo, interdum nullo pretio ad mensum est.

**senatus**, etc.: the asyndeton is common in such enumerations.

**legum**: i.e. through his edicts as magistrate, and similar decrees.

**proscriptione**: of the Second Triumvirate, after the death of Cæsar. Cicero lost his life in these proscriptions. Notice how fond Tacitus is of coupling together different constructions: per acies aut proscriptione (Intr. 35 r). Each form has a special fitness in its own case, as frequently elsewhere.

**nobilium**: Cicero would probably have said nobiles (Intr. 35 d).

**quanto quis**: the correlative tanto magis is omitted, as frequently in Tacitus.

**servitio**: = ad servitium, which
tior, opibus et honoribus extollerentur ac novis ex rebus aucti tuta et praesentia quam vetera et periculosa mallent. Neque provinciae illum rerum statum abnuebant, suspecto senatus populique imperio ob certamina poten
tium et avaritiam magistratum, invalido legum auxilio, quae vi, ambitu, postremo pecunia turbabantur. Ceterum Augustus subsidia dominationi Claudium Marcellum sororis filium admodum adolescentem pontificatu et curuli aedilitate, M. Agrippam, ignobilem loco, bonum militia et victoriae socium, geminatis consulatibus extulit, mox defuncto Marcello generum sumpsit; Tiberium

would be more regular (Intr. 35 f.).

novis ex rebus: from the change in government; novae res = "revolution."
tuta, etc., the present with its safety to the past with its perils.

2. neque provinciae: it has been often remarked that the rule of the emperors, even the most tyrannical, was more endurable to the provincials than the practically irresponsible government of the magistrates of the republic. See 76. 4: Achaiaam ac Macedionam onera deprecantis levari in praesens proconsulari imperio tradique Caesari placuit.
suspecto, regarded with dislike.

legum: the law which established (B.C. 149) the quaestio rerum repetundarum, or court for the trial of extortion in the provinces, and the various laws passed afterwards, to reorganize the court and define its powers. Their efficacy was disturbed by the causes here mentioned.

ambitu, intrigue, lit., a 'going around,' personal canvassing, which easily passed into bribery, here referred to by pecunia.

3. ceterum expresses here, as often, merely a transition from a digression back to the main theme.

subsidia: the appositive to express purpose, = ut subsidia es-

sent.
dominationi: Intr. 35 f.
sororis: i.e. Octavia. This is the Marcellus addressed by Vergil (Aen. VI. 862 ff.) — tu Marcellus eris. He died in the year of his ædle-

pontificatu, etc.: these ablatives are construed with extulit, as instrument.

ignobilem: the origin of Agrippa was so humble that he chose to drop his father's name Vipsanius, as not being that of any well-known gens. The inscription on the Pan-

theon, erected by him, reads: M. Agrippa L. f. cos. tertium fecit.
See Freeman, Methods of Historical Study, p. 245.
geminatis: he was consul two years in succession, B.C. 28 and 27, a very unusual thing under the empire for any person but the emperor himself.
generum: he married Julia, the daughter of Augustus. See table, Intr. 26.
Neronem et Claudium Drusum privignos imperatoriiis nominibus auxit, integra etiam tum domo sua. Nam genitos Agrippa Gaium ac Lucium in familiam Caesarum induxerat, necdum posita puerili praetexta principes iuventutis appellari, destinari consules specie recusantis flagrantissime cupiverat. Ut Agrippa vita concessit, Lucium Caesarem euntem ad Hispaniensis exercitum, Gaium remeantem Armenia et vulnere invalidum mors fato propera vel novercae Liviae dolus abstulit, Drusosque pridem extincto Nero solus e privignis erat, illuc cuncta vergere: filius, collega imperii, consors tribuni-

privignos: they were sons of his wife Livia, by her former husband. For all these relationships, see Table, Intr. 26.

imperatoriiis nominibus: the emperors assumed the title Imperator as a praenomen; the use here indicated, however, is that of the republic, as an appellation bestowed after victory. Both Tiberius and Drusus carried on successful campaigns in Germany, and the use of this title by them is attested by inscriptions.

2. nam explains integra: his own house consisted of his grandchildren, Gaius and Lucius; but even during their lifetime he heaped these honors upon his stepsons.

in familiam induxerat: by the regular form of adoption; per assem et libram emptos a patre Agrippa, Suet. Oct. 64, — a remarkable illustration of the survival of primitive forms.

praetexta: the toga praetexta, with a purple stripe about its border, was worn by curule magistrates, and also by boys until they assumed the toga virilis at about the age of sixteen.

principes iuventutis: as he himself was princeps of the state (not merely princeps senatus, as is often stated, see Intr. 20), so the acknowledged heir to the throne was made princeps iuventutis, a merely honorary title, carrying with it no duties or privileges. Momn. Röm. St. II. 1047.

destinari: i.e. to take effect at a future time, — post quinquennium; as to the fact, Augustus says (Mon. Ancyr. 14): Gaium et Lucium Caesares honoris mei causae senatus populusque Romanus annum quinimum et decimum agentis consules designavit, ut eum magistratum intrent post quinquennium.

recusantis: this use of the present participle in the genitive, agreeing with a noun understood, is common in Tacitus, where a gerund would be more regular; e.g. momenta ipsa deficiens, Agr. 43. Intr. 35 a.

3. Armenia: Intr. 35 b. Liviae dolus: there is no doubt that Livia was very ambitious, as well for her son as for herself, and perhaps she was not incapable of this crime. Lucius died A.D. 2; Gaius, A.D. 4.

illuc = ad eum.

filius, etc.: these express the for-
ciae potestatis adsumitur, omnisque per exercitus ostentatur, non obscuris, ut antea, matris artibus, sed palam hortatu. Nam senem Augustum devinxerat adeo uti 4 nepotem unicum, Agrippam Postumum, in insulam Planasiam proiercerit, rudem sane bonarum artium et robore corporis stolide ferocem, nullius tamen flagitii comperitum. At hercule Germanicum Druso ortum octo apud 5 Rhenum legionibus imposuit adscirique per adoptionem a Tiberio iussit, quamquam esset in domo Tiberii filius iuvenis, sed quo pluribus munimentis insisteret.√

Bellum ea tempestate nullum nisi adversus Germanos 6 supererat, abolendae magis infamiae ob amissum cum Quintilio Varo exercitum quam cupidine proferendi

mal acts by which Tiberius was designated as successor to the throne. He was adopted A.D. 4, after the death of Gaius, on which occasion he appears to have laid aside his gentle name (Claudius), as was regularly done by the early emperors. His dignity as crown prince is, like that of the emperor himself, summed up in his association in the proconsular and tribunician powers. The potestas tribunicia was granted to him B.C. 6, was renewed on occasion of his adoption, and given for life A.D. 14. The imperium proconsulare, was probably conferred B.C. 8 (Momm. Röm. St. II. 1051).

omnis . . . ostentatur: there appears to have been no formal presentation of him to the armies as destined to the succession; the reference is to his commands in Germany and Pannonia.

palam hortatu: her designs were no longer concealed.

4. Agrippam Postumum: son of Agrippa and Julia, daughter of Augustus; for his fate, see chap. 6.

Planasiam: Pianosa, near Elba.

5. Druso: the younger brother of Tiberius, and like him a distinguished commander; he died B.C. 9.

octo legiones: four in Upper, four in Lower Germany. The authority of Germanicus extended over all these, the special commanders of the two armies being placed under him; see chap. 31 and Intr. 18 B. 16 and 23.

esset: Intr. 35 n.

filius iuvenis: the younger Drusus, son of Tiberius, now about twenty-seven years of age; he and Germanicus were now legally brothers. The age of iuventus, following adulescencia, extended from about twenty-five to forty-five.

pluribus munimentis: in order to lessen the danger of a vacancy on the throne; non legiones, non classes perinde firma imperio munimenta quam numerum libero- rum, Hist. IV. 52.

6. abolendae infamiae: Intr. 35 n.

cum Quintilio Varo: the famous defeat of Varus by Arminius in the Teutoburg forest, A.D. 9. See chap. 60. This set a limit to the advance of the Romans into Germany, or
imperii aut dignum ob praemium. Domi res tranquillae, eadem magistratum vocabula; iuniores post Actiacam victoriam etiam senes plerique inter bella civium nati: quotus quisque reliquus, qui rem publicam vidisset! Igitur verso civitatis statu nihil usquam prisci et integri moris: omnes exuta aequalitate iussa principis aspectare, nulla in praesens formidine, dum Augustus aetate validus seque et domum et pacem sustentavit. Postquam provecta iam senectus aegro et corpore fatigabatur, aderatque finis et spes novae, pauci bona libertatis in cassum disserere, plures bellum pavescre, alii cupere. Pars multo maxima imminentis dominos variis rumoribus differebant: trucem Agrippam et ignominia accensum non aetate neque rerum experientia tantae moli parem; Tiberium Neronem maturum annis, spectatum bello, sed vetere atque insita Claudiae fami-

rather obliged them to withdraw to the frontier of the Rhine.

cupidine proferendi imperii: Augustus laid it down as a praecipientum imperii not to advance the boundaries of the empire; consilium coercendi intra terminos imperii, II. 7. In fact Tiberius put an end to hostilities after three years of no material success.

7. eadem: i.e. the same as under the republic.

post Actiacam pugnam: the battle of Actium, B.C. 31, in which Octavius defeated Antony. This was the end of the civil wars; the republic had perished already. See note on publica arma, 2. 1.

rem publicam: i.e. in its concrete meaning, the republic.

4. statu, constitution.

prisci et: a closer coupling than if neque had been used — the good old customs; see similar instance in 70. 5. We have here a terse and vigorous description of the changes in temper and feeling as the monarchy was established.

2. provecta senectus: Augustus was seventy-seven years old at the time of his death.

et (corpore) = etiam.

aderat, was at hand.

spes novae: i.e. as to what would happen after the death of the emperor.

disserere: this word in Tacitus very often governs the accusative.

3. differebant: made the subject of disparaging talk, packed to pieces (dis in composition having the meaning asunder).

aetate: Agrippa was twenty-six, Tiberius, fifty-six.

spectatum bello: he had carried on war with great distinction, and had celebrated triumphs over the Pannonians (B.C. 9), the Germans (B.C. 7), the Illyrians, Panno-
liae superbia, multaque indicia saevitiae, quamquam pre-
mantur, erumpere. Hunc et prima ab infantia eductum 4
in domo regnatrice; congestos iuveni consulatus trium-
phos; ne iis quidem annis, quibus Rhodi specie secessus
exsul egerit, aliquid quam iram et simulationem et secre-
tas lubidines mediatum. Accedere matrem muliebri 5
impotentia: serviumdum feminae duobusque insuper adu-
nians, Dalmatians, and Germans
(A.D. 12).

superbia: ablative of character-
istic. This was an inborn trait of
the Claudian gens. When, how-
ever, Suetonius proceeds (Tib. 2)
to say Claudios omnes ... optimates
assertoresque unicos dignitatis ac
potentiae patriciorum semper fuisse,
it may be questioned whether the
tradition is in accordance with his-
torical fact. Mommsen (see Ap-
pendix to Vol. I. of his Roman
History) shows that this family was
peculiarly free from bondage to
tradition, and was, on the other
hand, prone to innovation; that
its members were "the predeces-
sors of the Gracchi and of Caesar.
In this respect the Claudii were
justly called to ascend, in combina-
tion with the Julian house, the
imperial throne, and even on that
throne they did not wholly forget
the traditional policy of their clan;
for it is only in the light of this tradi-
tional policy that we can rightly
understand why Tiberius and Clau-
dius declined the title of Imperator,
and various similar traits."

premantur, suppressed, kept con-
cealed; the verb takes the time of
the supposed speakers; as belong-
ing to the indirect discourse, it
would properly be in the imper-
fect.

eductum, educated; educa-
tum would be the word properly
used.

consulatus: B.C. 13 and 7.
triumphos: see note on specta-
tum bello.

Rhodi: this city was, until the
time of Claudius, nominally inde-
pendent of Rome. Tiberius was
therefore, during his residence at
Rhodes, legally outside of the bounds
of the empire.

iis . . . annis: B.C. 6 to A.D. 2;
this was in appearance a voluntary
retirement, but as he was not per-
mitted by Augustus to return, he
was to all intents and purposes an
exile; remansit ergo Rhodi contra
voluntatem (Suet. Tib. 12). The
cause of this retirement is not cer-
tain. Tacitus, chap. 53, attributes
it to the insidilities of his wife Julia,
dughter of Augustus. Suetonius
hints the same, but says that Tibe-
rius himself gave as a reason the
fear of exciting the jealousy of Gaius
and Lucius Cæsar; nihil aliud se-
cessu devigasse se quam aemulatio-
nis cum Gaiio Lucioque suspicicionem.
Velleius (II. 99) gives essentially
the same reason; ne fulgor suus
orientium iuvenum obstaret ini-
tis. His position at court was cer-
tainly a difficult and embarrassing
one.

aliquid: see App. I.

5. impotencia, imperious tem-
per; cf. V. 1, mater impotens, uxor
facilis. The idea is 'powerless to
control one's self.'

doibus adulescentibus: Ger-
manicus and Drusus.
lescentibus, qui rem publicam interim premant, quandoque distrahant.

5 Haec atque talia agitantibus gravescere valetudo Augusti, et quidam sculus uxoris suspectabant. Quippe rumor inesserat, paucos ante menses Augustum, electis consciis et comite uno Fabio Maximo, Planasiam vectum ad visendum Agrippam; multas illic utrimque lacrimas et signa caritatis, spemque ex eo fore ut iuvenis penatibus avi redderetur; quod Maximum uxori Marciae aper

4 tuisse, illam Liviae. Gnarum id Caesari; neque multo post extincto Maximo, dubium an quaesita morte, auditos in funere eius Marciae gemitus semet incusantis, quod causa exitii marito fuisset. Ut cumque se ea res habuit, vixdum ingressum Illyricum Tiberius properis matris litteris accitum; neque satis compertum est, spi-

5. ut cumque se ea res habuit: the whole story is very improbable, considering the age and infirmity of Augustus, and the suspicious watchfulness of Livia.

Illyricum: this province, occupying the eastern coast of the Adriatic Sea, had been extended by the wars of Tiberius (B.C. 12–9) so as to include the valleys of the Save and Drave, by which an easy passage conducted from the Adriatic into the valley of the Danube; it was now divided into Upper Illyricum, or Dalmatia, and Lower Illyricum, or Pannonia. The latter was afterwards extended to the Danube. The name Illyricum was, in the later empire, given to a prefecture, or governmental district, embracing part of Moesia, together with Macedonia and Greece.

spiranter: Suetonius says (Tib. 21) that he found him still alive, fuitque una secreto per tum diem. So also Velleius, II. 123. 3; Dio (LVI. 31) follows Tacitus.

Primum facinus novi principatus fuit Postumi Agripae caedes, quem ignarum inermumque quamvis firmatus animo centurio aegre confecit. Nihil de ea re Tiberius apud senatum disseruit; patris iussa simulabat, quibus praescripsisset tribuno custodiae adposcito, ne cunctaretur Agrippam morte adficere, quandoque ipse supremum diem explevisset. *Multa sine dubio saevaque Augustus de moribus adulescentis questus, ut exsilium eius senatus consulto sanciretur perfecerat; ceterum innullius suorum necem duravit, neque mortem nepoti pro securitate privigni inlatam credibile erat. Propius vero Tiberium ac Liviam, illum metu, hanc

**apud, in.** Intr. 35 i.

**Nolam:** an important city in Campania.

6. **namque:** this word regularly begins a sentence, but is used as an enclitic (like enim) in the poets and the later historians.

**provisis quae:** Intr. 35 a.

6. **caedes:** according to Suetonius (Tib. 22), this murder too was effected before the announcement of the death of the emperor.

**aegre confecit:** this appears to refer to the determined resistance of the vigorous young man (cf. robore corporis, 3. 4). According to Suetonius his death warrant was first read to him.

2. **patris iussa:** Suetonius says that it was doubtful whether it was Augustus that issued the orders or Livia; and, if she, whether it was with the knowledge of Tiberius or not.

**custodiis:** best taken as dative of the end, — *placed over him as a guard.*

**quandoque, as soon as — properly whenever.*

3. **saeva questus:** according to Suetonius (Oct. 65), he spoke of him and the two Julias — his daughter and her daughter — as *tres vomicas ac tria carcinomata sua.*

**duravit, hardened himself.*

**propius vero:** we have seen that Suetonius partly confirms Tiberius' own statement, that the act was ordered by Augustus; but the most probable theory is that the responsibility was assumed by Livia, and that Tiberius was obliged to acquiesce in a crime committed for his benefit.
novercalibus odio, suspecti et invisi iuvenes caedem festinavisse. Nuntianti centurioni, ut mos militiae, factum esse quod imperasset, neque imperasse sese et rationem facti reddendam apud senatum respondit. Quod postquam Sallustius Crispus particeps secretorum (is ad tribunum miserat codicillos) comperit, metuens ne reus subderetur, iuxta periculosos ficta seu vera promeret, monuit Liviam ne arcana domus, ne consilia amicorum, ministeria militum vulgarentur, neve Tiberius vim principatus resolveret cuncta ad senatum vocando; eam condicionem esse imperandi, ut non aliter ratio constet quam si uni reddatur.

7 At Romae ruere in servitium consules patres eques.

2 Quanto quis ielustrior, tanto magis falsi ac festinantes, vultuque composito, ne laeti excessu principis ne tristiores primordio, lacrimas gaudium questus adulationem miscebant. Sex. Pompeius et Sex. Appuleius consules primi in verba Tiberii Caesaris iuravere, apudque...
eos Seius Strabo et C. Turranius, ille praetoriarum cohortium praefectus, hic annonae; mox senatus milesque et populus. Nam Tiberius cuncta per consules incipiebat, tamquam vetere re publica et ambiguus imperandi; ne edictum quidem, quo patres in curiam vocabat, and that was, under the empire, solely the emperor. It was therefore equivalent to an oath of allegiance to him as supreme ruler. It was now exacted once a year, and was moreover extended to all classes—senatus milesque et populus. See chap. 34; also Momm. Röm. St. II. 749.

Seius Strabo: the father of Sejanus, who was afterwards associated with him in this office.

The praetorian praefect, praefectus praetorio, at first merely commander of the emperor’s body-guard, was afterwards the most powerful officer in the state. The praetorian cohorts were nine in number, each of a thousand men commanded by a tribune, the whole body being regularly commanded by two praefects (at this time only one). Three of these cohorts were stationed in the city, the rest in other parts of Italy; but Sejanus concentrated the whole body in a fortified camp just outside the city walls. This praetorian camp served as a fortress to keep the city in subjection.

annonae: the office of praefectus annonae was established in the last part of the reign of Augustus; the date is not certainly known. The first incumbent was Gaius Turranius, who was still holding the office, A.D. 48 (XI. 31). As the title praefect implies, he had no independent authority, but was only the representative of the emperor, who in person had the cura annonae, as well as the imperium over the whole empire (Momm. Röm. St. II. 966). The praefectus annonae was taken from the equestrian order, and appointed for an indefinite term; at this time his office ranked as the first of the equestrian dignities, but it afterwards stood third in rank among these (Hirschfeld, Untersuchungen, p. 135). His duties were to provide the markets of the capital with grain and other necessaries, and to oversee the sailors, bakers, etc., who performed the labor in detail.

The praefectus praetorio and praefectus annonae were, in the early empire, the highest regular offices under the emperor; that of praefectus urbi being at this time only occasional; see VI. 11.

4. incipiebat: the use of the imperfect here is not to denote customary action (was in the habit of beginning), but to describe his policy at this time, when he had not yet in strictness of speech begun to reign, following the Latin usage of expressing by a verb what the English expresses by an abstract noun (Intr. 35 a),—at this time he did all these things through the consul, the regular constitutional channels. Whatever he did himself he did by virtue of the tribunician and proconsular powers, which he already possessed.

vetere re publica: not ablative absolute, but of circumstance,—as if the republic were still in existence.

ambiguus imperandi, as if he had not yet made up his mind to accept the imperium.

5. edictum: every magistrate had the right of issuing edicta or proclamations, and the tribunes had
nisi tribuniciae potestatis praescriptione posuit sub Au-
6 gusto acceptae. Verba edicti fuere paucacom sensu
permodestò: de honoribus parentis consulturum, neque
abscedere a corpore idque unum ex publicis muneri-
7 bus usurpare. Sed defuncto Augusto signum praetoriis
cohortibus ut imperator dederat; excubiae arma cetera
aulae; miles in forum, miles in curiam comitabatur.
8 Litteras ad exercitus tamquam adepto principatu misit,
nusquam cunctabundus nisi cum in senatu loqueretur.
9 Causa praeicipua ex formidine, ne Germanicus, in cuius
manu tot legiones, immensa sociorum auxilia, mirus
apud populum favor, habere imperium quam exspectare
10 mallet. Dabat et famae, ut vocatus electusque potius a

the right of summoning the senate. Tiberius therefore called the senate
together by virtue of his tribunician
power (see note on chap. 2); his
proconsular imperium did not give
him this right.

posuit: for propositus; Intr.
35 b.
6. neque abscedere: he owed
this service to his adoptive father.
id: relates to de . . . consul-
turum; this duty he took upon
himself.
7. signum: the military pass-
word.
ut imperator: having the pro-
consular imperium; see note to
filius, 3. 3.
cetera aulæ, everything else that
belongs to a court.
8. cunctabundus, showing hesi-
tation.
loqueretur: for this subjunctive
of repeated action, common in the
post-classical writers; see A. and G.
§ 309. b.
9. causa praeicipua: he wished
by this show of hesitation to force
the senate to a formal offer of the
throne; armed with this legal au-
thority, he would be freed from fear
on account of the popularity or
military force of Germanicus. In
the meantime he promptly exercised
the powers which he already pos-
sessed. With the words nam Ti-
berius Tacitus begins to describe the
hesitation and apparent reluctance
of Tiberius to assume any new title
or power; he already having the
tribunician power and the impe-
rium. With sed defuncto, etc., he
shows that in spite of this hesita-
tion to assume new powers, he exer-
cised his old powers promptly and
vigorously, and thus was princeps
in all but name; the reason for
both is the fear of Germanicus.
tot legiones: see note to chap.
3. 5. These eight legions made about
40,000 men, to whom must be added
fully as many auxiliaries.
exspectare: as adopted son and
successor; see 3. 5.
10. dabat et famae, he had regard
also, etc.; i.e. his dignity and reputa-
tion required that he should assume
the purple by a constitutional grant,
and not by an informal act, which
would have the look of usurpation.
re publica videretur quam per uxorium ambitum et senili adoptione inrepsisse. Postea cognitum est ad introspicitandas etiam procerum voluntates inductam dubitationem; nam verba vultus in crimen detorquens recondebat.

Nihil primo senatus die agi passus nisi de supremis 8 Augusti, cuius testamentum inlatum per virgines Vestae Tiberium et Liviam heredes habuit. Livia in familiam Iuliam nomenque Augustum adsumebatur; in spem secundam nepotes pronepotesque, tertio gradu primores civitatis scripserat, plerisque invisos sibi, sed iactantia gloriaque ad posteros. Legata non ultra civilem modum, nisi quod populo et plebi quadringentiens triciens

uxorium, etc.: the influence exerted upon the aged Augustus by his wife Livia.

11. inductam, put on, assumed. verba, vultus: of others. recondebat, store up, lay up, as a grudge. Tacitus' explanation of facts and imputation of motives must not be accepted as of equal authority with his statements of fact. (Intr. 13.) Hesitation and indecision were prominent traits of character in Tiberius, and may perhaps afford a sufficient explanation of his demeanor on this occasion.

8. per virgines Vestae: it was common to deposit wills, treaties, etc., in temples, and especially with the Vestal virgins. Cæsar's will was deposited with them.

heredes: Tiberius two thirds, ex parte dimidia et sextante, Livia one third, as we learn from Suetonius, Oct. 101.

2. Augustum: an adjective. From this time she is regularly known as Augusta.

in spem secundam = secundos heredes: Drusus, son of Tiberius, one-third, Germanicus and his male children ex partibus reliquis. This appointment of second and third heirs was to take effect only in default of first heirs, or in case the first heirs should fail to qualify, cernere; for the heir had the option of declining the inheritance.

primores: sc. quasdam. Suetonius says propinquos amicosque complures.

gloria, love of glory.

3. civilem: becoming a private citizen.

quadringentiens triciens quinquies: this is given by Suetonius as two separate legacies, legavit populo Romano quadringentiens, tribubus triciens quinquies sestertium (Oct. 101), tribubus being used by him as equivalent to Tacitus' plebi. This is usually explained as meaning that quadringentiens [sc. centena miliaris] = $2,000,000 went into the treasury, while triciensi quinquies, $175,000, was distributed viri tim. It is hard to understand, if this is the case, why Tacitus should give them as one legacy; moreover, three and a half million sesterces divided among the 200,000 persons entitled to gratuities would make the paltry sum of 17½ sesterces = $2,000,000 apiece, while it is known from Dio Cassius
quinquies, praetoriarum cohortium militibus singulis nummum milia, *urbanis quingenos*, legionariis aut cohortibus civium Romanorum trecenos nummos viritim dedit.

Tum consultatum de honoribus; ex quis maxime in\textsuperscript{+} 

(LVII. 14) that the sum actually received by each beneficiary was 260 sesterces = \$13.00 — too great a discrepancy, even if we are to suppose that Tiberius added something from his own purse. We must assume, therefore, with Marquardt (*Köm. Staatsverw.* II. 126) that the whole amount was distributed *viriitum*, and find the distinction between *populus* and *plebs* [tribubus] in the peculiar organization of the tribes for alimentary donations during the empire. At this period, as Mommsen says (*Köm. Staatsw.* III. 1. 445), "wherever the Tribes appear as corporations, it is of this *plebs frumentaria*," consisting of a limited number of persons, chiefly freedmen, membership being a special and personal privilege. The tribes, as thus organized (not to be con-founded with the voting tribes), continued in existence into the fourth century. Note that, the number of tribes being 35, the legacy of 3,500,000 sesterces made 100,000 sesterces to each. The sesterce (*sestertius*) was a coin, originally of silver, but under the empire of copper, of the value of a little over four cents; the *denarius* was four sesterces. The *sestertium* was not a coin, but a value of 100 sesterces. In payment of large sums gold was of course used (the *aureus* was of the value of 100 sesterces); but, as the ratio of gold to silver has since risen about one third (from about 12:1 to 16:1), it follows that the present value of the sesterce in gold is over five cents. As all these values are approximate, we will follow Mommsen's practice, and reckon the sesterce at five cents. When values are given with numeral adverbs, as in this passage, we are to understand centena milia sestertium.

praetoriarum cohortium, etc.: the largess to the soldiers agrees with the statements of Suetonius and Dio Cassius (LV. 32), except that the text of Tacitus omits the five hundred sesterces apiece to the soldiers of the city cohorts (*urbanis quingenos*), and mentions the cohorts of Roman citizens, omitted by the other two. The present value of these sums was about \$50 apiece to the praetorians, \$25 to the *urbani*, and \$15 to the members of the citizen cohorts.

*urbanis*: the city cohorts were three in number, one thousand men in each. They belonged to the guard of the capital, and were numbered X., XI., and XII., as if belonging with the praetorian cohorts; they were, however, under the command, not of the praetorian praefect, but of the *praefectus urbi*. See App. 1.

cohortibus civium Romanorum: these were cohorts of volunteers, 32 in number, raised in Italy, while the legions were regularly recruited in the provinces. They ranked with the legionary cohorts, although not assigned to any legion, and thus received the same donation. For this reason, probably, they are not mentioned by Suetonius and Dio.

4. de honoribus: see last chapter, de honoribus parentis consul turum.

insignes: *sc. honores*, object of *censuere*. See App. I.
signes ut porta triumphali duceretur funus, Gallus Asinius, ut legum latarum tituli, victarum ab eo gentium vocabula anteferrentur, L. Arruntius censuere. Addebat Messalla Valerius renovandum per annos sacramentum in nomen Tiberii; interrogatusque a Tiberio, num se mandante eam sententiam prompisset, sponte dixisse respondit, neque in iis quae ad rem publicam pertinent consilio nisi suo usurum, vel cum periculo offensionis: ea sola species adulandi supererat. Conclamant patres corpus ad rogum umeris senatorum ferendum. Remisit Caesar adroganti moderatione, populumque edicto monuit ne, ut quondam nimiis studios funus divi Iulii turbassent, ita Augustum in foro potius quam in campo Martis, sede destinata, cremari vellent. Die funeris milites velut praesidio stetere, multum inridentibus qui ipsi viderant quique a parentibus acceperant diem illum crudi adhuc servitii et libertatis improspere repetitae, cum occisus dictator Caesar aliis pessimum, aliis pulcherrimum fa-

**porta triumphali**: this gate is usually asserted to have been between the Capitoline and the Tiber. Jordan, however (Topographie der Stadt Rom. I. p. 240, n. 76) holds that it was a mere *fornix* or arch, on the Campus Martius.

**Gallus Asinius**: a son of the eminent orator Asinius Pollio. The practice of putting the cognomen before the nomen was common under the empire. In this case the praenomen was regularly omitted.

**latarum**: *s. ab Augusto.*

5. **interrogatusque**, etc.: Tiberius steadily declined ostentatious and adulatory honors, at least in the early years of his reign.

**ea**: the show of independence.

6. **umeris senatorum**: Sulla was the first who received this honor.

**remisit, excused** (cf. III. 55. 1).

This does not mean that he prohibited it, and we learn from Suetonius and Dio that the proposition was carried out.

**turbassent**: the speech of Mark Antony at Cæsar's funeral so fired the people that they broke to pieces the benches, and burned the body of Cæsar in the forum.

**sede destinata**: Augustus had built a mausoleum for himself and his family upon the Campus Martius, the remains of which may be still seen. It was a circular building, and was surrounded with pleasure grounds: *inter Flaminiam viam ripamque Tiberis . . . circumiectasque silvas et ambulaciones in usum populi iam tum publicarum.* Suet. Oct. 100. [lute.]

7. **inridentibus**: ablative absolvus.

**occisus dictator**: Intr. 35 q.
cinus videretur: nunc senem principem, longa potentia, provisis etiam heredum in rem publicam opibus, auxilio scilicet militari tuendum, ut sepultura eius quieta foret.

9 Multus hinc ipso de Augusto sermo, plerisque vano mirantibus, quod idem dies accepti quondam imperii princeps et vitae supremus, quod Nolae in domo et cubiculo in quo pater eius Octavius vitam finivisset.

2 Numerus etiam consulatum celebrabatur, quo Valerium Corvum et C. Marium simul aequaverat, continuata per septem et triginta annos tribunicia potestas, nomen imperatoris semel atque viciens partum aliaque honorum multiplicata aut nova. At apud prudentes vita eius varie extollebatur arguebaturve. Hi pietate erga parentem et necessitudine rei publicae, in qua nullus tunc legisibus locus, ad arma civilia actum, quae neque parari possent.

in rem publicam: the heirs were provided with means to maintain their usurped authority.

9. vana mirantibus: the idle commenting upon coincidences.

idem dies: Aug. 19 [= a. d. xiv. Kal. Sept.]. His first consulship (as consul suffectus after the death of Hirtius and Pansa) began Aug. 19, A.D. 43; he had, however, received by a special vote of the Senate early in the same year, the imperium pro praetore simul cum consulis (Mon. Anc. ch. 1. 5). This imperium pro praetore was inferior to the consular imperium, so that his exercise of full authority began with his consulship on the date assigned. Some late writers reckoned the reign of Augustus from this event, and the present passage may perhaps be taken to show that Tacitus so understood it, although he does not speak of the imperium as continuous. According to Mommsen (Hermes, Vol. XVII., 1882, p. 638), this was the interpretation of Augustus himself, as shown in his calendar of festivals.

2. simul aequaverat: he had held the consulship thirteen times, Valerius Corvus six times, Marius seven times.

septem et triginta annos: more exactly thirty-six years and two months, from June 27, B.C. 23.

nomen imperatoris: this refers to the usage of the republic, when a commander was saluted as imperator by his soldiers after a victory. These victories of Augustus were of course for the most part gained by his officers, but acting under his imperium. The first of these twenty-one occasions was probably after the victory at Philippi, B.C. 42.

honorum: Intr. 35 d.

4. hi: sc. dicebant. The opposing views are introduced by dicebatur contra in the next chapter.

parentem: Julius Caesar, his father by adoption, whose death he avenged.
neque haberi per bonas artes. Multa Antonio, dum interfectores patris ulcisceretur, multa Lepido concessisse. Postquam hic socordia senuerit, ille per libidines pessum datus sit, non aliud discordantis patriae remedium fuisset quam ut ab uno regeretur. Non regno tamen neque dictatura, sed principis nomine constitutam rem publicam; mari Oceano aut amnibus longinquis saeptum imperium; legiones provinciis classes, cuncta inter se conexa; ius apud cives, modestiam apud socios; urbem ipsam magnifico ornatu; pauca admodum vi tractata, quo ceteris quies esset.

Dicebatur contra: pietatem erga parentem et tempora rei publicae obtentui sumpta; ceterum cupidine dominandi concitos per largitionem veteranos, paratum ab adulescente privato exercitum, corruptas consulis legiones, simulatam Pompeianarum gratiam partium; mox

5. concessisse: Suetonius says, on the other hand (Oct. 27): restitit aliquamdiu collegis, nequa fieret proscription, sed inceptam utroque acerbius exercuit.

6. principis: see note on nomine principis, i. 3, and Intr. 20. He selected by preference a civil title, and one having associations with the republic. Sulla and Cæsar had been perpetual dictator, and the title of king was very offensive to the Romans. The advice of Mæcenas to avoid the title of king is well known.

amnibus longinquis: the Rhine, Danube, and Euphrates.

saeptum: i.e. from the rest of the world. It was the policy of Augustus to define the empire by fixed and, where possible, natural boundaries.

conexa: this refers to the efficient postal system of the empire.

magnifico ornatu: he had repaired eighty-two temples, and built numerous others, besides theatres, aqueducts, etc. He boasted that he had found Rome of brick and left it of marble.

10. temporae, exigencies.
ceterum, but in reality.
largitionem: Cicero says (ad Att. XVI. 8. 1) quingenos denarios dat; this would be about $10.00 apiece.

paratum...exercitum: he says himself (Mon. Anc. chap. 1) annos undeviginti natus exercitum privato consilio et privata impensa comparavi. This was after the death of Julius Cæsar, when the young Octavius first sided with the Senate (simulatam Pompeianarum gratiam partium) and gained over Antony’s troops; after which he treacherously united with Antony, and formed the triumvirate with him and Lepidus.

consulis: i.e. Antonii; his legions revolted to Octavius.
ubi decreto patrum fasces et ius praetoris invaserit, caesis Hirtio et Pansa,—sive hostis illos, seu Pansa venenum vulneri adfusum, sui milites Hirtium et machinator doli Caesar abstulerat,—utriusque copias occupavisse; extortum invito senatu consulatum, armaque quae in Antonium acceperit contra rem publicam versa; proscriptionem civium, divisiones agrorum, ne ipsis quidem qui fecere laudatas. Sane Cassii et Brutorum exitus paternis inimicitiae datos, quamquam fas sit privata odia publicis utilitatisibus remittere; sed Pompeium imagine pacis, sed Lepidum specie amicitiae deceptos; post Antonium, Tarentino Brundisinoque foedere et nuptiis sororis illectum, subdolae adfinitatis poenas

ius praetoris: the praetorian power, carrying with it the authority to command troops, was bestowed upon him by the Senate; Cic. Phil. v. 17. 46. It was strictly an unconstitutional act, Momms. Köm. Staatsrecht, II. p. 621.

invaserit, entered upon, = got possession of, containing the idea of usurpation.

caeisis: at the battle of Mutina, March 13. The suspicion here expressed (seu Pansa, etc.) is alluded to by Suetonius (Oct. 11): Pansa quidem adeo specta mors fuit ut Glyco medicus custoditus sit, quasi venenum vulneri indidisset.

invito senatu: probably dative. According to Suetonius (Oct. 26) it was demanded nomine exercitus; his messenger, the centurion Cornelius, pointing to his sword, said, hic faciet, si vos non feceritis.

proscriptionem: each of the triumvirs made out a list of those whom he wished put to death; the list was then posted, proscriptum, and whoever would might kill them.

divisiones agrorum: after the victory of Philippi, B.C. 42, grants of land were made to the veterans, municipalibus agis (Suet. Oct. 13); according to the same authority, the veterans were much dissatisfied, for which reason some have proposed to change fecere into cepere. These were the grants referred to in Vergil's first eclogue.

2. sane: concessive, it is true.

Brutorum: i.e. Marcus and Decimus.

quamquam, and: yet. Their death was an act of vengeance, which, however, might well have been spared on public grounds.

Pompeium, etc.: the terms agreed upon with Sextus Pompeius at the treaty of Misenum, B.C. 39, were not fulfilled. The allusion to Lepidus refers to his being gradually crowded out of his authority, rather than to any specific act of bad faith.

post: here an adverb. This relates in time only to poenas exsolvisse, as the treaties here mentioned came before the overthrow of Pompeius and Lepidus, both of which events took place B.C. 36.

sororis: Antony married Octa-
morte exsolvisse. Pacem sine dubio post haec, verum 3 cruentam: Lollianas Varianasque clades, interfectos Romae Varrones Egnatios Iulos. Nec domesticis ab-4 stinebatur: abducta Neroni uxor et consulti per ludi- brium pontifices, an concepto necdum edito partu rite nuberet; Vedii Pollionis luxus; postremo Livia gravis in rem publicam mater, gravis domui Caesarum noverca. Nihil deorum honoribus relictum, cum se templis et 5 effigie numinum per flamines et sacerdotes coli vellet.

via, sister of Octavianus, but after-wards deserted her for Cleopatra, queen of Egypt. The marriage was arranged in the treaty of Brundisium, B.C. 40, which by reason of this association is mentioned after that of Tarentum, which took place in 37.

3. clades: both of these were in Germany: the defeat of Lollius, B.C. 16; that of Varus with great loss (the famous battle of the Teutoburg forest, against Arminius, 60. 5), A.D. 9.

interfectos: there does not appear to have been any just ground for censure in these acts. The plural, Varrones, etc., is used to indicate that these are only instances. Varro and Egnatius were put to death for conspiracy, B.C. 23 (or 22) and 19 respectively; Iulus (a son of Mark Antony), for adultery with Julia, was obliged to put himself to death, B.C. 2.

4. abducta . . uxor: Livia, mother (by Nero) of Tiberius and Drusus, and, as Tacitus represents, gravis mater to the state, upon which she imposed her son Tiberius as ruler; and gravis noverca to the house of Cæsar, being suspected of causing the death of the young princes Gaius and Lucius.

Vedii Pollionis: see App. I. This Vedius Pollio, a friend of Au-
gustus, used to throw his condemned slaves to the lampreys in his fishpond. His immense house was torn down by his heir, Augustus, and the Livian portico constructed in its place, quia luxuria visa nocere sua, Ovid, Fast. VI. 644. See Seneca, de Ira. III. 40.

5. se coli: the craving of Augustus for divine honors, ascribed to him here, appears to be shown also by inscriptions. “According to all appearance, the worship of the living ruler, making its appearance simultaneously throughout Italy, was, if not directly instigated by him, at least expressly authorized.” (Mommsen, Hermes, XVII. p. 641. See also ‘The Caesareum at Alexandria’ by Prof. A. C. Merriam, Trans. of Am. Phil. Ass., 1883.) Tiberius constantly refused it (Intr. 24). Augustus, too, in the city, according to Suetonius (Oct. 52), declined it: nam in urbe quidem pertinacissime abstinuit hoc honore; and in the provinces insisted upon being associated with the goddess Roma, communis suo Romaeque nomine. This cult became the leading religion of the provinces, as is abundantly shown by inscriptions; being in each city in the hands of a college of priests called Augustales (Intr. 24).

per flamines: the flamen was a
6 Ne Tiberium quidem caritate aut rei publicae cura successorem adscitum, sed quoniam arrogantiam saevis-tiamque eius introspexerit, comparatione deterrima sibi gloriam quasivisse. Etenim Augustus paucis ante annis, cum Tiberio tribunciam potestatem a patribus rursum postularet, quamquam honora oratione, quaedam de habitu cultuque et institutis eius iecerat, quae velut excusando exprobraret.

7 Ceterum sepultura more perfecta templum et caelas-tes religiones decernuntur. Versae inde ad Tiberium preces. Et ille varie disserebat de magnitudine imperii, sua modestia. Solam divi Augusti mentem tantae molis capacem; se in partem curarum ab illo vocatum experiendo didisce quam arduum, quam subiectum fortunae regendi cuncta onus. Proinde in civitate tot illustribus viris subnixa non ad unum omnia deferrent; plures
faciliius munia rei publicae sociatis laboribus exsecuturos. Plus in oratione tali dignitatis quam fidei erat; Tiberio-que etiam in rebus, quas non occuleret, seu natura sive adsuetudine, suspensa semper et obscura verba; tunc vero nitenti ut sensus suos penitus abderet, in incertum et ambiguam magis implicabantur. At patres, quibus unus metus, si intellegere viderentur, in questus lacrimas vota effuudì; ad deos, ad effigiem Augusti, ad genua ipsius manus tendere, cum proferri libellum recitarique iussit. Opes publicae continebantur, quantum civium sociorumque in armis, quot classes regna provinciae, tributa aut vectigalia, et necessitates ac largitiones. Quae cuncta sua manu perscripsenat Augustus, adderatque consilium coercendi intra terminos imperii, incertum metu an per invidiam.

of the consuls, with precisely equal powers, but with specially defined functions. See the next chapter.

4. occuleret: subjunctive of characteristic.

magis: sc. even than usual.

5. intellegere, see through him.

cum: introducing a positive statement of time, nearly equivalent to and then. A. & G. 325 b.

libellum: this schedule (breviarium totius imperii) was one of three papers which were deposited by Augustus, together with his testament, with the vestal virgins (Suet. Oct. 101). A second contained directions for his burial, the third contained indicem rerum a se gestarum, quem vellet incidi in aeneis tabulis, quae ante Mausoleum statuerentur, of which the well-known Monumentum Ancyranum is a copy. Dio (LVI. 33) adds τὸ πάθος τῶν ἐν τοῖς θησαυροῖς χρημάτων; also, that there was a fourth paper, containing rules and directions of government.

6. civium sociorumque: legionary troops and auxiliaries.

regna: probably countries like Cappadocia and Mauretania, still in name independent kingdoms, although ready to be incorporated in the empire as soon as the occasion should come. Perhaps in this class is comprised Egypt, which, although a part of the empire, was never reduced into the form of a province, but was governed directly by the emperor as a kingdom (Intr. 18. 28).

tributa . . . vectigalia: the tributa were levied directly upon the provinces, the vectigalia were indirect taxes, such as portoria (customs-duties) and decumae (tithes). See Marquardt, Küm. Staatsv. II. 178 n.

necessitates ac largitiones: necessary expenses and donations.

7. terminos: the present boundaries. This rule of policy is mentioned by Dio among the contents of the fourth document.

per invidiam: that none of his
Inter quae senatu ad infimas obtestationes procumbente, dixit forte Tiberius se, ut non toti, rei publicae parem, ita quaecumque pars sibi mandaretur, eius tute-lam suspexiturum. Tum Asinius Gallus: ‘Interrogo’ inquit, ‘Caesar, quam partem rei publicae mandari tibi velis.’ Perculus improvisa interrogatione paulum reticuit; dein collecto animo respondit nequaquam decorum pudori aut evitare ex eo, cui in universum excusari mallet. Rursum Gallus (etenim vultu offensionem coniectaverat) non idcirco interrogatum ait, ut divideret quae separari nequirent, sed ut sua confessione argueretur, unum esse rei publicae corpus atque unius animo regendum. Addidit laudem de Augusto, Tiberiumque ipsum victoriarum suarum qui in toga per tot annos egregie fecisset admonuit. Nec ideo iram eius lenivit, pridem invisus, tamquam, ducta in matrimoniuih Vipsania M. Agrippae filia, quando successors might surpass him in power and glory.

12. dixit forte, dropped the remark, casually, as it were.

ut ... ita, although ... yet.

quaecumque pars: according to Dio Cassius (LVII. 2), he suggested a division into three parts — Rome and Italy, the armies, and the subject provinces, οἱ λαοὶ ιουτῃκοις. This was a division based upon historical relations. Rome, including Italy, stood to the provinces in the time of the republic, as governor to governed, while the provinces themselves were divided by Augustus into the two classes here described — those which required a military force (the imperial provinces), and those which did not (the senatorial).

3. collecto animo, recovering his presence of mind.

nequaquam ... mallet: Dio makes his reply to have been that it was unbecoming that the one who made the division should also select his share, τὸν αὐτὸν καὶ νέμειν τι καὶ αἵρεσθαι.

cui: governed by excusari, a rare but perfectly natural construction (Intr. 35 f).

5. in toga: contrasted with victoriarum (Intr. 35 r). The toga, the distinctive Roman garment (gens togata), was only worn by citizens in their civil capacity, and is, therefore, regularly used to contrast peaceful with warlike relations.

6. ideo, thereby; that is, by this excuse.

tamquam, on the ground that, a common use in late writers (Intr. 35 f).

Vipsania: daughter of Agrippa. Her mother was daughter of Cicero’s friend Atticus. Her divorce, which was for political reasons, was a
dam Tiberii uxor fuerat, plus quam civilia agitaret, Pollionisque Asinii patris ferociam retineret. Post quae L. Arruntius haud multum discrepans a Galli oratione perinde offendit, quamquam Tiberio nulla vetus in Arruntium ira; sed divitem, promptum, artibus egregiis et pari fama publice, suspectabat. Quippe Augustus supremen sermonibus cum tractaret, quinam adipisci principem locum suffecturi abnuerent aut imparent vel lent vel idem possent cuperentque, M'. Lepidum dixerat capacam sed aspernaitem, Gallum Asinium avidum et minorem, L. Arruntium non indignum et, si casus dare tur, ausurum. De prioribus consentitur, pro Arruntio quidam Cn. Pisonem tradidere; omnesque praeter Lepidum variis mox criminibus struente Tiberio circumventi

great grief to Tiberius. Suetonius (Tib. 7) calls her Agrippina, and relates this incident: semel omnino ex occrusu visam adeo contentis et spectum sit ne umquam in conspectu etius posthac veniret.
civilia this marriage, like the proposition of Sejanus to marry Livia (IV. 39) betrayed an ambition beyond a private station.
Pollionis Asinii: the distinguished orator and man of letters. See Verg. Ecl. 4, and Hor. Od. II. 1.
ferociam, high spirit. Pollio, although he submitted himself to the imperial rule, never accepted it cordially, but displayed an independence of spirit, sometimes amounting to opposition. Pliny (N.H., XXXVI. 4, 10) calls him acris vehementiae. For the son's character, see the next chapter.
13. L. Arruntius: a leading statesman of the time; his death by his own act is related VI. 48.
divitem, etc.: these adjectives, agreeing with the object of suspectabat, express reason, because he was rich, etc.
2. suffecturi, although they would be equal to it.
vel: Inr. 35 r.
M'. Lepidum: probably grandson of the triumvir, invariably spoken of by Tacitus with the highest respect; on occasion of his death (VI. 27), he says, de cuius moderatione atque sapiencia . . . satis conlocavi.
3. Cn. Pisonem: a man ingenio violentum et obsequii ignarum (II. 43). His grandfather was legatus of Pompey in his eastern wars. He is represented as a bitter enemy of Germanicus, and was suspected of having poisoned him; the accusation, whether true or not, was the cause of his own death (III. 15).

omnesque . . . circumventi sunt: Gallus was in some way implicated in the affair of Sejanus, and was put to death, or put himself to
4 sunt. Etiam Q. Haterius et Mamercus Scaurus suspi-
cacem animum perstrinxere, Haterius cum dixisset ‘Quo
usque patieris, Caesar, non adesse caput rei publicae?’
Scaurus quia dixerat spat esse ex eo non irritas fore
senatus preces, quod relationi consulum iure tribuniciae
potestatis non intercessisset. In Haterium statim invec-
tus est; Scaurus, cui implacabilius irascebatur, silentio
tramisit. Fessusque clamore omnium, expostulatione
singulorum flexit paulatim, non ut fateretur suscipi a
se imperium, sed ut negare et rogari desineret. Constat
Haterium, cum deprecandi causa Palatium introisset
ambulantisque Tiberii genua advolveretur, prope a mili-
tibus interfuctum, quia Tiberius casu an manibus eius
death (VI. 23). The death of Ar-
runtius, on the other hand, Tacitus
admits to have been due to the
enmity of Macro, and perhaps not
even known to the emperor (VI.
47). The death of Piso was the re-
sult of an open criminal prosecution;
the charge of Tacitus is, therefore,
without foundation, unless, perhaps,
in relation to Gallus.
4. Q. Haterius: a distinguished
orator (IV. 61), but of a mean
nature; Mamercus Scaurus, in-
signis nobilitate et orandis causis,
vita probosus (VI. 29). The char-
acter of the man sufficiently explains
Tiberius’ displeasure.
relationi: the technical term for
the action of the magistrate in
bringing business before the Senate;
as the act of a magistrate it could
be forbidden by the tribunes.
quod non intercessisset: the
relatio here in question was in ref-
ence to a law investing Tiberius
with the dignity of princeps. As he
already had the proconsular impe-
rium and the tribucian power,
in which two powers were summed
up the military and civil authority
of the imperial office, the law on
this occasion had the effect of for-
mally placing in his hands the head-
ship of the state. A portion of the
concerning law for Vespasian is
extant.
5. implacabilius: because his
words implied that he did not be-
lieve Tiberius to be sincere in his
opposition.
6. flexit: magis ratione quam
honore victus est, Vell. II. 124.
7. Palatium: originally identi-
cal with Palatinus, as the name of
the hill. Augustus built a splendid
house here, and the name of the
hill became especially associated
with the imperial residence, which
hence became known as palatium.
From this the word ‘palace’ has
passed into most modern languages.
genua: advolvo is properly fol-
lowed by the dative, but compound
verbs regularly construed with other
cas-es are frequently used by Tacitus
with the accusative.
an: the ellipsis of dubium est
utrum had become so common that
an now merely expresses an alter-
native.
impeditus prociderat. Neque tamen periculo talis viri mitigatus est, donec Haterius Augustam oraret eiusque curatissimis precibus protegeretur.

Multa patrum et in Augustam adulatio. Alii parentem, alii matrem patriae appellandam, plerique ut nomini Caesaris adscriberetur 'Iuliae filius' censebant. Ille moderandos feminarum honores dictitans eademque se temperantia usurum in iis quae sibi tribuerant, ceterum anxius invidia et muliebre fastigium in diminuptionem sui accipiens ne lictorem quidem ei decerni passus est aramque adoptionis et alia huiusce modi prohibuit.

At Germanico Caesari proconsulare imperium petivit, missique legati qui deferrent, simul maestitiam eius ob excessum Augusti solarentur. Quo minus idem pro Druso postularetur, ea causa quod designatus consul Drusus praesensque erat.

**prociderat**: this is probably the incident related by Suetonius (Tib. 27) to illustrate Tiberius' hatred of flattery: . . . consularem satisfacientem sibi, ac per genua orare conantem, ita suffugerit, ut caderet supinus.

**14. 2. alii . . . censebant**: neglect of concinnity (Intr. 35 r).

**Iuliae filius**: an appellation which in earlier times would have sounded grotesque in Roman ears.

**3. moderandos**: so Suetonius (Tib. 50), admonuit maioribus nec feminae convenientibus negotii absisteret. Livia was an intriguing woman, and, no doubt, like many modern queen mothers, would have liked to rule in her son's name. On several occasions he gave way to her; generally Tiberius showed himself firm in repressing such ambition, velut partes sibi aequas potestiae vindicantem (Intr. 26 a).

**eademque**, etc.: this assertion is evidently sincere; Tacitus (IV. 37. 2) calls him *validus spernendis honoribus*. See Intr. 24, and III. 47. 5.

**lictorem**: the vestal virgins were accompanied in public by licetors, but there were no precedents for these symbols of empire to accompany a private woman. Livia had, however, a lictor when officiating as priestess of Augustus, and afterwards two licetors were granted by the Senate to the younger Agrippina (XIII. 2).

**aram adoptionis**: i.e. to commemorate her adoption by Augustus, see 8. 2. Such altars were not unusual, and implied no personal sacredness.

**4. Germanico Caesari**: see 3. 5.

**proconsulare imperium**: this was granted by the Senate. Its possession made him the colleague of the emperor, and designated him as successor: see Momm. Röm. St.
Candidatos praeturae duodecim nominavit, numerum ab Augusto traditum; et hortante senatu ut augeret, iure iurando obstrinxit se non excessurum. Tum primum e campo comitia ad patres translata sunt; nam ad eam diem, etsi potissima arbitrio principis, quaedam tamen studiis tribuum fiebant. Neque populus ademp-tum ius questus est nisi inani rumore, et senatus largitionibus ac precibus sordidis exsolutus libens tenuit.

II. 1051. He had not yet received the tribunical power.

5. designatus consul: this is usually explained as meaning that, as consul designatus, he must have voted first in his own case. Furneaux, however, is of opinion that this objection might have been waived (cf. III. 22. 6), and that the real reason was that the proconsular imperium, which belonged exclusively to the provinces, would for any but the prince himself have been inconsistent with the purely civic office of consul, which he was to hold the next year.

6. candidatos duodecim . . . nominavit: this was the whole number of pretors to be elected; and, as this nomination is contrasted with the absolute right of appointing (commendation) four pretors, sine repulsa et ambitu, described a few lines below, it follows that it had in law only the force of testing qualifications and admitting to candidacy. That the presiding magistrate, the consul, had exactly the same power, of admitting to candidacy, is shown (in relation to the consulship) by 81. 3: posse et alios profiteri: of course, however, a nomination by the emperor was in most cases equivalent to an election. The proposition of the Senate that he should nominate more than twelve (ut augeret) would really have the effect of limiting the emperor's power, inasmuch as he would then be an actual selection from among his candidates.

obstrinxit: used absolutely — bound himself; cf. IV. 31. 5, and flexit, 13. 6.

15. e campo . . . translata sunt: this refers only to the election of pretors; the consuls continued in form to be elected by the people at least until the time of Vespasian. (Momm. Röm. St. II. 865.) Velleius (II. 124) speaks of this as ordinatio comitiorum, quam manu sua scriptam divus Augustus reliquerat. The place for holding the comitia was the Campus Martius. Velleius (II. 126) says of this: revocata in forum fides, sum-mota et foro seditio, ambitio campo, discordia curia.

potissima, the most important: although the elections were free, Augustus made use of nomination where he thought fit.

tribuum: i.e. the people as organized in tribes. It will be remembered that the tribal organization was not confined to the tribal assemblies, but that the centuries also were grouped by tribes in the reformed comitia centuria, as re-organized between the First and Second Punic Wars. Suetonius says of Augustus (Oct. 56), ferebat et ipse suffragium in tribusbus, ut unus e populo.

2. senatus: because all the important magistracies must be held by
mutatus princeps licentiam turbarum et ex civili bello
spem praemiorum ostendebat. Castris aestivis tres
simul legiones habebantur, praesidente Iunio Blaeso,
qui fine Augusti et initiis Tiberii auditis ob iustitium
aut gaudium intermiserat solita munia. Eo principio
lascivire miles, discordare, pessimi cuiusque
sermonibus praebere aures, denique luxum et otium
cupere, disciplinam et laborem aspernari.

Erat in castris Percennius quidam, dux olim theatra-
lium operarum, dein gregarius miles, procax lingua et
miscere coetus histrionali studio doctus. Is
imperitos animos et quaenam post Augustum militiae condicio
ambigentes impellere paulatim nocturnis colloquiis aut
flexo in vesperam die et dilapsis melioribus deterrimum
quemque congregare. Postremo promptis iam et aliis
seditionis ministris velut contentionabundus interrogabat,

Tiberius (12-9 B.C.), and organized
as a province a few years later,
comprised at this time the country
upon the rivers Drave and Save. It
was afterwards extended north to the
great bend of the Danube below
Vienna, and was always one of the
most important provinces from a
military point of view. Between the
three legions posted here and the
eight legions upon the Rhine (that
is, in the provinces of Rætia and
Noricum), there were no troops ex-
cept a few scattered garrisons of
auxiliaries. The mutiny in Pannonia,
therefore, followed by that of the
German legions, threatened to
strip the entire northern frontier of
its defences.

mutatus princeps: Intr. 35 q.
2. castris aestivis: this was in
the open country, a castra stativa
at Petovio (Pettau), on the Drave.
(Mommsen, Provinces of the Roman
Empire, I. p. 26.) When they went
into winter quarters (30. 3), it was
within the walls of the town.

tres legiones: the VIII. (Augusta), IX. (Hispana), and XV. (Apol-
linaris).

Iunio Blaeso: uncle of Sejanus,
and a very capable officer.
iustitium, mourning: originally
a closing of the courts of justice for
any public cause. As a public mourning
was a principal occasion of such
interruption, the word came in the
time of the empire to mean this ex-
clusively.

4. operarum: hired applauders,
claqueurs. In Pliny (Ep. VII. 24),
their service is itself called theatri-
alis opera.

5. dilapsis, etc., when the better
minded had scattered to their tents.

17. aliis . . . ministris: others
besides himself, as agents of sedi-

ion.
moderante Tiberio ne plures quam quattuor candidatos commendaret, sine repulsa et ambitu designandos.

Inter quae tribuni plebei petivere ut proprio sumptu ederent ludos, qui de nomine Augusti fastis additi Augustaes vocarentur. Sed decreta pecunia ex aera-rio, utque per circum triumphali veste uterentur; curru vehi haud permissum. Mox celebratio annua ad praetorem translata cui inter cives et peregrinos iurisdiction evenisset.

Hic rerum urbanarum status erat, cum Pannonicas legiones seditio incessit, nullis novis causis, nisi quod senators, who had heretofore been obliged to canvass for votes (largitionibus ac precibus sordidis).

plures ... candidatos: sc. praeturae. These were called candidati Caesaris. The commendatio sine repulsa et ambitu was equivalent to an appointment, and grew out of the formal and official suffragatio, or personal canvassing of the republic. Augustus had continued the republican form of suffragatio: tribus cum candidatis suis circumabat, supplicabatque more sollemni (Suet. Oct. 56). Velleius (II. 124) relates an interesting fact, in relation to this commendation: mihi fratrigue meo, candidatus Caesaris ... destinari praetoribus contigit, consequit, ut neque post nos quemquam divus Augustus, neque ante nos Caesar commendaret Tiberius.

3. Augustales: these games had been celebrated from time to time Oct. 12 by order of the senate, but were now made annual and extended so as to last from Oct. 3 to 12, thus coming between the Great or Roman Games in September, and the Plebeian Games in November. The cult of Augustus in the city was distinct from, although closely connected with, that in the provinces, mentioned 10. 5. As is stated in the note on that passage, Augustus refused to have it established in the city during his lifetime. It now became one of the principal forms of worship, and a powerful instrument in the maintenance of the imperial authority (Intr. 24).

vocarentur: subjunctive, as being part of their request.

4. decreta pecunia: to carry on the games at their own expense would have gained them too much popularity. Notice the ut clause depending upon decretum, implied in decreta.

triumphali veste: the toga picta, embroidered with gold, and the tunicata palmata, embroidered with palm leaves in gold.

curry vehi: this honor belonged to the praetors, to whom the tribunes were inferior in dignity.

praetorem cui, etc.: commonly known as praetor peregrinus, a term which is not found in classic authors.

evenisset: the pluperfect tense here represents the future perfect indicative of the direct discourse.

16. Pannonicas: Pannonia, or Illyricum superius, conquered by
paucis, etc.: there were six tribunes and sixty centurions to a legion.

3. ignavia peccatum: they had lost their rights by their own negligence.

tricena aut quadragena: the regular time of service for legionaries was twenty years; for praetorians, sixteen. At the end of this time they were entitled to honorable dismissal, honesta missio, with a bounty; but they were generally obliged, even after this discharge (dimissis), to continue in service as a privileged body of veterans, veterani,—known also as vexillarii (apud vexillum) from the standards, vexilla, to which each corps was attached.

4. eosdem labores: this is an exaggeration, for they were exempted from the heaviest duties, such as foraging, trenching, etc.

5. adhuc = insuper.

per nomen agrorum: the grants of land made to veterans at their discharge by way of bounty. The distance and worthlessness of these lands, they asserted, made the bounty more of a burden than a benefit to them, and they would have preferred bounties in cash, such as had formerly been given (isdem in castris praemium pecunia solventur).

uligines paludum: Intr. 35 d.

6. denis assibus: the as was worth about a cent.

vestem arma tentoria: sc. emi; implied in redimi by a kind of zeugma. These the soldier was obliged to purchase out of his pay; food he seems to have received.

vacationes munera, fur-loughs. redimi is used in a different sense with the two subjects,—buying off the cruelty by buying fur-loughs; cf. Hist. I. 46: locupletissimus quisque miles labore ac

cur paucis centurionibus, paucioribus tribunis in modum servorum oboedirent. Quando ausuros exposcere remedia, nisi novum et nutantem adhuc principem precibus vel armis adirent? Satis per tot annos ignavia peccatum, quod tricena aut quadragena stipendia senes et plerique truncato ex vulneribus corpore tolerent. Ne dimissis quidem finem esse militiae, sed apud vexillum tendentes alio vocabulo eosdem labores perferre. Ac si quis tot casus vita superaverit, trahi adhuc diversas in terras, ubi per nomen agrorum uligines paludum vel inculta montium accipiant. Enimvero militiam ipsam gravem infructuosam: denis in diem assibus animam et corpus aestimari; hinc vestem arma tentoria, hinc saevitiam centurionum et vacationes munerum redimi. At hercule verbera et vulnera, duram hiemem, exercitas aestates, bellum atrox aut sterilem pacem sempiterna.
8 Nec alius levamentum quam si certis sub legibus militia iniretur, ut singulos denarios mererent, sextus decimus stipendii annus finem adferret, ne ultra sub vexillis tene-rentur, sed isdem in castris praemium pecunia solvere-
tur. An praetorias cohortes, quae binos denarios acce-perint, quae post sedecim annos penatibus suis reddantur, plus periculorum suscipere? Non obrectari a se urba-nas excubias; sibi tamen apud horridas gentes e con-
tubernii hostem aspici. Adstrepebat vulgus, diversis incitamentis, hi verberum notas, illi canitiem, plurimi detrita tegmina et nudum corpus exprobrantes. Pos-
tremo eo furoris venere ut tres legiones miscere in unam agitaverint. Depulsi aemulatione, quia suae quisque

saevitia fatigari, donec vacationem emeret.
8. certis . . . legibus, well-de-

8. singulos denarios: their pay (see above) was ten asses a day. The as was a copper coin; the dena-

8. rius was originally a silver coin, as its name implies, worth ten asses; see note on quadringentiens, 8. 3. In the time of the Second Punic War the standard of the copper cur-

8. rency was lowered, so that it took sixteen asses to make a denarius; but the silver currency remained unaltered, so that now the as was worth about one cent, and the de-

8. narius nearly twenty cents.

8. sextus decimus stipendii annus: this had formerly been the term of service for the legionaries, as it still was for the praetorians.

8. binos denarios: the pay of the praetorians was legally double that of the legionaries; but by pay-

8. ing them in silver, while the legiona-

8. ries were paid in copper, their pay was really more than three times as great—two denarii being nearly forty cents, while deni asses were only ten cents. The not unreasona-

8. ble demand of the mutineers was the reduction of their term of ser-

8. vice to its former length, payment according to the spirit of the law, cash bounties promptly paid, and the abolition or regulation of the nominally voluntary service after discharge.

10. non obrectari, etc.: ironical —they have no disposition to belittle the hardships of service in the city.

10. e contubernii, etc.: i.e. were before their very eyes.

18. exprobrantes, displaying, by way of reproach.

2. ee, to that point or degree. The genitive after adverbs of place is common in the writers after Cic-

18. ero.

18. miscere in unam: this would have been to destroy all discipline and organization: see 34. 4, where the first act of Germanicus was to order the mutineers discedere in manipulos. The object of the move was probably like that of a round-

18. robin, to avoid individual responsi-

bility.
legioni eum honorem quaerebant, alio vertunt atque una
tres aquilas et signa cohortium locant; simul congerunt 4
trespites, exstruunt tribunal quo magis conspicua sedes
foret.

Properantibus Blaesus advenit, increpatbatque ac re-
tinebat singulos, clamitans: 'Mea potius caede imbuitu
manus; leviore flagitio legatum interficietis quam ab im-
peratore desciscitis. Aut incolumis fidem legionum reti-
nebo, aut iugulatus paenitentiam accelerabo.' Aggeraba-
tur nihil minus caespes, iamque pectori usque accreverat,
cum tandem pervicacia victi inceptum omisere. Blae-
sus multa dicendi arte non per seditionem et turbas
desideria militum ad Caesarem ferenda ait, neque veteres

3. eum honorem: i.e. of being the one — retaining its individual
organization, absorbing the other legions into itself, and giving its
name to the united body.
alio: i.e. have recourse to an-
other plan.
tres aquilas, etc.: the silver eagle
was made by Marius the standard of
each legion. Besides this each
maniple had a signum. It has been
questioned whether a cohort had a
separate standard, and the present
passage has been explained as mean-
ing the three manipular standards
of the several cohorts. Caesar, how-
ever (B. G. II. 25), says: quartae
cohortis . . . signifer interfecto,
signo amisco, which seems to prove
that the cohort had a standard and
standard-bearer of its own.
4. tribunal: this was a raised
platform used in Rome by the præ-
tors and other magistrates for the
administration of justice. As the
consul and military tribunes exer-
cised judicial power, there was a
tribunal in every camp made of turf,
which was used also for the purpose
of addressing the soldiers; this was
in the middle of the camp, at the
left of the general's tent, praeto-
rium. On this occasion the soldiers
seem to have erected a new tribunal,
probably in the middle of their own
quarters.
sedes: the place where they col-
glected their standards.
5. properantibus: best taken as
dative.
leviore flagitio, etc.: a very con-
densed expression,—It will be a
lighter fault for you to, etc.
legatum, commander: i.e. Blaes-
sus. As governor of the prov-
ince, and commander of its forces,
his full title was legatus Augusti
pro praetore, 'deputy of the em-
peror with prætorian powers' (Intr.
17).
19. aggerabatur: the manu-
script reads aggerebatur, a much
weaker expression: moreover, the
compound, according to the usual
orthography of the manuscript,
should be adgerebatur.
2. multa . . . arte: ablative of
quality.
veteres: i.e. in the time of the
Republic.
ab imperatoribus priscis neque ipsos a divo Augusto tam nova petivisse; et parum in tempore incipientes principis curas onerari. Si tamen tenderent in pace temptare quae ne civilium quidem bellorum victores expostulaverint, cur contra morem obsequii, contra fas disciplinae vim meditentur? Decernerent legatos seque coram mandata darent. Acclamavere ut filius Blaesi tribunus legatione ea fungeretur peteretque militibus missionem ab sedecim annis; cetera mandaturos, ubi prima provenissent.

Profecto iuvene modicum otium; sed superbire miles, quod filius legati orator publicae causae satis ostenderet necessitate expressa quae per modestiam non obtinuis-

**p. 34**

**tempore, very inopportune.**

3. tenderent, meditentur: this change to present time in indirect discourse is common in Tacitus. Dräger attributes it to a desire to avoid similarity of ending; Pfitzner, to the effort of the writer to place himself in imagination in the time of the occurrence,—a more probable explanation.

se coram, _in his presence_—as a regular, orderly delegation.

mandata, _their message._

4. ut ... fungeretur: hortatory subjunctive in indirect discourse.

_ab sedecim annis, after sixteen years of service._

5. filius ... orator, _the fact that_ etc. (Intr. 35 _q_).

expressa, _extorted, agrees with_ the antecedent implied in _quaes._

20. _Naupontum: Ober Laybach_ in Carniola. Lying upon the upper waters of the Save, it occupied the entrance to the province of Pannonia.

_turbatum:_ sc. _esse_; object of _accepere._

_vexilla:_ bodies of troops detached on special service had as their standards _vexilla,_ made of cloth, instead of metal _signa,_ used in the legion. These standards were fixed in the ground, and to pull them up, _convellere,_ was the signal for moving.

_municipii instar:_ the _municipium_ was a town which had received Roman citizenship, still retaining the management of its own local concerns. This municipal organization was gradually extended from Italy into the provinces; but as Pannonia had been only recently organized as a province (A.D. 10), the town in question had not yet received municipal privileges, al-
cipii instar erat, retinentis centuriones irrisu et contumeliis, postremo verberibus insectantur, praecipua in Aufidienum Rufum praefectum castrorum ira, quem dereptum vehiculó sarcinis gravant aguntque primo in agmine, per ludibrium rogitantés an tam immensa onera, tam longa itinéra libenter ferret. Quippe Rufus diu manipularis, dein centurio, mox castris praefectus, antiquam duramque militiam revocabat, vetus operis ac laboris et eo immítiór, quia toleraverat. Horum ad ventu redintegratur seditión, et vagi circumiecta popula- labantur. Blaesus paucos, maxime praedá onustós, ad terrem ceterórum affici verberibus, claudi carceré iubet; nam etiam tum legató a centurionibus et optimo quoque manipulum parebatur. Illi obniti trahentibus, 3 though large enough for this purpose (municipii instar), and probably having a forum, or market-place, and Roman inhabitants. After being pillaged on this occasion, Nauportus never recovered its prosperity, and the colony of Emona, Laybach, shortly afterwards founded about fifteen miles to the northeast, prospered at its expense.

retinentis: conative, attempting to restrain them.

praefectum castrorum: praefectus is not the title of any special magistrate or officer, but is a general term for any officer, civil or military, appointed in charge of a special service, as a centurion or tribune placed in command of a camp, a detachment, a body of cavalry or of auxiliaries. The praefectus castrorum was appointed from among the primipilares, or chief centurions, with powers similar to those of a quartermaster. After the time of Domitian there was one for each legion, and he afterwards became the regular commander of the legion in place of the legatus. Mar-quadrt, Röm. Staatsverwaltung, II. 443. The word is here a substantive, governing the genitive; below it is used with its participial construction, governing the dative.

primo in agmine, at the front of the column.

onera: the regular load of the common soldier was sixty pounds; the day’s march, twenty miles.

2. manipularis: a common soldier, member of a maniple. There were thirty maniples in a legion, each commanded by two centurions.

centurio: the centurions, like our non-commissioned officers, were taken from the ranks, and rarely reached any higher grade. The tribunes were taken from the aristocratic classes.

vetus operis, an old hand at the work (Intr. 35 e). Cf. scientiae caerimoniarumque vetus VI. 12. 2, and vetus regnandi, VI. 44. 1.

21. 2. etiam tum: afterwards the mutiny reached such a height that the centurions had to flee for their lives.

3. illi: those who were arrested.
prensare circumstantium genua, ciere modo nomine
gulorum, modo centuriam quisque cuius manici-
erat, cohortem, legionem, eadem omnibus imminere cla-
mitantes. Simul probra in legatum cumulant, caelum
ac deos obtestantur, nihil reliqui faciunt quo minus
invidiam misericordiam metum et iras permvoverent.

Accurritur ab universis, et carcere effracto solvunt vin-
cula desertoresque ac rerum capitalium damnatos sibi
iam miscent.

Flagrantior inde vis, plures seditioni duces. Et
Vibulenus quidam gregarius miles, ante tribunal Blaesi
adlevatus circumstantium umeris, apud turbatos et quid
pararet intentos. 'Vos quidem' inquit 'his innocentibus
et miserrmis lucem et spiritum reddistis: sed quis
fratri meo vitam, quis fratrem mihi reddit? quem
missum ad vos a Germanico exercitu de communibus
commodis nocte proxima iugulavit per gladiatores suos,
quos in exitiunt militum habet atque armat. Responde,
Blaese, ubi cadaver abieceris: ne hostes quidem sepul-
tura invident. Cum osculis, cum lacrimis dolorem meum

**nomina singulorum, individuals by name, contrasted with centuriam, which was appealed to as a body.**

**quisque: taken with the subject of ciere: cuius relates to centuriam, each man on the century to which he belonged. The more usual order would be cuius quisque.**

4. **nihil reliqui faciunt, leave nothing undone.**

5. **universis, all in a body.**

iam, already: i.e. they have reached this point of demoralization.

22. **tribunal Blaesi: the regular tribunal of the camp, not that constructed by the mutineers (18.4).**

**turbatos, intermingled, as a mob.**

**quid pararet: depending upon the idea of inquiring implied in intentos, watching eagerly to see.**

a Germanico exercitu: a lucky guess of Vibulenus; the German army had revolted, although he could not have heard of it.

gladiatores: bodies of gladiators were kept by governors of provinces for purposes of entertainment and display.

2. **sepultura: ablative of specification or possibly of separation, after the idea of withholding implied in invident, grudge. We should expect also a dative of the person; but the construction here found is common in writers of this period.**
implevero, me quoque trucidari iube, dum interfectos
nullum ob scelus, sed quia utilitati legionum consuleba-
mus, hi sepeliant.' Incendebat haec fletu et pectus 23
atque os manibus verberans. Mox disiectis quorum 2
per umeros sustinebatur, praeepeś et singulorum pedi-
bus advolutus tantum consternationis invidiaēque con-
civit, ut pars militum gladiatoreς qui c servitio Blaei-
erant, pars ceteram eiusdem familiaṃ vincirent, alii ad
quaerendum corpus effunderent. Ac ni propere neque 3
corpus ullum reperiri et servos adhibitis cruciatibus
abnuere caedem, neque ilii fuisse umquam fratrem
perno tuisset, haud multum ab exitio legati aberant.
Tribunos tamen ac praefectum castrorum extrusere,
sarcinste fugientium tireptae, et centurio Lucilius
interficitur, cui militaribus facētīs vocabulum 'Cedo alteram'
indiderant, quia fracta vite in tergo militis alteram clara
voce ac rursus aliam posequat. Ceteros latebrae tex-
era, uno retento Clemente Iulio, qui perferendis mili-
tum mandatis habebatur idoneus ob promptum inge-
nium. Quin ipsae inter se legiones octava et quinta 6

3. interfectos: himself and his
brother.
1. his fellow-soldiers.
23. incendebat, etc.: the tears
and other expressions of grief added
fire to his words; "incendiary talk."
2. disiectis: agrees with iis un-
derstood, antecedent of quorum.
He pushed apart the men on whose
shoulders he was standing, and
dropped to the ground.
pedibus advolutus: cf. 13. 7.
familiam, body of slaves.
3. aberant: the indicative of
apodosis is joined with the pluperfect
subjunctive of protasis, to indicate
that the action was actually begun,
and on the point of being completed.
So with parabant, 6.
4. vocabulum, nickname.
Cedo alteram: sc. vitem, Give-
us-another; the old imperative,
common in colloquial language.
vite: branches of vine were used
in the army for flogging Roman
citizens; cudgels, for other soldiers.
Livy says of Scipio at Numantia:
si Romanus esset, vitibus, si extra-
neus, fustibus cecidit (Ep. 57). The
vine-stick was the badge of the cen-
turion's office.
poscebat: it was his habit.
5. perferendis ... mandatis:
dative with idoneus, a post-Augus-
tan usage. See 26. 1.
decima ferrum parabant, dum centurionem cognomento Sirpicum illa morti deposcit, quintadecumani tuentur, ni miles nonanus preces et adversum aspernantis minas interiecisset.

24 Haec audita quamquam abstrusum et tristissima quaeque maxime occultantem Tiberium perpulere, ut Drusum filium cum primoribus civitatis duabusque praetoriis cohortibus mitteret, nullis satis certis mandatis, ex re consulturum. Et cohortes delecto milite supra solutum firmatae. Additur magna pars praetoriani equitis et robora Germanorum, qui tum custodes imperatori aderant; simul praetorii praefectus Aelius Seianus, collega Straboni patri suo datus, magna apud Tiberium auctoritate, rector iuveni et ceteris periculorum praemiorumque ostentator.

4 Druso propinquanti quasi per officium obviae fuere legiones, non laetae, ut adsolet, neque insignibus fulgentes, sed illuvie deformi et vultu, quamquam maestis-

6. cognemento, by name (not a nickname).
   morti: Intr. 35 f.
24. quamquam: Intr. 35 j.
   abstrusum, reserved.
   praetoriis cohortibus: see note on Seius Strabo, 7. 3.
2. delecto milite: i.e. out of the other praetorian cohorts.
3. praetoriani equitis: a turma equitum was attached to each century of these praetorians.
   robora Germanorum: these were mounted guards composed of German mercenaries. Augustus dismissed them after the defeat of Varus; perhaps he recalled them into service, or this may have been done by Tiberius.
   Aelius Seianus: he succeeded his father as praetorian praefect, and ruled the empire for several years in the name of Tiberius. See IV. 1 ff, and, for his death, the passage from Dio, which follows Book V.
   iuveni: depending upon rector, where the genitive might be expected. imperatori and ceteris are in a similar construction. (Intr. 35 f.)
   ceteris: i.e. the soldiers; periculum: i.e. punishments, in case they should misbehave. The context seems to show that it is the praetorians, not the legionaries, that are referred to.
4. quasi per officium, as if to show him honor, relating to what follows. This was, nevertheless, nothing but their duty as soldiers.
   insignibus: decorations and badges of individual soldiers.
   inluvie deformi et vultu . . . propiores: Intr. 35 r.
tiam imitarentur, contumaciae propiores. Postquam 25 vallum introiit, portas stationibus firmant, globos armatorum certis castrorum locis opperiri iubent; ceteri tribunal ingenti agmine circumveniunt. Stabat Drusus 2 silentium manu poscens. Illi quotiens oculos ad multitudinem rettulerant, vocibus truculentis strepere, rursum viso Caesare trepidare; murmure incertum, atrox clamor et repente quies; diversis animorum motibus pavebant terrebantque. Tandem interrupto tumultu 3 litteras patris recitat, in quis perscriptum erat praecipuam ipsi fortissimarum legionum curam, quibuscum plurima bella toleravisset; ubi primum a luctu requiesset animus, acturum apud patres de postulatis eorum; nisi interim filium, ut sine cunctatione concederet quae statim tribui possent; cetera senatui servanda, quem neque gratiae neque severitatis expertem haberi par esset.

Responsum est a contione, mandata Clementi centurioni quae perferret. Is orditur de missione a sedecim 2 annis, de praemiis finitae militiae, ut denarius diurnum stipendium foret, ne veteranis sub vexillo haberentur.

25. *firmant* and *iubent*: the mutineers. The praetorians were kept out (cf. 30. 1).

2. *stabat*: emphatic and picturesque from its position. A statue in the Louvre, in the attitude here described, is believed by Stahr to represent Drusus on this occasion.

3. *plurima bella*: Tiberius had conquered Pannonia in four campaigns (B.C. 12–9), and had afterwards, with Germanicus, suppressed a formidable insurrection there and in Dalmatia, known as the Bato-

**imitarentur**: subj. after quamquam (Intr. 35 j).

**contumaciae propiores**: really in a spirit of defiance manifested in their looks.

**25. firmant** and **iubent**: the mutineers. The praetorians were kept out (cf. 30. 1).

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26. 2. *orditur*: in relation to these demands see notes to chap. 17.

**senatui**: Tiberius, as we have seen, was careful to observe the forms and maintain the still surviving powers of the Republic; it belonged to the Senate to reward and to punish (neque gratiae neque severitatis expertem haberi).
Ad ea Drusus cum arbitrium senatus et patris obtenderet, clamore turbatur. Cur venisset, neque augendis militum stipendiis neque adlevandis laboribus, denique nulla bene faciendi licentia? at hercule verbera et necem cunctis permitti. Tiberium olim nomine Augusti desideria legionum frustrari solitum: easdem arces Drusum rettulisse. Numquamne ad se nisi filios familiarum venturos? Novum id plane quod imperator sola militis commoda ad senatum reiciat. Eundem ergo senatum consulendum, quotiens supplicia aut proelia indicatur; an praemia sub dominis, poenas sine arbitro esse?

27 Postremo deserunt tribunal, ut quis praetorianorum militum amicorum Caesares occurreret, manus intentantes, causam discordiae et initium armorum, maxime infensi

arbitrium . . . obtenderet: i.e. gave as an excuse for not acting the fact that the decision lay with them.

3. necem cunctis permiti: not strictly true, of course, for the death penalty could be inflicted only by the legatus, exercising the emperor's imperium.

olim: when he was their commander.

4. rettulisse, repeated. It was the same old trick, never to send a representative who had the power to redress grievances.

5. filios familiarum: the technical term to describe sons who were in poestate patris, which condition continued during the life of the father, unless relaxed by an act of emancipation. There is, therefore, a tone of bitter contempt—not only the son instead of the father, but himself not master of himself, sui iuris. This is of course merely an insult, and has nothing to do with the limitation of Drusus' powers, because public and private relations were kept wholly distinct, and a son in poestate might exercise authority over his father: see the interesting anecdote about Fabius Maximus, Liv. XXIV. 44.

id: relates to what follows. The emphasis is upon commoda; punishments and hardships he could decide upon himself, but favors must be referred to the Senate.

6. an, or, as if the preceding clause were put in interrogative form.

sub dominis: for penes dominos.

27. ut quis . . . occurreret: the subjunctive expresses repeated action, the clause being connected with what follows,—using threatening gestures as they met any of the supporters of Drusus. Only a few of the praetorians were in the camp; cf. 25. 1 n.

manus intentantes, threatening (stretching their hands towards, = shaking their fists).

causam: Intr. 35 g; cf. 30. 1, documentum fidei; II. 64. 6, causas bello. There are a few examples :p earlier writers (e.g. Hor. Sat. I. 4. 10, ut magnum); but the classical writers regularly used a relative clause in such cases. Drä
Cn. Lentulo, quod is ante alios aetate et gloria belli firmare Drusum credebatur et illa militiae flagitia primus aspernari. Nec multo post digredientem cum Caesare ac provisu periculi hiberna castra repetentem circumsistunt, rogitantes quo pergeret, ad imperatorem an ad patres, ut illic quoque commodis legionum adversaretur; simul ingruunt, saxa iaciunt. Iamque lapidis ictu cruentus et exitii certus accursu multitudinis quae cum Druso advenerat protectus est.

Noctem minacem et in scelus erupturam fors lenivit; nam luna claro repente caelo visa languescere. Id miles rationis ignarus omen praesentium acceptit, suis laboribus defectionem sideris adsimulans, prospereque cessura quae pergerent, si fulgor et claritudo deae rede-retur. Igitur aeris sono, tubarum cornuumque concentu strepere; prout splendidior obscuriorve, laetari aut maerere; et postquam ortae nubes offecere visui creditumque

ger (Historische Syntax, § 309) calls it a Graecism.

Lentulo: his death is related IV. 44. 1. He was probably consul B.C. 18, which, if the legal age for the consulship during the empire was thirty-seven, as Mommsen thinks probable (Röm. St. I. 473), would make him now nearly seventy. The expression ante alios aetate would hardly apply to the Gnaeus Lentulus who was consul B.C. 1.

2. digredientem cum Caesare: Drusus was probably accompanying him to the gate outside of which the pretorians, multitudo quae cum Druso advenerat, were stationed; these troops, seeing his danger, came to his rescue, as afterwards described.

provisu: a word used only in the ablative, and peculiar to Tacitus.

hiberna castra: see note on castris aestivis, 16. 2. It was probably within the walls of Petovio.

28. erupturam, ready to break out.

visa languescere: this eclipse took place Sept. 26.

2. quae pergerent: see Appendix I.

aeris sono: the familiar custom of ignorant people, who think that the evil spirit which is obscuring the heavenly body can thus be driven away.

3. ve . . . aut: i.e. (with the usual distinction between these conjunc-tions) whether the moon was brighter or more obscure, in either case their spirits went with it; in one case they exulted, in the other they lamented.

ortae nubes: Furneaux suggests "that their spirits rose after the time of greatest obscurcation was past, but that after this the moon became permanently hidden by

Drusus orto die et vocata contione, quamquam rudis clouds, and that even this common phenomenon, coupled with the eclipse, worked upon their minds.”

4. in sapientiam, to the account of good sense.

5. vigiliis, watch, patrol; stationibus, posts, pickets; custodiis, guards.

6. Percennione, etc.: the oath of the Roman soldier was taken personally to his commander.

emeritis, after discharge.

Neronibus et Drusis: not merely alluding to the illustrious families—the Claudian and Livian gentes, to which the Neros and Drusi belonged: we see besides this the tacit recog-
nition of an imperial or royal family.

7. novissimi in culpam: they either were, or were adroitly represented as being, less guilty than the others.

in culpam . . . ad paenitentiam: Intr. 35 r.

tarda: i.e. of fulfilment; the advice is, do not wait to negotiate in a body: make your peace individually (privatam).

mereare and recipias are apodosis to a protasis implied in privatam: if you make your submission as individuals, you earn and you receive favor at once.

29. rudis, untrained.
dicendi, nobilitate ingenita incusat priora, probat prae-

sentia; negat se terrore et minis vinci: flexos ad mo-

destiam si videat, si supplices audiat, scripturum patri

ut placatus legionum preces exciperet. Orantibus rur-

sum idem Blaesus et L. Apronius, eques Romanus e co-

horte Drusi, Iustusque Catonius, primi ordinis centurio,

ad Tiberium mittuntur. Certatum inde sententiis, cum

alii opperierdos legatos atque interim comitate permul-

cendum militem censerent, alii fortioribus remediiagen-

dum: nihil in vulgo modicum; terrere, ni paveant; ubi

pertimuerint, impune contemni; dum superstitione ur-

great, adiciendos ex duce metus sublatis seditionis auctoribus.

Promptum ad asperiora ingenium Druso erat; vocatos 4

Vibulenum et Percennium interfici iubet. Tradunt

plerique intra tabernaculum ducis obrutos, alii corpora

extra vallum abiecta ostentui. Tum ut quisque praeci-

puus turbator conquistis, et pars, extra castra palantes,

a centurionibus aut praetoriarum cohortium militibus

dignity of bearing which often accompanies the consciousness of high

birth. The busts and statues of Drusus represent him as strongly

resembling his father, especially in the characteristic compression of the

lips.

2. orantibus: ablative absolute, with no expressed subject: at their

request (Intr. 35 o).

rursum idem: the younger Blæ-

sus, who had been their messenger before.

cohorte, suite; seq VI. 9.

Joustus Catonius: he was praet-
norian prefect under Claudius, and

was put to death by the intrigues of the Empress Messalina.

primi ordinis: i.e. of the first

cohort of the legion, which out-

ranked the others. The first cen-
turion of the first cohort was called

primus pilus, and ranked with the

higher officers.

3. certatum inde: i.e. among

the counsellors of Drusus.

nihil . . . modicum, no half-

way measures.

terrere . . . paveant: cf. pave-
bant terrebantique, 25, 2.

ex duce: proceeding from, or

inspired by, the commander. There

would be an ambiguity in duces,

which would naturally be a subjec-
tive genitive.

4. promptum ad asperiora, etc.: Tacitus calls him (76. 5) vali san-
guine nimis gaudens. According to Dio Cassius (LVII. 13), Tiberius

frequently reproved the intemperate and brutal disposition of his son,—

assestatos kal áôútraros. He

adds that the sharpest swords were
caesi; quosdam ipsi manipuli documentum fidei tradire. Auxerat militum curas praematura hiems imbribus continuis adeoque saevis ut non egredi tentoria, congregari inter se, vix tutari signa possent, quae turbine atque unda raptabantur. Durabat et formido caelestis irae, nec frustra adversus impios hebescere sidera, ruere tempestates; non aliud malorum levamentum quam si linquerent castra infausta temerataque et soluti piaculo suis quisque hibernis redderentur. Primum octava, dein quinta decima legio rediere; nonanus opperiendas Tiberii epistulas clamitaverat, mox desolatus aliorum discessione imminentem necessitatem sponte praevenit. Et Drusus non exspectato legatorum regressu, quia praesentia satis considerant, in urbem rediit.

31. Isdem ferme diebus isdem causis Germanicae legiones turbatae, quanto plures, tanto violentius, et magna spe fore ut Germanicus Caesar imperium alterius pati ne-
called Δρωσιανδ. Nevertheless, many amiable traits appear in him, especially his constant affection for his cousin and adopted brother Germanicus, of whom he might easily have been jealous.

30. documentum: cf. causam, 27. 1 n.
3. nec frustra, etc.: this is the reasoning of the soldiers, as is shown by the construction (indirect discourse).
   malorum: neuter.
   piaculo, guilt; cf. Verg. Aen. VI. 569, commissa piacula.
4. epistulas: for epistulam, after the analogy of litteras.
   desolatus, abandoned.
5. considerant = consederant: an archaic form.
31. Germanicae legiones: this mutiny was even more formidable than that of Pannonia; the army was larger, there was an active and warlike enemy watching for an opportunity, and the commander of the province, Germanicus, by his personal qualities, and his official authority, as well as by his relation to the imperial family, might have been a formidable rival to the unpopular emperor (Intr. 26 b). The authority of Germanicus extended over the tres Galliae (Intr. 18. 16), and also over what was left of the province of Germany (Intr. 18. 21. 23), established by Drusus (B.C. 12), and reconquered by Arminius (A.D. 9). The army of Germany consisted of eight legions, with their quota of auxiliaries, stationed upon the left bank of the Rhine.
quiret dareaque se legionibus vi sua cuncta tracturis. Duo apud ripam Rheni exercitus erant; cui nomen superiori, sub C. Silio legato, inferiorem A. Caecina curabat. Regimen summae rei penes Germanicum, agendo Galliarum censui tum intentum. Sed quibus Silius moderabatur, mente ambiguâ fortunam seditionis alienae speculabatur; inferioris exercitus miles in rabiem prolapsum est, orto ab unetvicesimanis quintanisque initio, et tractis prima quoque ac vicesima legionibus; nam isdem aestivis in finibus Ubiorum habeabatur per otium aut levia munia. Igitur audito fine Augusti vernacula

tracturis: see Appendix, 1.
2. superiori . . . inferiorem: Intr. 18. 16. The army of Upper Germany took no part in the mutiny.
C. Silio: for his death, see IV. 18, 19.
agendo censui: i.e. levying the tribute, which was based upon an assessment of property, census. An annual tribute, stipendium, of forty million sesterces ($2,000,000), had been imposed by Julius Cæsar upon the conquered Gauls. The plural Galliarum is used to designate the three divisions of Gaul.
3. quibus Silius moderabatur: i.e. those of Upper Germany.
alienae: i.e. of the army of Lower Germany.
unetvicesimanis, etc.: the legions of Lower Germany were the I. (Germanica, afterwards Minervia); V. (Alauda, afterwards Macedonica); XX. (Valeria Victrix), and XXI. (Rapax).
Ubiorum: this German tribe or nation had entered into alliance with Cæsar (B. G. IV. 16), and had been settled by Agrippa on the left bank of the Rhine, where their chief town was afterwards made a Roman colony, Colonía Agrippina (Cologne), named in honor of the granddaughter of Agrippa, the younger Agrippina. This was the first example of a policy, which afterwards became common, of settling German tribes upon lands on the frontier, on the condition of rendering military service. Such settlers were in the later times of the empire called laeti, and their lands terrae laeticae.
4. vernacula: this word has generally been interpreted in this passage to mean the lower classes of the city, as Dio says (LVII. 5), ἐκ τοῦ ἀστικοῦ δέχον . . . οἱ πλείους ἱσταν. This seems to agree with its classical meaning, native, vernacular; the word is not found until the third century A.D. with a signification cognate to verna, "belonging to a slave," "slavish." Mommsen shows (Hermes, XIX., 1884), that in military relations vernaculum has a peculiar and technical meaning, being used to designate troops (legiones vernaculæ) composed of persons who were not Roman citizens when enrolled, but who received citizenship upon enlistment, thus maintaining the principle that the legions, as distinguished from the auxiliary corps, were always composed of citizens. According to
multitudo, nuper acto in urbe dilectu, lasciviae sueta, laborum intolerans, implere ceterorum rudes animos: venisse tempus quo veterani maturam missionem, iuvenes largiora stipendia, cuncti modum miseriaurum exposcerent saevitiamque centurionum ulciscerunt.


Mommisen, these troops, hastily levied after the disaster of Varus, were taken from those members of the city populace who did not possess citizenship. Suetonius says of Augustus (Oct. 25): "libertino milite, praeternquam Romae incendiorum causa et si tumultus in graviores annonas metueretur, his usus est; semel ad praesidium coloniarum Illyricum contingentium; iterum ad tutelam ripae Rheni fluminis, the latter being the case in question.

implere: i.e. with the notions expressed by venisse, etc.

maturam missionem, etc.: the same demands as those of the Pannonian soldiers. Cf. 17. 8.

iuvenes: those in active service.

5. respicientium: the Pannonian legions were so near Italy, that they might expect to be promptly crushed by new forces brought against them.

imperatores: not emperors, but commanders; referring to Drusus and his son, their present com-

mander, both of whom bore the name Germanicus. The name, derived from that of the province, was also borne by the brother of Germanicus, the emperor Claudius: senatus . . . decrevit Germanici cognomen ipsi [Drusus] posterisque eius (Suet. Claud. 1); sometimes also by Tiberius.

32. obviam ibat: i.e. the emergency.

vecordia: the prefix ve expresses negative, and often positive evil, as in Vediovis, the evil Jupiter; vecors, with mind led astray. Cf. Aulus Gellius, V. 12.

constantiam, presence of mind.

2. ea, these, referring to the centurions, but attracted to agree with materies. The centurions, whose badge was a vine-stick, were chiefly remembered by the men as using this in flogging them.

numerum: there being sixty centurions to a legion; 'the men wanted to show them what it was to have sixty floggers.' Holbrooke.
numerus centurionum adaequarent; tum convulsos laniatosque et partim examinos ante vallum aut in amnem Rhenum proiciunt. Septimius cum perfugisset 4 ad tribunal pedibusque Caecinae advolveretur, eo usque flagitatus est donec ad exitium dedereatur. Cassius 5 Chaerea, mox caede Gai Caesaris memoriam apud posteros adeptus, tum adulescens et animi ferox, inter obstantes et armatos ferro viam patefecit. Non tribunus 6 ultra, non castrorum praefectus ius obtinuit; vigilias stationes et si qua alia praesens usus indixerat, ipsi partiebantur. Id militares animos altius coniectantibus 7 praecipuum indicium magni et implacabilis motus, quod neque disiecti aut paucorum instinctu, sed pariter ardescerent, pariter silerent, tanta aequalitate et constantia ut regi crederes.

Interea Germanico per Gallias, ut diximus, census 33 accipienti excessisse Augustum adfertur. Neptem 2 eius Agrippinam in matrimonio pluresque ex ea liberos habebat, ipse Druso fratre Tiberii genitus, Augustae 3

4. Septimius (otherwise unknown) and Cassius Chaerea: two of the centurions.
   eo usque: explained by donec dedereatur (Intr. 35 f).
5. Gai Caesaris: better known as the Emperor Caligula. His murder was A.D. 41.
6. castrorum praefectus: see 20. 1 n.
   ius obtinuit, maintained his authority.
7. altius coniectantibus, in the eyes of those who could see under the surface (Intr. 35 f). coniectantibus governs animos.
   pariter (cf. ipsi partiebantur above): they needed no leader, like the Pannonian legions, but governed themselves.
   regi: i.e. by a commander.

33. ut diximus: 31. 2.
2. Agrippinam: Intr. 26 d.
   liberos: the number is given by Suetonius (Calig. 7.) as nine in all: there were now three boys living, Nero, born A.D. 6; Drusus, born A.D. 7; and Gaius (the Emperor Caligula), born A.D. 12; all of these were conspicuous in the closing years of the reign of Tiberius, and the deaths of the two eldest are among the most serious crimes imputed to the emperor. Three boys, between Drusus and Gaius, had died in infancy. There were afterwards born three girls: Agrippina, the mother of the Emperor Nero; Drusilla and Julia Livilla. (Mommsen, Hermes, XIII. 245.)
3. Druso: 'the very image of manly beauty and of winning grace
nepos, sed anxius occultis in se patrui aviaeque odiis, quorum causae acriores, quia iniquae. Quippe Drusi magna apud populum Romanum memoria, credebaturque, si rerum potitus foret, libertatem redditurus; unde in Germanicam favor et spes eadim. Nam iuveni civile ingenium, mira comitas et diversa ab Tiberii sermone vultu, adrogantibus et obscuris. Accedebant muliebres offensiones novercalibus Liviae in Agrippinam stimulis, atque ipsa Agrippina paulo commotor, nisi quod castitate et mariti amore quamvis indomitum animum in bonum vertebat.

34 Sed Germanicus quanto summae spei propior, tanto impensius pro Tiberio niti, seque et proximos et Belgarum civitates in verba eius adigit. Dehinc audito in converse, a brave soldier and an able general, a pronounced panegyrist, moreover, of the old republican system, and in every respect the most popular prince of the imperial house; Mommsen. He conquered Germany, and died, B.C. 9, from a fall with his horse.

**patrui**: Tiberius, his paternal uncle by birth, but his father by adoption. When speaking of their natural kinship, Tacitus uses the former term; when of legal relation, he calls them father and son.

**odiis**: this is the constant assertion of Tacitus, but there is no evidence of it in any recorded action of Tiberius. Evidently the two men were uncongenial to each other, but the attitude of the emperor appears to have been coldly just.

4. libertatem redditurus: see II. 82; also note above. Suetonius (Tib. 50) speaks of a letter written by him to Tiberius, and betrayed by the latter to Augustus, qua secum de cegendo ad restituendum libertatem Augusto agebat. There is no doubt that he sympathized with the aristocratic constitution of the Republic rather than the new monarchy; but this incident can hardly have been true, for it is certain that he retained the favor and confidence of Augustus to the last.

5. civile: this word is used to designate acts and disposition becoming a citizen,—what we may call a republican temper.

6. muliebres offensiones: the imperious Livia (whose favorite son was Tiberius) had as little sympathy with the ambitious and hot-tempered (paulo commotor) Agrippina, as the cold Tiberius with the genial Germanicus.

**nisi quod**: there is an ellipsis of thought here,—a violence of temper which we should condemn, but that, etc.; cf. Agr. 6., nisi quod in bona uxore tanto maior laus, quanto in mala plus culpae est.

34. proximos: the members of his suite or cohort. See App. I.

**Belgarum civitates**: evidently he administered the oath of alle-
legionum tumultu raptim profectus obvias extra castra habuit, deiectis in terram oculis velut paenitentia. Postquam vallum iniit, dissoni questus audiri coepe; et quidam prensa manu eius per speciem exosculandi inseruerunt digitos, ut vacua dentibus ora contingeret; alii curvata senio membra ostendebant. Assistentem contionem, quia permixta videbatur, discender in manipulos iubet: sic melius audituros responsum; vexilla praeferri, ut id saltem discerneret cohortes: tarde obtemperavere. Tunc a veneratione Augusti orsus flexit ad victorias triumphosque Tiberii, praecipuis laudibus celebrans quae apud Germanias illis cum legionibus pulcherrima fecisset. Italiae inde consensum, Galliarum fidem extollit; nil usquam turbidum aut discors. Silentio haec vel murmure modico audita sunt. Ut seditionem attigit, ubi modestia militaris, ubi veteris

giance to those states near which he happened to be when he heard the news; then, learning of the mutiny, hastened to the camp, without waiting to visit the other Gallic states. This is the first recorded instance of the oath of allegiance imposed upon provincials.

in verba eius: see note on in verba iuravere, 7. 3.

2. obvias: sc. legiones; compare the approach of Drusus to the Pannonian camp, 24. 4.

audiri coepe: Tacitus never uses the passive form, coeptum sum, with the passive infinitive.

3. inseruerunt: i.e. into their mouths. Tacitus almost always uses the form in -ere for the third person plural of the perfect indicative. Notice the contrast in action expressed by inseruerunt and ostendeant.

4. sic: i.e. as they were, the cohorts and maniples mixed up; they could hear better, they said (responsum), if crowded close to the speaker.

vexilla: each cohort had three of these, corresponding to the number of its maniples, besides the signa, which belonged to cohort and maniple individually. They had refused to form by maniples, that is, in regular military order, but slowly obeyed the order to group themselves by cohorts,—still crowding in a disorderly mass, but each military division by itself.

5. flexit: see note on obstrinxit, 14. 6.

quae . . . fecisset: Tiberius had commanded in Germany after the death of his brother Drusus (B.C. 9), although his principal military services had been in Rætia and Pannonia.

35. ubi: sc. esset; depending upon rogitans.

modestia, discipline.
TACITUS.  [Book I.

disciplinae decus, quonam tribunos, quo centuriones exe-
gissent rogitans, nudant universi corpora, cicatrices ex
uñneribus, verberum notas exprobrant; mox indiscretis
vocibus pretia vacationum, angustias stipendii, duritiam
operator, ac propriis nominibus incusant vallum, fossas,
pabuli materiae lignorum aggestus, et si qua alia ex
necessitate aut adversus otium castrorum quaeruntur.
2 Atrocissimus veteranorum clamor oriebatur, qui
tricena aut supra stipendia numerantes, mederetur
fessis, neu mortem in isdem laboribus, sed finem tam
exercitae militiae nequfiLinopem requiem orabant.
3 Fuere etiam qui legatam a divo Augusto pecuniam
reposcerent, faustis in Germanicum ominibus; et si vel-
4 let imperium, promptos ostentavere. Tum vero, quasi
scelere contaminaretur, praeceps tribunali desiluit.
Opposuerunt abeunti arma, minitantes ni
regrederetur; at ille moriturum potius quam
fidem exueret clamitans, ferrum a latere diripuit
elatumque deferebat in pectus,

tribunos: nothing has been said of any violence towards the trib-
unes, but it appears from 32. 6
and 7, that they had been deprived
of authority.
indiscretis, confused.
pretia vacationum, the sums
paid for furloughs. Cf. 17. 6.
propriis nominibus, by especial
mention.
materiae, timber; lignorum, fuel.
adversus otium: i.e. without
necessity; but to keep the men
busy, and thus out of mischief.
2. mederetur: depends upon
orabunt, which also (by neglect of
concinnity, Intr. 35 r) governs the
accusatives mortem, etc. The sense
of this very condensed passage is,
that he would not let them die
in the midst of their sufferings, but
would grant them rest, and that not
in poverty.
3. legatam: see 8. 3.
faustis . . omnibus: i.e. declar-
ing that they had nothing against
him personally. Cf. faustis in Cae-
sarem omnibus, V. 4. 3.
promptos: sc. se; see App. I.
Dio says (LVII. 5), τὸν Γερμανικὸν
αὐτοκράτορα ἐπεκάλεσαν.
ostentavere: these intensive
forms are favorites with Tacitus.
Cf. coeplo, etc.
5. quam: for quam ut; com-
mon in Livy also.
deferebat . . . ni, was upon the
point of; etc.; but. Some commen-
tators (e.g. Stahr), in their eager par-
tisanship for Tiberius, represent this
act of Germanicus as mere display,
and assert that he readily allowed
himself to be disarmed. It is cer-
ni proximi prensam dextram vi attinuissent. Extrema et conglobata inter se pars contionis ac, vix credibile dictu, quidam singuli propius incidentes, feriret hortabantur; et miles nomine Calusidius strictum obtulit gladium, addito acutiorem esse. Saevum id malique moris etiam furentibus visum, ac spatium fuit quo Caesar ab amicis in tabernaculum raperetur.

Consultatum ibi de remedio; etenim nuntiabatur parari legatos qui superiorem exercitum ad causam eandem traherent: destinatum excidio Ubiorum oppidum, imbutasque praeda manus in direptionem Galliarum erupturas. Augebat metum gnarus Romanae seditionis et, si omitteretur ripa, invasurus hostis; at si auxilia et socii adversum abscedentis legiones armentur, civile bellum suscipi. Periculosa severitas, flagi-

tain that there was an element of weakness and ostentation in his character, but there is no reason for questioning his sincerity here, and the action was consistent with his whole career. When we consider how many emperors were afterwards made by just such circumstances as these,—and some of them on this very spot,—we see that Germanicus resisted a real temptation, and did a real service to the state. His personal popularity would have made him, at the head of eight legions, a formidable rival to his unpopular uncle.

6. extrema, etc.: the soldiers were irregularly grouped by cohorts (34. 4), and the crowded mass further off is contrasted with the few bold mutineers who left the main body, and pressed up close to where Germanicus stood.

addito: Intr. 35 q.
acutiorem: i.e. than his own.
7. spatium: i.e. of time.
36. parari: i.e. by the mutineers. — oppidum: Afterwards Colonia Agrippina, Cologne. The summer camp was near this town.

2. gnarus . . . hostis: i.e. the Germans. The fact that they were acquainted, etc. (Intr. 35 q).

omitteretur, should be left unguarded, by the departure of the mutineers to plunder Gaul. The subjunctive of protasis depending on a future participle is found in Livy and later writers.

auxilia: the auxiliaries now in the army; socii: the forces which might be raised among the allied states of Gaul, such as the Ædui, Remi, and Lingones, who were within the territorial limits of the province, but nominally independent and not in strict law subject to Rome. The inhabitants of the provinces seem to have been better disposed than the Roman legionaries; cf. 39. 8.

susciipi: the present tense implies that calling out this levy, etc., would be in itself an act of civil war.
TACITUS.

4 Igitur volutatis inter se rationibus placitum ut epistulae nomine principis scriberentur: missionem dari vicena stipendia meritis; exauctorari qui sena dena fecissent ac retineri sub vexillo ceterorum immunes nisi propulsandi hostis; legata quae petiverant exsolvi duplicarique.

37 Sensit miles in tempus conficta statimque flagitavit. Missio per tribunos maturatur, largitio differebatur in hiberna cuiusque. Non absessere quintani unetvice-simanique donec isdem in aestivis contracta ex viatico amicorum ipsiusque Caesaris pecunia persolveretur.

3 Primam ac vicesimam legiones Caecina legatus in civitatem Ubiorum reduxit, turpi agmine, cum fisci de im-

3. concedentur: see App. I.
4. volutatis: the same figure as in the English turn over in one's mind.

stipendia . . . meritis: stipendium mereri (lit. to earn pay) was to serve a full campaign; this means, therefore, to those who had served twenty years.

exauctorari: this differed from the full discharge (missionem) given to those who had served twenty years, in that those who received it were still held to service as vexillarii (see note on tricina, 17. 3); as this obligation had formerly been imposed on those who had served the full twenty years, the present demand was really a shortening of the service by four years.

ceterorum, all other duties: neuter, limiting immunes: it would seem that the veterans had, by an abuse, been subjected to the same obligations as other soldiers.

duplicari: Suetonius says (Tib. 48) that this was the only donation given by Tiberius to the soldiers except after the fall of Sejanus.

The frugal disposition of Tiberius was undoubtedly often carried to the extent of parsimony and even niggardliness, and this was a leading cause of his unpopularity. On several occasions, however, he showed a prompt and wise liberality: see II. 47, 48, 86; IV. 64.

37. in tempus, for the emergency. Cf. ad tempus, 1. 2 n.

tribunos: these officers had the charge of all the details of military administration in their legions.

2. quintani, etc.: these two legions began the mutiny: see 31. 3. They were led to winter quarters to Vetera, Xanten, sixty miles below Cologne; the first and twentieth to Cologne itself.

aestivis: see note, 16. 2.

contracta, got together.

3. turpi agmine, a shameful march: explained by de imperatore rapti.

fisci: the baskets in which the money was carried: the word was used for the emperor's special treasury, or privy purse (the treasury of
peratorem rapti inter signa interque aquilas veherentur. Germanicus superiorem ad exercitum profectus secundam et tertiam decimam et sextam decimam legiones nihil cunctatas sacramento adigit. Quartadecimani paulum dubitaverant; pecunia et missio quamvis non flagitantibus oblata est.

At in Chaucis coeptavere seditionem praesidium agitantes vexillarii discordium legionum et praesenti duorum militum supplicio paulum repressi sunt. Iusserat id M'. Ennius castrorum praefectus, bono magis exemplo quam concesso iure. Deinde intumescente motu profugus repertusque, postquam intutae latebrae, praesidium ab audacia mutuatur: non praefectum ab iis, sed Germanicum ducem, sed Tiberium imperatorem violari. Simul exterritis qui obstiterant, raptum vexillum coeptavere, agitantes: cf. ostentavere, 35. 3 n.

vexillarii: these are not the vexillarii described in the note on tricena aut quadragesima, 17. 3, veterans serving an additional term, but those mentioned in the note on vexilla, 20. 1, legionary soldiers stationed on a detached post. These also had a vexillum for their standard, and were called vexillarii.

discordium, disaffected; i.e. those engaged in the mutiny, the I, V, etc.

2. concesso iure, legitimate power: i.e. any power expressly put in his hands; for only the commander of the army had the power to punish with death. This praefect was not the regular legionary praefectus castrorum (20. 1 n.), but a subordinate officer (centurion) placed in charge of the post.

3. sed Germanicum, etc.: their offence was greater than mutiny; it was treason. Cf. the language of Blaesus, 18. 5.
lum ad ripam vertit, et si quis agmine decessisset, pro desertore fore clamitans, reduxit in hiberna turbidos et nihil ausos.

39 Interea legati ab senatu regressum iam apud aram Ubiorum Germanicum adeunt. Duae ibi legiones, prima atque vicesima, veteranique nuper missi sub vexillo hiemabant. Pavidos et conscientia vecordes intrat metus, venisse patrum iussu qui irrita facerent quae per seditionem expresserant. Utque mos vulgo quamvis falsis reum subdere, Munatium Plancum consulatu functum, principem legationis, auctorem senatus consulti incusant; et nocte concubia vexillum in domo Germanici situm flagitare occipiunt, concursuque ad ianuam facto moliuntur fores, extractum cubili Caesarem tradere vex-

4. ad ripam: *sc. Rheni.*

decessisset: representing a future perfect of direct discourse, whoever should depart.

in hiberna: at Cologne; see 39. 2.

39. legati: the ones mentioned

14. 4.

regressum: *i.e.* from the army of Upper Germany; see 37. 4.

aram Ubiorum: probably in the oppidum itself; this altar was dedicated to Augustus.

2. prima atque vicesima: see

37. 3.

sub vexillo: construed with hiemabant, referring to those who had recently obtained their conditional discharge, 36. 4.

4. falsis: dative,—to subject to accusations, however false they may be.

Munatium Plancum: consul A.D. 13; he was son of the Plancus addressed by Horace (*Od.* I. 7).

auctorem, as being the author.

senatus consulti: the imagined ordinance in question.

vexillum: it has been much debated whether this was the *vexillum* under which the veterans mentioned above were serving, or the scarlet banner, ζυτών κόκκινος, of the commander, which served as a signal for battle (*quod erat insigne, cum ad arma concurrī oporteret, Cæs. B. G. II. 20*). In favor of its being the general's standard is the consideration that it is hard to see why the other should be in the general's house, and also the illustration it would give of the insubordination of the soldiers,—having possession of the standard of the commander, they would perform his functions for themselves, just as they had previously directed the posting of guards, etc. (32. 6). On the other hand, it is more natural to suppose that the *vexillum* is the one previously mentioned, while the phrase *in domo Germanico situm* seems to imply that it was out of its usual place; the scarlet *vexillum* would be there as a matter of course.

ianuam, the doorway; fores, the door itself.
illum intento mortis metu subigunt. Mox vagi per vias obvios habuere legatos, audita consternatione ad Germanicum tendentes. Ingerunt contumelias, caedem parant; neque alius periclitanti subsidium quam castra primae legionis. Illic signa et aquilam amplexus religione sese tutabatur, ac ni aquilifer Calpurnius vim extremam arcuisset, rarum etiam inter hostes, legatus populi Romani Romanis in castris sanguine suo altaria deum commaculavisset.

Luce demum, postquam dux et miles et facta noscebantur, ingressus castra Germanicus perduci ad se Plancum imperat receptique in tribunal. Tum fatalem increpans rabiem, neque militum, sed deum ira resurgere, cur venerint legati aperit; ius legationis atque ipsis Planci gravem et immeritum casum, simul quantum dedecoris adierit legio, facunde miseratur, attonitaque magis quam quieta contione legatos praesidio auxiliarium equitum dimittit.

Eo in metu arguere Germanicum omnes, quod non ad tradere vexillum: an act of weakness on the part of Germanicus.

6. fugā: ablative of deprivation; impedire regularly takes ab.

castra primae legionis: each legion, in winter quarters, was encamped apart.

7. religione, reverence for the standards, which had a certain sacredness in the eyes of a Roman soldier.

rarum: relates to what follows, as is regularly the case with an adjective standing in apposition with a clause, as here.

altaria: properly a larger altar, but here used as equivalent to ara. The altars, with the standards, stood in the principia of the camp.

8. luce, etc.: as soon as it was light enough for recognition.

perduci: impero regularly takes ut with the subjunctive.

imperat . . . recepit: the historical present easily passes into the perfect.

fatalem: explained by deum ira. neque militum: sc. esse, depending upon the idea of speaking, implied in increpans: the frenzy was not theirs, but was the work of the gods. ius legationis: sc. violatum; referring to the sanctity and inviolability of the office of ambassador, recognized in all ages.

legio: the first, in whose camp Plancus had been assaulted.

40. eo in metu, the fear caused by this, or better, this consternation. omnes: the members of his suite, his officers, etc.
superiorem exercitum pergeret, ubi obsequia et contra rebellis auxilium: satis superque missione et pecunia et mollibus consultis peccatum; vel si vilis ipsi salus, cur filium parvulum, cur gravidam coniugem inter furentes et omnis humani iuris violatores haberet? illos saltem avo et rei publicae redderet. Diu cunctatus aspernan
tem uxorem, cum se divo Augusto ortam neque degenerem ad pericula testaretur, postremo uterum eius et communem filium multo cum fletu complexus, ut abiret perpulit. Incedebat muliebre et miserabile agmen, pro-
fuga ducis uxor, parvulum sinu filium gerens, lamentan
tes circum amicorum coniuges, quae simul trahebantur; nec minus tristes qui manebant.

41 Non florentis Caesaris neque suis in castris, sed velut
in urbe victa facies, gemitusque ac planctus etiam mili-
tum aures oraque advertere. Progrediuntur contuber
niis; quis ille flebilis sonus? quid tam triste? feminas illustres, non centurionem ad tutelam, non militem, nihil imperatoriae uxoris aut comitatus soliti; pergere ad Tre-

satis . . . peccatum: sc. esse, enough blunders had been made. The staff of Germanicus regard his conduct as pusillanimous.

2. filium parvulum: afterwards the Emperor Gaius (Caligula), now two years old. Dio Cassius (LVII. 5) says that the soldiers seized both him and Agrippina, restored her to her husband, but kept the boy as a hostage. This statement is perhaps confirmed by chap. 44, where Germanicus excuses the absence of his wife, but promises the return of the boy. It would seem that, for whatever reason, Caligula was left with the army.

avo: Tiberius.

3. divo Augusto ortam: see Intr. 26 d.

4. incedebat: the wretchedness of the situation was increased by their being obliged to go on foot. At the same time the word opens the sentence with a certain dignity, and its position makes the picture more vivid; cf. stabat Drusus, 25. 2. circum: an adverb.

qui maneant: their husbands and friends.

41. Caesaris: limits facies in the predicate. contubernii: the ablative without preposition after verbs of motion is characteristic of the poets and later prose writers.

2. triste: a substantive; sad spectacle.

centurionem: sc. esse.
uxoris and comitatus: limiting nihil; nothing which belonged to, etc.
etros et externae fidei. Pudor inde et miseratio, et patris 3 Agrippae, Augusti avi memoria, socer Drusus, ipsa insigni fecunditate; iam infans in castris genitus, in contubernio legionem eductus, quem militari vocabulo Caligulam appellabant, quia plerumque ad concilianda vulgi studia eo tegmine pedum induebatur. Sed 4 nihil acque flectit quam invidia in Treveros; orant ob-sistunt, rediret maneret, pars Agrippinae occursantes, plurimi ad Germanicum regressi. Isque, ut erat recens dolore et ira, apud circumfusos ita coepit:

'Non mihi uxor aut filius patre et re publica cariores 42 sunt; sed illum quidem sua maiestas, imperium Romanum ceteri exercitus defendent. Coniugem et liberos 2 meos, quos pro gloria vestra libens ad exitium offerrem, nunc procul a furentibus summoveo, ut quidquid istud sceleris imminet, meo tantum sanguine pietur, neve...
occisus Augusti pronepos, interflecta Tiberii nurus no-
3 centiores vos faciat. Quid enim per hos dies inausum
intemeratumve vobis? Quod nomen huic coetui dabo?
Militesne appellem, qui filium imperatoris vestri vallo
et armis circumsestitis? an cives, quibus tam proiecta
senatus auctoritas? Hostium quoque ius et sacra lega-
4 tionis et fas gentium rupistis. Divus Iulius seditionem
exercitus verbo uno compescuit, Quirites vocando qui
sacramentum eius detectabat; divus Augustus vultu
et aspectu Actiacas legiones exterruit: nos ut nondum
eosdem, ita ex illis ortos si Hispанииae Suriaeve miles
aspernaretur, tamen mirum et indignum erat. Primane
et vicēsima legiones, illa signis a Tiberio acceptis, tu
tot proeliorum socia, tot praemiis aucta, egregiam duci
7 vestro gratiam refertis! Hunc ego nuntium patri, laeta

4. proiecta, cast away; trampled
under foot.
hostium quoque ius, the rights
which even enemies possess.
5. Quirites, fellow-citizens; im-
plying their dismissal from service.
This incident, which occurred just
before the battle of Thapsus, B.C.
46, is related by Suetonius (Jul.
70).
Actiacas: referring to a mutiny
at Brundisium shortly after the bat-
tle of Actium (Suet. Oct. 17).
eosdem, on their level. The use
of nondum may point to his ex-
pectation of the throne, or to anti-
cipated military distinction.
Hispaniae Suriaeve: he was
unknown to these; if you were
Spanish or Syrian soldiers, which
you are not.
indignum erat: the indicative
is regularly used in apodosis in ex-
pressions denoting possibility, pro-
priety, etc. A. & G. 308 C.
6. illa . . . tu: addressing one of
the legions directly, and pointing to
the other. illa would regularly re-
late to the one first mentioned; but
the first legion was an old one,
which could hardly have received
its standards from Tiberius; while
the twentieth may easily have been
levied during his wars. In speech,
moreover, the use of the pronouns
depends more upon the actual posi-
tions of the persons referred to, than
upon their place in the sentence.
The use of the word tirones below
would imply that one of the legions
was newly levied. See also 31. 4,
vernacula multitudo.
7. laeta omnia: he had not
heard of the Pannonian revolt.

includi legatos: the climax —
centuriones . . . tribunos . . .
legatos — seems to point to mili-
tary legati. But no mention has
been made of any violence against
them; while the assault upon Plan-
cus, a legatus from the senate (39.
4), could be very well described by
these words. As the senatorial
legati are shown in the same chap-
omnia aliis e provinciis audienti, feram? ipsius tirones, ipsius veteranos non missione, non pecunia satiatos; hic tantum interfici centuriones, eici tribunos, includi legatos, infecta sanguine castra flumina, meque preca-riam animam inter infensos trahere. Cur enim primo contionis die ferrum illud, quod pectori meo infigere parabant, detraxistis, o improvidi amis? Melius et amantius ille qui gladium offerebat. Cecidissem certe dum tot flagitiorum exercitui meo conscius; legissetis—ducem, qui meam quidem mortem impunitam sineret, Vari tamen et trium legionum ulcisceretur. Neque enim di smant ut Belgarum quamquam offerentium decus istud et claritudo sit, subvenisse Romano nomine, compressisse Germaniae populos. Tua, dive Auguste, caelo recepta mens, tua, pater Druse, imago, tui memoria istis cum militibus, quos iam pudor et gloria intrat, eluant hanc maculam irasque civiles in exitium

ter to have already departed, we must suppose that the allusion is rhetorical, or betrays confusion of memory. See note on si legatos,

43. flumina: the Rhine, upon the borders of which they were.

43. ferrum illud: 35. 5.

melius et amantius: sc. fecit.

2. exercitui meo conscius, implicated with my army. 'As responsible for its discipline, he treats himself as involved in what he had not prevented.' Furneaux.

quidem: restrictive, giving the clause a concessive force: even if he left my death unavenged.

Vari: the defeat of Varus was five years before, A.D. 9; and to avenge this disaster was the special aim of Germanicus in all his expedi-tions.

3. neque enim, etc.: the use of neque for ne, and that of ut after sine are extremely rare.

Belgarum: nothing is known of this allusion. It may be that the Belgians, as being nearest to Germany, had, for their own security, voluntarily (quamquam offerentium) offered assistance after the defeat of Varus.

claritudo: an archaic word, of frequent occurrence in the Annals.

4. imago: used here of a mental image; for it is not likely that the legion would have an actual image of Drusus, as some have supposed. It is explained by tui memoria.

istis, those of yours: i.e. of Drusus; the soldiers who were already repentant, or who were assumed by him to be so (cf. novissimi, 28. 7).

gloria, desire for glory. Cf. 8. 2 n.
hostibus vertant. Vos quoque, quorum alia nunc ora, alia pectora contueor, si legatos senatui, obsequium imperatorii, si mihi coniugem et filium redditis, discedite a contactu ac dividite turbidos: id stable ad paenitentiam, id fidei vinculum erit.'

Supplices ad haec et vera exprobrari fatentes orabant puniret noxios, ignosceret lapsis, et duceret in hostem; revocaretur coniunx, duceret legionum alumnus neve obses Gallis traderetur. Reditum Agrippinae excusavit ob imminentem partum et hiemem; venturum filium; cetera ipsi exsequerentur. Discurrunt mutati et seditionissimum quemque vinctos trahunt ad legatum legionis primae C. Caetronium, qui iudicium et poenas de singulis in hunc modum exercuit. Stabant pro contione legiones destrictis gladiis; reus in suggestu per tribunum ostendebatur: si nocentem acclamaverant, praeceps datus trucidabatur. Et gaudebat caedibus miles, tam-

5. alia, changed.

si legatos: there seems to be a confusion in the writer's mind. The senatorial legati were already safely on their way home (39. 8), and no imprisonment of legioary legati has been mentioned. The phrase includi legatos (42. 7), as well as the present expression, are—so far as our knowledge goes—merely rhetorical.

imperatorii, the emperor.

turbidos: the ringleaders (se-ditosissimum quemque, 44. 3), who are not to be admitted to repentance.

44. alumnus: the youthful Caligula was a camp pet.

2. reditum: the accusative is regularly used with excuso to designate the person or the act apologized for; here it denotes the thing that she was excused from doing.

partum: nothing is known of any child of Agrippina born this year; if there was any, it must have been short-lived.

exsequentur: a hint for the massacre which followed.

3. vinctos: a plural adjective with a collective noun is rare before Livy.

legatum legionis primae until the Gallic campaigns of Caesar the legion was commanded by its six tribunes. Caesar detailed one of his legati to the command of each legion, and from this time the legatus legionis was the regular commander of the legion, until superseded in the second century by the praefectus castrorum (see note, 20. 1).

4. pro contione, in the manner of a public meeting. The camp had a forum in front of the tribunal (18. 4 n.), where the soldiers were addressed by their commander.
quam semet absolveret; nec Caesar arcebat, quando nullo ipsius iussu penes eosdem saevitia facti et invidia erat. Secuti exemplum veterani haud multo post in Raetiam mittuntur, specie defendendae provinciae ob imminentis Suebos, ceterum ut avellerentur castris trucibus adhuc non minus asperitate remedii quam sceleris memoria. Centurionatum inde egit. Citatus ab imperatore nomen ordinem patriam numerum stipendiorum, quae strenue in proeliis fecisset, et cui erant dona militaria edebat. Si tribuni, si legio industriam innocentiamque approbaverant, retinebat ordinem; ubi avaritiam aut crudelitatem consensu obiectavissent, solvebatur militia.

Sic compositis praesentibus haud minor moles supererat ob ferociam quintae et unetvicesimae legionum, sexagesimum apud lapidem (loco Vetera nomen est) 

6. exemplum: sc. legionum. 
Raetiam: this province comprised the southern part of Bavaria (Vindelicia), besides Tyrol (Raetia proper). It was conquered by Tiberius and Drusus, B.C. 15, and was governed by a procurator. Intr. 18, B. III. 
Suebos: the Suevi of South Germany, belonging to the Marcomanic kingdom of Maroboduus. See II. 26, 62. They were separated from Raetia by the Danube. 
ceterum, but in reality, by way of contrast with specie, etc. Cf. 10. 1. 
7. centurionatum: an examination of the list of centurions, with the object of rewarding merit, punishing the unworthy, and filling the places of those massacred. 
ordinem, rank. This depended upon the cohort to which each belonged; the first ranked highest, etc. See note on pri mi ordinis, 29. 2. 
patriam: they were Roman citizens, but natives of provinces. 
patria refers, however, to the native city, not to the province. 
da non militaria: e.g. torques, corona, etc. 
edebat: quisque is understood as antecedent to the subject of fecisset, and is as antecedent of cui. (Intr. 35 r.) 
8. avaritiam: in selling fur-loughs, etc.; see 17. 6. 
obiectavissent: the so-called subjunctive of repeated action, explained as a general condition: after Cicero, this may in Latin take a subjunctive (A. & G., § 309. b and 322.). With acclamaverant (4) and approbaverant above, the indicative is used. 
solvebatur: a dishonorable discharge. 
militia: ablative. 
45. Vetera: sc. castra; this was near the modern Xanten, on the left bank of the Rhine.
hibernantium. Nam primi seditionem coeptaverant; atrocissimum quodque facinus horum manibus patratum; nec poena commilitonum exterriti nec paenitentia con-
versi iras retinebant. Igitur Caesar arma classem socios
demittere Rheno parat, si imperium detrectetur, bello certaturus.

46 At Romae, nondum cognito qui fuisset exitus in Illyrico, et legionum Germanicarum motu audito, tre-
pida civitas incusare Tiberium quod, dum patres et plebem, invalida et inermia, cunctatione facta ludificetur,
dissidet interim miles neque duorum adulescentium nondum adulta auctoritate comprimi quæat. Ire ipsum et opponere maiestatem imperatoriam debuisse cessuris, ubi principem longa experientia eundemque severitatis et munificentiae summum vidissent. An Augustum fessa aetate totiens in Germanias co:nimineare potuisse: Tiberium vigentem annis sedere in senatu, verba pa-

trum cavillantem? Satis prospectum urbanei servituti;

nomen est and similar phrases Taci-
tus generally joins the nominative. Dräger.

2. iras: the plural of abstract nouns, not infrequent in the classi-
cal age, is used sparingly, but with a great variety of meaning, in later writers. (Intr. 35 a.)

3. certaturus: to overpower them by force.

arma: the first and twentieth legions.—socios: the auxiliaries, about equal to the legions in num-
bers.

46. invalida et inermia: in apposition with patres et plebem. The neuter expresses contempt.

2. debuisse: he ought to have already gone.

cessuris, who would have yielded. Cf. tracturis, 31. 1.

severitatis . . . summum: not referring to character, but to official power—very much what Drusus had said of the senate (25. 3).

3. an Augustum, etc.: a rhe-
torical question in indirect discourse, in which the second verb (sedere) is the principal one, really intro-
duced by an, while the first verb, potuisse, is subordinate, and in a sense conditional: seeing that Au-
gustus had been able, etc., does now Tiberius sit still? Cf. Cic. in Cat. 1.

3. An vero vir amplissimus, etc. in Germanias: cf. Suet. Oct. 20:

religua per ligatos administravit: ut lamen quibudam Pannonicos atque Germanicos aut interveniret aut non longe abesset, Ravennam vel Mediolanum vel Aquileiam usque ab urbe progressiems.

vigentem annis: in fact, he was fifty-six years old, while Augus-
militaribus animis adhibenda fomenta, ut ferre pacem velint. Immotum adversus eos sermones fixumque Ti-
berio fuit non omittere caput rerum neque se remque
publicam in casum dare. Multa quippe et diversa ange-
bant: validior per Germaniam exercitus, propior apud
Pannoniam; ille Galliarum opibus subnixus, hic Italiae
imminens; quos igitur anteferret? ac ne postpositi con-
tumelia incenderentur. At per filios pariter adiri maies-
tate salva, cui maior e longinquo reverentia. Simul
adulescentibus excusatum quaedam ad patrem reicere,
resistentisque Germanico aut Druso posse se mitigari
vel infringi: quod aliud subsidium, si imperatorem spre-
vissent? Ceterum ut iam iamque iturus legit comites,
conquisivit impedimenta, adornavit naves; mox hiemem
tus, at the last expedition he is known to have undertaken, was
fifty-five.

4. fomenta (from foveo), soothing applications.
militaribus, etc.: now that the free state has been reduced to servi-
tude, the army must be trained to peace.

47. immotum . . . fixumque
Tiberio fuit: Vergil, Aen. IV. 15: si mihi non animo fixum immo-
tumque sederit. See Intr. 34, 35 s.
omittere: cf. 28. 9; 36. 2.
caput rerum: his place as head of
the state, which was necessarily at Rome.

2. multa . . . angebant: i.e. the con-
sideration as to which would be
most perilous, to neglect the stronger,
or the nearer mutiny, or to visit
neither—the course finally adop-
ted.
quos: for utros.
ne . . . incenderentur: depends
upon the idea of fearing, contained
in angebant.

3. pariter: in relation to the two
armies; neither could consider itself
slighted, if both alike were visited
by an emperor’s son.
e longinquo: his dignity in-
spired more awe at a distance than
if he himself should visit the
legions.

4. excusatum, excusable: agree-
ing with the phrase quaedam, etc.
reicere, refer.

5. ceterum: cf. 3. 1.
ut: used with the participle like
the Greek ἀς,—a usage very rare
in classical Latin.

iam iamque iturus: upon the
very point of going. Suetonius, Tib.
38: Biennio continuo post adeptum
imperium pedem porta non extulit;
sequenti tempore, praeterquam in
propinqua oppida, et cum longis-
sime, Antio tenus, nusquam ait
idque perraro et paucos dies; quam-
vis provincias quoque et exercitus
revisurum se saepe pronuntiasset,
et prope quottannis professionem
praepararet, vehiculis comprehen-
sis, commeatibus per municipia et
colonias dispositis, ad extremum
aut negotia varie causatus primo prudentes, dein vulgum, diutissime provincias fefellit.

48 At Germanicus, quamquam contracto exercitu et parata in defectores ultione, dandum adhuc spatium ratus, si recenti exemplo sibi ipsi consulerent, praemittit litteras ad Caecinam, venire se valida manu ac, si supplicium in malos praesumant, usurum promisca caede.

2 Eas Caecina aquiliferis signiferisque et quod maxime castrorum sincerum erat occulte recitat, utque cunctos infamiae, se ipsos morti eximant hortatur: nam in pace causas et merita spectari; ubi bellum ingruat, inno-centes ac noxios iuxta cadere. Illi temptatis quos idoneos rebantur, postquam maiorem legionum partem in officio vident, de sententia legati statuunt tempus quo foedissimum quemque et seditionem promptum ferro invadant. Tunc signo inter se dato irrumpt contubernia, trucidant ignaros, nullo nisi consciis noscente quod caedis initium, quis finis. Diversa omnium, quae...
umquam accidere, civilium armorum facies. Non proelio, non adversis e castris, sed isdem e cubilibus, quos simul vescentis dies, simul quietos nox habuerat, discedunt in partes, ingerunt in partibus, ingerunt tela. Clamor vulnera palam, causa in occulto; cetera fors regit. Et quidam bonorum caesi, postquam intellecto in quos saeviretur pessimi quoque arma rapuerant. Neque legatus aut tribunus moderator adfuit; permissa vulgo licentia et ultio et satietas. Mox ingressus castra Germanicus, non medicinam illud, plurimis cum lacrimis, sed cladem appellans, cremari corpora iubet.

Truces etiam tum animos cupidio involat eundi in hostem: piaculum furoris, nec aliter posse placari commiliton manes quam si pectoribus impii honesta vulnera accepissent. Sequitur ardores militum Caesar iuncto etque ponte tramittit duodecim milia e legionibus, sex et viginti socias cohortis, octo equitum alas, quarum ea seditione intemerata modestia fuit.

and helps explain the terrorism of the closing years of Tiberius.

49. armorum: best taken as limiting diversa. This construction does not occur elsewhere in extant Latin, but is quite in accordance with Tacitus' free use of the genitive case. Diversus may be construed like dissimilis with the dative: its use with the genitive would be consistent with this. Many editors join armorum with facies: the appearance, etc., was unlike this.

2. discedunt in partes, draw off on two sides.

cetera, what followed.

3. intellecto: Intr. 35 a.

4. illud: such appositives must, in definitions, be in the neuter, to mark the contrast between subject and predicate conceptions. Dräger.

plurimis cum lacrimis: if this had been narrated of Tiberius, these would have been called 'crocodile tears.'

5. truces animos: of the obedient soldiers, after the massacre of the mutineers.

piaculum: sc. fore; connected by nec with aliter posse, etc., and expressing their motives. Some put piaculum in direct apposition with eundi in hostem (Intr. 35 g).

6. iuncto ponte, throwing a bridge across. Iungere is used of fastening the timbers together in constructing the bridge.

duodecim milia: as each legion contained normally 6000 men, this selected force was equal to about two full legions.

cohortis: of auxiliary troops, who were organized in cohorts, but
50. Laeti neque procul Germani agitabant, dum iustitio
ob amissum Augustum, post discordiis attinemur. At
Romanus agmine proprio silvam Caesiam limitemque
a Tiberio coeptum scindit, castra in limite locat, frontem
ac tertum vallo, latera concaedibus munitus. Inde saltus
obscuros permeat consultatque, ex duobus itineribus
breve et solitum sequatur an impeditius et intentatum
eoque hostibus incautus. Delecta longiore via cetera

not in legions. *Legiones and cohortes* are regularly used to design-
nate Roman and auxiliary troops respectively; *alas* also relates to
auxiliary troops, all the cavalry being furnished by the auxiliaries.
An *ala* contained either 480 or 960 men.

*quarum*: relates to both *cohortes* and *alas*. See note on
*auxilia*, 36. 2. For the geography of the expedition see *Excursus*, at
end of this book.

50. *agitabant* = *erant* or *degebant*: a meaning frequent in Sallust
and Tacitus.


*silvam Caesiam*: this name appears to be preserved in that of the
modern *Heisingen*, nearly east of Xanten, and south of the Lippe.

*limes*: this term originally designated the road-way, of varying
breadth, separating the squares of land laid out according to the rules
of the Roman *Agrimensores*. It thus came to mean any artificial
road-way, and especially any artificially constructed boundary, as contrasted with natural boundaries
(rivers, mountain-ranges, etc.). It was not a line, but a belt of some
width (*castra in limite locat*) defended by earthworks (II. 7), ditches,
masonry, and redoubts, and could only be crossed at certain points,
answering to bridges over a river (Mommsen, *Provinces*, I. 132).

Nothing is known of the *limes* here mentioned, except from this pas-
sage; but it may be supposed to have been laid out by Tiberius
when he took command of the troops in this region after the de-
feat of Varus, as a defence against the insurgent Germans (see Meri-
vale, *Hist.*, IV. 278). This policy was afterwards carried out along
the greater part of the German frontier, especially that long stretch,
unprotected by rivers, from the neighborhood of Mentz on the
Rhine to Ratisbon on the Danube; the *limes* here was constructed prin-
cipally by Domitian. The walls of Hadrian and Antonine in Britain
are examples of the same policy. The *limes* in this passage would
appear to have been about a day’s march from the Roman camp at
Vetara. So far was Roman terri-
tory; beyond this the Romans were in the enemy’s country, and, their
course was doubtful.

*coeptum, laid out.*

*scindit, penetrates*; there is a kind of *zeugma* here, — they pene-
trated the forest, and reached the *limes*, upon which they entered, thus
‘cutting’ it in two, and encamped, using its walls for two sides of their
camp.

*frontem*, etc.: Greek accusatives, common in poetry, but not found in
prose writers of the classical period.

*concaedibus, abatis*; to protect
accelerantur; etenim attulerant exploratores festam eam Germanis noctem ac sollemnibus epulis ludicram. Cae-
cina cum expeditis cohortibus praeire et obstantia silva-
rum amoliri iubetur; legiones modico intervallo sequun-
tur. Iuvit nox sideribus inlustris, ventumque ad vicos Marsorum et circundatae stationes stratis etiam tum
per cubilia propterque mensas, nullo metu, non antepositis vigiliis; adeo cuncta inuria disiecta erant neque
belli timor, ac ne pax quidem nisi languida et soluta
inter temulentos. Caesar avidas legiones, quo latior populatio foret, quattuor in cuneos dispertit; quinquaginta milium spatium ferro flammisque pervastat. Non

the sides, between the front and rear walls of the *tmes.

3. *incautum*, unguarded; used as a participle, and followed by the dative of the agent.

5. *expeditis*, lightly equipped; leaving their baggage and whatever else they could behind them.

*obstantia silvarum*: a partitive genitive, nearly equivalent to *obstantes silvas*. Inr. 35 d.

6. *Marsorum*: this nation, only mentioned casually in the *Germania* (2), as *antiquum nomen*, occupied the country south of the Lippe, bordering upon the Chatti. The point reached by Germanicus is believed by Knoke (*Die Feldzüge des Germanicus in Deutschland*, 1887, p. 30) to be Herdecke on the Ruhr. Near this point three smaller streams empty into the Ruhr, which would explain the plundering in four directions, described in the next chapter. According to Knoke, the Romans followed the Lippe east for two days' march, and then turned abruptly to the south. He places the *silva Caesia* north of Herdecke, at the end of the third day's march,—a situation which does not agree with Tacitus, from whom we gather that it was traversed on the first day. Moreover, the *tmes* is likely to have been near the Rhine, and parallel with it, not with the Ruhr.

*stratis*: *sc. Germanis*.

7. *neque belli timor*: for the reason given at the beginning of the chapter,—the mutiny of the legions had thrown them off their guard.

*ne pax quidem*: not even the degree of discipline and order which is necessary in peace.

*inter temulentos*: Inr. 35 i.

51. *cuneos*, *columns*. In actual fighting, the *cuneus* (*caput porciniun*, "boar's head," in soldier Latin) was a wedge-shaped column, the advantage of which was *quia a pluribus in unum locum tela mittuntur* (Vegetius, III. 19). On this occasion, for plunder and slaughter merely, it was probably an ordinary column. The four columns were probably despatched up the Ruhr and its three branches. See note on *Marsorum*, 50. 6.

*quinquaginta milium*: probably the space covered by the expeditions.

2. *non sexus*, etc.: Arnold (*Deutsche Urzeit*, p. 71) remarks
sexus, non aetas miserationem attulit; profana simul et sacra et celeberrimum illis gentibus templum quod Tam-fanæ vocabant solo aequantur. Sine vulnere milites, qui semisomnos, inermos, aut palantis ceciderant.

4 Excivit ea caedes Bructeros Tubantes Usipetes, saltusque per quos exercitui regressus insedere. Quod gnarum duci, incessitque itineri et proelio. Pars equitum et auxiliariae cohortes ducebant; mox prima legio, et mediis impedimentis sinistrum latus unetvicesimani, dextrum quintani clausere, vicesima legio terga firmavit; post ceteri sociorum. Sed hostes, donec agmen per saltus porrigeretur immoti, dein latera et frontem modice adsultantes, tota vi novissimos incurrere. Turbabanturque densis Germanorum catervis leves cohortes, cum Caesar advectus ad vicesimanos voce magna hoc illud tempus oblitterandae seditionis clamitabat: pergerent, properarent culpam in decus vertere. Exarsere animis unoque impetu erruptum hostem redigunt in aperta caeduntque; simul primi agminis copiae evasere silvas

that the campaigns of Drusus and Tiberius were for conquest; those of Germanicus, for revenge.

templum: probably a sacred grove, which was cut down. Tacitus says (Germ. 9), nec cohibere parietibus deos neque in ullam humani oris speciem assimilare ex magnitudine caelestium arbitrantur. At the same time, he speaks (40) of the templum of Nerthus. But, as is well known, a Roman templum (consecrated place) was not necessarily an aedes (building).

Tamfanæ: genitive: nothing is known of this deity.

4. Bructeros, etc.: the Bructeri and Usipetes lived upon the Rhine, north of the Lippe; the Tubantes changed their residence at various times, but would appear at this time to have been along the upper course of the Lippe. These tribes could, therefore, easily beset the path of the army on its return.

exercitui: Intr. 35 f.

gnarum: passive; see 5. 4 n.

itineri et proelio, for marching and fighting. (Intr. 35 f.)

5. prima legio, etc.: of course this means the contingents from the several legions.

6. porrigeretur: Intr. 35 f.

7. leves cohortes: these were the ceteri sociorum, —light-armed only, as contrasted with the heavy-armed legionaries.

illud: that they had desired.
castraque communivere. Quietum inde iter, fidensque 9 recentibus ac priorum oblitus miles in hibernis locatur.


Eodem anno Iulia supremum diem obiit, ob impu- 53 dicitiam olim a patre Augusto Pandateria insula, mox oppido Reginorum, qui Siculum fretum accluent, clausa. Fuerat in matrimonio Tiberii florentibus Gaio et Lucio 2
Caesaribus spreveratque ut imparem; nec alia tam intima Tiberio causa cur Rhodum abscederet. Imperium adeptus extorrem, infamem, et post interfectum Postumum Agrippam omnis spei egenam, inopia ac tabe longa peremit, obscuram fore necem longinquitate exsilii ratus. Par causa saevitiae in Sempronium Gracchum, qui familia nobili, sollers ingenio et prave facundus, eandem Iuliam in matrimonio Marci Agrippae temera-verat. Nec is libidini finis: traditam Tiberio pervicax adulter contumacia et odiis in maritum accendebat; litteræque, quas Iulia patri Augusto cum insectatione Tiberii scripsit, a Graccho compositae credebantur. Igitur amotus Cercinam, Africi maris insulam, quattuordecim annis exsilium toleravit. Tunc milites ad caedem missi invenere in prominenti litoris, nihil laetum opperentem. Quorum adventu breve tempus petivit ut su-prema mandata uxori Alliariae per litteras daret, cervi-

2. imparem: although the Claudian gens was as noble as the Julian, and far more noble than that of Julia's first husband, Agrippa, it had not yet any recognized rank as a royal family. See Intr. 26.

Rhodum: see 4. 4 and notes.

3. Postumum Agrippam: her youngest son (6. 1); his death deprived her of all hope of regaining her freedom.

inopia ac tabe longa: Suetonius says (Tib. 50): peculio concesso a patre praebitisque annuis fraudavit. On the other hand, in 11 he says that Tiberius' sense of justice was so great that, after his divorce from Julia, he interceded with her father for her, and left to her, utcumque meritae, whatever he had given her. The present statement is, therefore, probably untrue or exagger-ated.

4. familia nobili . . . facundus: these three phrases illustrate Tacitus' fondness for variety of expression (Intr. 35 r).

prave facundus, eloquent, but unscrupulous; he employed his eloquence in the support of bad causes.

5. traditam: i.e. in marriage; it agrees with cam, understood as the object of accendebat.

6. Africi maris: in the Lesser Syrtis (near Tripoli).

quattuordecim annis: a rare ablative of length of time. This discrepancy (of a single year) between the period of his banishment and Julia's may be explained by the supposition that he was the tribune of the plebs mentioned by Dio (LV. 10), whose banishment was deferred to the end of his magistracy. Or he may have been put to death by Augustus.

7. in prominenti litoris: Intr.
cemque percussoribus obtulit, constantia mortis haud indignus Sempronio nomine; vita degeneraverat. Quidam non Roma eos milites, sed ab L. Asprenate pro consule Africae missos tradidere auctore Tiberio, qui famam caedis posse in Asprenatem verti frustra speraverat.


35 d. This construction in the case of a neuter adjective governed by a preposition is very rare, even in the silver age.


9. *auctore*, at the instigation of.

54. *sodalium Augustalium*: a collegium, in honor of Julius, Augustus, and afterwards Livia and Claudius. It consisted, as is said below, of twenty-one of the leading men of the state, to whom certain members of the imperial family were added. The seat of their cult was Bovillæ (near the modern Albano, about twelve miles from Rome), the original home of the Julian gens. An inscription found here reads, *Vediovei patrei gentiles Iuliei... aara lege Albana dicata*. See II. 41. 1.

*retinendis sacris*: dative; see Intr. 35 f.

*sodales Titios*: of this ancient college very little is known. Its name associates it with the patrician tribes of Titics, and the fact that it was charged with the special duty of preserving the Sabine *sacra* supports the generally accepted view, that the Tities were the Sabine element of the Roman people.


3. *ludos*: see note on Augustales, 15. 3.

*histrionum, pantomimes*: the pantomime had so far superseded other forms of the drama, that the term *histrio* has at this period come to be confined to its actors.

*ei ludicro*: *i.e.* pantomimes.

*dum obtemperat, out of courtesy*. This causal use of *dum* is rare in Cicero, but common in later writers.

*Bathylli*: a native of Alexandria, and a freedman of Mecenas; he was, with Pylades, a freedman of Augustus, the creator of this branch of drama.

*civile*: he was fond of parading his republican simplicity.
rebatur misceri voluptatibus vulgi. Alia Tiberio morum via: sed populum per tot annos molliter habitum non-dum audebat ad duriora vertere.

Druso Caesare C. Norbano consulibus decernitur Germanico triumphus manente bello; quod quamquam in aestatem summa ope parabat, initio veris et repente in Chattos excursu praecepit. Nam spes incesserat dissidere hostem in Arminium ac Segestem, insignem utrumque perfidia in nos aut fide. Arminius turbator Germaniae; Segestes parari rebellionem saepe alias et supremo convivio, post quod in arma itum, aperuit suasitque Varo ut se et Arminium et ceteros proceres vinciret: nihil ausuram plebem principibus amotis, atque

misceri: reflexive; mingle himself, take part in.

4. molliter habitum, humored.

55. Druso Caesare, etc.: the consuls of the new year, B.C. 15. It was usual at this period to have the consuls hold office for only half a year, the object being to increase the number of those who were qualified to hold certain offices reserved for consulares; e.g. the governorships of Asia, Africa, Britain, etc. In the reign of Tiberius there was great irregularity in this respect. Momm. Rom. St. II. 79. The first pair of consuls for each year were eponymous, i.e. gave their name to the year.

triumphus: this triumph was celebrated two years later, A.D. 17; see II. 41. 2. To vote a triumph before the conclusion of the war (manente bello) was very unusual. initio veris, etc., in early spring, by a sudden raid (involving a change of plan). For this use of et, cf. such phrases as multi et boni, and 29. 1, orto die et vocata contione.

Chattos: the modern Hessans, dwelling south of the nations invaded the year before. This campaign, like that against the Marsi the year before, was only preliminary to the great expedition of the present year against the Cherusci.

2. dissidere in, were divided into factions between.

Arminium, Hermann, the leader of the Germans in the defeat of Varus, A.D. 9. He had served in the Roman army, and received Roman citizenship and equestrian rank (Vell. II. 118).

aut: bad faith in one contrasted with loyalty in the other; cf. 28. 3 n.

3. Arminius: sc. erat.
et, and especially.
quod: relates to convivium.
itum: sc. est.
suasit, advised.

proceres, nobles; principibus, chiefs: the former by birth, the latter by election (Germ. 12). We are not to understand from this passage that the two classes were identical, but that the elected mag-
ipsi tempus fore quo crimina et innoxios discerneret. Sed Varus fato et vi Arminii cecidit; Segestes quam consensu gentis in bellum tractus discors mane-bat, auctis privatim odiis, quod Arminius filiam eius alli pactam rapuerat, gener invisus inimici soceri; quae-que apud concordes vincula caritatis, incitamenta irarum apud infensos erant.

Igitur Germanicus quattuor legiones, quinque auxili- arium milia et tumultuarias catervas Germanorum cis Rhenum colentium Caecinae tradit; totidem legiones, duplicem sociorum numerum ipse ducit, positoque castello super vestigia paterni praesidii in monte Tauno expeditum exercitum in Chattos rapit, L. Apronio ad

istrates were as a general thing taken from the hereditary nobility. 

ipsi: Varus. 

crimina et innoxios, the guilty and the innocent (Intr. 35 r).

4. quamquam ... tractus: Intr. 35 j. — consensu gentis: he was dragged into the war against his judgment, by the unanimity of his people.

discors, at variance; i.e. with Arminius; cf. 58. 5.

gener invisus inimici soceri: some editors put a comma after invisus, which put the magistrate nominative, pointing to an unfriendly feeling between Sigimerus, father of Arminius, and Segestes, father of his wife Thusnelda. There is no occasion, however, to drag in Sigimerus. The objection to making soceri genitive is that then both epithets express the feelings of Segestes, — an apparent tautology. But the two adjectives express different degrees, and perhaps different stages of enmity, — inimicus, unfriendly, relating purely to feeling, which was perhaps of long standing; while invisus, hated, suggests a specific ground of the feeling, — his revolutionary plans, or his elopement with his daughter. Cf. Suet. Cal. 15: nihil sibi admis-sum cur cuiquam invisus esset.

56. tumultuarias, hastily levied.

cis Rhenum colentium: the Ubii, Sugambri, etc.; see note on Ubiorum, 31. 3.

Caecinae: he was to advance, as the sequel shows, in Germanicus' route of the previous year, between the Ruhr and the Lippe. He had the army of Lower Germany.

paterni praesidii: Drusus had established two posts, — one on Mt. Taunus, the other (Aliso) on the Lippe.

monte Tauno: this is north of the Main, near Homburg. He had set out from Moguntiacum (Mentz), taking with him the four legions of Upper Germany.

expeditum: not light-armed, but unincumbered, sc. with baggage, etc., so as to be capable of a rapid march (rapit).

L. Apronio: one of his legati, who had been consul A.D. 8. He
munitiones viarum et fluminum relictto. Nam, rarum illi caelo, siccitate et amnibus modicis inoffensum iter properaverat, imbresque et fluminum auctus regredi-}  
{2 tanti metuebantur. Sed Chattis adeo improvisus advenit ut quod imbecillum aetate ac sexu statim captum aut trucidatum sit. Ivuentus flumen Adranam nando tra-}  
{3 miserat, Romanosque pontem coeptantis arcebant. Dein tormentis sagittisque pulsi, temptatis frustra condicioni-}  
{4 bus pacis, cum quidam ad Germanicum perfugissent, reliqui omissis pagis vicisque in silvas disperguntur.}  
{5 Caesar incenso Mattio (id genti caput) aperta populatus vertit ad Rhenum, non auso hoste terga abuentium lacessere, quod illi moris quotiens astu magis quam per formidinem cessit. Fuerat animus Cheruscis iuvare was probably left at the fort on Mount Taunus.

2. rarum illi caelo: so dry a season that the march was uninter-rupted (inoffensum). Tacitus calls the country asperam caelo (Ger. 2). regredienti: dative of reference; on his way back.

4. ivuentus: they alone escaped from the slaughter, swam across the Eder, which here flows nearly east, and at this stream resisted the Roman advance.

Adranam: now the Eder (a branch of the Fulda, which it joins near Cassel), a little east of north of the Taunus.

5. tormentis (from torqued): machines which served the purpose of artillery, constructed on the principle of a bow. They were of two classes, — catapultae, like immense cross-bows, shooting bolts in a nearly horizontal direction; and ballistae, which were directed at an angle of about forty-five degrees, and hurled stones, beams, etc.

pagis vicisque, cantons and vil-}


gages. The words are not contrasted with one another, as independent localities; rather, the districts in which the villages were situated; they left the settled districts to escape into the forest. Cf. per pagos vicosque, Germ. 12, with the remarks of Sohm, Alfränkische Reichs- und Gerichtsverfassung, Chap. 1.

6. Mattio: this place must have been north of the Eder; its name appears again in that of the Mattiacci, who inhabited the modern Nassau in the time of Tacitus (Germ. 29), but appear at this time to have lived further north. Nipper-dey. The early Germans had no cities, but lived in scattered villages, and Mattium can have been only a village of unusual size.

vertit, returned: Intr. 35 b.

illi: relating to hoste; dative of possession.

moris: limiting quod in the predicate; which belonged to their custom.

quotiens . . . cessit, whenever they retreated.
Chattos, sed exterruit Caecina huc illuc ferens arma; et Marsos congregi ausos prospero proelio cohibuit.

Neque malto post legati a Segeste venerunt auxilium 57 orantes adversus vim popularium, a quis circumsedebatur, validiore apud eos Arminio, quoniam bellum suadebat; nam barbaris, quanto quis audacia promptus, tanto magis fidus rebusque commotis potior habetur. Adderat Segestes legatis filium, nomine Segimundum; sed iuvenis conscientia cunctabatur. Quippe anno quo Germaniae descivere sacerdos apud aram Ubiorum creatus ruperat vittas, profugus ad rebelles. Adductus tamen in spera clementiae Romanae pertulit patris mandata benignaque exceptus cum praesidio Gallicam in ripam missus est.

7. Cheruscis: they lived to the northeast of the Chatti, in the modern Hanover. Under the leadership of Arminius, they were the foremost people of Germany; when Tacitus wrote they had fallen into a secondary rank (Germ. 36).

exterruit Caecina: by advancing in an easterly direction from Vetera (§ 1), he made a diversion in favor of Germanicus, defeating the Marsi and preventing the Cheruci from assembling.

huc illuc: in the Agricola (10) Tacitus still used the more common classical form, hoc atque illuc.

57. validiore, more influential, promptus . . . magis fidus: Intr. 35 m.

2. conscientia: i.e. of his previous want of fidelity. The omission of the genitive marks an approach to the modern meaning, conscience.

quippe: an asservative particle, in truth. Its frequent use in classical Latin to emphasize a causal relation, gave the word by degrees a causal meaning, so that it is used by the later writers as nearly equivalent to quoniam or etenim.

Germaniae: i.e. the nations of Germany.

apud aram Ubiorum: within the Roman lines. The cult was probably that of Augustus and Rome, to take part in which was a recognition of the Roman sovereignty. According to Guiraud (Les assemblées provinciales dans l'empire romain, p. 54), the choice of a native German as priest shows an intention to make the altar "serve as a religious and political centre for the populations of the right bank of the Rhine"; afterwards for the two provinces of Germany.

ruperat vittas: as a sign of renouncing the Roman service.

rebelles: this word does not imply rebellion, but a renewal of war.

3. adductus: i.e. on the present occasion.

cum praesidio, under guard: he was treated as a prisoner, and carried in Germanicus' triumphal procession (Strabo, VII. p. 291).
Germanico pretium fuit convertere agmen, pugnatum-que in obsidentis, et ereptus Segestes magna cum pro- pinquorum et clientium manu. Inerant feminae nobiles, inter quas uxor Arminii eademque filia Segestis, maritis magis quam parentis animo, neque victa in lacrimas neque voce supplices, compressis intra sinum manibus gravidum uterum intuens. Ferebantur et spolia Varianae cladis, plerisque eorum qui tum in deditionem veniebant praedae data; simul Segestes ipse, ingens visu et memoria bonae societatis impavidus. Verba eius in hunc modum fuere: *Non hic mihi primus erga populum Romae num fidei et constantiae dies. Ex quo a divo Augusto civitate donatus sum, amicos inimicosque ex vestris utilitatibus delegi, neque odio patriae (quippe prae- tiores etiam iis quos anteponunt invis), verum quia Romanis Germanisque idem conducere et pacem quam bellum probabam. Ergo raptorem filiae meae, violatorem foederis vestri, Arminium apud Varum, qui

4. pretium fuit *sc. opera*, *was worth while*: *i.e.* to go to the succor of Segestes.

convertere, *reverse his march*. He was on his way back to the Rhine, and now marched again towards the enemy.

obsidentes: *sc. Segestem*. clientium: the comites, or personal followers, described in the *Germania*, 13 and 14. The personal relation was similar to that of the Roman client, but with the important difference that it was an honorable one, establishing no social inferiority.

5. uxor Arminii: her name is given by Strabo (VII. p. 292) as Thusnelda, her son's as Thumelicus.

animo: an ablative of characteristic, the limiting genitive taking the place of a qualifying adjective.

in lacrimas: this preposition, as often in Tacitus, expresses a result. (Intr. 35 i.)

6. spolia: *e.g.* weapons, badges of honor, standards, etc.

tum, *now*: *i.e.* at the time of the present surrender, as shown by the imperfect veniebant.

data, *which had been given*: *i.e.* at their victory over Varus.

ingens visu: *cf. procula membra, 64. 3.*

bonae societatis, *his steadfast loyalty."

58. 2. civitate donatus sum: to bestow citizenship was one of the prerogatives of the prince.

ex vestris utilitatisbus, *in accordance with your interests.*

idem conducere: is, by a sort of zeugma, made to depend on *probabam.*
tum exercitui praesidebat, reum feci. Dilatus segnitia ducis, quia parum praesidii in legibus erat, ut me et Arminium et conscios vinciret flagitavi: testis illa nox, mihi utinam potius novissima! Quae secuta sunt, de- fleri magis quam defendi possunt; ceterum et inieci catenas Arminio et a factione eius iniecutas perpessus sum. Atque ubi primum tui copia, vetera novis et quieta turbidis antehabeo, neque ob praemium, sed ut me perfidia exsolvam, simul genti Germanorum idoneus conciliator, si paenitentiam quam perniciem maluerit. Pro iuventa et errore filii veniam precor. Filiam necessitate huc adductam fateor; tuum erit consultare utrum praevaleat, quod ex Arminio concepit an quod ex me genita est.' Caesar clementi responso libris propin- quisque eius incoluitatem, ipsi sedem vetere in provincia pollicetur. Exercitum reduxit nomenque imperatoris auctore Tiberio accepit. Arminii uxor virilis sexus stirpem edidit; educatus Ravennae puer quo mox ludibrio conflictatus sit, in tempore memorabo.

4. quia, etc.: with flagitavi. illa nox: that of the convivium, mentioned 55. 3.
5. quae secuta sunt: i.e. his participation in the attack on Varus; see 55. 4.
inieci catenas, etc.: nothing is known of these circumstances.
6. ubi primum: that is, now at last that.
tui copia, access to you.
antehabeo: only here and IV. II. 5.
me perfidia, etc., acquit myself of bad faith; i.e. by his acquiescence (55. 4).
7. filii: Segimundus.
necessitate: i.e. not by her free will.
8. vetera in provincia: this side of the Rhine, which had been a Roman province ever since the time of Julius Caesar. Here many Germans were settled from time to time, as subjects of the Roman empire, rendering military service for the lands they occupied. See note on Ubiorum, 31. 3.
9. nomen imperatoris: the honorary designation of a victorious general, bestowed by the soldiers under the republic by acclamation. It was now given by the senate, at the motion of the emperor; as a special honor it is contrasted with the official title of the prince himself.
memorabo: probably in the lost books, for nothing further is known of this. He is mentioned by Tacitus (A.D. 47, XI. 16) as apparently
59 Fama dediti benignaeque excepti Segestis vulgata, ut quibusque bellum invitis aut cupientibus erat, spe vel dolore accipitur. Arminium super insitam violentiam rapta uxor, subjectus servitio uxoris uterus vecordem agebant, volitatabque per Cheruscos, arma in Segestem, arma in Caesarem poscens. Neque probris temperabat: egregium patrem, magnum imperatorem, fortem exercitum, quorum tot manus unam mulierculam avexerint! Sibi tres legiones, totidem legatos procubuisse; non enim se proditio neque adversus feminas gravidas, sed palam adversus armatos bellum tractare. Cerni adhuc Germanorum in lucis signa Romana, quae dis patriis suspen
derit. Coleret Segestes victam ripam, redderet filio sacerdotium hominum: Germanos numquam satis excusaturos quod inter Albim et Rhefium virgas et secures et togam viderint. Aliis gentibus ignorantia imperii Romani inexperta esse supplicia, nescia tributa: quae quoniam exuerint irritusque discesserit ille inter numina dicatus Augustus, ille delectus Tiberius, ne imperitum

already dead, and as devoid of all national sentiments,—injectum almenio servito cultu, omnibus externis.

59. dediti . . . vulgata . . . rapta, etc.: Intr. 35 q.

invitis aut cupientibus: a dative of interest like the Greek αὐτοῖς βουλομένοις ἵν: according as they were unwilling or desirous. Intr. 35 s.

3. patrem (i.e. Segestes), etc.: accusatives of exclamation.

4. procubuisses: i.e. in the defeat of Varus.

6. victam ripam: i.e. the left or Roman bank of the Rhine (vetere in provincia, 58. 8), where Segestes was now to dwell.

sacerdotium hominum: an expression of bitter contempt; the Germans worshipped the gods alone (dis patriis); the Romans, rēn. See App. I.

virgas et secures: the fasces, or bundle of rods, enclosing an axe,—the badge of Roman authority.

togam: the toga was the specific Roman garment, worn by none but Romans, the gens togata. It was a long, narrow shawl of unbleached wool, bluntly rounded to a point at each end. As the toga was only worn in civil life, its use here points, perhaps, to a completed conquest and organized government.

7. nescia, unknown.

irritus discesserit, withdrew baffled: includes both Augustus and Tiberius.

delectus, chosen, as alone worthy to succeed Augustus; used ironically. Cf. 7. 10.
adulescentulum, ne seditiosum exercitum pavescerent. Si patriam parentes antiqua mallent quam dominos et colonias novas, Arminium potius gloriae ac libertatis quam Segestem flagitiosae servitutis ducem sequeruntur.

Conciti per haec non modo Cheruscii, sed conterminae gentes, tractusque in partis Inguiomers Arminii patruus, vetere apud Romanos auctoritate; unde maior Caesar metus. Et ne bellum mole una ingrueret, Cecinam cum quadraginta cohortibus Romanis distrahendo hosti per Bructeros ad flumen Amisiam mittit, equitem Pedo praefectus finibus Frisiorum ducit. Ipse imposi-

adulescentulum: Germanicus was really of about the same age as Arminius, but might easily seem a mere boy to the war-worn hero of the Teutoburg Forest.

8. novas: i.e. which are new things — contrasted with antiqua. The contrast with patriam shows that the colonies referred to are, like that of the Ubii (Cologne), those to which they might be removed on Roman soil, not such as the Romans might found on German soil.

60. non modo . . . sed: the omission of etiam is rare in Cicero, but common in Livy and later writers.

in partis, into the party; a common expression.

vetere apud Romanos auctoritate, of long-standing influence with the Romans; i.e. before the revolt of Arminius.

2. mole una: i.e. the concentration of the entire force of the enemy; see distrahendo hosti below.

quadraginta cohortibus Romanis: an equivalent expression for four entire legions. Germanicus had the other four. From suum miliitem, 63. 5, it appears that Cecina had his own legions, but there is no mention of auxiliaries.

per Bructeros: they occupied the territory between the Ems and the Lippe, about the modern city of Münster. The route of Cecina probably avoided the highlands upon the Lippe, as well as the centre of the Bructerian territory, and reached the Ems in the neighborhood of Rheine, about five miles north of Münster, and nearly west of Osnaburg: along this line the traces of a Roman road have been discovered. (Knoke, p. 50.) At the same point the cavalry under Pedo must have struck the Ems, because below here begin the marshes, which make the river inaccessible from the west (id. p. 53). Germanicus could easily have reached the same point in his ships.

hosti: the Cheruscii, against whom the campaign was directed.

praefectus: sc. equitum.

Pedo: probably the Pedo Albivanus, mentioned by Seneca (Suas. I. 15), as having composed a poem upon the expeditions of Germanicus; a few lines of this poem are given by Seneca. See II. 24. 6 n.

finibus: a local ablative; by the way of, etc.

Frisiorum: the Frisians, on the coast of the North Sea, from the
tas navibus quattuor legiones per lacus vexit; simulque pedes eques classis apud praedictum amnem convenere. Chauci cum auxilia pollicerentur, in commilitium adscitti sunt. Bructeros sua uentis expedita cum manu L. Stertinius missu Germanici fudit; interque caedem et praedam repperit undevicesimae legionis aquilam cum Varo amissam. Ductum inde agmen ad ultimos Bructerorum, quantumque Amisiam et Lupiam amnes inter vastatum, haud procul Teutoburgiensi saltu, in quo reliquiae Vari legionumque insepultae dicebantur.

61 Igitur cupido Caesarem invadit solvendi suprema militibus ducique, permoto ad miserationem omni qui aderat exercitu ob propinquos, amicos, denique ob casus bellorum et sortem hominum. Praemisso Caecina, ut occulta saltuum scrutaretur pontesque et aggeres umido paludum et fallacibus campis imponeret, incedunt maes-

Rhine to the Ems, also extending some distance inland, where they have resided ever since. Pedo must have proceeded down the Rhine to some point in the territory of the Frisians (perhaps near Deventer) from whence he could march east to the Ems.

3. per lacus: the lagoons and estuaries along the coast. The Zuyder Zee was formed out of them about six hundred years ago, by a succession of inundations, which swept away great stretches of lowland, and converted the numerous small sheets of water into a great bay.

pedes eques classis: these three bodies, under Cæcina, Pedo, and Germanicus, respectively, met upon the Ems, apud praedictum amnem, probably at Rheine. The strategy of Germanicus, in reaching the Ems by so long a circuit, has been censured; but it must be re-

membered that water passage is speedier and easier than that by land.

Chauci: see 38. 1 n.
4. sua uentis: in order not to afford supplies for the Romans.
aquilam: for the recovery of a second eagle, see II. 25; the third was recovered in the reign of Claudius.
5. agmen: i.e. that of Germanicus, who probably followed the Ems in a southeasterly direction, while Stertinius was engaged in chastising the Bructerii.

Amisiam . . . inter: Intr. 35 i.
Teutoburgiensi saltu: see Excur sus at the end of this Book.
61. omni . . . aderat: Stertinius (60. 4) had now joined him.

2. umido paludum: nearly the same as umidis paludibus (Intr. 35 d'); cf. uligines paludum, 17. 5.
tos locos visuque ac memoria deformis. Prima Varus la castra lato ambitu et dimensis principiis trium legionum manus ostentabant; dein semiruto vallo, humili fossa accisae iam reliquiae consedisse intellegebantur. Medio campi albentia ossa, ut fugerant, ut restiterant, disiecta vel aggerata. Adiacebant fragmina telorum equorumque artus, simul truncis arborum antefixa ora. Lucis pinquis barbarae arae, apud quas tribunos ac primorum ordinum centuriones mactaverant. Et cladis eius superstites, pugnam aut vincula elapsi, referebant hic cecidisse legatos, illic raptas aquilas; primum ubi vulnus Varo adactum, ubi infelici dextera et suo ictu mortem invenerit; quo tribunali contionatus Arminius, quot patibula captivis, quae scrobes, utque signis et aquilis per superbiam illuserit. Igitur Romanus qui aderat exercitus sextum post cladis annum trium legionum ossa, nullo

locos: the masculine plural of this word is common for loca in early and late writers, but rare in the classical period.

3. prima: evidently the first camp which they came upon, which, it seems, was also the one occupied by Varus after the first day's fight. This would naturally be the case if Germanicus approached from the north, the valley of the Em.

principiis: the via principalis, or main street, running across the camp from north to south, separating the part (about one-third of its area) which contained the officers' quarters, stores, etc., from that occupied by the troops. As the camp was laid out by fixed rules and of definite proportions, the length of the principiis showed the size of the army.

dein: the second camp.

semiruto vallo, etc.: the camp was constructed in haste, and, therefore, quickly fell into ruins.

accisae, diminished; the second camp was laid out after a day's fighting, with heavy losses.

medio campi: i.e. the field of the third day's fight, after they had left the second camp.

4. ora: no doubt human skulls, as this word would not properly be used for horses.

5. primorum ordinum centuriones: these officers commanded the cohorts, and ranked next to the tribunes.

mactaverant: Tacitus speaks of human sacrifices (Germ. 9).

6. referebant, related.

patibula: forked pieces of wood to which slaves and criminals were fastened, as to a cross, by their arms and feet.

scrobes: for burying alive.

per superbiam: Instr. 35 i.

62. qui aderat exercitus: repeated from 61. 1, for rhetorical effect. Nipperdey.
noscente alienas reliquias an suorum humo tegeret, omnes ut coniunctos, ut consanguineos, aucta in hostem ira, maesti simul et infensi condebat. Primum exstruendo tumulo caespitem Caesar posuit, gratissimo munere in defunctos et praesentibus doloris socius. Quod Tiberio haud probatum, seu cuncta Germanici in deturias trahenti, sive exercitum imagine caesorum insepultorumque tardatum ad proelia et formidolosiorum hostium credebat; neque imperatore auguratu et vetustissimis caerimoniis praeditum attrectare feralia debuisse.

63 Sed Germanicus cedentem in avia Arminium secutus, ubi primum copia fuit, evehi equites campumque, quem hostis insederat, eripi iubet. Arminius colligi suos et propinquare silvis monitos vertit repente; mox signum prorumpendi dedit iis quos per saltus occultaverat.

omnes: accusative.
2. gratissimo: i.e. to the soldiers. Notice the variety of construction in the contrasts: munere, an ablative of characteristic, being set against socius, and in defunctos corresponding to praesentibus (Intr. 35 r). Notice, too, the loose syntax of the whole passage.
3. seu cuncta, etc.: as usual, an imputation of bad motives to Tiberius; but, in the eyes of a genuine votary of the Roman religion, this was an unwarrantable pollution (see below); Stahr maintains, moreover, that the interruption to the campaign was no slight disadvantage.
formidolosiorum: with an objective genitive only here.
attractare, handle. It appears from Suetonius (Cal. 2) that he gathered the remains with his own hands: caesorum clade Variana veteres ac dispersas reliquias uno tumulo humaturus, colligere sua manu et comportare primus aggressus est. This act polluted a person: consuetudo Romana fuit ut pollutum funere minime sacrificaret. Serv. ad Aen. XI. 2. The pollution was greater by reason of the special consecration of Germanicus (auguratu, etc.).
63. avia, the wilderness. Arminius repeats the strategy by which he had destroyed the army of Varus, and nearly succeeds a second time. evehi: i.e. from his lines; charge. 2. colligi: reflexive.
monitos: agreeing with suos; render actively, after directing them (Intr. 35 l).
silvis: the Romans, still in the forest (avia), seem to have come upon the Germans in an open field, campum; that it was a marshy field is shown by the swamp, paludem, into which a part of his troops were pushed.
saltus: the wooded ravines in
Tunc nova acie turbatus eques, missaeque subsidiariae cohortes et fugientium agmine impulsae auxerant consternationem; trudebanturque in paludem gnaram vincentibus, iniquam nesciis, ni Caesar productas legiones instruxisset; inde hostibus terror, fiducia militi, et manibus aequis abscessum.

Mox reducto ad Amisiam exercitu legiones classe, ut advixerat, reportat; pars equitum litore Oceani petere Rhenum iussa; Caecina, qui suum militem ducebat, monitus, quamquam notis itineribus regrederetur, pontes longos quam maturrime superare. Angustus is trames vastas inter paludes et quondam a L. Domitio aggeratus; cetera limosa, tenacia gravi caeno aut rivis incerta

which this neighborhood abounds. Those who were concealed here formed a nova acies, which came to the aid of those in the plain, when they closed their ranks and approached the woods.

3. cohortes: of auxiliaries (as were the equites); the legionary troops were not brought in until these had given way.

fugientium: the cavalry.

trudebantur: the indicative shows that a part of them were actually crowded into the swamp.

gnaram vincentibus, iniquam nesciis: a very condensed and vigorous expression, illustrating Tacitus' remarkable ingenuity in varying phrases. He here contrasts the advantage which came from familiarity with the ground (gnaram), and gave victory (vincentibus), with the disadvantage (iniquam) to the Romans from their ignorance of it (nesciis).

4. manibus aequis: but evidently the Romans had the worst of it.

5. legiones . . . reportat: really only two out of the eight. Caecina led his four direct to the Rhine; while the second and fourteenth also marched by land, under Publius Vitellius (70. 1). Müller (Philologus, 33. 329) explains the contradiction by the supposition that the four legions went in the fleet as far as the Frisian coast, and that there the ships were lightened by landing the legions under Vitellius,—a proceeding not improbable in itself.

pars equitum: the rest were sent on an expedition under Stertinius; see 71. 1.

notis itineribus, a familiar route, but not the one by which he had come from the Rhine to the Ems, because he finds the causeway ruptos vetustate (7), which shows that he had not just passed over it. Remains of a causeway are found in the Dutch province of Drenthe, but this seems much too far to the north.

quam maturrime: for fear of pursuit.

6. L. Domitio: the grandfather of the emperor Nero; his expedition was probably B.C. 6. Cf. IV. 44. 2. cetera, the rest of the ground;
erant; circum silvae paulatim acclives quas tum Armi-
nius implevit, compendiis viarum et cito agmine onustum
sarcinis armisque militem cum antevenisset. Caeciniae
dubitanti quonam modo ruptos vetustate pontes repo-
eret simulque propulsaret hostem, castra metari in loco
placuit, ut opus et alii proelium inciperent.1 Barbari
perfringere stationes seque inferre munitoribus nisi
lacessunt, circumgrediuntur, occurrunt; miscetur ope-
rantium bellantiumque clamor. Et cuncta pariter Ro-
manis adversa, locus uligine profunda, idem ad gradum
instabilis, procedentibus lubricus; corpora gravia loricis;
neque librare pila inter undas poterant. Contra Cherus-
cis sueta apud paludes proelia, procera membra, hastae
ingentes ad vulnera facienda quamvis procul.

Nox demum inclinantis iam legiones adversae pugnab
exemit. Germani ob prospera indefessi, ne tum quidem
sumpta quiete, quantum aurum circum surgentibus
iugis oritur vertere in subiecta, mersaque humo et obruto
quod effectum operis duplicatus militi labor. Quadra-

*i.e.* the expanse, between the *silvae paulatim acclives*, through which led the causeway.

*compendiis viarum, a short cut.*
The conjunction *cum*, which should properly stand at the beginning of the clause, before *compendiis*, is re-
moved to a place just before the verb.

7. *in loco, on the spot* where he arrived at the causeway.

*opus et alii proelium = alii opus alii proelium:* while the main body were engaged in the work, a por-
tion were to beat back the enemy.

64. *perfringere,* etc.: Intr. 35 l.

2. *idem, at once.*

ad gradum, for standing; con-
trasted with *procedentibus.*

*pila:* the regular weapon of the
Roman legionaries, a heavy javelin,
about six feet long, the iron being
about half the length.

3. *sueta,* *to which they were ac-
customed:* they were experienced in
fighting in marshes.

*procera membra:* in the Ger-
mania (4) Tacitus speaks of the
*magnae corpora* of the Germans.

4. *inclinantis,* giving way.

5. *quantum aquarum oritur,*
all the streams that rise.

*circum:* here an adverb, qualify-
ing *surgentibus.*

*vertere:* connected by *que* with
duplicatus [est].

*subiecta,* the ground below (cf.
65. 1, n.).

*quod:* the implied antecedent,
*eo,* is limited by *operis,* and is sub-
ject of *obruto.*
gesimum id stipendium Caecina parendi aut imperitandi habebat, secundarum ambiguarumque rerum sciens eoque interritus. Igitur futura volvens non aliud rep-7 perit quam ut hostem silvis coerceret, donec saucii quantumque gravioris agminis anteirent; nam medio montium et paludum porrigebatur planities quae tenuem aciem pateretur. Deliguntur legiones quinta § dextro lateri, unetvicesima in laevum, primani ducentum ad agmen, vicesimanus adversum secuturo. Nox 65 per diversa inquies, cum barbari festis epulis, laeto cantu aut truci sonore subiecta vallium ac resultantis saltus complerent, apud Romanos invalidi ignes, interrumpae voces, atque ipsi passim adiacerent vallo, oberrarent tentoriis, insomnes magis quam pervigiles. Ducemque terruit dira quies; nam Quintilium Varum 2 sanguine oblitum et paludibus emersum cernere et audire visus est velut vocantem, non tamen obsecutus et manum intendentis reppulisse.

6. parendi aut imperitandi: i.e. as private soldier or officer.
7. futura: the plan for the morrow.
silvis coerceret, hold in check within the woods (the silvae acclives of the last chapter). Between them and the marsh was a strip of even ground (planities, wide enough for a thin line of soldiers (tenuem aciem). The fifth and twenty-first legions were ordered to hold this ground, while the baggage, etc., got over the causeway, protected by the first and twentieth. The plan, however, failed through the insubordination of the troops.
quantum: sc. esset; cf. note on quantum aquarum, 5.
gravioris agminis: the baggage-train.
montium: evidently the low wooded hills described above (63. 6) as silvae paulatim acclives. There are no mountains in this part of Germany.
65. per diversa, in different ways; partly from the noises made by the enemy, partly by the occurrences within the camp.
subiecta vallium, the valleys below (Intr. 35 d').
ignes, voces: sc. essent. passim adiacerent, lay scattered along.
2. quies, dream.
cernere: he had probably known him in life.
obsecutus (sc. esse) and repulisse, like cernere and audire, depend upon visus est.
intendentis: sc. manum; agrees with Vari understood. The phantom held out its hand to beckon.
3 Coepta luce missae in latera legiones metu an contumacia locum deseruere, capto propere campo uementia ultra. Neque tamen Arminius quamquam libero incursu statim prorupit; sed ut haesere caeno fossisque impedimenta, turbati circum milites, incertus signorum ordo, utque tali in tempore sibi quisque properus et lentae adversum imperia aures, irrumpere Germanos iubet, clamitans 'En Varus eodemque iterum fato vinc-
tae legiones!' Simul haec et cum delectis scindit
6 agmen equisque maxime vulnera ingerit. Illi sanguine suo et lubrico paludum lapsantes excussis rectoribus
disciciere obvios, proterere iacentes. Plurimus circa
7 aquilas labor, quae neque ferri adversum ingruentia tela
8 neque figi limosa humo poterant. Caecina dum sus-
tentat aciem, suffoso equo delapsus circumveniebatur,
9 ni prima legio sese opposuisset. Iuvit hostium aviditas,
10 omissa caede praedam sectantium, enisasque legiones
vesperascente die in aperta et solida. Neque is miseri-
arum finis. Struendum vallum, petendus agger; amissa

Cæcina, or perhaps threatening. Cf. manus intentantes, 27. 1.
3. missae in latera legiones: these were the fifth and twenty-first, which had been the leaders of the mutiny. (See 31. 3).
capto ... campo: instead of forming to keep back the enemy (hostem silvis coerceret), they deserted their posts, and hurried across to the level ground beyond the morass.
4. incursu, opportunity of attack, afforded by this desertion. He waited until the army was embarrased in the morass.
fossis, bog-holes. The ablative without in after haesere is poetic.
turbati: Intr. 35 c.
incertus signorum ordo: the maniples, and therefore the stand-
ards, were thrown into confusion.
utque, and as [is natural].
5. simul haec: sc. dicit.
scindit agmen: i.e. by taking it in the flank, and cutting it in two.
equis: i.e. of the baggage and officers, for Cæcina had no cavalry.
7. adversum, in the face of.
figi: the staff of the standard was sharpened at the lower end, and was stuck in the ground during a fight.
8. circumveniebatur, was on the point of being cut off by the enemy.
9. iuvit: i.e. the Romans.
enisas, struggled forth.
vesperascente die: the fight had lasted the whole day.
10. agger: i.e. earth, etc., for struendum vallum.
magna ex parte per quae egeritur humus aut exciditur caespes; non tentoria manipulis, non fomenta sauciis; infectos caeno aut cruore cibos dividentes funestas tenebras et tot hominum milibus unum iam reliquum diem lamentabatur.

Forte equus abruptus vinculis vagus et clamore tertius quosdam occurrientium obturbavit. Tanta inde consternatio irrupisse Germanos credentium ut cuncti ruerent ad portas, quarum decumana maxime petebatur, aversa hosti et fugientibus tutior. Caecina comperto vanam esse formidinem, cum tamen neque auctoritate neque precibus, ne manu quidem obsistere aut retinere militem quiret, proiectus in limine portae miseratione demum, quia per corpus legati eundum erat, clausit viam; simul tribuni et centuriones falsum pavorem esse docuerunt. Tunc contractos in principia iussosque dicta cum silentio accipere temporis ac necessitatis monet. Unam in armis salutem, sed ea consilio tempora manendumque intra vallum, donec expugnandi hostes spe propius succederent; mox undique erumpendum: illa eruptione ad Rhenum perveniri. Quod si fugerent, pluris silvas, profundas magis paludes, saevitiam hostium superesse; at victoribus decus gloriam.

*per quae*, etc.: *i.e.* baskets, tools, etc.
*unum*, etc.: the circumstances were like those of Varus' second encampment (61, 3).

66. 2. *decumana*: the camp had four gates, one at the middle of each of the four sides, — the *praetorium*, towards the enemy (in theory towards the east); the *decumana* opposite; and the *principalis dex*tra and *sinistra*, on the right and left respectively (see 60, 3 n.). The *decumana* being away from the enemy (*aversa hosti*), they rushed for this gate.

*hosti*: the only certain instance of the dative with *aversus* (*turned away from*).

3. *comperto*: Intr. 35 o.
*proiectus*, casting himself down.

67. *temporis*, with *monet*: a novel construction with this word, common with *admoneo*, etc.

*expugnandi*: limiting *spe*.

*perveniri*: impersonal; by that sally we reach the Rhine.

2. *victoribus = si vicissent.*
Quae domi cara, quae in castris honesta, memorat; reticuit de adversis. Equos dehinc, orsus a suis, legatorum tribunorumque nulla ambitione fortissimo cuique bellatoris tradit, ut hi, mox pedes in hostem invaderent.

Haud minus inquies Germanus spe cupidine et diversis ducum sententiis agebat, Arminio sinister egredi egressosque rursur per umias et impedita circumveni- rent suadente, a ciora Inguiomero et laeta barbaris, ut vallum armis anbirent: promptam expugnationem, plures captivos, incorruptam praedam fore. Igitur orta die proruunt fossas, iniciunt crates, summà valli pres- sant, raro super milite et quasi ob mètum delixo.

Postquam haesere munimentis, datur cohortibus signum cornuaque ac tubae concinuere. Exin clamore et impetu tergis Germanorum circumfunduntur, exprobrantes non hic silvas nec paludes, sed aequis locis aequos deos. Hosti, facile excidium et paucos ac semermos cogitanti sonus tubarum, fulgor armorum, quanto inopina, tanto maiora offunduntur, cadebantque, ut rebus

4. **nulla ambitione**: i.e. with sole regard to the efficiency of each. Cf. *sine ambitione*, IV. 64. 2.

hi, mox pedes: first the mounted soldiers, then the infantry.

**68. agebat**: describes the situation, nearly equal to *erat*—the Germans were no less uneasy.

sinerent: depending upon suadente.

egressos, etc.: on the march, as the day before, and as in the attack on Varus.

**atrociora**, *more vigorous.*

promptam, *easy.*

2. **die**: cf. *orto die*, 29. 1. Tacitus appears to use the two genders indifferently, as in poetry.

**proruunt fossas**: *i.e.* fill them up; cf. Livy IX. 14. 9, *cum pars fossas explerent, pars vellerent val- lum atque in fossas proruerint.*

**crates**, *hurdles*, made by weaving rods, which were then laid over the ditch as a sort of bridge.

**super**, *on top.*

**defixo**, *motionless.*

3. **haesere**, *were obstructed.*

**cornua et tubae**: the *tuba*, a long, straight horn, like a fish-horn (*tuba terribili sonitu*), was the regular instrument of the infantry; the *lituus*, slightly bent near the end, of the cavalry; the *cornu*, curved about as the letter C, was used to sound the *classicum*, or signal for attack. There being no cavalry in Cecina's army, the *lituus* was not sounded.

5. **tanto maiora**: *i.e.* in appearance.
secundis avidi, ita adversis incauti. Arminius integer, Inguiomerus post grave vulnerum pugnam deservere; vulgus trucidatum est donec ira et dies permansit. Nocte demum reversae legiones, quamvis plus vulnerum, eadem ciborum egestas fatigaret, vim sanitatem copias, cuncta in victoria habuere.


7. reversae: to the camp; the battle and pursuit having lasted all day.

quamvis: Intr. 35 j.
copias: of provisions, contrasted with egestas.
habuere: i.e. in their feelings.
69. pontem: probably the one constructed the year before (49. 6).


grates . . . habentem: for agen-

tem of the earlier writers; suggested perhaps by such expressions as orationem habere.

4. simplices eas curas: he thought that the pains (curas) taken by Agrippina were not without a motive (simplices), and that it was not for war against enemies that she sought to gain over the soldiers. It seems certain that at a later period Tiberius had such suspicions, and that they were not altogether groundless, heroic and womanly as were her actions on this occasion.

5. circumferat, velit: with tamquam; as if her ambition were not
quam legatos, quam duces; compressam a muliere seditionem, cui nomen principis obsistere non quiverit.

7 Accendebat haec onerabatque Seianus, peritia morum Tiberii odia in longum iaciens, quae reconderet auctaque promeret.

70 At Germanicus legionum, quas navibus vexerat, secundam et quartam decimam itinere terrestri P. Vitellio ducendas tradit, quo levior classis vadoso mari innaret vel reciproco sideret. Vitellius primum iter sicca humo aut modice adlabente aestu quietum habuit; mox impulsu aquilonis, simul sidereaequinoctii, quo maxime tumescit Oceanus, rapi agique agmen. Et opplebantur terrae; eadem freto litori campis faætes, neque discerni poterant incerta ab solidis, brevia a profundis. Sternuntur fluctibus, hauriuntur gurgitibus; iumenta sarcinae corpora exanima interfluent, occursant. Permiscentur inter se manipuli, modo pectore, modo ore tenus exstantes, ali quando subtracto solo disiecti aut obruti. Non vox et

sufficiently manifest already by these acts. See 41. 3.

6. compressam, etc.: referring to the events narrated in 40 and 41, when respect for Agrippina had greatly assisted in quelling the mutiny.

nomen principis: referring to the letters described in 36. 4.

7. accendebat onerabatque: added, fire and weight; cf. incendebat haec, 23. 1.

peritia, insight.

in longum iaciens: i.e. preparing a long time before, by letting his insinuations rankle in the mind of the emperor.

reconderet: sc. Tiberius.

aucta, when they had grown.

70. P. Vitellio: the uncle of the emperor, Aulus Vitellius. He was an ardent partisan of Germanicus, and an orator of some repute (II. 74. 2, III. 10. 2 and 13. 3).

vadoso: this coast is flat, and the waters very shallow.

reciproco, ebb; when grounded at the ebb it would float again more readily.

2. sidere, the season.

rapi agique, knocked about.

3. opplebantur: i.e. with water.

brevia, shallow, as in Verg. Aen. I. 111. The tides were all the more troublesome to the Romans, as they were unaccustomed to them; for the Mediterranean has no perceptible tides.

4. subtracto solo: losing their footing as the bottom suddenly shelved away.
mutui hortatus iuvabant adversante unda; nihil strenuus ab ignavo, sapiens ab imprudenti, consilia a casu differre; cuncta pari violentia involvabantur. Tandem Vitellius in editiora enisus eodem agmen subduxit. Pernoctavere sine utensilibus, sine igni, magna pars nudo aut mulcato corpore, haud minus miserabiles quam quos hostis circumsidet: quippe illic etiam honestae mortis usus, his inglorium exitium. Lux reddidit terram, penetratumque ad amnem [Visurgin], quo Caesar classe contenderit. Impositae dein legiones, vagante fama submersas; nec fides salutis antequam Caesarem exercitumque reducem videre.


Decreta eo anno triumphalia insignia A. Caecinae, when the waves dashed in their faces. involvabantur: sc. fluctibus. utensilibus: all things for use, —including food as well as utensils. usus, opportunity. 7. Visurgin: see App. I. 71. iam Stertinius, etc.: after his expedition against the Bructeri (60. 4), Stertinius appears to have been sent with a part of the cavalry (the other part marched by the seashore, 63. 5) upon the errand here described. Segimerum: not Sigimerus, father of Arminius (Vell. II. 118). sumptis: i.e. from the provincials and Italians. proelio: (Intr. 35 f.). 72. triumphalia insignia: un-
L. Apronio, C. Silio ob res cum Germanico gestas.

1 Nomen patris patriae Tiberius, a populo saepius ingens-
tum, repudiavit; neque in acta sua iurari quamquam
censente senatu permisit, cuncta mortalium incerta,
quantoque plus adeptus foret, tanto se magis in lumbico
dictitans. Non tamen ideo faciebat fidem civilis
animi; nam legem maiestatis reduxerat, cui nomen apud
der the empire, the full honor of a triumph was reserved to the
emperor himself, or in rare cases (as Germanicus, and Titus, son of Ves-
 pasian) to members of his family. Others received only the orna-
menta, by which is meant the right to appear at festivals, etc., in the
distinctive dress or other characteristics of an office. The triumphalia
insignia were properly the vestis triumphalis (i.e. toga picta and
lubica palmata), the laurel wreath, and the triumphal chair, chariot and
sceptre. But even during the re-
public, the triumphal garments and
chair were seldom granted as orna-
menta, the chariot and sceptre never.
In the empire, the laurel wreath,
too, was restricted to the emperor,
and became his crown; the triump-
halia ornamenta were now, there-
fore, nothing but a name, and he who
received them had, so far as external
insignia are concerned, only the
decretal to the ordinary toga praetexta
of the magistrate. (Momm. Röm.
St. I. 353.) At the same time the
dignity of triumphalis was highly
valued, and was transmitted to pos-
terity.

2. patris patriae: this title was
granted to Julius Cæsar, and after-
wards (B.C. 2) to Augustus. Tiber-
rius persistently declined it (see I.
87, 2), as did certain of his succes-
sors (e.g. Nero, Vespasian, Hadrian)
in the early part of their reigns; but
it became at last a regular part of the
emperor's titles. Suetonius (Tib. 67)
puts in the mouth of Tiberius an
explanation which is creditable to
his modesty, and at the same time
illustrates his characteristic self-dis-
trust: si quando ... de moribus
meis devoloque vobis animo dubita-
veritis (quod priusquam eveniat,
opto ut me supremus dies huic mu-
tatae vestrae de me opinioni eripiat)
nihil honoris adiicet mihi patria
appellatio. The words that follow,
quanto ... dictitans, also illustrate
this feeling of his.

ingestum: i.e. by acclamation
(Furneaux).

in acta sua iurari: the acta of
the emperor were his civil acts, not
properly including, however, his
laws. The oath to support these
was regularly taken on the 1st of
January, the oath including the acts
of past emperors, so far as these
had not been annulled. The oath
was afterwards made to include the
future acts of the prince (Momm.
Röm. St. II. 847), and it may be that
these were included on the present
occasion, from the words cuncta
mortalium incerta, and from the
motive attributed to him by Sueton-
nius (Tib. 67), ne mox maiore
decore impar tantis honoribus inven-
iretur, his words being exempli
causa cavendum esse ne se Senatus
in acta cuiusquam obligarent, qui ali-
quo casu mutari possent.

3. legem maiestatis reduxerat:
as if the law had fallen into desu-
tude under Augustus; this was not
the case, however, as appears be-
veteres idem, sed alia in iudicium veniebant: si quis pro-
ditione exercitum aut plebem seditionibus, denique male
gesta re publica, maiestatem populi Romani minuisset:
facta arguebantur, dicta impune erant. Primus Augustus cognitionem de famosis libellis specie legis eius tractavit,
commotus Cassii Severi libidine, qua viros feminasque
illustres procacibus scriptis diffamaverat; mox Tiberius,
consultante Pompeio Macro praetore an iudicia maiest-
tatis redderentur, exercendas leges esse respondit. Hunc
quoque asperavere carmina incertis auctoribus vulgata
in saevitiam superbiamque eius et discordem cum matre
animum.

low. The "treason trials" of the
reign of Tiberius afford the most
serious of the charges against him.
But in the first years of his reign,
the trials were according to the
regular judicial procedure, and the
emperor made constant efforts to
mitigate the severity of the law.
(Intr. 15 and 16). The govern-
ment, it must be remembered, was
still a republic in form, and the
senate had legal authority in these
cases. Certainly it was by the direct order
of Tiberius that the laws were en-
forced; see below, 4.

facta arguebantur: just as, in
English and American law, charges
of constructive treason are by strict
right excluded, but have neverthe-
less been often resorted to in times
of peril and excitement.

4. famosis libellis: according
to Suetonius (Oct. 55), id modo cen-
suit, cognoscendum posthac de iis qui
libellos aut carmina ad insania
cuiuspiam sub alieno nomine edant.
According to Cicero (ad Fam. III.
11. 2), maiestas was extended by
Sulla, ne in quemvis impune decla-
mari liceret.

Cassii Severi: Quintilian says
of him (X. 1. 117), ingenii pluri-
mum est in eo et acerbitas mira, et
urbanitas eius summa; sed plus
stomacho quam consilio dedit. Cf.
IV. 21. 5.

mox, afterwards; its usual mean-
ing in Tacitus.

Pompeio Macro: for his fate,
see VI. 18. 4.

praetore: the one who presided
over the quaeostio de maiestate. The
accuser had the option of bringing
the charge before one of these
courts, presided over by a praetor,
or the senate, presided over by the
consul. See II. 79. 2. The senate,
however, could decline to take cog-
nizance of them; cf. IV. 21. 3 and 4.
See Mommsen, Röm. St. II. 105.

exercendas leges: Suetonius
(Tib. 58) tells the same story, add-
ing, et atrocissime exercuit. Pliny
(Paneg. 11) says, dicavit caelo Ti-
berius Augustum, sed ut maiestatis
crimen induceret.

5. hunc quoque: as well as
Augustus.

carmina: Suetonius (Tib. 59)
gives some examples of these; e.g.,
Fastidit vinum, quia tam sili ite
cruorem: tam bibit hunc avide quam
bibit ante merum. See also IV. 42.
discordem, etc.: see Intr. 26 a.
Haud pigebit referre in Falanio et Rubrio, modicis equitibus Romanis, praetemptata crimina, ut quibus initiis, quanta Tiberii arte gravissimum exitium irrepserit, dein repressum sit, postremo arserit cunctaque corripuerit, noscatur. Falanio obiciebat accusator quod inter cultores Augusti, qui per omnes domos in modum collegiorum habebantur, Cassium quendam minimum corpore infamem adscivisset, quoque venditis hortis statuam Augusti simul mancipasset. Rubrio crimini dabatur violatum perjurio numen Augusti. Quae ubi Tiberio notuere, scripsit consulis non ideo decretum patri suo caelum, ut in perniciem civium is honor vletteretur; Cassium histrionem solitum inter alios eiusdem artis interesse ludis quos mater sua in memoriam Augusti sacrasset; nec contra religiones fieri quod effigies eius, ut alia numinum simulacra, venditionibus hortorum et domuum accedant. Ius iurandum perinde aestimandum quam si Iovem festellisset; deorum iniurias dis curae.

73. modicis, of moderate circumstances; distinguished from splendidi, a frequent epithet of the wealthy knights. praetemptata, attempted, but frustrated by the emperor. dein repressum sit: the whole of this appears to refer to the time of Tiberius, who is represented as having for a while, as a matter of policy (quanta . . . arte, see Intr. 13), held in check his natural severity. Some editors have supposed the reference to be to the reigns of Titus and Domitian.

2. cultores Augusti: this refers not to the sodales Augustales (54. 1), but to a private cult, held at the houses of citizens. The sodales were a recognized collegium or guild: these were only organized in modum collegiorum.

mancipasset: this word designates the special formalities by which real estate was sold by Roman law,—the statue passed with the grounds. The sale of a statue of Augustus was construed as an affront to him, and, therefore, an act of treason.

violatum . . . numen Augusti: i.e. by an oath taken in his name, which was afterwards broken.

3. consulibus: they presided over the senate, and consequently over all cases that were tried before that body. See 72. 4 n.

caelum, divine honors; (10. 8).

4. histrionem, mime.

ludis: scenic representations, in January, instituted by Livia; afterwards called Palatini, from being performed in the palace.

5. deorum iniurias dis curae:
Nec multo post Granium Marcellum praetorem 74 Bithyniae quaestor ipsius Caepio Crispinus maiestatis postulavit, subscribente Romano Hispone. Qui formam vitae iniit quam postea celebrem miseriae temporum et audaciae hominum fecerunt. Nam egens ignotus in- quies, dum occultis libellis saevitiae principis adrepit, mox clarissimo cuique periculum facessit, potentiam apud unum, odium apud omnis adeptus, dedit exemplum, quod secuti ex pauperibus divites, ex contemptis metuendi perniciem aliis ac postremum sibi invenere. Sed Marcellum insimulabat sinistros de Tiberio sermones habuisse, inevitabile crimen, cum ex moribus principis foedissima quaeeque deligeret accusator obiectaretque reo; nam quia vera erant, etiam dicta credebantur. Addidit Hispo statuam Marcelli altius quam Caesarum

this whole passage, showing the efforts of Tiberius to set bounds to the vindictiveness of his courtiers, expresses wise and sagacious statesmanship.

74. praetorem: properly pro-consul praetorius,—it being a senatorial province, governed by a proconsul of praetorian rank. Probably the term praetor is here used as a reminiscence of the times of the republic, when provinces were regularly governed by praetors.

quaestor ipsius: the quaestors were assigned by lot to the several provinces, and stood in a close personal relation, necessitas, to the commander, so that any act of unfriendliness or ingratitude towards him was regarded as impietas.

maiestatis, treason; the indictment included also repetundae (extortion), as appears from the closing sentence of the chapter. Postulo, in the sense demand for justice, accuse, is construed with the genitive of the crime.

subscribente, supporting the accusation. According to Roman criminal law, prosecutions were made by private individuals, the chief prosecutor being supported by one, two, or three others, whose business it was to assist and supplement his work. The chief accuser was primus subscriptor, the others, secundus, etc. See Intr. 16.

qui: i.e. Crispinus.

formam vitae, plan or course of life; i.e. the trade of an informer.

2. occultis libellis: written accusations secretly put into the hands of the emperor.

saevitiae adrepit, worms himself into his cruel counsels; cf. III. 50. 5.

facessit: follows dum.

secuti, those who followed.

divites, metuendi: sc. facti.

3. obiectaret, put in the mouth of; i.e. he represents him as having attacked the vices of the emperor. Because the charges against the emperor were true, the assertion that
sitam, et alia in statua amputato capite Augusti effigiem
5 Tiberii inditam. Ad quod exarsit adeo ut rupta tac-
turnitate pro clamaret se quoque in ea causa laturum
sententiam palam et iuratum, quo ceteris eadem necessi-
tas fieret. Manebant etiam tum vestigia morientis liber-
tatis. Igitur Cn. Piso 'Quo' inquit 'loco censebis, Caesar?
si primus, habebo quod sequar; si post omnis, vereor ne
imprudens dissentiam.' Permotus his, quantoque incau-
tius efferverat, paenitentia patientis tulit absolvi
reum criminibus maiestatis; de pecuniis repetundis, ad reci-
peratores itum est.

75 Nec patrum cognitionibus satiatus iudiciis adsidebat
in cornu tribunalis, ne praetorem curuli depelleret;
multaque eo coram adversus ambitum et potentium
preces constitueta. Sed dum veritati consulitur, libertas

the defendant had made such charges was so probable as to be
inevitabile.

5. exarsit: it was an act of dis-
respect to his predecessor, coupled
with a show of honor to himself.

laturum sententiam, would cast
a vote; i.e. in the senate.

eadem necessitas: sc. iuran-
di.

6. Cn. Piso: see 13. 3. His
caucic utterance did not make him
lose his favor with the emperor, as
in the next book he is represented
as receiving an important command
in the east. See II. 43. 3.

censebis, give your vote.

primus: this was his right, as
princeps senatus.

7. patiens: sc. tanto magis (Intr.
35 m.).

tulit, suffered. Most editors sup-
ply sententiam, which would in-
dicate that he had changed his
opinion. But it rather appears that
he was ashamed of his unwonted
excitement, and put up with (pa-
tiens) a decision contrary to his
wish.

recipерatores: these were a
board for the assessment of claims.
The criminal charge having failed,
"the trial of Marcellus became a
mere civil question of damages."
Furneaux.

75. nec patrum, etc.: he not
only took part as a senator in the
cases which came before the senate,
but, as head of the state, princeps,
attended the regular courts to see
that justice was done.

iudiciis adsidebat: Suetonius
says (Tib. 33), magistratibus pro
tribunali cognoscentibus plerumque
se offerebat consiliarium.

in cornu tribunalis: the tribu-
nal being semi-circular in shape,
and the pretor, as president of the
court, sitting in the middle.

curuli: sc. sella.

multa constituta, many points
were established.

2. libertas corrumpetabatur: a
just verdict was obtained, but the
A.D. 15.]

ANNALS.

97
corrumpebatur. Inter quae Pius Aurelius senator 3
questus mole publicae viae ductaque aquarum labefac-
tas aedis suas, auxilium patrum invocabat. Resisten-
tibus aerarii praetoribus subvenit Caesar pretiumque
aedium Aurelio tribuit, erogandae per honesta pecuniae
cupiens, quam virtutem diu retinuit, cum ceteras exueret.
Propertio Celeri praetorio, veniam ordinis ob paupertatem 5
petenti, deciens sestertium largitus est, satis comperto
paternas ei angustias esse. Temptantis eadem alios 6
probare causas senatui iussit, cupidine severitatis in iis
etiam quae rite faceret acerbus. Unde ceteri silentium 7
et paupertatem confessioni et beneficio praeposuere.
Eodem anno continuis imbribus auctus Tiberis 76
plana urbis stagnaverat; relabentem secuta est
aedificiorum et hominum strages. Igitur censuit Asinius 2
Gallus ut libri Sibullini adientur. Renuit Tiberius,

independence of the courts de-
stroyed.

3. inter quae: this is general,
referring not to the judicial pro-
ceedings before the prætor, but to
the zeal shown by Tiberius in the
administration of justice.

mole, ductu: both probably de-
scribe construction,—the building
of the road and the carrying of the
waters.

4. aerarii praetoribus: abl.
abs.; the care of the treasury was
transferred by Augustus from the
questors to the prætors, who now
began to lose a part of their judicial
powers.

erogandae . . . pecuniae, pay-
ing out money; it depends on
cupiens.

diu retinuit: indeed, two of the
most striking examples of this lib-
erality were in the very last years of
his life; see VI. 17 and 45.

5. veniam ordinis, relief from
the burdens of his order; the sena-
tor must have an estate of deces
sestertium = $50,000.

paternas, inherited; i.e. not the
result of dissipation.

6. acerbus: no doubt there was
great risk of being deceived. Dio
(LVII. 10) says that he gave his
gifts openly, because the secret gifts
of Augustus were often purloined by
his agents. The investigation of the
case by the senate was open.

76. plana urbis: the low ground
between the Capitoline and the Pal-
atine. This was once a swamp, and
was drained by the cloaca maxima.

aedificiorum . . . strages: a
case of zeugma. Probably the
buildings were undermined, and a
pestilence followed. Furneaux.

2. censuit, proposed; the word
used for the formal and official ex-
pression of opinion.

libri Sibullini: these were in the
perinde divina humanaque obtegens; sed remedium coercendi fluminis Ateio Capitoni et L. Arruntio mandatum. Achaiam ac Macedoniam onera deprecantis levari in praesens proconsulari imperio tradique Caesari placuit. Edendis gladiatoribus, quos Germanici fratris ac suo nomine obtulerat, Drusus praesedit, quamquam vili sanguine nimis gaudens; quod in vulgus formidolosum et pater arguisse dicebatur. Cur abstinuerit spectaculo ipse, varie trahebant; aiii taedio coetus, quidam tristitia ingenii et metu comparationis, quia Augustus

charge of the quindecimviri sacris facestundis; see VI. 12.

3. obtegens, obscuring. His contempt for such superstitions is mentioned also by Dio Cassius (LVII. 14), who says that, while others took these events as an omen, he ascribed them to the excess of water, and appointed a standing board of five senators, selected by lot, to have charge of the river, and to regulate the supply of water. A recently discovered inscription of the reign of Claudius gives the names of five curatores aquarum et alvei Tiberis ex auctoritate Ti. Claudi Caesaris Aug. Germanic Principis. Antiquary, February, 1888.

Ateio Capitoni: for his death and character, see III. 75. He was curator aquarum, an office which he held for ten years, A.D. 13 to 23, succeeding Messala. Augustus had established, among other offices, the curam ... aquarum, alvei Tiberis, etc. (Suet. Oct. 37).

4. Achaiam: this province, embracing Greece proper, was separated from Macedonia by Augustus, B.C. 27, and received its name from its leading state, the Achaean league. In the division of the empire between the senate and the emperor, Achaia and Macedonia, like most of the older provinces requiring no military force, were left under the senatorial administration of the republic, and governed by proconsuls, proconsulari imperio. The administration of these officers was more oppressive than that of the legati who governed the imperial provinces. They were chosen by lot, held office for only a year, and surrounded themselves with a degree of pomp which the military legati did not affect. Moreover, they were paid by the province, while the legati were paid by the emperor whom they represented. It was therefore a favor to these provinces levari proconsulari imperio tradique Caesari. They were annexed to the province of Moesia (see 80. 1), but were again made senatorial provinces by Claudius. Nipperdey suggests that, as imperial provinces, they were relieved from the tribute which they owed to the aerarium.

5. quamquam qualifies vili, taking pleasure overmuch in blood, even cheap blood—he was too lavish even of the lives of the vulgar. See 29. 4, promptum ad asperiora ingenium Druso erat.

formidolosum, calculated to inspire fear.

et = etiam.

6. ipse: Tiberius.

trahebant, interpreted. Cf. 62. 3.
comiter interfuisse. Non crediderim ad ostentandam saevitiam movendasque populi offensiones concessam filio materiem, quamquam id quoque dictum est.

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

7. *non crediderim*, etc.: a good illustration of the absurd stories that were told of Tiberius.

77. *theatri licentia*: see 54. 3. *occisis, vulnerato*: with an aoristic force, not perfect,—soldiers and centurions were killed, a tribune wounded. This usage is common in classic writers with deponent verbs, but not with passives.

praetoriae cohortis: stationed at the games to preserve order: it was removed by Nero, A.D. 55; see XIII. 24.

2. *dicebantur sententiae*, votes were already given to this effect. The measure would probably have been carried but for the intercession of the tribune.

3. **Haterius Agrippa**: probably the son of Q. Haterius (13. 4) and a daughter of Agrippa; he is called (II. 51. 2) *propinquus Germanici*. (Agrippina, the wife of Germanicus, was also a daughter of Agrippa.)

4. **Augustus**: Suetonius says (Oct. 45), *coercitionem in histriones, magistratibus in omni tempore et loco lege vetere permissam, ademit praeterquam ludis et scaena*. Some, nevertheless, were flogged by his orders.

neque fas Tiberio: this was a fixed principle with Tiberius.

5. *ex quis*, etc.: cf. 8. 4 n.

egredientes: *sc. pantomimos*, object of cingerent.

spectarentur: see App. I.
78. in colonia Tarraconensi: Tarragona in Spain. Augustus resided here for a year, and made it, instead of Carthago Nova, the seat of government of the province of Hither Spain, from this time known as Tarraconensis. Hübner, in Hermes, I. (1866), p. 110.

petentibus Hispanis: the request must have been made by the assembly of the province, consisting of representatives of its cities. (Guiraud Ass. Prov. p. 56). The worship of Augustus, now established, became the chief cult of the province, being in the care of a consilium composed of flamens of equestrian rank from each city. Hübner.

exemplum: it was the first temple consecrated by a province to Augustus alone; before this time temples had been erected jointly to Augustus and Rome. The temple now built was the most splendid in the city; remains of it are still extant. This special cult of the province and city must be distinguished from that of the Augustales, who were freedmen, and who were found here as in other provinces.

2. centesimam [partem] rerum venalium: a tax of one per cent on sales, reduced by one-half, A.D. 17 (II. 42. 6).

militare aerarium: established by Augustus, B.C. 6, to provide for retiring veterans. Mon. Anc. III. 36. The fund thus established not proving sufficient, this centesima was devoted to this purpose, and sums from other sources, as from confiscation, legacy duties, and foreign revenues (see II. 42. 6).

niti, depended upon.

imparem oneri: i.e. unless the full twenty years of service were required; thus the concession of Germanicus (36. 4) that the discharge should take place after sixteen years (male consulta) was tacitly revoked.

sedecim stipendiorum: genitive of characteristic—a sixteen-year limit.

79. actum, etc.: the report of the commissioners appointed 76. 3.

municipiorum et coloniarum, towns; there was no longer any essential distinction between these two classes of towns, since they had all alike received Roman citizenship; but the distinction in names
piorum et coloniarum legationes, orantibus Florentinis, ne Clanis solito alveo demotus in amnem Arnum transferretur idque ipsis perniciem adferret. Congruentia his Interamnates disseruere: pessum ituros fecundissimos Italiae campos, si amnis Nar (id enim parabatur) in rivos diductus superstagnavisset. Nec Reatini silebant, Velinum lacum, qua in Narem effunditur, obstrui recusantes, quippe in adiacentia eruptum; optime rebus mortalium consuluisse naturam, quae sua ora fluminibus, suos cursus, utque originem, ita fines dederit; spectandas etiam religiones sociorum, qui sacra et lucos et aras patriis amnibus dicaverint; quin ipsum Tiberim nolle prorsus acolis fluviiis orbatum minore gloria fluere. Seu preces coloniarum seu difficultas operum sive superstition valuit, ut in sententiam Cn. Pisonis concederetur, qui nil mutandum censuerat.

was preserved to indicate the difference in origin.

Florentinis: the colony of Florentia, Florence, on the banks of the Arno, had taken the place of the ancient Etruscan city of Fiesole, Fiesole, at the top of a steep hill.

Clanis: this river flowed into the Tiber, but its sources, in the marshes between Clusium and Arretium, could be easily diverted into the Arno, a branch of which rose in the same marshes; this would relieve the inundations of the Tiber. This region has been, in the present century, thoroughly drained.

2. Interamnates: the inhabitants of Interamna, Terni, situated upon the Nar. The falls of the Nar at Terni, among the finest in Europe, were made by artificially draining the lands above, the work of the distinguished statesman of the third century B.C., Manius Curius Dentatus. This artificial channel became the outlet of the Lacus Velinus; and from the refusal of the Reatini to have it blocked up, as being the work of nature, it would appear that they had lost the tradition of its origin.

3. adiacentia: the ager Reatinus, a valley of great beauty and fertility in the high Apennines.

sociorum: these were the independent Italian nations in alliance with Rome. But this alliance had been brought to an end by the Social War, B.C. 90, which had resulted in the admission of all the socii to Roman citizenship. The use of the term on this occasion, therefore, is only traditionary; at this period it was usually applied to nations outside of Italy.

4. Tiberim: the god of the river; cf. sacra, etc., 3.

5. Pisonis: Gnæus Piso, mentioned 74. 6.
80 Prorogatur Poppaeo Sabino provincia Moesia, additis Achaia ac Macedonia. Id quoque morum Tiberii fuit, continuare imperia ac plerosque ad finem vitae in isdem exercitibus aut iurisdictionibus habere. Causae variae traduntur: aliī taedio novae curae semel placita pro aeternis servavisse, quidam invidia, ne plures fruarent; sunt qui existiment, ut callidum eius ingenium, ita anxium iudicium; neque enim eminentis virtutes sectabatur, et rursum vitia oderat: ex optimis periculum sibi, a pessimis dedecus publicum metuebat. Qua haesitatione postremo eo provectus est, ut mandaverit quibusdam provincias quos egredi urbe non erat passurus.

81 De comitiis consularibus, quae tum primum illo principe ac deinceps fuere, vix quicquam firmare ausim: adeo diversa non modo apud auctores, sed in ipsius orationibus reperiuntur. modo subtractis candi-
datorum nominibus originem cuiusque et vitam et stipendia descriptis, ut qui forent intellegearetur; aliquando ea quoque significacione subtracta candidatos hortatus, ne ambitu comitia turbarent, suam ad id curam pollicitus est. Plerumque eos tantum apud se professos disseruit, quorum nomina consulibus edisset; posse et alios profiteri, si gratiae aut meritis confiderent: speciosa verbis, re inania aut subdola, quantoque maiore libertatis imagine tegebantur, tanto eruptura ad infensius servitium.

no name, but describing them so that they were readily recognized.

ea quoque significacione, even this indication of his wishes; he made no public indication at all.

3. disseruit, declared.

posse et alios, etc.: of course the nomination by the emperor was not a legal prerequisite to the election; others might register themselves (profiteri) with the consuls, without asking for his approval.
† Proposed sites of the Saltus Teutoburgiæs.
EXCURSUS.

THE GEOGRAPHY OF THE GERMAN CAMPAIGNS.

Germanicus conducted operations against the Germans during three years, A.D. 14, 15 and 16. The campaign of the first year was hardly more than a reconnaissance, having as its principal object to divert the minds of the soldiers from the recent tragedies, and inspire them by success. It was directed against the Marsi, a nation who bordered the Chatti upon the north, and who, as we are informed by Strabo (VII. p. 290) had moved back into the interior of the country, μεταστάντα εἰς τὴν ἐν βάθει χώραν, probably at the time that Tiberius established the limes, or military frontier, spoken of 1. 50. The Marsi were south of the Lippe, and probably upon the upper waters of the Ruhr.

The operations of the two following years had as their object partly to avenge the defeat of Varus in the Teutoburg Forest (A.D. 9), and partly to recover the territory lost at that time. Drusus, father of Germanicus, had conquered Germany as far as the Elbe, and established the province of Germania (B.C. 12). All of this territory, with some trifling exceptions, was lost by the defeat of Varus, and the military force of the province was withdrawn to the left bank of the Rhine, where it was, strictly speaking, within the boundaries of the Gallic province of Belgica.

In order to understand these campaigns it is necessary to cast a glance at the geographical situation (see Map). The river Rhine flows from Mentz to Cologne through a picturesque mountain region, unsuited to military operations. The country east of the river was here occupied by the powerful tribe of the Chatti, the modern Hessians, — almost the only German
nation that has not changed its residence or name from that time to this. The natural approach to their country was up the valley of the Main; and at the mouth of this river, upon the Rhine, at Moguntiacum (Ments), the Romans established the head-quarters of one division of their army.

At the northern extremity of the mountains dwelt the Tenc-teri; and at this important strategic point on the western bank, the German tribe of the Ubii had received lands, ut arcerent, non ut custodirentur (Germ. 28). Here were the head-quarters of the lower army, until, a.d. 50, the oppidum of the Ubii was made a Roman colony (see I. 31. 3 n.), named Colonia Agrippina, in honor of the empress Agrippina, who was born there. The legions were now removed to Bonn, a few miles further up the river. The chief military position, however, upon the Lower Rhine, was about sixty miles below, where the river Lippe flows into the Rhine from the east. The valley of this river formed the natural approach to the country of the Cherusci (the nation of Arminius) as the Main did to the country of the Chatti. North of the Lippe dwelt the Usipetes and Bructeri; but the country between the Lippe and the Ruhr, a few miles further south, appears to have remained, for some distance back from the Rhine, in the hands of the Romans. (See I. 50. 2 n.) Still further east, and south of the Lippe, the Tubantes occupied the lands from which the Sugambrians had been removed by Tiberius (II. 26. 3 n.); the Tubantes had before been north of the Lippe. The military road from the Rhine into the heart of Germany was necessarily, like the modern railroad, carried along the banks of the Lippe; and opposite the mouth of this river was established the principal camp of the lower army—at Vetera (sc. castra), as that of the upper army was opposite the mouth of the Main. All the military operations of Germanicus, except a single short campaign against the Chatti, had this camp as their base of operations.

In the second year, a.d. 15, after this campaign against
EXCURSUS.

the Chatti (I. 56), Germanicus set on foot an expedition on a large scale against the Bructeri, upon the upper Ems. While in this region, in the neighborhood of the modern Münster, he conceived the plan of visiting the Teutoburg Forest, the scene of the defeat of Varus (A.D. 9).

It is from the account of this expedition alone (I. 60) that we learn the name of this battle-field, and it is from this passage and II. 7 that we get our only direct information as to its situation. Varus, as we learn from Dio Cassius (LVI. 18), had penetrated to the Weser, where he seems to have remained some months in summer quarters. Learning then of an uprising at some distance, he set out with his entire force, including all his baggage, as well as the women and children, for winter quarters upon the Rhine, intending to suppress the revolt upon his way. He is likely, therefore, to have set out by the direct road, but he had certainly left this road when he was attacked, for he is represented as making his way with difficulty, even before the attack, through a heavily wooded country, cut up with deep ravines, where he was obliged to cut trees to clear the way, and to build bridges, being greatly impeded too by the slippery nature of the soil,—there being a heavy rain and high wind. Now, the principal military road of the Romans was by the valley of the Lippe, which then as now afforded the most direct route from the Lower Rhine into the interior of Germany. On this river was the fortress Aliso, built by Drusus; and at the head of the river (ad caput Lupiae), Tiberius had passed one winter, A.D. 4 (Vell. Pat. II. 105). It is reasonable to suppose that Varus marched by this road, and only left it when he arrived in the neighborhood of the insurgent tribe, which may perhaps have been, as Knoke suggests, the Bructeri.

From Tacitus we learn two important facts. First, that the scene of the disaster was upon the Lippe; for the Germans who were besieging a fort upon this river (II. 7) retired at the approach of Germanicus, first, however, destroying the mound which he had erected on the battle-field the previous year
EXCURSUS.

(I. 62). From I. 60. 5 it appears that it was also near the Ems. Germanicus had marched ad ultimos Bructerorum, by which we must understand the part of their territory furthest from the Rhine; that is, where the Ems runs for some distance almost parallel with the Lippe, nearly southeast of Münster. This was the country (quantum Amisiam et Lupiam amnes inter) which he laid waste; and here he found himself near (haud procul) the Teutoburg Forest. Now, there is but one region which answers all these conditions,—hilly, heavily wooded, with deep ravines (a saltus), and clayey soil, upon the Lippe and near the Ems. This is the forest of Havixbrock, east of Beckum and northeast of Hamm. Here the remains of a Roman camp are still to be seen, and in the neighborhood are other memorials and local names, which appear to recall the event. (See Essellen, *Das varianische Schlachtfeld im Kreise Beckum*, Berlin, 1874.)

Other places have been proposed, and plausibly defended: especially Mommsen (*Die Oertlichkeit der Varusschlacht*, Berlin, 1885) gives the great weight of his authority to the mountain region northeast of Osnaburg, where (at Barenau) a very large number of Roman coins of the reign of Augustus and of earlier date have been found. But it is hard to believe that this situation would be considered ‘near’ to an army on the Upper Ems; and Mommsen takes no notice of the evidence in Tacitus that the tumulus, and therefore the battle-field, was on the Lippe. Knoke (*Die Kriegszüge des Germanicus*, Berlin, 1887) argues for the valley entered by the Dören pass, south of Osnaburg. This situation would agree with I. 60. 5, being haud procul to Germanicus when on the Upper Ems; but it is too far from the Lippe to agree with II. 7.

In this discussion we necessarily confine our attention to general geographical and strategic considerations: what may be called the *tactical* point of view, the configuration of the battle-field, is practically worthless for us. Nearly all ancient historians (Cæsar is a marked exception) are deficient in the
EXCURSUS.

capacity—a rare one at any time—of describing accurately and intelligibly the physical features of a battle-field or any similar locality; and the description of the battle-field in question, given by Dio Cassius (LVI. 20), a writer separated from the event by centuries of time, and who cannot be supposed to have visited the spot in person, is too indefinite to be of much assistance. Velleius, a contemporary writer, makes no mention of mountains, or even hills; his words are, inclusus silvis paludibus insidiis (II. 119). Florus also (II. 30. 36) says per paludes perque silvas. Probably fifty localities could be found within the region of the Weser, Ems, and Lippe which would correspond sufficiently well with these descriptions; and, as Mommsen remarks (p. 6), "several solutions of a problem, when only one of them can be correct, really give us no help to a solution until we are in a condition to establish the exclusive possibility of one of the number." This appears to be done, for the forest of Havixbrock, by a comparison of Tacitus' Annals, I. 60. 5 and II. 7.

The campaign of A.D. 15 was far from being a success, and came near being a signal disaster. But Germanicus had now learned how to fight with the Germans, and the campaign of A.D. 16, narrated at length in Book II. (5 to 26), exhibits his generalship in the most favorable light. Upon this campaign, instead of taking the old route by the valley of the Lippe, Germanicus proceeded by water, following the lagoons and estuaries along the coast as far as the mouth of the Ems, and up that river to some point from which he struck across the country to the Weser. His natural course would have been to follow the valley of the Hase nearly east, keeping north of the mountainous region about Osnaburg (see II. 8. 4 n.). Whatever course he took, he met with so few obstacles that Tacitus says not a word about the march. The Weser was successfully passed, and two considerable victories were won; and thus the German wars came to an end with credit, if not with any decisive gain.
ARGUMENT OF BOOK II.

A.D. 16; STATILIUS SISENNA TAURUS, L. LIBO, COSS.

1-4. Affairs in the East.

5-26. Second campaign of Germanicus.

27-32. Impeachment of Libo Drusus.
   27. Grounds of accusation. 28. Indictment. 29-31. Trial and voluntary death of Libo. 32. Rewards, etc.

A.D. 17; C. CAELIUS, L. POMPONIUS, COSS.


A.D. 18; TI. CAESAR AUGUSTUS III., GERMANICUS CAESAR II., COSS.


A.D. 19; M. SILANUS, L. NORBANUS, COSS.

   74-81. Affairs in the East after the death of Germanicus.
   74, 75. Disposition of the province. Departure of Agrippina. 76, 77. Consultation of Piso. 78, 79. His attempt to occupy the province. 80, 81. Military operations in Cilicia.
LIBER II.

Sisenna Statilio [Tauro] L. Libone consulibus mota 1 Orientis regna provinciaeque Romanae, initio apud Parthos orto, qui petitum Roma acceptumque regem, quamvis gentis Arsacidarum, ut externum aspernabantur. Is fuit Vonones, obses Augusto datus a Phraate. Nam Phraates quamquam depulisset exercitus ducesque 2 Romanos, cuncta venerantium officia ad Augustum

1. Tauro: his full name was Titus Statilius Sisenna Taurus; the order here found (the gentile name between the two cognomina) is so unusual with Tacitus that the editors consider the last cognomen to be a gloss.

mota, stirred up, for commota (Intr. 35 b).

provinciae Romanae: the only Roman province in the East at this time, except in Asia Minor and Egypt, was Syria, which embraced also Phoenicia and Judaea, being bounded on the east by the Euphrates and the desert.

Parthos: the Parthians were a nation of mountaineers, who lived southeast of the Caspian Sea. After the breaking up of Alexander's empire, they gained their independence under Arsaces (about B.C. 250), but their kingdom was not greatly enlarged until the time of Mithridates I., about the middle of the second century before Christ. He took advantage of the collapse of the empire of the Seleucidae, after the battle of Magnesia (B.C. 190), to seize all the territory as far west as the Euphrates. The empire of the Parthians was the only formidable rival of that of Rome, from which it was separated by the Euphrates and the Arabian desert. At this time its power had greatly decayed, but it still had sufficient strength and prestige to make the relations with Parthia a constant subject of care and anxiety to the Roman emperors.

gentis Arsacidarum: the royal family of Parthia, descendants of Arsaces, its first king. The cruel and tyrannical Phraates IV. gave four of his sons as hostages to Augustus, among them this Vonones. Phraates was murdered B.C. 2, by his illegitimate son Phraataces, who succeeded him, but was shortly set aside for Orodes, a distant kinsman. After his assassination, probably A.D. 7, Vonones was given to the Parthians as king, at their request.

2. quamquam, etc.: Phraates succeeded to the throne of Parthia, B.C. 38. Two years later Mark Antony led an expedition against him, and was ignominiously repulsed.

venerantium: equivalent, by a not uncommon usage, to veneratiois—the offices of respect. Among other things, he had restored (B.C.
TACITUS.

verterat partemque prolis firmandae amicitiae miserat, haud perinde nostri metu quam fidei popularium diffusus.

Post finem Phraatis et sequentium regum ob internas caedes venire in urbem legati a primoribus Parthis, qui Vononem vetustissimum liberorum eius accirent. Magnificum id sibi credidit Caesar auxitque opibus. Et accepere barbari laetantes, ut ferme ad nova imperia.

Mox subiit pudor: degeneravisse Parthos; petitum alio ex orbe regem, hostium artibus infectum; iam inter provincias Romanas solium Arsacidarum haberis darique.

Ubi illam gloriam trucidantium Crassum, exturbantium Antonium, si mancipium Caesaris, tot per annos servitutem perpessum, Parthis imperiet? Accendebat de dignantes et ipse diversus a maiorum institutis, raro venatu, segni equorum cura; quotiens per urbes incideret, lecticae gestamine fastuque erga patrias epulas;

20) the standards captured from Crassus and others. See Horace, Ep. I. 12, 27: *ius imperiumque Phraates* | *Caesaris accepti genibus minor.*

partem: *i.e.* as hostages; among them Vonones.

firmandae amicitiae: dative with miserat; cf. *distrahendo hosti mittit*, I. 60. 2.

haud perinde...quam: equivalent to *not so much...as.*

diffusus, because he distrusted; parallel with *metu* (Intr. 35 r).

2. ob internas caedes: qualifying finem. See note on gentis, I. 1.

venere in urbem legati: this was A.D. 5.

2. magnificum: it added to his glory to furnish a king to the rival empire.

Caesar: Augustus.

opibus, *praestis.*

ut ferme: *sc.* *fit.*


4. trucidantium Crassum, etc.: Crassus was defeated at Carrhae, b.c. 53, and shortly afterwards killed; the defeat of Statianus, *legatus* of Mark Antony, was b.c. 36.

mancipium: this word, originally signifying the formal acceptance of a piece of property, and then the property itself, had come to have the special meaning of *slave.*

5. ipse, the man himself; apart from the circumstances under which he came to the throne.

diversus, etc. (Intr. 35 q): the Parthians regularly went on horseback, and lived upon the flesh of animals taken in the hunt; the *gestamen lecticae,* practised in Rome, was regarded by them as effeminate. The ablatives express characteristic.

erga: in late writers often used in an unfriendly sense.
irridebantur et Graeci comites ac vilissima utensilium anulo clausa; sed prompti aditus, obvia comitas: ignotae Parthis virtutes, nova vitia; et quia ipsorum moribus aliena, perinde odium pravis et honestis.


6. vilissima, etc.: this refers to the Roman practice, introduced by Vonones, as well as the lectica, of sealing up the commonest necessa ries of life, such as bread and salt, that they might not be pilfered by slaves.

virtutes, vitia: the former refers to prompti aditus, obvia comitas; the latter to all that precedes.

8. Arsacidarum e sanguine: the degree of relationship is not known.

apud Dahas: the Dahae lived at this time east of the Caspian Sea; but the name of the modern Daghestan appears to show that they once resided west of that sea. Artabanus had been king of Media Atropatene.

2. Armenia: this mountainous country had retained its independence between the Parthian and Roman empires.

vacua: i.e. its royal throne.

Artavasden: the son of Tigranes I., who took part in the Mithridatic war against Rome: his capture by Antony was B.C. 34.

catenis: it is said that, to reconcile him to the disgrace, his chains were at first of silver, then of gold.

3. Arsacidarum: i.e. of Parthia.

4. Tigranes: he was brother of Artaxias, and had been captured with his father Artavasdes; his accession was B.C. 20.

5. in matrimonium: the son and daughter (Erato) of Tigranes II. were married and reigned as associates, after the Egyptian custom (more externo), according to which Ptolemy and Cleopatra, being brother and sister, were married and shared the throne.

The following table gives the relationship of these Armenian princes:
gusti impositus Artavasdes et non sine clade nostra
dejectus. Tum Gaius Caesar componendae Armeniae
deligitur. Is Ariobarzananen, origine Medum, ob insign-
em corporis formam et praeclarum animum volentibus
Armenii praefecit. Ariobarzane morte fortuita ab-
sumpto stirpem eius haud toleravere; temptatoque femi-
nae imperio, cui nomen Erato, eaque brevi pulsa, incerti
solutique et magis sine domino quam in libertate pro-
fugum Vononem in regnum accipiunt. Sed ubi minitari
Artabanus et parum subsidii in Armeniis, vel, si nostra
vi defenderetur, bellum adversus Parthos sumendum
erat, rector Suriæ Creticus Silanus excitum custodia
circumdat, manente luxu et regio nomine. Quod ludibrium
ut effugere agitaverit Vonones, in loco reddemus.

4. **Artavasdes**: probably a younger son of Artavasdes I. He
is not mentioned in the *Monumen-
tum Ancyranum*, which speaks here
(V. 28) only of a season of confu-
sion; eandem gentem postea descis-
scem et rebellantem domitam per
Gaium filium meum regi Ariobar-
zani regis Medorum Artabazi filio
regendam tradivi, et post eun mort-
tem filio eius Artavasdi.

2. **Gaius Caesar**: see I. 3; 3; it
was on his way home from this
expedition that he died, A.D. 4.

**Ariobarzanen**: this was a change
of dynasty; see 4. 1 n. After the
death of his son Artavasdes III,
the throne was restored to the
Armenian line in the person of
Tigranes IV. (see VI. 40. 2), who
was distantly related to that line.

3. **stirpem eius**: Artavasdes III.

**Erato**: the daughter of Tigranes
II., who had ruled conjointly with
her brother Tigranes III. (3. 5), had
been succeeded by her uncle, Arta-
vasdes II. (1), and was now restored.

**profugum Vononem**: 3. 2.

4. **minitari**: Intr. 35 k.

**defenderetur**: sc. Vonones.

**rector**: the proper title of the
governor of Syria was *legatus.*

**excitum**: sc. Vononem.

5. **ludibrium**, mockery of royal
state. For the event see 68. 1.

5. **ceterum Tiberio**, etc.: with
these words begins the most serious
of the special charges made by Tacit-
us against Tiberius—that, uneasy
at the growing popularity of his
adopted son, he made the disturbed
condition of the East a pretext to
abstraheret novisque provinciis impositum dolo simul et casibus obiectaret. At ille, quanto aciora, in eum studia militum et aversa patrui voluntas, celerandae victoriae intention, tractare proeliorum vias et quae sibi tertium iam annum belligeranti saeva vel prospera evenissent: fundi Germanos acie et iustis locis, iuvari silvis, paludibus, brevi aestate et praematura hieme; suum militem haud perinde vulneribus quam spatiis itinerum, damno armorum adfici; fessas Gallias ministrandis equis; longum impedimentorum agmen opportunum ad insidias, defensantibus iniquum. At si mare intretur, promptam ipsis possessionem et hostibus ignotam, simul bellum maturius incipi legionesque et commeatus pariter vehi;

separate him from an army that was strongly attached to him (sueto legionibus) and assigned him to this new and perilous command, taking measures at the same time to have him privately assassinated. As Tacitus evidently believed (see Intr. 7) that the death of Germanicus, which followed very shortly (72. 2), was the effect of poison, administered by Piso, at the instigation of Tiberius, —an assertion which is repeated by most modern historians,—we have a right to assume that he has given us all the evidence upon which the story rests, and it will easily appear from the following narrative that there is absolutely no evidence, even circumstantial, in its favor. In the present chapter the only fact of importance is the transfer of Germanicus from one important command to another. This was connected with a change of policy, the emperor finally deciding to give up all efforts to recover possession of Germany, and simply maintain the frontier of the Rhine. That he feared the popularity of Germanicus, and was glad of a pretext to change his command, is not unlikely; it has been a not unusual policy in all ages.

1. novis provinciis: see 43. 2, provinciae quae mari divenduntur.
2. tractare, consider, with reference to his future operations.
3. proeliorum vias: the route, whether by land or water. He had tried both ways the year before, and now decided for the water.
4. quae evenissent: i.e. the experience of his past campaigns, explained in fundi ... iniquum.
5. iustis: i.e. suited for regular operations.
6. iuvari, etc.: contrasted with fundi ... locis.
7. damno: see I. 71. 3.
8. ministrandis equis: these had been freely offered (I. 71. 3); but the loyalty of the Gauls must not be tried too severely.
9. possessionem: has here an active sense; taking into possession.
10. maturius: the expedition could be made by water earlier than land forces would find the ground fit for marching.
integrum equitem equosque per ora et alveos fluminum media in Germania fore. Igitur huc intendit, missis ad census Galliarum P. Vitellio et C. Antio. Silius et Anteius et Caecina fabricandae classi praeponuntur. Mille naves sufficere visae properataeque: aliae breves, angusta puppi proraeque et lato utero, quo facilius fluctus tolerarent, quaedam planae carinis, ut sine noxa siderent; plures appositis utrimque gubernaculis, converso ut repente remigio hinc vel illinc appellerent; multae pontibus stratae, super quas tormenta vehementur, simul aptae ferendis equis aut commeatui; velis habiles, citae remis augebantur alacritate militum in speciem ac terro-

integrum: sc. viribus. They had been worn out by the long marches of the previous year.

6. *huc*: to this plan,—an advance by water.

*ad census*: see note on *agendo censui*, I. 31. 2.

P. Vitellio: see I. 70. The name of Antius occurs upon an inscription. For Silius and Caecina see I. 31.

Anteius: not otherwise known; as it is Tacitus' habit to give the praenomen on the first mention of a person, and as it is unlikely that an obscure person would be joined with the two governors, Nipperdey reads here Apronius (I. 56. 2).

2. *mille naves*: for conveying the entire army and stores. These ships were of three classes,—the first for the sea; the largest number (*plures*) for river navigation; also a large number (*multae*) for the conveyance of horses and engines. It is probable, as Knoke suggests (p. 296), that the first class conveyed the troops to the mouth of the Ems, where they were transferred to smaller boats.

*breves*: i.e. contrasted with *naves longae*, ships-of-war. This class was designed for conveying the troops through the sea; the two other classes, for river navigation. Knoke.

*utero = alveo.*

*quaedam*: i.e. a part of those already described.

*planae carinis*, etc.: so in Cæsar, B. G. III. 13, of the Gallic ships: *carinae aliquanto planiores quam nostrarum navium*, quo facilius vada ac decessum aestus excipere possent. Dutch vessels are still built with broad, flat keels, so as to rest easily on the sand.

*siderent*: in the shallows along the coast and the ebb-tide; Knoke, less probably, refers it to river shallows.

*appositis*, etc.: Tacitus describes the boats of the Scandinavians as follows (Germ. 44): *utrimque prora paratam semper appulsu frontem agit*. The viking ships discovered of late years have this shape.


citae: here a participle, impelled; referring (as well as *habiles*) to all the ships.

*augebantur*: i.e. when the sol-
rem. Insula Batavorum in quam convenirent praedicta, 4 ob faciles appulsus accipiendisque copiis et transmittendum ad bellum oppotruna. Nam Rhenus uno alveo 5 continuus aut modicas insulas circumveniensi apud principium agri Batavi velut in duos amnes dividitur, servatque nomen et violentiam cursus, qua Germaniam praevexit, donec Oceano miscetur; ad Gallicam ripam latior et placidior adfluens (verso cognomento Vahalem accolae dicunt), mox id quoque vocabulum mutat Mosa flumine, eisue inmeno ore eundem in Oceanum effunditur. Sed Caesar, dum adiguntur naves, Silium legatum cum expedita manu irruptionem in Chattos facere iubet; ipse audito castellum Lupiae flumini appositum obsideri, sex legiones eo duxit. Neque Silio ob subitos imbres aliud actu quam ut modicam praedam et Arpi principis Chattorum coniugem filiamque raperet, neque Caesari copiam pugnae obsessores feceret, ad famam adventus eius dilapsi; tumulum tamen nuper 3 diers quickened their speed (alacritate) in rowing, the appearance of the ships was more formidable.—In, expressing purpose or result, is in no writer so common as in Tacitus (Intr. 35 i).

4. insula Batavorum: the island formed in the provinces of Guelderland and Holland by the rivers Rhine and Meuse and the Waal which connects them: see Germ. 29. faciles appulsus, facilities for landing. que . . . et, both . . . and, transmittendum ad bellum, for carrying war into the enemy's country. (Intr. 35 r).

5. qua Germaniam praevexitur: i.e. the right branch, the Rhine proper, while the left branch, the Waal, flows into the Meuse. Mosa: an ablative of price, the regular construction with muto, exchange for. In reality the Waal does not change its name, but is lost in the Meuse.

7. irruptionem: from his headquarters at Mentz, before joining the main expedition.

castellum: this was probably the fortress Aliso, mentioned below; if not, it must have been a short distance further up the river, at any rate near the Teutoburg Forest. That the attack upon it was formidable, and the expedition a dangerous one, is shown by the fact that Germanicus took with him the large force of six legions.

3. tumulum: see I. 62. 2; its mention here shows conclusively that the battle-field was in the immediate neighborhood of the Lippe. The
Varianis legionibus structum et veterem aram Druso sitam disiecerant. Restituit aram honorique patris princi- ceps ipse cum legionibus decucurrit; tumulum iterare haud visum. Et cuncta inter castellum Alisonem ac Rhenum novis limitibus aggeribusque permunitor.

8 Iamque classis advenerat cum, praemisso commenatu et distributis in legiones ac socios navibus, fossam cui Drusianae nomen ingressus, precatusque Drusum patrem ut se eadem ausum libens placatusque exemplo ac memoria consiliorum atque operum iuvaret, lacus inde et Oceanum usque ad Amisiam flumen secunda navigatio pervehitur. Classis Amisiae relictam laevo amne, altar need not have been on the same spot, but in the neighborhood. legionibus, Druso: datives, not of agency, but of interest. sitam: the use of this word, as equivalent to conditam, is peculiar to Tacitus.

decucurrit: the decursio was a solemn march three times round the altar; see Verg. Aen. XI. 188. haud visum: Furneaux thinks because it was too distant for him to visit. The natural interpretation of the passage, however, especially with the pluperfect, disiecerant (i.e. before they dilapsi sunt), is that both altar and mound were near the fort.

5. Alisonem: a fortress established by Drusus, at the junction of the Aliso with the Lippe. It is disputed whether the name is to be recognized in that of the town of Alsen, near Paderborn, or of the river Ahse, which flows into the Lippe at Hamm. The situation at Hamm, upon the middle course of the Lippe, equally near the Cherusci and the Bructeri, is much the most probable. Moreover, it would be quite practicable to construct defences connecting this point with the Rhine (cuncta inter castellum Alisonem ac Rhenum), while to do this with a place so distant as Alsen would be difficult, and, in the present hostile relations with these tribes, practically impossible. As this fort was constructed by Drusus, it is probable that his altar was near to it,—an argument for regarding this as the fort mentioned at the beginning of the chapter.

limitibus, defensive works (see I. 50. 2 n.); aggeribus, cause-ways.

advenerat: i.e. at the appointed place (6. 4).

praemisso: to the Ems. fossam: this connects the Rhine with the Yssel, thus giving a passage into Lake Flevo. Suetonius (Claud. 1) says of Drusus, fossas novi et immensi operis effect, quae nunc adhibit Drusiniae vocantur.
lacus: the series of small lakes and lagoons, part of which are now united in the Zuyder Zee.

2. Amisiae: to be construed with laevo amne, on the left bank (i.e. the side towards Gaul). It is taken as a locative by some; but although Ptolemy mentions a place called Αυδοεια, Tacitus would have
erratumque in eo, quod non subvexit aut transposuit militem dextras in terras iturum; ita plures dies efficiendis pontibus absunt. Et eques quidem ac legiones prima aestuaria, nondum accrescente unda, intrepidi transiere; postremum auxiliarium agmen Batavique in parte ea, dum insulant aquis artemque nandi ostentant, turbati et quidam hausti sunt.

Metanti castra Caesari Angrivariorum defectio a tergo

been likely to add oppidum or castellum, as with Aliso in the last chapter. It cannot correspond with the modern town of Emden, which is on the right bank. Most editors insert ore; but it is likely that Germanicus made use of the boats which were built expressly for river navigation. It is true he is criticised for not conveying his troops by water further than he did, but this may be explained by supposing, with Knöke, that his original intention had been to sail up the Hase or some other confluent of the Ems. This would explain the emphatic position of Amisiae,—the fleet was left in the Ems, on its left bank. The narrative shows the place where he landed was still under the influence of the tides. It appears, moreover, from 23. 1, that on his return he conveyed his troops in ships per flumen Amisiam—from which it is probable that he left the fleet some way up the river.

erratum: s. est.

subvexit aut transposuit, carry further up stream, or at least land on the other bank. See App. I.

iturum, since they were to go.

pontibus: it is possible that he built more than one bridge for so large an army, but more likely that the plural is used for the singular,—a bridge of several arches or divisions.

3. aestuaria: the flats along the river, flooded at high tide. We have in this chapter more even than the usual abruptness and compression. It is clear, however, that the sudden rise of the tide was while the army was marching up the right bank of the river.

in parte ea: i.e. in the rear (postremum agmen).

artem . . . ostentant: the Batavians, living in a country of rivers and lakes, were expert swimmers.

turbati, etc.: i.e. by a sudden and rapid rise of the tide.

4. metanti castra: another violent transition. The passage from the Ems to the Weser is not mentioned, and must be supplied in mind either here or at the end of the chapter. The present place is the most probable, because the establishment of the camp at the end of the march, when in the neighborhood of the enemy, would be much more important, and more likely to receive special mention than any of the encampments along the road. Moreover, the words at the beginning of the ninth chapter show that the army was already upon the Weser, and cannot be conjoined with what goes immediately before, except by understanding that the camp here laid out was on or near this river.

Angrivariorum: see App. I. The course from the lower Ems to the mountainous region of the
nuntiatur; missus iculo Stertinius cum equite et armatur alevi igne et caedibus perfidiam ultus est. Flumen Visurgis Romanos Cheruscosque interfuebat. Eius in ripa cum ceteris primoribus Arminius adstitit, quaeunque an Caesar venisset, postquam adesse responsum est, ut liceret cum fratre colloqui oravit. Erat is in exercitu cognomento Flavus, insignis fide et amisso per vulnus oculo paucis ante annis duce Tiberio. Tum permissum, progressusque salutatur ab Arminio; qui amotis stipatoribus, ut sagittarii nostra pro ripa dispositi abscederent postulat, et postquam digressi, unde ea deformitas oris interrogat fratrem. Illo locum et proelium referente, quodnam praemium recepit exquirit. Flavus aucta stipendia, torquem et coronam aliaque militaria dona memorat, irridente Arminio vilia servitii pretia. Exin diversi ordiuntur, hic magnitudinem Romanam, opes Caesaris, et victis graves poenas, in deditionem venienti paratam clementiam; neque coniugem et filium eius hostiliter haberi: ille fas patriae, libertas Weser, where the events next to be described took place, was in a generally southeasterly direction. The natural route would have been to follow the Hase nearly east, and then turn to the south, when in the neighborhood of the Weser. This course would explain the revolt of the Angriverii as being in his rear, for they dwelt on the lower waters of the Weser, about Bremen, and apparently on both banks of the river (Knoke).

9. cum ceteris primoribus: the chief part of his army did not arrive until the next day (11. 1).

2. Flavus: probably a Roman nickname, because of his yellow hair.

amisso oculo: in the same construction as fide.

paucis ante annis: perhaps after the defeat of Varus, A.D. 9-11.

3. permissum: see App. I.

stipatoribus: the personal followers, who crowded about him.

pro: cf. 13. 4; 81. 1.

5. torquem: this ornament — seen about the neck of the so-called Dying Gladiator, and other statues of this class — was worn by Celts and other barbarians, and was often bestowed by way of reward upon Roman soldiers. Cf. Aul. Gell. IX. 13.

10. diversi: in a discussion, which passed into altercation.

in deditionem venienti, for whoever submits himself. The asyndeton before it may be filled by but.

coniugem et filium: see I. 57. 5.

eius: Arminius,
tem avitam, penetratis Germaniae deos, matrem precum sociam; ne propinquorum et adfinium, denique gentis suae desertor et proditor quam imperator esse mallet. Paulatim inde ad iurgia prolapsi quo minus pugnam 2 consererent ne flumine quidem interiecto cohibebantur, ni Stertinius accurrens plenum irae armaque et equum poscentem Flavum attinuisset. Cernebatur contra militabundus Arminius proeliumque denuntians; nam pleraque Latino sermone interiaciebat, ut qui Romanis in castris dux popularium meruiisset.

Postero die Germanorum acies trans Visurgim stetit. 11 Caesar nisi pontibus praesidiisque impositis dare in discrimen legiones haud imperatorium ratus, equitem vado tramittit. Praefuere Stertinius et e numero primipilarum Aemilius, distantibus locis invecti, ut hostem deducerent. Qua celerrimus amnis, Chariovalda dux 3 Batavorum erupit. Eum Cherusci fugam simulantes in planitiem saltibus circumiectam traxere; dein coorti et undique effusi trudunt adversos, instant cedentibus, collectosque in orbem pars congressi, quidam eminus pro-

penetratis, native.
propinquorum et adfinium, blood relations and connections by marriage.
2. cohibebantur: the river did not prevent them, and they would have rushed at each other, had not (ni), etc.
3. dux popularium meruiisset, he had served as leader of his countrymen (as auxiliaries before his revolt).
11. nisi . . . impositis: like quamquam (Intr. 35 f).
imperatorium, worthy of a commander; a novel use of this word.
2. primipilarum: see note on pridi ordinis, I. 29. 2. The primi-

pilus who had completed his service and been discharged was called primipilares (as consularis from consul). The primipilares formed an ordo which enjoyed many privileges, such as the exercise of higher commands, and admittance to the equestrian order.
deducerent, draw away from the point where the bridge was to be constructed; many editions alter to diducerent, to express that the enemy's forces were to be divided.
3. erupit: i.e. across the river.
saltibus: ablative.
congressi: i.e. comminus; opposed to eminus.
turbant. Chariovalda diu sustentata hostium saevitia, hortatus suos ut ingruentes catervas globo perfringerent, atque ipse densissimos irruptens, congestis telis et suffosso equo labitur, ac multi nobilium circa; ceteros vis sua aut equites cum Stertino Aemilioque subvenientes periculo exemere.

Caesar transgressus Visurgim indicio perfugae cognoscit delectum ab Arminio locum pugnae; convenisse et alias nationes in silvam Herculi sacram, ausurosque nocturnam castrorum oppugnationem. Habita indici fides et cernebantur ignes, suggressique propius speculatores audiri fremitum equorum immensique et inconditi agminis murmure.

Igitur propinquo summae rei discrimine explorandos militum animos ratus, quonam id modo incorruptum foret secum agitabat. Tribunos et centuriones laeta saepius quam comperta nuntiare; libertorum servilia ingenia; amicis inesse adulationem; si contio vocetur, illic quoque quae pauci incipient reliquos adstrepetere.

Penitus noscendas mentes, cum secreti et incustoditi inter militaris cibos spem aut metum proferrent. Nocte coepta egressus augurali per occultae et vigilibus

4. subvenientes: they had crossed at other points.

12. transgressus: probably having taken advantage of the dispersion of the enemy by the cavalry, to build a bridge.

alias nationes: i.e. besides the Cherusci.

Herculi: this god, mentioned in the Germania, 9, was probably Donar (Thor); he is by some identified with Irmin.

ausuros, etc.: see 13. 4.

2. attulere, brought word; governs the clause audiri ... murmur.

3. incorruptum, without deceit, trustworthy; i.e. how he might obtain certain knowledge of the temper of the soldiers.

4. laeta: what would give pleasure; comperta: what they had ascertained as true.

5. noscendas: if he would learn their real disposition, it must be at a time when, etc.

13. augurali: the augurale or auguratorium was on the right of the praetorium, as the tribunal was on its left; here the auspices were taken. He would naturally have stepped directly from his tent into the via principalis of the camp, but
ignara, comite uno, contactus umeros ferina pelle, adit castrorum vias, adsistit tabernaculis, fruiturque fama sui, cum hic nobilitatem ducis, decorem alius, plurimi patientiam comitatem, per seria per iocos eundem animum laudibus ferrent, reddendamque gratiam in acie fateretur, simul perfidos et ruptores pacis ultiioni et gloriae mactandos. Inter quae unus hostium, Latinae linguae sciens, acto ad vallum equo voce magna coniuges et agros et stipendii in dies, donec bellaretur, sestertios centenos, si quis transfugisset, Armini nomine pollicetur. Incendit ea contumelia legionum iras: veniret dies, daretur pugna; sumpturum militem Germanorum agros, tractu- rum coniuges; accipere omen et matrimonia ac pecunias hostium praedae destinare. 

Tertia ferme vigilia assul- tatum est castris sine coniectu, postquam crebras pro munimentis cohortes et nihil remissum sensere.

Nox eadem laetam Germanico quietem tulit, viditque se operatum et, sanguine sacri respersa praetexta, pul-

matrimonia: Intr. 35 a.
4. tertia vigilia: at about midnight, the night being divided into four watches.

assulatum est, an assault was made: here with the dative; cf. I. 51. 6.

postquam, etc.: joined with sine . . . teli; they withdrew without any actual fighting, when, etc.

nihil remissum: no relaxation of vigilance.

14. quietem, dream.

operatum: sc. rebus divinis; a frequent technical use of this word. The tense shows that the sacrifice had been completed.

sacri: here the sacred offering or victim.

praetexta, the toga praetexta, white with a purple border, was worn by children and by the higher
chriorem aliam manibus aviae Augustae accepisse. Auctus omne, addicentibus auspiciis, vocat contionem et quae sapientia praevisa aptaque imminenti pugnae deserit. Non campos modo militi Romano ad proelium bonos, sed si ratio adsit, silvas et saltus; nec enim immensa barbarorum scuta, enormis hastas inter trunco arborum et enata humo virgulta perinde haberi quam pila et gladios et haerentia corpori tegmina. Denserent ictus, ora mucronibus quaerent; non loricam Germano, non galeam, ne scuta quidem ferro nervove firmata, sed viminum textus vel tenuis et fucatas colore tabulas; primam utecumque aciem hastam, ceteris praestata aut brevia tela. Iam corpus ut visu torvum et ad brevem impetum validum, sic nulla vulnerum patientia; sine pudore flagitii, sine cura ducum abire fugere, pavidos adversis, inter secunda non divini, non humani iuris memores. Si taedio viarum ac maris finem cupiant, hac acie parari: propiorem utecumque Albin quam Rhenum, neque bellum ultra, modo se, patris

magistrates, and also by all engaged in sacred rites.

2. auctus, encouraged.
addicentibus, being favorable.
sapientia: ablative; what provisions had been made by his forethought.
3. ratio, good management.
silvas et saltus: cf. 5. 3.
perinde haberi, are so manageable.
pila, etc.: both javelin and sword were short,— the pilum about six feet, the gladius two.
tegmina: defensive armor,—
loricam, etc., below.
4. nervo, hide.
colore: cf. Germ. 6, scuta lenticis simis coloribus distinguunt: these are the forerunners of the mediaeval coats of arms.

utecumque: an adverb, as frequently in late writers, as best they could.
praestata, with points hardened in the fire.
5. iam, moreover.
ut ... sic, although ... yet. So in the Germania, 4, magna corpora et tantum ad impetum validum.

adversis: poetic ablative absolute, contrasted with inter secunda; cf. sperat infestis, Hor. Od. 11. 10. 13 (Intr. 35 s).
cupiant: i.e. the Roman soldiers.
ultra, any longer.
patris patruique: both Drusus
patruique vestigia prementem, isdem in terris victorem sisterent.

Orationem ducis secutus militum ardor, signum-que pugnae datum. Nec Arminius aut ceteri Germanorum proceres omittebant suos quisque testari, hos esse Romanos Variani exercitus fugacissimos, qui ne bellum tolerarent, seditionem induerint; quorum pars onusta vulneribus terga, pars fluctibus et procellis fractos artus infensis rursum hostibus, adversis dis obiciant, nulla boni spe. Classem quippe et avia Oceani quaesita, ne quis venientibus occurreret, ne pulsos premeret: sed ubi miscuerint manus, inane victis ventorum remorumve subsidium. Meminissent modo avaritiae crudelitatis superbiae: aliud sibi reliquum quam tenere libertatem aut mori ante servitium?

Sic accensos et proelium poscentes in campum, cui Idistaviso nomen, deducunt. Is medius inter Visurgim and Tiberius had penetrated to the Elbe. For patru, see I. 33. 3 n.

isdem in terris: i.e. the region beyond the Weser.

15. 2. fugacissimos: i.e. they had escaped from the slaughter of Varus, and had mutinied for fear of being exposed again to a like danger; cf. ceterorum Britannorum fugacissimi, Agr. 34.

seditionem: referring to the mutiny of the previous year.

vulneribus: wounds in the back (not the scars from flogging).

fluctibus, etc.: referring to the march of Vitellius, I. 70.

rursum: qualifies obiciant, referring to the defeat of Varus.

3. quaesita, resorted to.

premeret, pursue in their retreat.

miscuerint: subjunctive, representing a future perfect,—after the battle now to be fought.

4. aliud . . . reliquum: the omission of the interrogative particle is not in itself uncommon, but is very unusual in indirect discourse.

16. Idistaviso: the last part of this word is evidently the German Wiese (meadow); the first part is conjectured by Jacob Grimm to be Idis (nymph, elf), and he proposes to change to Idisiaviso, a reading adopted by most editors. It is probably to be taken as nominative, that being the usual construction of Tacitus with substantives, in phrases like nomen est (I. 45. 1 n). It is usually placed just above the great bend of the Weser near Minden, where the river runs for some distance parallel with the Wesergebirge, and quite near to it. Knoke places it a little further up, at Eisenbergen, which name he thinks derived from Idistaviso. The following plan, copied from Knoke, presents
et colles, ut ripae fluminis cedunt aut prominentia montium resistunt, inaequaliter sinuatur. Pone tergum insurgebat Silva, editis in altum ramis et pura humo inter arborum truncos. Campum et prima silvarum barbarae acies tenuit; soli Cherusci iuga insedere, ut proeliantibus Romanis desuper incurrerent.

Noster exercitus sic incessit: auxiliares Galli Germanique in fronte, post quos pedites sagittarii; dein quattuor legiones et cum duabus praetoriis cohortibus ac delecto equite Caesar; exim totidem aliae legiones et levis armatura cum equite sagittario ceteraeque sociorum cohortes. Intentus paratusque miles, ut ordo agminis at any rate an intelligible battle-ground:—

1. Position of the Romans.
2. Pass through which the Germans advanced.
3. Pass used by Stertinius.

BATTLE OF IDISTAVISO.

2. prominentia montium, the spurs of the mountains, a truer partitive than subjecta vallium, I. 65. 1. resistunt: the correct explanation of this puzzling passage appears to be given by Knoke. resistunt is to be taken here in its original, purely neuter signification,—come to a stand, cease to advance. As the river banks retreat (i.e. to the south), and on the other hand, the spurs of the mountains cease to project, the meadow between (not narrows and widens, but) bends (sinuatetur), between north and south. This is the character of the meadow at Eisbergen.

3. Pone tergum: i.e. of the Germans. The wood was on the lower part of the slope of the hill (insurgebat). The description seems to be that of a pine wood.

4. Iuga: one of the projecting spurs, from which they could take the Romans in the flank.

5. praetoriis cohortibus: see I. 8. 3 n; these two cohorts appear to have been sent to the crown prince as a special bodyguard.

Ut ordo, etc.: to deploy from the march (ordo agminis) into line of battle (in aciem).
in aciem adsisteret. Visis Cheruscorum catervis, quae 17 per ferociam proruperant, validissimos equitum incur-
rere latus, Stertinium cum ceteris turmis circumgredi
tergaque invadere iubet, ipse in tempore adfuturus. In-
terea, pulcherrimum augurium, octo aquilae petere silvas
et intrare visae imperatorem advertere. Exclamat iurent,
sequerentur Romanas aves, propria legionum numina.
Simul pedestris acies infertur et praemissus eques pos-
tremos ac latera impulit; mirumque dictu, duo hostium 4
agmina diversa fuga, qui silvam tenuerant, in aperta, qui
campis adstiterant, in silvam ruebant. Medii inter hos 5
Cherusci collibus detrudebantur, inter quos insignis
Arminius manu voce sustentabat pugnam. In-
cubueratque sagittariis, illa rupturus, ni Raetorum Vin-
delicorumque et Gallicae cohortes signa obiecissent.

17. per ferociam, impatiently, thus disturbing the plan of the
battle (Intr. 35 i).
validissimos, Stertinium: both
with their infinitives depending on
iubet. The former were to attack
the Cheruscans on the right flank
as they descended from the ridge,
while Stertinius made a circuit on
the mountain side, and took the
German position in the rear.
adfuturus: i.e. to attack in front,
co-operating in season with these
flank movements.
2. octo aquilae: this was the number of legions in the army,
and the standard of the legion was a
silver eagle (propria legionum
numina).
silvas: where the enemy were.
advertere, attracted the attention
of; cf. I. 41. 1; gemitusque ac planctus
etiam militum aures oraque
advertere.
praemissus eques: that is, both the validissimi equitum, and
those under Stertinius.

postremos: the entire rear, in-
cluding the CheruscI, who were fur-
thest from the river. These were
attacked by Stertinius.
4. duo . . . agmina: those who
occupied the woods were pushed for-
ward into the plain, because the hills
in their rear were occupied by the
cavalry forces; those in the plain,
attacked in front by the pedestris
acies, fell back into the woods.
The imperfect shows the effort at
these movements, but all was in
confusion.
5. medii inter hos: so as to add
to the confusion.
detrudebantur: by Stertinius.
vulnere: by braving wounds,
thus inspiring by his example.
These ablatives qualify sustenta-
bat.
6. illa rupturus, and would have
burst through at that point.
Vindellicorum: the Vindelici,
occupying the southwestern part
of Bavaria (Augsburg is Augusta
Vindelcorum) formed a part of
7 Nisu tamen corporis et impetu equi pervasit, oblitus faciem suo cruore, ne nosceretur. Quidam agnitione a Chaucis inter auxilia Romana agentibus emissumque tradiderunt. Virtus seu fraus eadem Inguiomero effugium dcdit. Ceteri passim trucidati; et plerosque tranare Visurgim conantes iniecta tela aut vis fluminis, postremo moles ruentium et incidentes ripae operuere.

8 Quidam turpi fuga in summa arborum nisi ramisque se occultantes admotis sagittariis per ludibrium figebantur, alios prorutae arbores adflixere.

9 Quidam turpi fuga in summa arborum nisi ramisque se occultantes admotis sagittariis per ludibrium figebantur, alios prorutae arbores adflixere.

10 Magna ea victoria neque cruenta nobis fuit. Quinta ab hora diei ad noctem caesi hostes decem milia passuum cadaveribus atque armis opplevere, repertis inter spolia eorum catenis, quas in Romanos ut non dubio eventu portaverant. Miles in loco proelii Tiberium imperatorem salutavit struxitque aggerem et in modum tropaeorum arma subscriptis victarum gentium nominebus imposuit. Haud perinde Germanos vulnera luctus.
excidia quam ea species dolore et ira adfecit. Qui modo abire sedibus, trans Albim concedere parabant, pugnam volunt, arma rapiunt; plebes primores iuventus senes agmen Romanum repente incursant, turbant.

Postremo deligunt locum flumine et silvis clausum, 3

*umque ex aere sinistre | subligat atque ensem collo suspendit eburnum.*

19. *ea species*: i.e. of the trophy.

2. *modo*, just now; the sight roused them to fury.

plebes, etc.: see Intr. 35 j.

repente incursant, etc.: not a battle, but an unexpected assault, causing some confusion.

3. *deligunt locum*: the description of the ground, as well as of the engagement, is very obscure. From the fact that the Romans found in

agmen: indicating that the Romans have begun to advance (on the other side of the Weser).

front of them the earthwork which separated the territories of the Cherusci from those of the Angri-
arta intus planitie et umida; silvas quoque profunda palus ambibat, nisi quod latus unum Angrivarii lato pedes adstitit; equitem propinquis lucis texere, ut ingressis silvam legionibus a tergo foret. Nihil ex his Caesar incognitum: consilia locos, prompta occulta növerat astusque hostium in perniciem ipsa vertebat. Seio Tuberoni legato tradit equitem campumque; pedi- tum aciem ita instruxit, ut pars aequo in silvam aditu

vari, it would seem that they were marching towards the north; but we have no other positive clew to the position, and do not even know what river is referred to. Knoke points to Leese, a few miles north of Minden, on the east bank of the Weser, where the remains of an earthwork have been found, connecting the river with a marshy plain, which in the time in question must have been covered with woods. The ground here answers completely to the description (as may fifty other places in the region); and an interesting piece of supplementary evidence is a heap of small stones of equal size, artificially flattened on two sides, which would seem to be such as were hurled by the libritores, mentioned in the next chapter. He thinks that a loaded caisson was left by some accident in the morass, when the Romans withdrew. The appended plan, from Knoke, gives the localities in question, and will assist in understanding the manœuvres, even if the correctness of his view cannot be absolutely established. The German line ran, according to him, from the agger at Leese, southeasterly to the Rehburg hills, their centre being at Düssel- burg. The Romans approached from the plains south of Loccum. Angrivarii: they dwelt on both sides of the lower Weser; their name is preserved in Engern, the name given to this part of Saxony in the Middle Ages. extulerant, had thrown up. dirimerentur: i.e. as a boundary. 4. hic: relating not to aggre alone, but the whole passage locum...ambibat. Their lines (on this plan) must have stretched southeast from the agger to the neighborhood of Düsselburg. propinquis lucis: probably in advance of the position, and towards one side; probably on the south- west slopes of the Rehburg Hills. 20. prompta, at hand, in sight. ipsis: the dative of reference equivalent to a possessive, — to their own destruction. 2. Seio Tuberoni: brother of Sejanus; he had perhaps taken the place of Apronius (see I. 56. 1). He was to operate in the open ground, campum (east of Loccum), against the cavalry, who were in the wooded hills. aequo...aditu: this would be according to the plan at the right of the Roman advance, where the German cavalry could have fallen upon their rear, if they had not been engaged by Tubero. The ground being level (plana) the advance here was made easily.
incederet, pars obiectum aggerem eniteretur; quod ar-
duum sibi, cetera legatis permisit. Quibus plana eve-
nerant, facile inrupere; quis impugnandus agger, ut si
murum succederent, gravibus superne ictibus conflictab-
untur. Sensit dux imparem comminus pugnam, re-
motisque paulum legionibus funditores libritoresque
excutere tela et proturbare hostem iubet. Missae et
torrentis hastae, quantoque conspicui magis propugna-
tores, tanto pluribus vulneribus deiecti.

Primus Caesar cum praetoriis cohortibus capto vallo
dedit impetum in silvas; collato illic gradu certatum.
Hostem a tergo palus, Romanos flumen aut montes
claudebant: utrisque necessitas in loco, spes in virtute,
salus ex victoria. Nec minor Germanis animus, sed
21 genere pugnae et armorum superabantur, cum
magnae multitudo artis locis praelongas hastas non
protenderet, non colligeret, neque adsultibus et velocitate
corporum uteretur, coacta stabile ad proelium: contra miles, cui

aggerem eniteretur: for the accusative, cf. I. 30. 2 (egredi), I. 61. 6
(elabi), III. 14. 5 (evadere).
arduum: sc. erat; i.e. the assault upon the agger.
sibi: with permisit, or rather, byzeugma, some word like sumpsit.
3. plana: i.e. the aequus aditus.
superne: the use of an adverb as an attributive adjective, found
also in Livy; cf. comminus below.
4. funditores libritoresque: the
former were regular slingers, who
cast pebbles and leaden bullets,
glændes; the libritores used leather
thongs, lora, and hurled large
stones. When the defenders had
been dislodged from the rampart by
these missiles and those from the
engines, the legions were again
brought up.

5. tormentis: catapults, from
which shafts were sent; see I. 56.
5 n.
6. primus Caesar: he led the
attack after the capture of the
works. We are to understand that
the other divisions of the infantry
were already in the woods.
collato gradu: a hand to hand
fight; cf. congressi, II. 3 n. When
they had passed the agger, they still
met a stubborn resistance.
7. montes: the wooded hills
where the cavalry fight was going
on, in which the Romans had the
worst of it.
21. colligeret, draw back, re-
cover. This metaphorical use of
colligo is found only here.
stabile, stationary,—they were
not able to move.
scutum pectori appressum et insidens capulo manus, latos barbarorum artus, nuda ora foderet, viamque strage hostium aperiret, imprompto iam Arminio ob continua pericula, sive illum recens acceptum vulnus tardaverat. 

Quin et Inguiomerum, tota volitantem acie, fortuna 2 magis quam virtus deserebat. Et Germanicus quo magis agnosceretur, detraxerat tegimen capiti orabatque in-sisterent caedibus: nil opus captivis, solam interneci-

onem gentis finem bello fore. Iamque sero diei subducit ex acie legionem faciendis castris; ceterae ad noctem cruore hostium satiatae sunt. Equites ambigue certavere.

Laudatis pro contione victoribus Caesar congeriem armorum struxit, superbo cum titulo: debellatis inter Rhenum Albimque nationibus exercitum Tiberii Caesaris ea monumenta Marti et Iovi et Augusto sacra-

visse. De se nihil addidit, metu invidiae an ratus con-

scientiam facti satis esse. Mox bellum in Angrivarios Stertino mandat, ni deditionem properavissent. Atque illi supplices, nihil abnuendo, veniam omnium accepere.

Sed aestate iam adulta legionum aliae itinere ter-

---

scutum: this kind of shield was rectangular, and curved so as to come partly round the body and protect it.

insidens capulo manus: this gave a surer grasp.

nuda ora: see Germ. 6; vix uni alterive cassis aut galea.

imprompto: a compound, found only in Livy, Tacitus, and Ausonius.

sive: the omission of the first sive is not unusual in Tacitus. It may be rendered or perhaps.

evulnus: see 17, 6.

4. legionem: sc. unam.

ambigue: the cavalry fight is said to have been indecisive, from which we are to gather that it was on the whole a failure; cf. I. 63. 4 n.

22. congeriem armorum: probably a trophy like that in 18. 2.

3. Angrivarios: see 8. 4.

properavissent: this represents a future perfect indicative of the direct discourse; he directs him to carry on the war unless the enemy should submit.

omnium: neuter.

23. adulta, literally, full grown; i.e. at its height. According to Servius (ad Verg. Georg. I. 43), the three months of each season are called respectively, novus, adultus, praeceps.
restri in hibernacula remissae; plures Caesar classi impositas per flumen Amisiam Oceano invexit. Ac primo placidum aequor mille navium remis strepere aut velis impelli; mox atro nubium globo effusa grando, simul variis undique procellis incerti fluctus prospectum adimere, regimen impedire; milesque pavidus et casuum maris ignarus dum turbat nautas vel intermestive iuvat, officia prudentium corrumpet. Omne dehinc caelum et mare omne in austrum cessit, qui tumidis Germaniae terris, profundis amnibus, immenso nubium tractu validus et rigore vicini septenttrionis horridior, rapuit disiectaque naves in aperta Oceani aut insulas saxis abruptis vel per occulta vaclâ infestas. Quibus paulum aegreque vitatis, postquam mutabat aestus eodemque quo ventus ferebat, non adhaerere ancoris, non exhaurire irruptpentis undas poterant; equi iumenta, sarcinae, etiam arma praecipitantur quo levarentur alvei, manantes per latera et fluctu superurgente. Quanto violentior cetero

per Amisiam: showing that, in all likehood, he had left the fleet in the river; see 8. 2 n.

2. ac primo: i.e. after entering the ocean.

mille navium: see 6. 2.

remis . . . impelli, resounded with the (splashing of the) oars, or was fretted by (the ships, propelled by) sails.

glbo: ablative of source without a preposition after effusa, a construction also found in Sallust and Livy.

incerti: as distinguished from the regular swell of a steady gale.

prudentium: the experienced sailors, contrasted with the landlubber soldiery.

3. in austrum cessit: cf. cesser, I. 1. 3; the southwest wind conquered all the rest.

tumidis, swollen, i.e. hilly; the wind came from the mountainous lands of Central Germany. See Agricola, 10, montes causa ac materies tempestatum. These ablative are construed with validus. See App. I.

rigore: the cause of horridior.

insulas: they were sailing between the mainland and the low islands along the coast.

4. mutabat: neuter; the ebb tide set in, thus carrying them in the same direction as the wind.

eodem, i.e. in the same direction. This does not refer merely to the tide, but to the movement of the great waves, which was felt as soon as the southwest wind carried them out of the shelter of the shore. Pfitzner.

manantes, leaking.
mari Oceanus et truculentia caeli praestat Germania, tantum illa clades novitate et magnitudine excessit, hostilibus circum litoribus aut ita vasto et profundo

2 ut credatur novissimum ac sine terris mare. Pars navium haustae sunt, plures apud insulas longius sitas ejectae; milesque nullo illic hominum cultu fame absorbentus, nisi quos corpora equorum eodem eisisa toleraverant.

3 Sola Germanici triremis Chaucorum terram appulit; quem per omnes illos dics noctesque apud scopulos et prominentis oras, cum se tanti exitii reum clamitaret, vix cohibuere amici quo minus eodem mari oppeteret.

4 Tandem relabente aestu et secundante vento claudae naves raro remigio aut intentis vestibus, et quaedam a validioribus tractae, revertère; quas raptim refectas misit ut scrutarentur insulas. Collecti ea cura plerique; multos Angrivarii nuper in fidem accepti redemptos ab interioribus reddidere; quidam in Britanniam rapti et remissi a regulis. Ut quis ex longinquo venerat, miracula narrabant, vim turbinum et inauditas volucres, monstra maris, ambiguis hominum et beluarum formas, visa sive ex metu credita.

24. vasto et profundo: supply maris from the following mare.

sine terris: qualifying mare,—a sea stretching to the end of the earth.

2. insulas longius sitas: they may have been driven upon any of the lands surrounding the North Sea; it appears from Germ. 44, that Tacitus considered Scandinavia an island. It is not likely, however, that in this case any tidings would have come from them, and the reference below, ut scrutarentur insulas, shows that it was probably the low uninhabited islands outside of those by which they were coasting.

3. scopulos: a rhetorical exaggeration, as this is a sandy coast.

oppeteret: sc. mortem.

4. relabente aestu: as in the last chapter, not the tide, but the stormy waves.

intentis, stretched; i.e. as sails.

5. redemptos ab interioribus: they had managed to escape from the shipwreck, but had been caught and reduced to slavery among the inland nations.

6. monstra maris: Pedo Albinovanus wrote of this expedition
Sed fama classis amissae ut Germanos ad spem bellii, ita Caesarem ad coercendium erexit. C. Silio cum triginta peditum, tribus equitum milibus ire in Chattos imperat; ipse maioribus copiis Marsos irruptit, quorum dux Mallo vendus nuper in deditionem acceptus propinquum luco defossam Varianae legionis aquilam modico praesidio servari indicat. Missa extemplo manus quae hostem a fronte eliceret, alii qui terga circumgressi recluderent humum; et utrisque adfuit fortuna. Eo promptior Caesar pergit introrsus, populatur, exscindit non ausum congridi hostem aut, sicubi restiterat, statim pulsum nec umquam magis, ut ex captivis cognitum est, paventem. Quippe invictos et nullis casibus superabiles Romanos praedicabant, qui perdita classe, amissis armis, post constrata equorum virorumque corporibus litora eadem virtute, pari ferocia, et velut aucti numero irrupissent. Reductus inde in hiberna miles, laetus animi, quod adversa maris expeditione prospera pennisisset. Addidit munificentiam Caesar, quantum quis damni professus erat exsolvendo.

Nec dubium habebatur labare hostes petendaeque pacis consilia sumere, et si proxima aestas adiceretur, posse bellum patrari. Sed crebris epistulis Tiberius monebat rediret ad decretum triumphum: satis iam

in these terms: — illum, pigris immanis monstra sub undis | qui ferat, Oceanum, qui saevas undique / pristis, | aequoreosque canes, rati- / bus consurgere prensis. (in Seneca, Suasor. I. 15.)

ambigus ... formas: these were the monstra,—partly human, partly animal, like mermaids. The genitive denotes the objects between which the doubt existed.

25. 2. aquilam: three eagles had been lost with Varus. The first was recovered the year before (I. 60. 4); the third, according to Dio, in the time of Claudius.

3. hostem: the modicum praedidium.

26. animi: Intr. 35 e; a construction especially common with animi. quis, any one of the soldiers.

3. decretum triumphum: see I. 55. 1.

satis ... casuum: the puzzling question why the frontier of the Elbe was given up by Tiberius, is

answered by Mommsen (Rom. Prov. I. 61. seq.) by pointing to the uneasy condition of both Gaul and Pannonia, and the impossibility of maintaining so distant a frontier with the armies and resources of the empire. See also the advice of Augustus, coercendi intra terminos imperii, I. 11. 7.

**Noviens**: these were B.C. 9 and 8, after the death of Drusus; A.D. 4 and 5, an independent command; and 9, 10, and 11, after the defeat of Varus. To these add an embassy, B.C. 7, and a campaign begun against Maroboduus, A.D. 6.

**Sugambros**: the Sugambri had formerly occupied the lands south of the Lippe, but had, like the Ubii, been transported across the Rhine, and received lands in the relation afterwards known as that of the laevi, rendering for them military service. See I. 31. 3 n. Their lands upon the Lippe appear to have been taken by the Tubantes, I. 51. 4 n.

**Maroboduum**: this was A.D. 6, when Tiberius, recalled by a revolt in Pannonia, had agreed to a peace with Maroboduus; see 46. 2.

**Ultioni consultum esset**, enough had been done for vengeance.

4. **Modestiam**, etc., he assails his modesty; i.e. tempts him on this side by this offer.

**Praesens**: he entered upon the office, however, while absent from the city; see 53. 1.

5. **Nullo hoste**: ablative absolute of cause.

**Lauream** (coronam): worn in a triumph, and afterwards consecrated to the Capitoline Jove.

6. **Decori**: a new use of the dativus incommodi, for things; cf. morti romanis, I. 48. 2, and extractum custodii, VI. 23. 5.
Sub idem tempus e familia Scriboniorum Libo Drusus defertur moliri res novas. Eius negotii initium ordinem finem curatius disseram, quia tum primum reperta sunt quae per tot annos rem publicam exedere. Firmius Catus senador, ex intima Libonis amicitia, iuvenem improvidum et facilem inanibus ad Chaldaeorum promissa, magorum sacra, somniorum etiam inter-

27. Libo Drusus: in the Calendar of Amicetum he is called Marcus; both Suetonius (Tib. 25) and Dio Cassius (LVII. 15) call him Lucius, probably by a confusion with his brother, the consul of the present year (I. 1.). The family Libo was of the Scribonian gens (familia Scriboniorum), but the father of the conspirator had been adopted by Marcus Livius Drusus, father of the empress Livia, and had assumed his name. It would seem, however, that both his sons had re-entered the Scribonian gens, perhaps by re-adoption; for the consul of a.d. 16 is called Lucius Scribonius Libo, and the expression (32. 2) ne quis Scribonius cognomentum Drusi assumeret shows that Libo Drusus was a Scribonius, not a Livius.

The following table, from Nipperdey, will enable one to trace the complicated relationships of this family: —

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cn. Pompeius Magnus</th>
<th>Lucius, cos. B.C. 34</th>
<th>Lucius, Scribonia = Augustus</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

The dotted line indicates adoption.

defertur: for the beginning of the delationes, which were the scandal of this reign, and continued to be an abuse until the time of Domitian, see I. 72. 3. It was the abuses developed in this case quae per tot annos rem publicam exedere.

2. senator: as he is not designated as consularis, praetorius, or aedilicus, he probably received the praetorship as a reward (32. 1); he is, however, still called senator, a.d. 24 (IV. 31. 7).

amicitia: Intr. 35 a; cf. 77. 1.
inanibus: dative neuter.
Chaldaeorum, astrologers; magorum, magicians; the Chaldaeans were famed from antiquity for their knowledge of the stars; the magi, the priests of the Medes, ministers of a corrupted form of the religion of Zoroaster, readily converted their religious formalities into the practice of magic rites. In this way the word magic came to have its present meaning. Rome, under the empire, swarmed with these and other kinds of fortune-tellers.
consobrinos Caesares: Gaius and Lucius, grandsons of Augustus. This near kinship to the imperial family, in the absence of a fixed rule of succession, appears to have inspired Libo with a dangerous ambition. The case was very similar to that of the Duke of Buckingham and other members of the royal family, whom Henry VIII. caused to be beheaded. (See Bailey, *Succession to the English Crown*, p. 106 seq.) But Libo appears to have gone a step further than Buckingham or Surrey.

plenum imaginibus domum: the *ius imaginum*, or right of having waxen masks, representing distinguished members of the family, which were kept in the *atrium*, and carried in funeral processions, was the distinguishing mark of nobility; it established the pedigree.

socius necessitatum: *i.e.* helping to borrow money for him. For a different use of *necessitas*, see I. 11. 6.

28. noscerent, would acknowledge.

repperit: *i.e.* Catus.

eadem: *i.e.* the alleged crimes.

Flaccum Vescularium: for his death, see VI. 10. 2.

cui . . . erat: we see the beginnings of a court in the modern sense, in this requirement of an intermediary. See Inge, *Society in Rome under the Cæsars*, p. 119.

2. congressus: *i.e.* with Catus. *conmeare*, be carried on, by message.

3. interim: Suetonius says (*Tib.* 25) that he waited two years before bringing the matter to a head, but that in the meantime he was constantly on his guard against assassination: *inter pontifices sacrificanti pro secespita plumbeum cultrum subiciendo curavit, et secretum petenti nonnisi adhibito Druso filio dedit, dextramque obambulants, veluti incumbens, quod perageretur sermo, contuit*. Suetonius, it may be added, represents Libo as unquestionably guilty, — *res novas clam moltebatur*, — and his guilt appears clearly enough from the account of Tacitus. Velleius (II. 129) represents the action of the emperor as very prompt, — *quam celeriter ingratum et nova moltement oppressit!*
diderat; cuncta eis dicta factaque, cum prohibere posset, scire malebat, donec Iunius quidam, temptatus ut infernas umbras carminibus eliceret, ad Fulcinium Trionem indicium detulit. Celebré inter accusatores Trionis ingenium erat avidumque famae malae. Statim corripit reum, adit consules, cognitionem senatus poscit. Et vocantur patres, addito consultandum super re magna et atroci.

Libo interim veste mutata cum primoribus feminis circumire domos, orare ad fines, vocem adversum pericula poscere, abnuentibus cunctis, cum diversa praetenderent, eadem formidine. Die senatus metu et aegritudine fessus, sive, ut tradidere quidam, simulato morbo, lectica delatus ad fores curiae innisusque fratri et manus ac supplices voces ad Tiberium tendens im moto eius vultu excipitur. Mox libellos et auctores reci-

cum prohibere posset: i.e. he allowed him to commit himself. temptatus: i.e. by Libo. infernas... elicet: a form of magic resorted to on rare and momentous occasions; as in the story of the witch of Endor. 1 Sam. 28.

Fulcinium Trionem: see III. 10. 1 and 13. 2.

indicium detulit: this was the first step in the procedure, which, it will be remembered, regularly emanated from private persons (Intr. 15 and 16). The witness (index) laid his testimony before the professional accuser, who then brought the case before the magistrates (adit consules).

corripit, indict; a term properly used for physical arrest, but common in this sense.
adit consules: see I. 72. 4 n, and 73. 3 n.
cognitionem: the term properly used for a trial by the senate, as distinguished from the indicium of the courts.

29. veste mutata, putting on mourning,—perhaps not formal mourning, the toga pulla, but with neglected robes, toga sordida. vocem, counsel; finding none, he was obliged to enter the senate house sine patrono; see next chapter.

2. fratri: Lucius Libo, consul ordinarius of the year (1. 1). He is not mentioned here as consul, because his term expired July 1, while the trial took place in September (32. 4). The practice was introduced by the triumvirs, B.C. 39, and in the reign of Augustus it became the custom, to elect the consuls for only a part of the year, usually six months (I. 55. 1 n). After the reign of Tiberius, it was common to have three or four pairs of consuls or even more in a year. See Mommsen, Röm. St. II. p. 79.

libellos, documents.
tat Caesar ita moderans, ne lenire neve asperare crimina videretur. Accesserant praeter Trionem et Catum accusatores Fonteius Agrippa et C. Vibius, certabantque cui ius perorandi in reum daretur, donec Vibius, quia nec ipsi inter se concederent et Libo sine patrono introisset, singillatim se crimina obiectorum professus, protulit libellos vecordes adeo ut consultaverit Libo an habiturus foret opes, quis viam Appiam Brundisium usque pecunia operiret. Inerant et alia huiusce modi stolida vana, si mollius acciperes, miseranda. Uni tamen libello manu Libonis nominibus Caesarum aut senarum additas atroces vel occultas notas accusator arguebat. Negante reo agnoscentes servos per tormenta interrogari placuit. Et quia vetere senatus consulto quaestio in caput domini prohibebatur, callidus et novi iuris pertor Tiberius mancipari singulos actori publico iubet, moderans: sc. sibi or verbis. 
ne: expressing here in form a purpose rather than a result; — showing such self-restraint as not to seem.
30. certabant: when more than one person wished to conduct the prosecution, the decision between them was made by the magistrate, by a procedure known as divinatio, as in the case of Cicero and Caecilius in the impeachment of Verres.
perorandi, pleading in a set speech.
singillatim: taking up the items of the indictment one by one, as Cicero had done against Verres.
consultaverit: sc. Chaldaeos, etc.
viam Appiam: this road was 360 miles long; it was a puerile charge, as Tacitus says, but it was implied that it was only as emperor that he could hope to possess such means.
2. si mollius acciperes: qualifies miseranda.

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nostrae: partly magic characters, (occultas), partly of a criminal nature (atroces).
3. agnoscentes: though they testified voluntarily, their testimony was not valid without torture.
quaestio in caput domini: see Cic. pro Mil. 22. 59; pro Deiot. I. 3. Incestus and coniuratio were made exceptions, and afterwards maiestas and some other crimes. It is hard to see, therefore, why Tiberius should have recourse to the subterfuge here mentioned.
novi iuris repertor: as a matter of fact, this device had been employed by Augustus (Dio, LV. 5). With some reason, therefore, Stahr accuses Tacitus not only of inaccuracy, but of direct falsification.
actori publico, treasury agent, generally a slave or a freedman. By the sale of the slaves to him they became servi publici, and
scilicet ut in Libonem ex servis salvo senatus consulta quae reretur.

Ob quae posterum diem reus petivit, domumque di-gressus extremas preces P. Quirinio propinquo suo ad principem mandavit. Responsum est ut senatum ro-garet. Cingebatur interim milite domus, strepebant etiam in vestibulo, ut audiri, ut aspici possent, cum Libo ipsis quas in novissimam voluptatem adhibuerat epulis excruciatus vocare percussorem, prensare servorum dextras, inserere gladium. Atque illis, dum trepidant, dum refugiunt, evertentibus appositum in mensa lumen, feralibus iam sibi tenebris duos ictus in viscera derexit. Ad gemitum conlabentis accurrere liberti, et caede visa miles abstitit.

Accusatio tamen apud patres asseveratione eadem peracta, iuravitque Tiberius petiturum se vitam quamvis nocenti, nisi voluntariam mortem properavisset. Bona inter accusatores dividuntur, et praeturae extra 32

might be questioned against their former owner.

salvo, without violating.

4. posterum diem: a delay, called comperendinatio, which allowed the accused to go into voluntary exile, or commit suicide.

P. Quirinio: see III. 22. 1, 48. 1.

31. ut senatum rogaret: the petition (preces) must be addressed to the senate, which had sole cognizance of the matter.

cingebatur, etc.: by order of the senate.

cum . . . vocare: Intr. 35 k.

excruciatus: i.e. with terror. He supposed the soldiers had come to put him to death.

percussorem: a slave who should put him to death.

inserere: i.e. in their hands.

2. illis, etc.: they were too much frightened to execute his wish.

feralibus, of death; predicate with tenebris. The darkness of the night was to him the darkness of death.

4. peracta, carried through to judgment.

petitum: sc. fuisse. We see here an illustration of the peculiar formality of Tiberius' mind (Intr. 16). The law must take its course, and then mercy may interpose.

nocenti: dative of advantage.

32. bona . . . dividuntur: by the law of Augustus, the accusers received one-fourth of the property; here they received the whole. The rule by which the property of those who committed suicide before conviction was not confiscated (VI. 29. 2), was violated in this case; cf. IV. 20. 1.

praeturae extra ordinem: Tiberius had sworn (I. 14. 6) not to ex-
ordinem datae iis qui senatori ordinis erant. Tunc Cotta Messalinus, ne imago Libonis exsequias posterorum comitaretur censuit, Cn. Lentulus, ne quis Scribonius cognomentum Drusi assumeret. Supplicationum dies Pomponii Flacci sententia constituti. Dona Iovi Marti Concordiae, utque iduum Septembrium dies, quo se Libo interfecerat, dies festus haberetur, L. Piso et Gallus Asinius et Papius Mutilus et L. Apronius decrevere; quorum auctoritates adulationesque rettuli, ut sciretur vetus id in re publica malum. Facta et de mathematicis magisque Italia pellendis senatus consulta; quorum e numero L. Pituanius saxo deiectus est, in P.

cceed the legitimate number of twelve pretors. Dio, however (LVIII. 20), says that he appointed sometimes fifteen and sometimes sixteen. Probably the praetorship was now given to senators who had not reached the required age, or held the offices which by law should have preceded this. Pfitzner suggests that the office was assigned to them in advance.


imago: see 27. 2 n.

Cn. Lentulus: highly praised by Tacitus at his death: see IV. 44. 1.

cognomentum: there are several instances of a family agreeing never to use a particular praenomen, the most famous one being that of the Manlii, who forbade the name Marcus on account of the treason of Marcus Manlius (Liv. VI. 20); so Lucius in the Claudian gens, on account of the misdeeds of two of that name (Suet. Tib. 1). See also III. 17. 8. That the cognomen Drusus was prohibited in the present case, was probably because of its association with the imperial family, in the father of Germanicus and the sons of both Germanicus and Tiberius.


4. Concordiae: see Orelli, 25: pro salute Tiberii Caesaris Augusti optimi ac iustissimi principis. For other fragments of inscriptions found in the ruins of the Temple of Concord, above the arch of Septimius Severus, see Jordan, Topographie der Stadt Rom. I. 2. 333.

decrevere, proposed.

vetus id . . malum: i.e. adulation: as old as the time of Tiberius, — in the time of Tacitus this abuse had reached a great height.

5. de mathematicis: i.e. astrologers; such votes were often passed, but never carried out persistently.

saxo: sc. Tarpeio; this punishment was inflicted for false witness, incest, sorcery, and perhaps other crimes.
Marcius consules extra portam Esquilinam, cum classici-
cum canere iussissent, more prisco advertere.

Proximo senatus die multa in luxum civitatis dicta a Q. Haterio consulari, Octavio Frontone praetura
functo; decretumque ne vasa auro solida ministran-
dis cibis fieren, ne vestis serica viros foedaret. Ex-
cessit Fronto ac postulavit modum argento supellectili
familiae. [Erat quippe adhuc frequens senatoribus, si
quid e re publica crederent, loco sententiae promere.]
Contra Gallus Asinius disseruit: auctu imperii adole-
visse etiam privatAs opes, idque non novum, sed e vetus-
tissimis moribus; aliam apud Fabricios, aliam apud

portam Esquilinam: within the modern Porta Maggiore, the regular
place for such executions.
cum classicum . . iussissent: on the morning of the day of trial, the
trumpet was sounded on the citadel, arx, around the walls, and
finally before the house of the accused.
more prisco advertere: the punishment more prisco, of one
who was judged a public enemy, was to be put naked in the pillory
and flogged to death: cum compes-
risset nudi hominis cervicem inseri
furcae, corpus virgis ad necem caedi
(Suet. Nero, 49). Usually, however,
he was scourged for a while and
then beheaded.

33. Q. Haterio: see I. 13. 4.
praetura functo: not merely of
praetorian rank (praetorius), but
having actually held the office; for
many by special grant enjoyed the
rank (ornamentum) without having
held the office.
foedaret: the Romans in early
times dressed wholly in wool, and
silk (serica) was regarded as at
once effeminate and indecent.

2. excessit: i.e. went further in
his propositions; cf. 24. 1.

familiae, slaves. C. Cæcilius
Claudius Isidorus left at his death,
B.C. 8, 4116 slaves (Plin. H. N.
XXXIII. 135).
erat quippe, etc.: when called
upon by the consul to give their
vote, dicere sententiam, upon any
proposition, they would add to it si
quid e re publica crederent; just as
Cato the Censor ended every speech
with the words censeo Karthaganem
esse delendam. This passage really
has no bearing on the subject, inasmuch as Fronto’s proposition was a
legitimate amendment; it is therefore
placed by Nipperdey in brackets,
as a gloss.
frequens, a common practice.
3. id: i.e. adolevisse . . . opes.
apud Fabricios: in the early
part of the third century B.C.
apud Scipiones: during the
second century B.C. In the mean
time there had been a great in-
crease of wealth and luxury. In
the time of Fabricius it was for-
bidden to have of silver plate more
than one dish and a saltcellar, and
he, as censor, removed from the
senate the consular and ex-dictator
Publius Cornelius Rufinus, for having
ten pounds of plate (Livy, Epit. 14).
Scipiones pecuniam; et cuncta ad rem publicam referri, qua tenui angustas civium domos, postquam eo magnificentiae venerit gliscere singulos. Neque in familia et argento quaeque ad usum parentur nium aliud aut modicum nisi ex fortuna possidentis. Distinctos senatus et equitum census, non quia diversi natura, sed, ut locis ordinibus dignationibus antistent, ita iis, quae ad requiem animi aut salubritatem corporum parentur, nisi forte clarissimo cuique plures curas, maiora pericula subeunda, delenimentis curarum et periculorum carendum esse. Facilem assensum Gallo sub nominibus honestis confessio vitiorum et similitudo audientium dedit. Adiecerat et Tiberius non id tempus censurae nec, si quid in moribus labaret, defuturum corrigendi auctorem.

rem publicam: the state of society.
referri, are referred to as a standard, are judged in relation to.
qua tenui: ablative absolute of time, opposed to postquam...venerit.
angustas: sc. esse.
eo magnificentiae, to that pitch of splendor.
gliscere, grozo in wealth, etc.
5. distinctos: sc. a plebe.

senatus et equitum census: the senatorial census was according to Mommsen (Köm. St. I. 400) fixed at 1,000,000 sesterces = $50,000; the equestrian census was 400,000 sesterces = $20,000 (id. III. 499).
locis: places in the theatre, where the senators occupied the orchestra, and the equites, by the Roscian law, the first fourteen rows of the cavea. ordinibus relates to the class (senatorial and equestrian); dignationibus (as distinguished from dignitate), to their qualifications, in property, birth, etc., for offices and responsibilities.
ita iis (sc. antistare), so likewise they (have the advantage) in those things, etc. The passage is harsh and very likely corrupt.
clarissimo: a standing epithet for senators, as splendidus for knights having a senatorial census.
subeunda, carendum esse: following nisi. The extension of the accusative with infinitive to dependent clauses in oratio obliqua had begun before Tacitus, though no case of protasis occurs before him; cf. Intr. 35 s.
delenimentis: the comforts of wealth.
6. non id tempus censurae: the regimen morum was a regular part of the duties of the censors during the republic, and during the empire was assumed by the emperors. Tiberius hints that he will himself see to that, when the time comes (nec... defuturum corrigendi auctore).
Inter quae L. Piso ambitum fori, corrupta iudicia, saevitiam oratorum accusationes minitantium increpans, abire se et cedere urbe, victurum in aliquo abdito et longinquo rure testabatur; simul curiam relinquebat. Commotus est Tiberius et, quamquam mitibus 2 verbis Pisonem permulsisset, propinquos quoque eius impulit ut abeuntem auctoritate vel precibus tenerent. Haud minus liberi doloris documentum idem Piso mox 3 dedit vocata in ius Urgulania, quam supra leges amicitia Augustae extulerat. Nec aut Urgulania obturavit, in domum Caesaris spreto Pisone vecta, aut ille abscessit, quamquam Augusta se violari et imminui quereretur. Tiberius hactenus indulgere matri 5 civile ratus ut se iturum ad praetoris tribunal, adfuturum Urgulaniae diceret, processit Palatio, procul sequi iussis militibus. Spectabatur occursante populo compositus ore et sermonibus varii tempus atque iter ducens, donec propinquis Pisonem frustra coercentibus, deferri Augusta pecuniam, quae petebatur, iuberet. Isque finis rei, ex qua neque Piso inglorius et Caesar maiore fama fuit. Ceterum Urgulaniae potentia adeo 8 nimia civitati erat ut testis in causa quadam, quae apud senatum tractabatur, venire dedignaretur: missus est praetor qui domi interrogaret, cum virgines Vestales

34. L. Piso: for his death, a result, as was alleged, of the occurrence here related, see IV. 21. 4. fori, courts; these were regularly held upon the Forum. ambitum: see I. 2. 2 n. abire, was going away; expressing future time, as frequently in colloquial language. relinquebat = relinquere parabat.


4. abscessit, desisted. violari, suffered an affront. imminui: i.e. in her dignity. 5. hactenus: qualified by ut ... diceret. civile, lawful (for any citizen). procul ... militibus: in order to place no constraint upon the courts; see I. 7. 7. 6. occursante: i.e. casually. coercentibus: attempting to dissuade him from his suit. 8. virgines Vestales: the most
in foro et iudicio audiri, quotiens testimonium dicerent, vetus mos fuerit.

35 Res eo anno prolatas haud referrem, ni pretium foret Cn. Pisonis et Asinii Galli super eo negotio diversae sententias noscere. Piso, quamquam afuturum se dixerat Caesar, ob id magis agendas censebat, ut absente princepe senatum et equites posse sua munia sustinere decorum rei publicae fuerit. Gallus, quia speciem libertatis Piso praeceperat, nihil satis illustre aut ex dignitate populi Romani nisi coram et sub oculis Caesaris, eoque conventum Italiae et adfluentis provincias praesentiae eius servanda dicebat. Audiente haec Tiberio ac silente magnis utrimque contentionibus acta, sed res dilatae. Et certamen Gallo adversus Caesarem exortum est. Nam censuit in quinquennium magistratus comitia habenda, utque legionum legati, qui ante praeturam ea militia fungebantur, iam tum praetores destinarentur; princeps duodecim candidatos in annos singulos nominaret. Haud dubium erat eam senten-

sacred and highly privileged personages in the state.

35. res prolatas, postponement of business. Of this phrase res dilatae (4) is a variation.

pretium: used for operae pretium only by Tacitus; cf. I. 57. 4.

2. agendas: sc. res.

equites: i.e. as indices in the courts, distinguished from the judicial action of the senate (I. 72. 4 n., and 73. 3 n.).

3. conventum . . . provincias: deputations from Italian towns and from the provinces; they came to Rome on business connected with taxes, public contracts, etc.

4. haec: nominative.

36. in quinquennium: the election, by the senate (I. 15. 1) should be made for five years in advance, as had been done under Cesar; the intention probably was to establish the custom of each year designating those who should hold office five years later. Those who at present were in command of legions — legati pro praetore, many of whom were not yet of praetorian rank — were to be appointed at once to the praetorship, while the rest of the appointments for the five years were to be made by the emperor.

utque, etc.: Intr. 35 r.

2. haud dubium erat, etc.: the infinitive after negative expressions of doubt (for quin with subjunctive) belongs to Livy, Nepos, and late writers.
tiam altius penetrare et arcana imperii temptari. Tiberius tamen, quasi augeretur potestas eius, disseruit: grave moderationi suae tot eligere, tot differre; vix per 3 singulos annos offensiones vitari, quamvis repulsam pro-pinquua spes soletur: quantum odii fore ab iis qui ultra quinquennium proiciantur? Unde prospici posse quae cuique tam longo temporis spatio mens, domus, fortuna? Superbire homines etiam annua designatione: quid si 4 honorem per quinquennium agitent? Quinquiplicari 5 prorsus magistratus, subverti leges, quae sua spatia exercendae candidatorum industiae quaerendisque aut potiundis honoribus statuerint. Favorabili in speciem oratione vim imperii tenuit.

Censusque quorundam senatorum iuvit. Quo magis mirum fuit quod preces Marci Hortalii, nobilis iuvenis, in paupertate manifesta superbius accepisset. Nepos erat oratoris Hortensii, illectus a divo Augusto liberali-

arcana imperii: by interfering with the details of administration, which were reserved to the emperor and his privy council. One of the principles of the imperial government was the withdrawal of the military authority from the senate, and its concentration in the hands of the emperor.

quasi, etc.: cf. I. 14. 6 n.
differre: i.e. in quinquennium.
3. mens, sentiment (loyalty, etc.); domus, family connections: fortuna, means; all of these might change in the course of five years.
4. honorem: as magistratus designatus. The consul elect ranked above the consulares, and was asked his opinion (sententia) in the senate before them; and so with the other magistracies. To enjoy this dignity for five years would excite arrogance and give rise to complications.

5. leges: the laws which fixed the age at which the several magistracies could be held, their order, and the intervals of time which must elapse between them.

vim imperii tenuit: he kept in his hands the substance of power.

37. census, property-standing; cf. Vell. Pat. II. 129: senatorum censum ... quam libenter supplevit, ut neque luxuriam invitaret, neque honestam paupertatem pateretur dignitate destitu.

accepisset: the thought of those who felt surprise.

2. oratoris Hortensii: the orator, the rival of Cicero, but older than he, and opposed to him in the case of Verres. Hortensius was distinguished for prodigality and luxury, hence no doubt in part the poverty of the family; his son, father of this Hortalus, had gone over from the
tate deciens sestertii ducere uxorem, suscipere liberos, ne clarissima familia exstingueretur. Igitur quattuor filiis ante limen curiae adstantibus, loco sententiae, cum in Palatio senatus haberetur, modo Hortensii inter oratores sitam imaginem, modo Augusti intuens, ad hunc modum coepit: 'Patres conscripti, hos, quorum numerum et pueritiam videtis, non sponte sustuli, sed quia princeps monebat; simul maiores mei meruerant ut posteros haberent. Nam ego, qui non pecuniam, non studia populi neque eloquentiam, gentile domus nostrae bonum, varietate temporum accipere vel parare potuissim, satis habebam, si tenues res meae nec mihi pudori nec cuiquam oneri forent. Iussus ab imperatore uxorem duxi. En stirps et progenies tot consulum, tot dictatorum. Nec ad invidiam ista, sed conciliandae miseri-
cordiae refero. Adsequentur florente te, Caesar, quos dederis honores; interim Q. Hortensii pronepotes, divi

side of Cæsar to that of Brutus and Cassius, and had consequently lost his life and property.

deciens sestertii: 1,000,000 sesterces = $50,000; see I. 8. 3 n.
ducere, etc.: Intr. 35 l.
suscipere: this word, like sustuli below, describes the formal act by which the father recognized his children and undertook to rear them. They were laid at his feet directly after birth, and if he lifted them up (sustuli), they were cared for; if he refused to do this, they were exposed in the mountains and forests, and allowed to die.

3. loco sententiae: i.e. when he was called upon for his opinion upon the question under discussion; an illustration of the custom described in 33. 2; cf. egredi relationem, 38. 3.
in Palatio: in the library upon the Palatine, where Augustus, in his old age, often held meetings of the senate (Suet. Oct. 29). As we see, it was adorned with images of distinguished men.

5. studia populi, popularity.
gentile, heredary in our gens.

varietate temporum, under the changed conditions of the time.

accipere: by inheritance; parare: by his own exertions.

6. tot consulum, tot dictatorum: the Hortensian gens had contributed only one of each,—the orator Hortensius, consul b.c. 69, and Quintus Hortensius, dictator b.c. 286; on the mother's side, however, Hortalus was descended from the Marcian, and probably other distinguished gentes.

7. florente te, under your reign; i.e. conferred by you.
alumnos: because they were reared by the will and favor of Augustus.
Augusti alumnos ab inopia defende.' Inclinatio senatus incitamentum Tiberio fuit quo promptius adversaretur, his ferme verbis usus: 'Si quantum pauperum est venire huc et liberis suis petere pecunias coeperint, singuli numquam exsatiabuntur, res publica deficiet. Nec sane ideo a maioribus concessum est egredi aliquando relationem et quod in commune conducat loco sententiae proferre, ut privata negotia et res familiares nostras hic augeamus, cum invidia senatus et principum, sive indulserint largitionem sive abnuerint. Non enim preces sunt istud, sed efflagitatio, intempestiva quidem et improvisa, cum aliis de rebus convenerint patres, consurgere et numero atque aetate liberum suorum urgere modestiam senatus, eadem vim in me transmittere, ac velut perfringere aerarium, quod si ambitione exhauserimus, per scelera supplendum erit. Dedit tibi, Hortale, divus Augustus pecuniam, sed non compellatus nec ea lege, ut semper daretur. Languescet aliqui industria, intendetur socordia, si nullus ex se metus aut spes, et securi omnes aliena subsidia exspectabunt, sibi ignavi, nobis graves.' Haec atque talia, quamquam cum assensu audita ab iis quibus omnia principum, honesta atque in-

88. *inclinatio*, favorable disposition.

incitamentum: explained by Furneaux in relation to *promptius*, — "he had made up his mind, and seeing the sympathy of the senate, spoke at once before it had gone too far."

2. *res publica*, the public resources (common wealth).


senatus, principum: objective genitives.

indulserint: with the accusative of the thing granted; it would take a dative of the person.


perfringere, break by force into.

ambitio, desire of gaining favor.

5. *compellatus*, addressed; i.e. requested.

6. *ex se*: their hopes and fears should depend upon their own exertions.

7. *haec atque talia*: they were wise and timely words, expressing the true principle of charitable action.

quamquam, etc.: for Tacitus'
honesta, laudare mos est, plures per silentium aut occulta murmur excipere. Sensitque Tiberius; et cum paulum reticuisset, Hortalo se respondisse ait, ceterum si patribus videretur, daturum liberis eius ducena sestertia singulis, qui sexus virilis essent. Egere alii grates: siluit Hortalus, pavore an avitae nobilitatis etiam inter angustias fortunae retinens. Neque miseratus est post-hac Tiberius, quamvis domus Hortensii pudendam ad inopiam delaberetur.

Eodem anno mancipii unius audacia, ni mature subventum foret, discordiis armisque civilibus rem publicam perculisset. Postumi Agrippae servus, nomine Clemens, comperto fine Augusti pergere in insulam Planasiam et fraude aut vi raptum Agrippam ferre ad exercitus Germanicos non servili animo concepit. Ausa eius impedi-vit tarditas onerariae navis; atque interim patrata caede, ad maiora et magis praecipitia conversus furatur cineres vectusque Cosam, Etruriae promunturium, ignotis locis sese abdit donec crinem barbamque promitteret; nam aetate et forma haud dissimili in dominum erat. Tum

34. praecipitia, perilous.
furatur cineres: in order to destroy the evidence of Agrippa's death.

Cosam: an old Etruscan city, occupying the principal promontory on the Etruscan coast, and the point most accessible from Planasia. A Latin colony was established here B.C. 273; so that it was, upon this coast, the northernmost seat of the Roman power at the time of the Punic Wars.

promitteret, let grow. Probably Agrippa, rudis bonarum artium et robore corporis stolide ferox (I. 3. 4), was of shaggy hair and beard. The Romans at this date regularly shaved.

35. in dominum: this is the only

false standard of judgment, see Intr.

8. ducena sestertia = $10,000 apiece, the census of the fourth decuria of judges, which Augustus added to the three chosen from the senators, equites, and tribuni aerarii.

9. retinens: a participle having the regimen of the verbal adjective in -ns, governing the objective genitive; commoner inTacitus than in any other writer.

10. quamvis: Intr. 35 j.

39. mancipii: see 2. 4 n.


conceput, conceived the purpose; a very rare use of concipio with the infinitive.
per idoneos et secreti eius socios crebrescit vivere Agrippam, occultis primum sermonibus, ut vetita solent, mox vago rumore apud imperitissimi cuiusque promptas aures aut rursum apud turbidos eoque nova cupientes. Atque ipse adire municipia obscolo dici, neque propa-
lam aspici neque diutius isdem locis, sed quia veritas
visu et mora, falsa festinatione et incertis valescunt, relinquebat famam aut praevinebat. Vulgabatur in-

40

interim per Italianam servatum munere deum Agrippam,
credebatur Romae; iamque Ostiam invectum multitudo
ingens, iam in urbe clandestini coetus celebrabant, cum
Tiberium anceps cura distrahere, vine militum servum
suum coerceret an inanem credulitatem tempore ipso
vanescere sineret; modo nihil spernendum, modo non 2
omnia metuenda ambiguus pudoris ac metus reputabat.
Postremo dat negotium Sallustio Crispo. Ille e clienti-
bus duos (quidam milites fuisse tradunt) deligit atque
hortatur, simulata conscientia adeant, offerant pecuniam,
fidem atque pericula polliceantur. Exsequuntur ut ius-
sum erat. Dein speculati noctem incustoditam, accepta

instance of this construction after similiis or dissimiliis. Cf. Intr. 35 i.

4. crebrescit, the rumor spreads.

5. relinquebat . . praevinebat: he gave no opportunity for comparing the reality with the report, but relied upon expectation or memory for gaining adherents. The combination of these imperfects with the historical infinitives adire and aspici is peculiar.

40. Ostiam: the port of Rome, at the mouth of the Tiber.

celebrabant: this is taken by Doederlein to be a zeugma,—the populace thronged about Clemens in Ostia, and he was secretly talked about in Rome,—on the ground that

the impostor did not probably enter the city until he was carried in chains to the emperor. The meaning seems, however, to be that he entered Ostia publicly, but Rome secretly; and the expression in Palatium traxere, after his arrest, implies that he was already in the city.

cum . . distrahere: Intr. 35 k.
suum: because whatever had been Agrippa's he had inherited.

2. pudoris, metus: cf. 24. 6 n.

Sallustio Crispo: the one through whom the murder of Agrippa had been effected; see I. 6. 6.

3. conscientia, complicity.

pericula: participation in perils.
idonea manu, vinctum clauso ore in Palatium traxere.
5. Percontanti Tiberio quo modo Agrippa factus esset, respondisse fertur 'Quo modo tu Caesar.' Ut ederet socios subigi non potuit. Nec Tiberius poenam eius palam ausus, in secreta Palatii parte interfici iussit corpusque clam auferri. Et quamquam multi e domo principis equitesque ac senatores sustentasse opibus, iuvisse consiliis dicerentur, haud quaesitum.

41. Fine anni arcus propter aedem Saturni ob recepta signa cum Varo amissa ductu Germanici, auspiciis Tiberii, et aedes Fortis Fortunae Tiberim iuxta in hortis quos Caesar dictator populo Romano legaverat, sacrarium genti Iuliae effigesque divo Augusto apud Bovillas dicantur.


5. *quomodo tu Caesar*: persisting in his claim, or perhaps insolently reminding Tiberius that he was no real Caesar. Furneaux takes it as imputing fraud to Tiberius; but his succession was public and regular.

6. *haud quaesitum*: a wise and mild policy. The rumor, however, of accomplices within the palace, following the discovery of Libo's conspiracy, must have been one of the predisposing causes of Tiberius' jealous and suspicious disposition in his later years.

41. *arcus*: this arch stood over the Sacred Way, at the point where it met the Vicus Iugarius, at the corner of the Basilica Julia, just below the Temple of Saturn.

*aedem Saturni*: the temple, at the foot of the Chorus Capitolinus, used as the treasury (aerarium). There still stand eight columns belonging to it, or rather to a restoration of it in the fourth century.

*ob recepta signa*: see I. 60. 4 and II. 25. 2.

*ductu Germanici, auspiciis Tiberii*: cf. 18. 2 n.; even a victory gained by a colleague or crown prince, as Germanicus was, was referred to the auspices of the emperor, as in the case of an ordinary legatus. Mommsn. Rom. St. II. 1054.

*Fortis Fortunae*: the goddess of Chance; her temple, on the other side of the Tiber, was the scene of a popular festival, June 24, frequented especially by slaves and unfortunate people; the river was thronged with gayly-adorned boats. Ov. Fast. VI. 777.


*Bovillas*: see I. 54. 1 n.

2. *triumphavit*: this was voted two years before (I. 55. 1; see also I. 72. 1 n.).

Ceterum Tiberius nomine Germanici trecenos plebi sestertios viritim dedit seque collegam consulatui eius destinavit. Nec ideo sincerae caritatis fidem adsecutus amoliri iuvenem specie honoris statuit struxitque causas aut forte oblata rapuit. Rex Archelaus quinquagesimum annum Cappadocia potiebatur, invisis Tiberio, quod eum Rhodi agentem nullo officio coluisset. Nec id Archelaus per superbiam omiserat, sed ab intimis Augusti monitus, quia florente Gaio Caesare missoque

4. augebat, enhanced. visus, attention, interest. eximia . . . species: he inherited the physique of his father Drusus (I. 33. 3 n.); see portrait at end of book. Omnes Germanico corporis animique virtutes, et quantas nemini cuiquam, contigisse satis constat: formam et fortitudinem egregiam, ingenium in utroque eloquentiae doctrinaeque genere praecellens, benevolentiam singularem, concilian- daeque hominum gratiae ac promerendi amoris mirum et efficax studium. Suet. Cal. 3. quinque liberi: Nero (V. 3. 2), Drusus (VI. 23. 4), Gaius (better known as Caligula), Agrippina (mother of Nero), and Drusilla; for the birth of his youngest child Julia (Livilla) see 54. 1.

5. reputantibus: ablative absolute. Intr. 35 o. avunculum, uncle on the mother's side,—mother's brother. The mother of Germanicus was Antonia minor, and her half-brother was the Marcellus addressed by Vergil. The mother of Antonia and Marcellus was Octavia, sister of Augustus, who married first Gaius Marcellus, then Mark Antony. See table, Intr. p. xxix.

42. trecenos . . . sestertios: about $15 apiece.
consulatui: for the next year; see 53. 1.
2. Rex Archelaus: he received the kingdom of Cappadocia from Mark Antony, B.C. 36. Rhodi agentem: see I. 4. 4.
3. Gaio Caesare: I. 3. 2. As long
ad res Orientis intuta Tiberii amicitia credebatur. Ut versa Caesarum subole imperium adeptus est, elicit Archelaum matris litteris, quae non dissimulatis filii offensionibus clementiam offerebat, si ad precandum veniret. Ille ignarus doli vel, si intellegere crederetur, vim metuens in urbem properat; exceptusque immiti a principe et mox accusatus in senatu, non ob crimina quae fingebantur, sed angore, simul fessus senio et quia regibus aqua, nedum infima insolita sunt, finem vitae sponte an fato implevit. Regnum in provinciam redactum est, fructibusque eius levari posse centesimae vectigal professus Caesar ducentesimam in posterum statuit.

Per idem tempus Antiocho Commagenorum, Philopatore Cilicum regibus defunctis turbabuntur nationes, plerisque Romanum, aliis regium imperium cupiendibus; et provinciae Suria atque Iudaea, fessae oneribus, as he lived, Tiberius had no prospect of the throne.

4. versa = euersa (Intr. 35 b). With the death of Gaius and his brother Lucius, and the murder of Agrippa Postumus, the family of Augustus became extinct in the male line, and the succession passed to his step-son Tiberius. See I. 3. 3.

5. si intellegere crederetur: the apodosis is implied in vim metuens. immiti: a case of enallage, the adjective, agreeing with principe, being put for the adverb. non ob, etc.: construed with finem...implevit.

crimina: Dio Cassius (LVII. 17. 7) says that he was acquitted (etωθη), being so weak (fessus senio) that he could not stand, and was carried into the senate in a litter. aqua: to be treated like a common man.

6. in provinciam: this decree was carried out the next year (56. 4), and the number of organized provinces thus brought to twenty-nine. Cappadocia was governed by procurators until the time of Vespasian.

centesimae vectigal: see I. 78. 2. Tiberius had declared the year before that it could not be dispensed with; now the increase of revenue accruing from the new province warranted its reduction to one-half of one per cent (ducentesimam partem).

7. Antiocho: his kingdom, Commagene, lying north of Syria, was, as appears from 56. 5, annexed to the empire. It became a part of the province of Syria; but after twenty years its independence was restored by Caligula.

Philopatore: he ruled over the eastern part of Cilicia, lying between Commagene on the east and the Roman province of Cilicia on the west.

Iudaea: this country, conquered by Pompey, B.C. 64, was reckoned a
deminationem tributi orabant. Igitur haec et de Ar-43menia quae supra memoravi apud patres disseruit, nec posse motum Orientem nisi Germanici sapientia componi; nam suam aetatem vergere, Drusi nondum satis adolevisse. Tunc decreto patrum permisssae Germanico 2 provinciae quae mari dividuntur, maiusque imperium, quoquo adisset, quam iis qui sorte aut missu principis obtinerent. Sed Tiberius demoverat Suria Creticum 3 Silanum, per adfinitatem conexum Germanico (quia Silani filia Neroni vetustissimo liberorum eius pacta erat), praefeceratque Cn. Pisonem, ingenio violentum et obse-

part of the province of Syria, but had a separate financial administration, under a procurator. It became an independent province after its subjection by Titus, A.D. 70.

43. supra: see chaps. 3 and 4.

nec: connects haec, etc., with the clause posse ... componi.

motum: used adjectively.

vergere: not used in relation to time by earlier writers. Tiberius was now fifty-nine, Drusus about thirty.

2. provinciae quae mari dividuntur: i.e. all the provinces of Asia,—Syria, Cilicia, Cyprus, Bithynia, Galatia, Pamphylia, and Asia. The republics of Rhodes and Lycia, the kingdom of Cappadocia for a short time, and that part of Pontus which lay north of Cappadocia, were still independent, but were shortly incorporated in the empire. Egypt was not included in his command, for the reason that Egypt was never reckoned as a province, but as a kingdom; see 59. 4 n.

maius imperium: so that the governors of the provinces were placed under his authority. Momm. Röm. St. I. 57.

sorte aut missu principis: i.e. imperial or senatorial governors (Intr. 17). The governors of the senatorial provinces were assigned by lot; those of the imperial provinces were appointed by the emperor.

3. Creticum Silanum: see 4. 4. Cn. Pisonem: the family of the Pisos was among the oldest and most powerful of the noble families of Rome, and Gnaeus was at this time perhaps its leading member. He was a man of large experience, ambitious, and self-asserting (see I. 13. 3), and of a violent temper. Seneca (de Ira, I. 18. 3), relating a gross instance of cruelty and injustice perpetrated by him as governor of Spain, calls him vir a multis vitiis integer, sed pravus et cui placebat pro constantia rigor. That he was appointed by Tiberius with the commission to murder Germanicus, as Tacitus insinuates, there is absolutely no evidence; if the emperor wished to be rid of his adopted son, he needed not to resort to this clumsy method of attaining his end. That Piso committed the murder for his own end has as little evidence, and is in the highest degree improbable; if he had intended to do this, he would not have begun by insubordination and insult, but
qui ignarum, insita ferocia a patre Pionate, qui civil \[\text{in Africa partes acerrimo ministerio adversus Caesarem iuvit, mox Brutum et Cassium secu-} \]

tus, concesso reditu petizione honorum abstinuit, donec \[\text{ultro ambiretur delatum ab Augusto consulatum acci-} \]
pere. Sed praeter paternos spiritus uxoris quoque Planc\[\text{inae nobilitate et opibus accendebatur: vix Tiberio} \]
concedere, liberos eius ut multum infra despectare. \[\text{Nec dubium habebat se delectum qui Surae impone-} \]

retur ad spes Germanici coercendas. Credidere quidam data et a Tiberio occulta mandata; et Plancinam haud dubie Augusta monuit aemulatione muliebri Agrippinam insectandi. Divisa namque et discors aula erat tacitis

in Drusum aut Germanicum studiis. Tiberius ut proprium et sui sanguinis Drusum fovebat; Germanico alienatio patrui amorem apud ceteros auxerat, et quia claritudine materni generis anteibat, avum M. Antonium, 

avunculum Augustum ferens. Contra Druso proavus

by courting the favor and confidence of his intended victim. That he rejoiced at his death seems, however, certain. Furneaux's suggestion seems reasonable, that the emperor, whose suspicious disposition was excited by the popularity of Germanicus,—and, it must be added, the scheming ambition of Agrippina,—and who at the same time was somewhat apprehensive of Piso, as a man *adipisci principem locum non indignum, et si casus daretur, ausurum*, placed them together of set purpose—that Piso "was to be some check on his young 'imperator,' who in turn was to check him by an 'imperium maius' on the spot." What seemed a sagacious piece of policy resulted in a tragedy.

*partes*: *i.e.* the republican party. After the defeat of Pompey at Pharsalus, B.C. 48, the senatorial leaders gathered their forces in Africa, where they were defeated by Cesar at Thapsus, B.C. 46.

*reditu*: to Rome as a citizen.

*abstinuit*: as a sign of dissatisfaction.

*ambiretur*, *was solicited*.

*consulatum*: he was *consul suffectus*, B.C. 23.

4. *Plancinae*: probably daughter or grand-daughter of Lucius Munatius Plancus (censor B.C. 22); sister of the Plancus mentioned, I. 39. 4.

5. *insectandi*: appears to limit *monuit*. Nipperdey, however, declares this to be an impossible construction, and explains it as a genitive of purpose, like *cognoscendae antiquitatis*, 59. 1.


6. *avunculum*, really his *great-
eques Romanus Pomponius Atticus dedecere Claudio-
rum imagines videbatur; et coniunx Germanici Agripp-
pina fecunditate ac fama Liviam uxorem Drusi praecel-
lebat. Sed fratres egregie concordes et proximorum
certaminibus inconcussi.

Nec multo post Drusus in Illyricum missus est, ut 44
suesceret militiae studiaque exercitus pararet: simul
iuvenem urbano luxu lascivientem melius in castris
haberi Tiberius, seque tutiorem rebatur utroque filio
legiones obtinente. Sed fratres egregie concordes et
proximorum certaminibus inconcussi.

Sed Suebi praetendebantur auxil-
2
lium adversus Cheruscos orantes; nam discessu Roma-
norum ac vacui externo metu gentis adsuetudine et tum
aemulatione gloriae arma in se verterant. Vis nationum,
3
virtus ducum in aequo; sed Maroboduum regis nomen
invisum apud populares, Arminium pro libertate bel-
lantem favor habebat. Igitur non modo Cherusci soci-
ique eorum, vetus Arminii miles, sumpsere bellum, sed

uncle, brother of his grandmother
Octavia. See 41. 5 n.

7. Druso: dative of reference —
in the case of Drusus.

Pomponius Atticus: Cicero's
well-known correspondent. His
daughter Pomponia married Agrip-
na, and was mother of Vipsania,
mother of Drusus; see I. 3. 1 n.
and 12. 6 n.

Liviam: sister of Germanicus
and better known as Livilla (IV. 3.
3 seq.).

44. Illyricum: see I. 5. 5 n.
suesceret: neuter.
pararet, gain.

2. Suebi (Swabians): the great
race of south Germany (the Hoch-
Deutsch), divided into a number of
independent nations. Most of these
had united under the rule of Maro-
boduus, the seat of whose kingdom
was in Bohemia. The name of the
nation thus formed was Marcomani,

‘men of the frontier’; ea Germaniae
velut frons est. Germ. 42. They
were the source of the modern Ba-

prietendebantur, etc., the pre-
text put forward was that the Suevi,
etc.; Intr. 35 g.

vacui, because free; joined by
ac to the causal ablative discessu.

et tum, and on this occasion; the
desire of glory being added to the
usual motives (gentis adsuetu-
dine).

arma in se verterant: this is
what Tiberius had anticipated in
withdrawing Germanicus; see 26. 3,
internis discordiis relinqui.

3. favor habebat: opposed to
regis nomen invisum [habebat];
a change of phrase involving a kind
ofzeugma, habeo being used in a
different sense in the two clauses:
his royal title rendered Maroboduus
unpopular, while popularity came to
e regno etiam Marobodui Suebae gentes, Semnones ac Langobardi, defecere ad eum. Quibus additis praepol-lebat, ni Inguisomerus cum manu clientium ad Maroboduum perfugisset, non aliam ob causam quam quia fratris filio iuveni patruus senex parere dedignabatur.

Deriguntur acies, pari utrimque spe, nec, ut olim apud Germanos, vagis incursibus aut disiectas per cæteras: quippe longa adversum nos militia insueverant sequi signa, subsidii firmari, dicta imperatorum accipere.

Ac tunc Arminius equo conlustrans cuncta, ut quosque advectus erat, recuperatam libertatem, trucidatas legiones, spolia adhuc et tela Romanis derepta in manibus multorum ostentatbat; contra fugacem Maroboduum appellans, proeliorum expertem, Ilercyniae latebris defensum; ac mox per dona et legationes petivisse foedus, proditorem patriae, satellitem Caesaris, haud minus infensis animis exturbandum quam Varum Quintilium interfecerint.

Meminissent modo tot proeliorum, quorum eventu et ad postremum ejectis Romanis satis probatum penes utros summa belli fuerit. Neque Maroboduus iactantia sui aut probris in hostem abstinebat, sed Inguisomerum

Arminius (Intr. 35 r). Only a part of the German nations had kings, and even with these the royal power was very weak. Germ. 7.

45. Semnones et Langobardi: see the Germania, 39 and 40. They occupied the country upon the Elbe. The Langobardi are those who invaded Italy in the sixth century and are known as Lombards.

2. clientium: no doubt the personal followers (comites) described in the Germania, 13, 14, and 15. They were the thegnas and gesthundmen of the Anglo-Saxons.

iuveni: Arminius was now thirty-five years old (88. 4).

3. incursibus: ablative of manner. sequi signa, etc.: cf. the description of the Chatti, Germ. 30.

4. adhuc, moreover.

proeliorum expertem: because Maroboduus had never fought with the Romans; he had, however, fought with other Germans.

Hercyniae: the great mountain ranges of Germany, especially those which surround Bohemia, the seat of the kingdom of Maroboduus.

proditorem patriae: he had made an honorable peace with Tiberius (26. 3 n.).

46. iactantia sui: cf. note on sui, 13. 1.
tenens, illo in corpore decus omne Cheruscorum, illius consiliis gesta quae prospere ceciderint testabatur; ve-corde Arminium et rerum nescium alienam gloriam in se trahere, quoniam tres vacuas legiones et ducem fraudis ignarum perfidia decperit, magna cum clade Germaniae et ignominia sua, cum coniunx, cum filius eius servitium adhuc tolerent. At se duodecim legionibus petitum duce Tiberio inlibatam Germanorum gloriam servasse, mox conditionibus aequis discessum; neque paenitere quod ipsorum in manu sit, integrum adversum Romanos bellum an pacem incruentam malint. His vocibus instinctos exercitus propriae quoque causae stimulabant, cum a Cheruscis Langobardisque pro antiquo decore aut recenti libertate et contra augendae dominationi certaretur.

Non alias maiore mole concursum neque ambiguo magis eventu, fusis utrimque dextris cornibus; sperabaturque rursum pugna, ni Maroboduus castra in colles subduxisset. Id signum perculsi fuit; et transfugiis paulatim nudatus in Marcomanos concessit, misitque legatos ad Tiberium oraturos auxilia. Responsum est:

tenens: i.e. by the hand.
corpore, person; a not uncom-
mon use of the word.
ilius consiliis: but (I. 68. 1) it was by the advice of Inguiomerus, against the judgment of Arminius, that the Germans made their unsuccessful attack upon the Roman camp.
vacuas, unprepared, as in Agr. 37, paucitatem nostrorum vacui spernebant. The reading is not very satisfactory, and is changed by Dräger to vagas, which would describe their condition after leaving the main road, while traversing the Teutoburg Forest.
coniunx, etc.: I. 57. 5.
2. duodecim legionibus: this was A.D. 6. The size of this army, four times the size of that of Varus, shows the strength of the kingdom of Maroboduus. Peace was made before they came to blows.
ipsorum: the Marcomani.
3. aut: the ancient glory of the Cherushi contrasted with the newly established independence of the Langobardi.
contra: i.e. by Maroboduus.
5. perculsi: sc. eius.
in Marcomanos: his home, Bohemia,—the nation being put for the territory.
non iure eum adversus Cheruscos arma Romana invocare, qui pugnantis in eundem hostem Romanos nulla ope iuvisset. Missus tamen Drusus, ut rettulimus, paci firmator.


6. paci: Intr. 35 f; the dative is often used, instead of a genitive, to express the function which one is designed to fulfil.

47. duodecim urbes: an inscription of the year 30 (Orelli, 687) mentions fourteen: Ephesus and Cibyra, in addition to the twelve here given. For the destruction of Cibyra, see IV. 13. 1; that of Ephesus may have been related in the lost portion of the fifth book.

celebres, populosis.

Asiae: the province of Asia, comprising the west of Asia Minor.

3. nam, etc.: for the emperor's care for the provinces see I. 2. 2 n.

aerario aut fisco, the treasury of the state or the privy purse.

remisit: no doubt by a senatus consultum; cf. IV. 13. 1.

4. damno ac remedio, in amount of loss and need of relief.

Mosteni . . . Hyrcani: two towns, called respectively Hyrcania Mostenorum and Hyrcania Macedonum. For this use of aut cf. 46. 3 n.

5. consulari obtinente Asiam: the proconsul of Asia was regularly of consular rank; if, therefore, a commissioner of the same rank should be sent, questions of precedence and authority might arise.
Magnificam in publicum largitionem auxit Caesar haud minus grata liberalitate, quod bona Aemiliae Musae, locupletis intestatae, petita in fiscum, Aemilio Lepido, cuius e domo videbatur, et Patulei divitis equitis Romanorum hereditatem, quamquam ipse heres in parte legertur, tradidit M. Servilio, quem prioribus neque suspectis tabulis scriptum compererat, nobilitatem utriusque pecuniae iuvandam praefatus. Neque hereditatem cuiusquam adiit nisi cum amicitia meruisset; ignotos et aliis infensos eoque principem nuncupantes procul arcebant.

Ceterum ut honestam innocentium paupertatem levavit, ita prodigos et ob flagitia egentes, Vibidium Virronem, Marium Nepotem, Appium Appianum, Cornelium Sullam, Q. Vitellium movit senatu aut sponte cedere passus est.

Isdem temporibus deum aedes vetustate aut igni abo-
litas coeptasque ab Augusto dedicavit, Libero Liberae-que et Cereri iuxta circum maximum, quam A. Postumius dictator voicerat, eodemque in loco aedium Florae ab Lucio et Marco Publicis aedilibus constitutam, et Iano templum, quod apud forum holitorium C. Duilius struxerat, qui primus rem Romanam prospere mari gessit triumphumque navalem de Poenis meruit. Spei aedes a Germanico sacratur; hanc A. Attilius voicerat eodem bello.

49. coeptas ab Augusto: it was the policy of Augustus to revive early forms of Roman worship, which had fallen into disuse, being obscured by the more fashionable rites of Greece and the Orient. This revival of the national deities had a certain value as a conservative force in society, and especially in quickening the sense of patriotism; but as a religion, it was a mere piece of antiquarianism, with no vitality.

Libero, etc.: this is the Eleusinian triad, introduced very early in the republic, as the first Greek rite formally established in Rome. The Roman deities identified with Demeter, Dionysus, and Core hardly appear at all in the primitive religion of Rome, and their worship is purely Greek. The temple in question was vowed by the dictator Aulus Postumius, at the battle of Lake Regillus, B.C. 496, and dedicated by Spurius Cassius, three years later.

Lucio et Marco Publicis: they were brothers, and aediles, B.C. 240 or 238.

apud forum holitorium: the vegetable market was north of the Forum Boarium, or cattle market, between the Capitoline and the river, outside of the walls. Janus was one of the most ancient gods of Rome, originally a god of the sun, but who had come to be regarded as the god of beginnings. The victory of Gaius Duilius here mentioned, the first naval battle gained by the Romans, was in the first Punic War, B.C. 260.

2. Spei: the deification of abstract qualities,—Concordia, Pudicitia, Honor, etc.,—was very characteristic of the Roman religion.

50. adolescet: its beginnings have been described (I. 72-74); it afterwards became the curse of society in this reign. On this occasion the emperor set himself against the abuses of this law, and mitigated the punishment of adultery.

neptem: her mother was probably one of the two daughters of Octavia, by her first husband, Marcellus. The other daughter married Agrippa, and was mother of Caesar. The goddess Agrippa, mentioned in the next chapter.

conexa, being related: her connection with the imperial family
tatis delator arcessebat. De adulterio satis caveri lege Iulia visum: maiestatis crimen distinguui Caesar postulavit, damnarique si qua de Augusto irreligiose dixisset; in se iacta nolle ad cognitionem vocari. Interrogatus a consule quid de iis censeret quae de matre eius locuta secus argueretur, reticuit; dein proximo senatus die illius quoque nomine oravit, ne cui verba in eam quoquo modo habita crimini forent. Liberavitque Appuleiam lege maiestatis: adulterii graviorem poenam deprecatus, ut exemplo maiorum propinquis suis ultra ducentesimum lapidem removeretur suasit. Adultero Manlio Italia atque Africa interdictum est.

De praetore in locum Vipstani Galli, quem mors abstulerat, subrogando certamen inessit. Germanicus atque Drusus (nam etiam tum Romae erant) Haterium Agrippam propinquum Germanici fovebant; contra plerique nitebantur ut numerus liberorum in candidatis gave ground for bringing her offence under the charge of maiestas. This interpretation had been given to the law by Augustus, and is contained even in the English law of treason of Edward III. But Tiberius rejected the principle, by declaring that the charge of adultery should be tried by the Julian Law, just as in the case of other persons, while that of maiestas should be limited to language in disparagement of Augustus.

2. lege Iulia [de adulteriis et stupris]: passed by Augustus, B.C. 17; it established fine and banishment in place of the punishment by the husband, which had been allowed by the old law. See below.

distinguui: that the two charges should be considered separately.

3. eius: of Tiberius.

secus: i.e. otherwise than was true and fitting.

illius: his mother.

5. graviorem poenam deprecatus: the punishment, by the Julian Law, was deportation to an island, and the confiscation of one-third of the fortune and half of the dowry, while the man lost half his property; this he would commute to banishment within Italy, with no confiscation.

propinquus: dative of agent; by a council of kinsmen, as in ancient times.

Italia atque Africa: ablative of separation with interdictum est.

51. subrogando: the prefix sub, as in consul suffectus, indicates an election to fill a vacancy.

2. propinquum Germanici: he was grandson of Agrippa, and, therefore, nephew of Agrippina, wife of Germanicus. See note on neptem, 50. 1; also I. 77. 3.
praepolleret, quod lex iubebat. Laetabatur Tiberius cum inter filios eius et leges senatus disceptarent. Victa est sine dubio lex, sed neque statim et paucis suffragiis, quo modo, etiam cum valerent, leges vincebantur.

52 Eodem anno coeptum in Africa bellum, duce hostium Tacfarinate. Is natione Numida, in castris Romanis auxiliaria stipendia meritus, mox desertor, vagos primum et latrociniiis suetos ad praedam et raptus congregare, dein more militiae per vexilla et turmas componere, postremo non inconditae turbae, sed Musulamiorum dux haberi. Valida ea gens et solitudinibus Africae propinququa, nullo etiam tum urbium cultu, cepit arma Maurosque accolas in bellum traxit: dux et his, Mazippa.

dex: sc. Papia Poppaea; by this law Augustus attempted (A.D. 9) to check the growing tendency to an unmarried life; see III. 25. 1. For the preference of fathers as candidates, cf. XV. 19, Plin. Ep. VII. 16. 2.

3. laetabatur: the imperfect would seem to show that he was always glad to throw the responsibility on the senate. Nothing in the language implies a triumph over law “in the interest of autocracy,” as Furneaux says: although the words sine dubio, of course, indicate that Tacitus so regarded it.

etiam cum valerent: i.e. during the republic.

52. Tacfarinate: called by Mommsen “an African Arminius.” This insurrection, he tells us, was only one incident, “of unusual proportions,” of a warfare between the civilized province and the wild tribes of the south, which “must have been permanent” (Provinces, II. p. 345).

2. Numida: Numidia corresponded in general to the eastern half (Constantine) of the modern Algiers. It lost its independence after the battle of Thapsus, B.C. 46, and was united with the province of Africa, B.C. 25 (Intr. 18. A. 1): after the reign of Tiberius it was placed under the military government of a legatus of the emperor, of pretorian rank, and was at last organized as a separate province, probably in the time of Septimius Severus.

auxiliaria . . . meritus, having served in the auxiliaries (I. 36. 4 n.).

per vexilla et turmas: turmae were divisions of cavalry; the vexillum was used for cavalry, and also for squads and detached bodies of infantry. As the Numidians were almost exclusively a nation of horsemen, it is likely that their infantry was composed of only a few scattered companies, not organized into cohorts and maniples (which would have used metal signa), but having each its own vexillum. The phrase means, therefore, in companies of foot and horse.

Musulamiorum: these were a people of western Numidia, near Mauretania — Mauros accolas.

3. dux et his, these also had a leader.
Divisusque exercitus, ut Tacfarinas lectos viros et Romanum in modum armatos castris attineret, disciplina et imperiis suesceret, Mazippa levi cum copia incendia et caedes et terrem circumferret. Compulerantque Cinithios, haud spernendam nationem, in eadem, cum Furius Camillus pro consule Africæ legionem et quod sub signis sociorum in unum conductos ad hostem duxit, modicam manum, si multitudinem Numidarum atque Maurorum spectares; sed nihil aequæ cavebat quam ne bellum metu eluderent: spe victoriae inducti sunt ut vincerentur. igitur legio medio, leves cohortes duaæque alae in cornibus locantur. Nec Tacfarinas pugnam detrectavit. Fusi Numidae, multosque post annos Furio nomini partum decus militiae. Nam post illum reciparatorem urbis filiumque eius Camillum penes alias familias imperatoria laus fuerat; atque hic, quem memoramus, bellorum expers habebatur. Eo pronior Tiberius res gestas apud senatum celebravit; et decrevere patres triumphalia insignia, quod Camillo ob modestiam vitae impune fuit.

4. attineret, held, a favorite word with Tacitus. disciplina: suesceret is used here as a transitive verb, and with the ablative, like adsuescere; many editions change to disciplinae.

5. Cinithios: these lived further east, near the Lesser Syrtis. pro consule Africæ: this is the original and correct term, the pro-consul acting for the consul. spectares: subjunctive of indefinite subject, in the second person singular.
eluderent: i.e. the Numidians, "if a larger force was brought against them." Furneaux. The chief point in his strategy was not to alarm the enemy.

6. leves cohortes duaæque alae: these were auxiliary troops; Roman troops were organized in maniples of infantry, and turmae of cavalry.

8. reciparatorem urbis: the great Camillus, who recovered the city after its capture by the Gauls, B.C. 390. The Lucius Camillus who triumphed B.C. 338 was probably not his son, but grandson.
familias: Publius Furius Philus triumphed B.C. 223, and Lucius Furius Purpureo, B.C. 200; they were of the same gens, but not the same family as Camillus.

9. triumphalia insignia: see I. 72. 1 n.
impune: i.e. this distinction did
53 Sequens annus Tiberium tertio, Germanicum iterum consules habuit. Sed eum honorem Germanicus inuit apud urbem Achaiae Nicopolim, quo venerat per Illyricam oram viso fratre Druso in Delmatia agente, Hadrianici ac mox Ionii maris adversam navigationem perpessus. 2 Igitur paucos dies insumpset reficiendae classi; simul sinus Actiaca victoria inclutos et sacratas ab Augusto manubias castraque Antonii cum recordatione maiorum suorum adiit. Namque ei, ut memoravi, avunculus Augustus, avus Antonius erant, magnaque illic imago tritium laetorumque. Hinc ventum Athenas, foederique sociae et vetustae urbis datum, ut uno lictore uteretur. 4 Excepere Graeci quacsitissimis honoribus, vetera suorum facta dictaque praefertentes, quo plus dignationis adulatio haberet. Petita inde Euboea tramisit Lesbum, ubi Agrippina novissimo partu Iuliam edidit. Tum extrema

not cause him to be an object of envy and suspicion to the emperor.

53. annus . . . habuit: Tacitus is very fond of personification with expressions of time; cf. annus, I. 54. 1, nos, I. 28. 1, dies, I. 49. 2, lux, I. 70. 7.

tertio: the regular form of the adverb is tertium; but both forms were in use in the time of Cicero (Aul. Gell. X. 1. 7). It was probably preferred here to avoid the jingle, Tiberium tertium Germanicum iterum.

Nicopolim, city of victory; built by Augustus in the neighborhood of the promontory of Actium, in order to celebrate his victory over Mark Antony, B.C. 31. Epirus, in which this city was situated, was a part of the province of Achaia, and was made a separate province perhaps in the reign of Vespasian.

2. sinus: the shores of the Ambracian Gulf.

manubias: Suetonius (Oct. 18) says, locum castrorum, quibus fuerat usus, exornatum navaliaeus spoliis, Neptuno ac Marti consecravit.

cstra Antonii: this was on the promontory of Actium, opposite the promontory on which Nicopolis was situated.

3. avunculus Augustus, avus Antonius: see 41. 5 n.; it was a cheerful association with the former, a sorrowful one with the latter.

uno lictore: he was entitled to twelve lictors; this concession was made to the ancient glories of Athens. According to Suetonius (Calig. 3), libera ac foederata oppida sine lictoribus adibat.

4. praefertentes, displaying, mentioning with pride.

dignationis (not dignitatis): it implies, as a verbal noun, the regard which they bestowed, the action of the verb dignari.

54. Iuliam: also called Livilla.
Asiae Perinthumque ac Byzantium, Thraecias urbes, mox Propontidis angustias et os Ponticum intrat tempore vetere locos et fama celebratos noscendii; pariterque provincias internis certaminibus aut magistratu,et iniuriis fessas refovebat. Atque illum in regressu sacra Samothracum visere nitentem obvii aquilones depulere. Igitur adito Ilio quaeque ibi varietate fortunae et nostri origine veneranda, relegit Asiam appellitque Colophona, ut Clarii Apollinis oraculo uteretur. Non femina illic, ut apud Delphos, sed certis e familiis et ferme Mileto accitus sacerdos numerum modo consultantium et nomen audit; tum in specum degressus, hausta fontis arcaniqua, ignarus plerumque litterarum et carminum edit responsa versibus compositis super rebus quas quis mente concepit. Et ferebatur Germanico per ambages, ut mos oraculis, maturum exitium cecinisse.

At Cn. Piso, quo properantius destinata inciperet, civitatem Atheniensium turbido incessu exterritam oratione saeva increpat, oblique Germanicum perstringens, quod

2. Perinthum: on a promontory of the Propontis; Byzantium, on the site of Constantinople.

Propontidis angustias: the straits of Constantinople, beyond the Propontis, or Sea of Marmora; os Ponticum: the entrance to the Black Sea.

magistratum: both Roman governors and native magistrates.

3. sacra Samothracum: the mysteries celebrated in the island of Samothrace by the Cabiri. Ilio: a recent city, built on the supposed site of Troy, by Sulla. It was on the hill of Hissarlîk, recently explored by Dr. Schliemann.

quae: its antecedent is in the same construction as Ilio.

nstri: a subjective use of this genitive, common in late writers. But it is objective in a certain sense — that which gave origin to us.

Colophona: one of the lesser cities of the famous Ionian league; Miletus was one of the most important of these.

Clarii Apollinis oraculo: this oracle was, according to tradition, founded by Manto, daughter of the seer Tiresias, and was afterwards presided over by her son Mopsus.

4. modo, only.

ut mos oraculis: the oracles being generally easy to interpret after the event.

55. destinata: referring to the supposed intent of Tiberius to procure the death of Germanicus.

oblique ... perstringens: not
contra decus Romani nominis non Athenienses tot cladibat, sed colluvium illam nationum comitate nimia coluisset: hos enim esse Mithridatis adversus Sullam, Antonii adversus divum Augustum socios. Etiam vetera obiectabat, quae in Macedones improspere, violenter in suos fecissent, offensus urbi propria quoque ira, quia Theophilum quendam Areo iudicio falsi damnatum precibus suis non concederent. Exim navigatione celeri per Cycladas et compendia maris adsequitur Germanicum apud insulam Rhodum, haud nescium quibus insectationibus petitus foret: sed tanta mansuetudine agebat ut, cum orta tempestas raperet in abrupta possetque interitus inimici ad casum referri, miserit triremis quarum subsidio discrimini eximeretur. Neque tamen mitigatus Piso, et vix diei moram perpessus linquit Germanicus praevenitque. Et postquam Suriam ac legiones attigit, largitione ambitu infimos manipulium iuvando, cum veteres centuriones, severos tribunos demoveret locaque eorum clientibus suis vel dcterrimo cuique attribueret, desidiam in castris, licentiam in uribus, vagum ac lascivientem per agros militem sinearet, eo usque cor-

by name; the reproaches against the city necessarily reflected upon Germanicus.

colluvium illam nationum: Demosthenes upbraided his countrymen for their lavishness in bestowing citizenship. In later days this privilege was openly sold.

adversus Sullam: Athens was occupied forcibly by Mithridates; oppugnabantur ab amicis, et animos extra moenia, corpora necessitati servientes intra muros habeant (Vell. Pat. II. 23). For their subservience to Antony, Augustus deprived them of the privilege of selling their citizenship.

2. vetera, their ancient misde-meanors,—their feebleness against Philip, their injustice towards Aristides and others.

Areo iudicio = Arei pagi iudicio, by a judgment of the Areopagus, the chief court of Athens.

falsi, forgery.

3. compendia maris: cf. compendii viarum, I. 63. 6.
raperet: sc. Pisonem.

4. veteres centuriones, etc.: here he went beyond his powers, as the appointment of these officers belonged exclusively to the emperor. Momm. Röm. St. II. 798.

desidiam, etc.: see III. 13. 3.
ruptionis provectus est ut sermone vulgi parens legionum haberetur. Nec Plancina se intra decora feminis tenebat, sed exercitio equitum, decursibus cohortium interesse, in Agrippinam, in Germanicum contumelias iacere, quibusdam etiam bonorum militum ad mala obsequia promptis, quod haud invito imperatore ea fieri occultus rumor incedebat.

Nota haec Germanico, sed praeverti ad Armenios instantior cura fuit. Ambigua gens ea antiquitus hominum ingenii et situ terrarum, quoniam nostris provinciis late praetenta penitus ad Medos porrigitur; maximisque imperii interiecti et saepius discordes sunt, adversus Romanos odio et in Parthum invidia. Regem illa temperestate non habebant, amoto Vonone: sed favor nationis inclinabat in Zenonem, Polemonis regis Pontici filium, quod is prima ab infantiad instituta et cultum Armeniorum aemulatus, venatu epulis et quae alia barbari celebrant, proceres plebemque iuxta devinxerat. Igitur Germanicus in urbe Artaxata, approbantibus nobilibus,
circumfusa multitudine, insigne regium capiti eius im-
posuit. Ceteri venerantes regem Artaxiam consaluta-
vere, quod illi vocabulum indiderant ex nomine urbis.
4 At Cappadoces in formam provinciae redacti Q. Ver-
nium legatum accepero; et quaedam ex regis tributis
deminuta, quo mitius Romanum imperium speraretur.
5 Commagenis Q. Servaeus praeponitur, tum primum ad
ius praetoris translatis.

57 Cunctaque socialia prospere composita non ideo lae-
tum Germanicum habebant ob superbiam Pisonis, qui
iussus partem legionum ipse aut per filium in Armeniam
ducere utrumque neglexerat. Cyrri demum apud hi-
berna decimae legionis convenere, firmato vultu, Piso
adversus metum, Germanicus, ne minari crederetur; et
erat, ut rețtuli, clementior. Sed amici accendendis offen-
sionibus callidi intendere vera, adgerere falsa ipsumque
et Plancinam et filios variis modis criminari. Postremo
paucis familiarium adhibitis sermo coeptus a Caesare,
quam, adeo et dissimulatio gignit, responsum a Pisone
precibus contumacibus; discesseruntque apertis odiis.
Post quae rarus in tribunali Caesaris Piso, et si quando
bles gave their consent, the people
their acclamations.

quod: a relative.
4. Cappadoces, etc.: see 42,
with notes. The officers here
named, Veranius and Servaeus, de-
voted friends of Germanicus, were
commissioners to organize the new
government; this being done, they
returned to him.
5. ad ius praetoris: i.e. to the
condition of a province. The im-
perial governor (legatus Caesaris pro
praetore), exercised essentially pre-
torian powers. Commagene was
annexed to Syria, its independence
was restored by Caligula, and it was
again annexed by Vespasian.

57. socialia, the affairs of the
allies.
2. Cyri: a town upon the prin-
cipal road from Antioch to Comma-
gene.
decimae legionis: the name of
this legion was Fretensis.
firmato = composito: each tried to
conceal his feelings. The same idea
is expressed by dissimulatio below.
3. intendere, exaggerate (Intr.
35 k).
4. precibus contumacibus, re-
quests which betrayed an insubordi-
nate spirit.
apertis: see App. I.
in tribunali Caesaris: the gov-
ernor of Syria would naturally be
assideret, atrox ac dissentire manifestus. Vox quoque eius audita est in convivio, cum apud regem Nabataeorum coronae aureae magno pondere Caesari et Agrippinae, leves Pisoni et ceteris offerrentur, principis Romani, non Parthi regis filio eas epulas dari; abiecitque simul coronam et multa in luxum addidit, quae Germanico quamquam acerba tolerabantur tamen.


M. Silano L. Norbano consulibus Germanicus Aegyp-tum proficiscitur cognoscendae antiquitatis. Sed cura in luxum, in condemnation of, etc.; pointing at Germanicus.

58. amicitiam ac foedus: cf. 1. accederet: i.e. Artabanus; the clause is the object of daturum. gentium: i.e. Parthia and Armenia.
2. cultu sui, the honor to be paid to himself.
3. Pompeiopolim: the ancient Soli, a city of Cilicia, rebuilt by Pompey, after subduing the pirates of Cilicia, b.c. 67.
Pisonis: objective genitive.
59. cognoscendae antiquitatis.
provinciae praetendebatur, levavitque apertis horreis pretia frugum multaque in vulgus grata usurpavit: sine milite incedere, pedibus intectis et pari cum Graecis amictu, P. Scipionis aemulatione, quem eadem factitavisse apertis Siciliam, quamvis flagrante adhuc Poenorum bello, accepimus. Tiberius cultu habituque eius lenibus verbis stricto, acerrime increpuit, quod contra instituta Augusti non sponte principis Alexandriam introisset. Nam Augustus inter alia dominationis arcana, vetitis nisi permissu ingredi senatoribus aut equitibus Romanis illustribus, seposuit Aegyptum, ne fame urge-ret Italiam, quisquis eam provinciam claustraque terrae ac maris quamvis levi praesidio adversum ingentes exercitus insedisset. Sed Germanicus nondum comperto profectionem eam incusari Nilo subvehebatur, orsus

tis: a causal genitive, common in Tacitus, rare in other writers (Intr. 35 n).
2. provinciae: Egypt was not strictly a province (see 4 n, and Intr. 18, B. iv).
horreis: the public granaries,—an object of great importance in Egypt, as illustrated in the story of Joseph.
pretia frugum: Suetonius (Tib. 52) says that he went to Egypt propter immensam et repentinam famem.
P. Scipionis aemulatione: Livy (XXIX. 19) says of Scipio, cum pallio crepidisque inambulare in gymnasio. The Greek pallium was a square garment, the Roman toga was long and with partly rounded ends; both were worn in nearly the same way, folded over the shoulders and around the body. The ἐρυτής was a sandal—pedibus intectis,—while the Roman calceus was a shoe, covering the foot.
3. sponte, consent; properly used with a possessive, in late writers with a genitive.
4. illustribus: i.e. those equestres who had a senatorial fortune, one million sesterces.
seposuit Aegyptum: Egypt was never formally made into a province, but was governed by the emperor as a separate kingdom, always having common equestres as its governors. It was, therefore, a serious offence in Germanicus to visit it without permission.
fame urgeret: Egypt was one of the chief sources of the corn supply for Italy, and must not be exposed to the chances of war and revolution.
quisquis, whoever, pretender or rebel; subject of urgeret.
claustria terrae ac maris: Alexandria and Pelusium, at the extreme west and east, which could be easily held adversum ingentes exercitus.
oppido a Canopo. Condiderid id Spartani ob seputum illic rectorem navis Canopum, qua tempestate Menelaus Graeciam repetens diversum ad mare terramque Libyam dejectus est. Inde proximum amnis os dicatum Herculi, quem indigenea ortum apud se et antiquissimum perhibent eosque, qui postea pari virtute fuerint, in cognomentum eius adscitos; mox visit veterum Thebarum magna vestigia. Et manebant structis molibus litterae 4 Aegyptiae, priorem opulentiam complexae: iussusque e senioribus sacerdotum patrium sermonem interpretari, referebat habitasse quondam sepingenta milia aetate militari, atque eo cum exercitu regem Rhamisen Libyam Aethiopia Medisque et Persis et Bactriano ac Scythae potitum quasque terras Suri Armeniique et contigui Cappadoces colunt, inde Bithynum, hinc Lycium ad mare imperio tenuisse. Legebantur et indicta gentibus tributa, pondus argenti et auri, numerus armorum equo-

60. Canopo: spelt also Canobus; an ancient city upon the westernmost mouth of the Nile; its prosperity was ruined by the founding of Alexandria, near by.

3. proximum amnis os: object of visit: the Canopic mouth was called also Heracleotic.

antiquissimum: of all the Heracles of tradition.

in cognomentum eius ascitos: identified with the hero.

veterum Thebarum: it appears from Pliny (A. H. VIII. 185) that he visited Memphis also, where he received an omen of his approaching death from the Bull Apis; Germanici Caesars manus aversatus est hand mullo postea extinti. According to Ammianus Marcellinus (XXII. 14. 8), the bull refused food from his hand.

4. structis molibus: the immense structures, the ruins of which still stand,—temples, palaces, tombs, etc.; ablative of place.

litterae: written characters (hieroglyphics).

complexae, containing a statement of.

regem Rhamisen: Rameses II., the Great (Sesostris), of the 19th dynasty, in the 15th century, B.C. For a graphic delineation of this king and of Egyptian life at this period, see Eber's Uarda.

Lybia, etc.: they boasted overmuch, as the monuments show that the conquests of Rameses never extended beyond Syria.

Bithynum . . . Lycium ad mare: the Bithynian Sea was the Euxine; the Lycian, that part of the Mediterranean which lay between Cyprus and Rhodes.

5. legebantur: all these are read
rumque et dona templis ebur atque odores, quasque copias frumenti et omnium utensilium quaeque natio penderet, haud minus magnifica quam nunc vi Parthorum aut potientia Romana iubentur. Ceterum Germanicus aliis quoque miraculis intendit animum, quorum praecipua fuere Memnonis saxea effigies, ubi radiis solisicta est, vocalem sonum reddens, disiectasque inter et vix pervias harenas instar montium eductae pyramides certamine et opibus regum, lacusque effossa humo, superfluentis Nili receptacula; atque alibi angustiae et profunda altitudo, nullis inquirentium spatiis penetrabilis. Exim ventum Elephantinen ac Syenen, claustra olim Romani imperii, quod nunc rubrum ad mare patescit.

Dum ea aestas Germanico plures per provincias transigitur, haud leve decus Drusus quaesivit illiciens Germanos ad discordias utque fracto iam Maroboduo usque

at the present day in the same hieroglyphics.

odores: spices and perfumes.

61. Memnonis saxea effigies: this was a colossal statue of King Amenophis III. of the 18th dynasty, sixty feet in height, cut from a single block of granite. It was believed by the Greeks to represent the hero Memnon, son of Eos, slain in the Trojan war; and the sound heard at sunrise was explained as his salutation to his mother, the Dawn. The name Memnon would seem to have been an easy confusion of sound with Amenophis; the sounds heard were probably caused by some expansion of the stones in the heat of the sun.

pyramides: these works of the 4th dynasty are in the neighborhood of Memphis.

lacus: the lake, or reservoir, of Moeris, somewhat further up the river, constructed by a king of the 12th dynasty, about 2200 B.C. This also has been recently discovered.

angustiae...altitudo: sc. fluminis: this refers to the first cataract, where the river is narrow and so swift that it cannot be sounded.

spatiis: i.e. of line.

2. Elephantinen ac Syenen: the proper limits of Egypt towards Ethiopia.

rubrum ad mare: the Indian Ocean, comprehending also the Arabian and Persian Gulfs. The reference is to the expedition of Trajan, A.D. 116, when he launched upon the Persian Gulf, which he had now made the boundary of his empire. This passage, therefore, gives a clue to the date of composition of the Annals (Intr. 2).
in exitium insisteretur. Erat inter Gotones nobilis 2 iuvenis nomine Catualda, profugus olim vi Marobodui et tunc dubii rebus eius utionem ausus. Is valida manu 3 fines Marcomanorum ingreditur corruptisque primoribus ad societatem irrumit regiam castellumque iuxta situm. Veteres illic Sueborum praedae et nostris e provinciis 4 lixae ac negotiatores reperti, quos ius commercii, dein cupidio augendi pecuniam, postremum oblivio patriae suis quemque ab sedibus hostilem in agrum transtulerat. Maroboduus undique deserto non aliud subsidium quam 63 misericordia Caesaris fuit. Transgressus Danuvium, qua Noricam provinciam praefluit, scripsit Tiberio non ut profugus aut supplex, sed ex memoria prioris fortunae: nam multis nationibus clarissimum quondam regem ad se vocantibus Romanam amicitiam praetulisse. Responsum a Caesare tutam ei honoratamque sedem in 2 Italia fore, si maneret; sin rebus eius aliud conduceret, abiturum fide qua venisset. Ceterum apud senatum 3 disseruit non Philippum Atheniensibus, non Pyrrhum aut Antiochum populo Romano perinde metuendos fuisse. Exstat oratio, qua magnitudinem viri, violentiam subiec-
tarum ei gentium et quam propinquus Italiae hostis, 
5 suaque in destruendo eo consilia extulit. Et Maroboduus quidem Ravennae habitus, si quando insolescent Suebi, quasi rediturus in regnum ostentabatur; sed non excessit Italia per duodeviginti annos consenuitque multum imminuta claritate ob nimiam vivendi cupidinem. Idem Catualdae casus neque aliud perfugium.


5. Ravennae: this old Etruscan town had been made by Augustus his principal naval station upon the Adriatic; from this it rapidly grew in importance, until it became, in the 5th century, the residence of the emperors. It was the residence assigned also to the son of Arminius (I. 58. 9).

si quando, etc.: *i.e.* if at any time the Suevi should become dangerous, Maroboduus would be sent to hold them in check.

7. Hermundurorum: they lived in Northern Bavaria (see Germ. 41), and were known in later times as Thuringians.

Vibilio: he was still king of the Hermunduri, A.D. 50 (XII. 29. 2).

Forum Iulium: the modern Fréjus; a colony had been established there by Julius Caesar, and Augustus sent there the ships captured at Actium. It was now the chief naval station west of Italy (see IV. 5. 1).

comitati: a participle; referring to the personal followers (cf. mancilentium, 45. 2).

immixti: *i.e.* with the population.

Marum et Cusum: the March and probably the Waag. This region was outside the bounds of the Empire.

Quadorum: they inhabited Moravia, east of the Marcomani (see Germ. 42).

64. regem Artaxian: 56. 2.

ovantes: the *ovation* was an
cum latera templi Martis Utoris cum effigie Caesarum, laetiore Tiberio, quia pacem sapientiā firmaverat, quam si bellum per acies confecisset.

Igitur Rhescuporim quoque, Thraeciae regem, astu 3 aggredidit. Omnem eam nationem Rhoeemetaces tenuerat; quo defuncto Augustus partem Thraecum Rhescuporidi fratri eius, partem filio Cotyi permisit. In ea 4 divisione arva et urbes et vicina Graecis Cotyi, quod incultum ferox annexum hostibus, Rhescuporidi cessit; ipsorumque regum ingenia, illi mite et amoenum, huic atrox avidum et societatis impatiens erat. Sed primo 5 subdola concordia egere; mox Rhescuporis egredi fines, vertere in se Cotyi data et resistenti vim facere, cunctanter sub Augusto, quem auctorem utriusque regni, si sperneretur, vindicem metuebat. Enimvero audita mutatione principis immittere latronum globos, exscindere castella, causas bello. Nihil aeque Tiberium anxium 65 habebat quam ne composita turbarentur. Deligit centurionem, qui nuntiaret regibus ne armis disceptarent;

inferior form of triumph, granted for less considerable victories, or when the victory was gained under the auspices of another. It differed from the triumph, in that the victor did not ride in a chariot, but walked or rode on horseback; wore, not the toga picta, but the praetexta, and a wreath of myrtle instead of laurel.

2. Martis Utoris: erected by Augustus, B.c. 2, in commemoration of the vengeance inflicted by him upon the murderers of Julius Caesar. It was upon his forum, east of the Forum Romanum. Three columns of it are still standing; but the arches here spoken of have disappeared.

3. Thraeciae: i.e. of the interior parts of Thrace; for the sea-coast was under the Roman rule, administered by the governor of Macedonia. The free Thracians here spoken of are the ancient nation of the Odrysae, which occupied the valley of the Hebrus. Rhoeemetalces had succeeded his brother, Cotys IV., B.C. 20. The whole of Thrace was made a Roman province by Claudius.

4. hostibus: the Dacians, etc., on the north.

ipsorum, etc.: a confused construction, the genitive of possession passing into the dative of possession.

5. data: object of vertere.

6. enimvero: this word, here as elsewhere, "marks the transition from the less to the more important." Furneaux.

causas: in apposition with the
statimque a Cotye dimissa sunt quae paraverat auxilia. 
2 Rhescuporis dicta modestia postulat eundem in locum 
3 coiretur: posse de controversiis colloquio trānsigi. Nec 
diu dubitatum de tempore loco dein condicionibus, cum 
alter facilite, alter fraude cuncta inter se concederent 
acciperentque. Rhescuporis sanciendo, ut dictitabat, 
foederi convivium adicit, tractaque in multam noctem 
laetitia per epulas ac vinolentiam incautum Cotyn et, 
postquam dolum intelleixerat, sacra regni, eiusdem fa-
miliae deos, et hospitalis mensas obtestantem catenis 
onerat. Thraeciaque omni potitus scripsit ad Tiberium 
structas sibi insidias, praeventum insidiatorem; simul 
bellum adversus Bastarnas Scythasque praetendens 
novis peditum et equitum copiis sese firmabat. 

6 Molliiter rescriptum, si fraud abesset, posse eum inno-
centiae fidere; ceterum neque se neque senatum nisi 
cognita causa ius et injuriām discreturos; proinde 
tradito Cotye veniret transferret invidiae criminis. 

66 Eas litteras Latinius Pandusa pro praetore Moesiae cum 
militibus, quis Cotys traderetur, in Thraeciam misit. 
2 Rhescuporis inter metum et iram cunctatus maluit 
patrati quam incēpti facinoris reus esse: occidi Cotyn 
3 iubet mortemque sponte sumptam emēntitur. Nec 
tamen Caesar placitas semel artes mutavit, sed defuncto 

phrases that precede (I. 27. 1 n.). 
65. anxium habebat: cf. laetum 
habebant, 57. 1. 
2. modestia, compliance. 
3. coiretur: i.e. with his nephew. 
4. sanciendo foederi: Intr. 35f. 
5. per epulas, etc.: Intr. 35 f. 
6. sacra, the sacred character. 
7. eiusdem . . . mensas: he vio-
lated the two most solemn obliga-
tions among primitive nations, those 
of kinship and those of hospitality. 

5. Bastarnas: represented in 
the Germania (46) as a German 
nation. They lived in southern 
Russia; the Scythians, further east. 
6. transferret invidiam: sc. a 
se in Cotyn. 

66. Pandusa: the manuscript 
gives Pandus, corrected to Pa-
dusa; the correct form is found in 
inscriptions. 
3. placitas, decided upon. 
4. artes, policy.
Pandusa, quem sibi infensum Rhescuporis arguebat, Pomponium Flaccum, veterem stipendiis et arta cum rege amicitia eoque accommodatiorem ad fallendum, ob id maxime Moesiae praefecit. Flaccus in Thraeciam transgressus per ingentia promissa quamvis ambiguum et scelera sua repútántem perpulit ut praesidia Romana intraret. Circumdata hinc regi specie honoris valida manus, tribunique et centuriones monendo, suadendo, et quanto longius abscedebátur, apertiore custodia, postremo gnarum necessitatis in urbem traxere. Accusatus in senatu ab uxore Cotyis damnatur ut procul regno teneretur. Thraecia in Rhometalcen filium, quem paternis consiliis adversatum constabat, inque liberos Cotyis dividituri; iisque nondum adultis Trebellienus Rufus praetura functus datur qui regnum interim tractaret, exemplo quo maiores M. Lepidum Ptolemaei liberis tutorem in Aegyptum miserant. Rhescuporis Alexandriam de vectus atque illic fugam temptans an ficto crime interficitur.

Per idem tempus Vonones, quem amotum in Ciliciam memoravi, corruptis custodibus effugere ad Armenios, inde Albanos Heniochosque et consanguineum sibi regem Scytharum conatus est. Specie venandi omissis maritimis locis avia saltuum petii, mox pernicitate equi

veterem stipendiis, grown old in military service.
amicitia: ablative of quality.
rege: Rhescuporis.
67. ambiguum, reputedem: sc. Rhescuporida.
praesidia: the military posts upon the frontier.
2. abscedebatur: i.e. from his home.
4. in . . . inque: a peculiar meaning of in, — between.

iis: the children of Cotys.
Ptolemaei: Ptolemy Epiphanes; at his death, B.C. 181, Egypt was inherited by his two sons, Philometor and Physcon, to whom Lepidus was given as a guardian.
68. memoravi: 58. 3.
Albanos, etc.: these nations were north of Armenia, the Albanians upon the Caspian Sea, the Heniochians upon the Euxine, the Scythians further north.
ad amnem Pyramum contendit, cuius pontes accolae ruperant audita regis fuga; neque vado penetrari poterat.  
3 Igitur in ripa fluminis a Vibio Frontone praefecto equitum vincitur; mox Remmius evocatus, priori custodiae regis appositus, quasi per iram gladio eum transigit.  
4 Unde maior fides conscientia sceleris et metu indicii mortem Vononi inlatam.  
69 At Germanicus Aegypto remeans cuncta, quae apud legiones aut urbes iusserat, abolita vel in contrarium versa cognoscit. Hinc graves in Pisonem contumeliae, nec minus acerba quae ab illo in Caesarem intentabantur. Dein Piso abirc Suria statuit. Mox adversa Germanici valetudine detentus, ubi recreatum accepit votaque pro incolumitate solvebantur, admotas hostias, sacrificalem apparatum, festam Antiochensium plebem per lictores proturbat. Tum Seleuciam degreditur, opperiens aegritudinem quae rursum Germanico acciderat.  
5 Saevam vim morbi augebat persuasio veneni a Pisone accepti; et reperiebantur solo ac parietibus erutae humanorum corporum reliquiae, carmina et devotiones et

2. Pyramum: a river of Cilicia, which flows into the sea.  
penetrari, crossed.  
3. evocatus: a picked veteran soldier, who continued to serve after his term was completed, with the rank and duties of centurion.  
priori: i.e. before his flight.  
4. unde: relates to the murder.  
conscientia sceleris: i.e. as having connived at his flight, and being now in danger of detection. Suetonius speaks of Vonones (Tib. 49) as spoliatum perfidia et occisum, apparently throwing the blame of the perfidy upon Tiberius.  
metu indicii: i.e. in case Vonones should be allowed to live.  
69. Aegypto: Intr. 35 h.  
versa: i.e. by Piso; Intr. 35 b.  
3. dein = proinde, thereupon.  
admotas: sc. altaribus.  
proturbat: this action is explained by Mommsen (Köm. St. II. 776), as meaning that formal vows in behalf of male members of the imperial family would establish a dangerous precedent; cf. IV, 17. 1.  
4. Seleuciam: upon the seacoast, fifteen miles west of Antioch, of which it served as the port.  
5. persuasio, the conviction on the part of Germanicus.  
parietibus, about the walls of the house.  
carmina et devotiones: a hendiadys, —verses containing curses, i.e., consigning to the infernal gods.
nomen Germanici plumbeis tabulis insculptum, semusti cineres ac tabo obliti aliaque malefica, quis creditur animas numinibus infernis sacrari. Simul missi a Piso incusabantur ut valetudinibus adversa rimantes. Ea Germanico haud minus ira quam per metum accepta. 70

Si limen obsideretur, si effundendus spiritus sub oculis inimicorum foret, quid deinde miserrimae coniugi, quid infantibus liberis eventurum? Lenta videri veneficia; festinare et urgere ut provinciam, ut legiones solus habeat. Sed non usque eo defectum Germanicum, neque praemia caedis apud interfecitorem mansura. Componit epistulas quis amicitiam ei renuntiabat; ad- dunt plerique iussum provincia decedere. Nec Piso moratus ultra navis solvit, moderabaturque cursui quo propius regredere, si mors Germanici Suriam aperuisset.

**plumbes tabulis**: this inscription, cut on a leaden tablet, was found in a tomb upon the Latin Way:—

Quomodo mortuos qui istic | sepultus est nec loqui | nec sermonare potest, seic | Rhodine apud M. Liciniam | Faustum mortua sit nec | loqui nec sermonare possit | ita ut mortuos nec ad deos | nec ad homines acceptus est | seic Rhodine aput M. Liciniam accepta sit et lantum valeat | quantum ille mortuos quei | istic sepultus est Dite Pater Rhodi | ne tibi commendo uti semper odio sit M. Licinio Fausto, etc. (C. I. L., I. 818; Orelli-Henzen, 6114). For analogous superstitions, cf. Verg. Buc. VII.1, and the famous case of Robert of Artois, A.D. 1329.

**missa a Pisoned**: compare the messengers sent by Domitian during the sickness of Agricola (Agr. 43).

**70. 2. libris**: these were Gaius (Caligula) and Julia (54.1); the others had been left in Rome.

**festinare et urgere**: *i.e.* Piso; he could not wait for the slow working of poison.

**3. defectum**: *i.e.* in strength.

**epistulas**: cf. I. 30. 4 n.

**renuntiabat**: Suetonius (Calig. 3) says, *ne tunc quidem ultra progress quam ut amicitiam ei more maiorum renuntiaret mandaretque domesticos ulationem, si quid sibi accideret.*

**iussum . . . decedere**: it does not appear that Germanicus had the power to dismiss a governor appointed by the emperor; but the quarrel had reached such proportions that Piso seems to have thought it advisable to leave the province, only returning when he learned of the death of Germanicus (75.2). His attempt then to resume his command is a proof that in his own opinion he had not been lawfully deprived of it.

**4. propius**: from a nearer point.
Caesar paulisper ad spem erectus, dein fesso corpore, ubi finis aderat, adsistentes amicos in hunc modum adloquitur: 'Si fato concederem, iustus mihi dolor etiam adversus deos esset, quod me parentibus liberis patriae intra iuventam praematuro exitu raperent: nunc scelere Pisonis et Plancinae interceptus ultimas preces pectoribus vestris relinquo; referatis patri ac fratri, quibus acerbitatibus dilaceratus, quibus insidiis circumventus miserrimam vitam pessima morte finierim. Si quos spes meae, si quos propinquus sanguis, etiam quos invidia erga viventem movebat, illacrimabunt quondam florentem et tot bellorum superstitem muliebri fraude cecidisse. Erit vobis locus querendi apud senatum, invocandi leges. Non hoc praecipuum amicorum munus est, prosequi defunctum ignavo questu, sed quae voluerit meminisse, quae mandaverit exsequi. Flebunt Germanicum etiam ignoti: vindicabitis vos, si me potius quam fortunam meam fovebatis. Ostendite populo Romano divi Augusti neptem eandemque coniugem meam, numerate sex liberos. Misericordia cum accusantibus erit, fingentibus scelestâ mandata aut non credent homines aut non ignoscent.' Iuravere amici, dextram morientis continentes, spiritum ante quam ultionem amissuros. Tum ad uxorem versus per memoriam sui, per communes liberos oravit, exueret ferociam, saevienti fortunae sub-

71. 2. fato: ablative; cf. vita concessit (I. 3. 3), and concessero (IV. 38. 3), of a natural death.

parentibus: his mother Antonia, and his adoptive father Tiberius.

3. fratri: his adoptive brother Dru
sus: his brother Claudius, afterwards emperor, was weak minded, and besides stood in no relation to the present government.

4. quos: indefinite, as si quos above.

7. cum accusantibus, on the side of, etc.

fingentibus scelestâ mandata: i.e. if Piso and Plancina should attempt to justify themselves by appealing to this commission (43. 5).

72. ferociam: for Agrippina's high temper, see I. 33. 6, IV. 12. 2 and 53. 1.
mitteret animum, neu regressa in urbem aemulatione potentiae validiores irritaret. Haec palam et alia secreto, per quae ostendere credebatur metum ex Tiberio. Neque multo post exstinguitur, ingenti luctu provinciae et circumiacentium populorum. Indolure externe nationes regesque: tanta illi comitas in socios, mansuetudo in hostis; visuque et auditu iuxta venerabilis, cum magnitudinem et gravitatem summae fortunae retineret, invidiam et arrogantiam effugerat.

Funus sine imaginibus et pompa per laudes ac memoriam virtutum eius celebre fuit. Et erant qui formam aetatem genus mortis ob propinquitatem etiam locorum in quibus interiit, magni Alexandri fatis adaequarent. Nam utrumque corpore decoro, genere insigni, haud multum triginta annos egressum, suorum insidiis externas inter gentes occidisse: sed hunc mitem erga amicos, modicum voluptatum, uno matrimonio, certis liberis egisse, neque minus proeliatorem, etiam si temeritas afuerit praepeditusque sit perculsas tot victoriis Germanias servitio premere. Quod si solus arbiter rerum, si iure et nomine regio fuisset, tanto promptius

aemulatione potentiae: as if foreseeing her ambitious designs.

2. ingenti luctu: Suetonius says (Calig. 5), quo defunctus est die, lapidata sunt tempa, subversae deum ara, — the temples and altars of the pitiless gods.

3. indolure: Suetonius (Calig. 5) says, regulos quosdam barbam posuisse et uxorum capita rassis, ad indicium maxim luctus: regum etiam regem et exercitacionem venandi et convictu megestanum abstinuisse, quod apud Parthos iustitii instar est.

73. sine imaginibus et pompa: the imagines, or wax busts of ancestors, were kept in the atrium of the house, and were, therefore, not with him; the procession also appears to have been omitted.

2. ob propinquitatem: hundreds of miles apart, but alike in the far east.

magni Alexandri: he died at Babylon, B.C. 323, aged thirty-two; Germanicus was thirty-three. In the case of Alexander, too, there was suspicion of poison.

3. mitem, etc.: a strong contrast with Alexander’s ferocity and intemperance.

certis, legitimate.

praepeditus sit: with the infinitive, after the analogy of prohibeo.
assecuturum gloriam militiae, quantum clementia, temperantia, ceteris bonis artibus praestitisset. Corpus antequam cremaretur nudatum in foro Antiochensium, qui locus sepulturae destinabatur, praetuleritne veneficii signa parum constitit; nam ut quis misericordia in Germanicum et praesumpta suspicione aut favore in Pisonem pronior, diversi interpretabantur.

74 Consultatum inde inter legatos quique alii senatum aderant, quisnam Suriae praeficeretur. Et ceteris modo nisis, inter Vibium Marsum et Cn. Sentium diu quasitum; dein Marsus seniori et acrier tendenti Sentio concessit. Isque infamem veneficiis ea in provincia et Plancinae percaram nomine Martinam in urbe misit, postulantibus Vitellio ac Veranio ceterisque, qui crimina et accusationem tamquam adversus receptos iam reos instruebant. At Agrippina, quamquam defessa luctu et corpore aegro, omnium tamen quae ultionem morarentur intolerans, ascendit classem cum cineribus Germanici et libris, miserantibus cunctis, quod femina

4. tantum...quantum: Intr. 35 r. assecuturum: sc. fuisse.
5. sepulturae, obsequae: cremation, not interment; for his ashes were conveyed to Rome.
parum constitit: Suetonius, on the other hand (Calig. 1) says, praeter livores qui loto corpore erant et spumas quae per os fluabant, cremati quaeque cor inter osa incorruptum repertum est; cuus ea natura existimatur ut, tinctum veneno, igne confici nequeat. But surely, if there had been any clear evidence of foul play, Tacitus would not have failed to mention it.
74. consultatum, etc.: the death of Germanicus and the departure of Piso having left the province without any head, the senators present, part officially, part unofficially, took upon themselves the responsibility of establishing a provisional government, no doubt as representing the Senate, the official organ of government at Rome. So Germanicus (I. 43. 2) says, in the event of his death, legissetis ducem. The action, however, was irregular and probably invalid.

qui que alii senatum: for the legati, too, having all held the quies- torship, were of senatoral rank.
2. Martinam: for her death see III. 7. 2.
Vitellio: I. 70; Veranio: 56. 4. Both were firm friends of Germanicus. receptos: sc. a praetore; as if the prosecution were already formally on foot.
nobilitate princeps, pulcherrimo modo matrimonio, inter
venerantis gratantisque aspici solita, tunc ferais reliquias sinu ferret, incerta utionis, anxia sui, et infelici
fecunditate fortunae totiens obnoxia.

Pisonem interim apud Coum insulam nuntius assequi-
tur excessisse Germanicum. Quo intemperanter ac-
cepto caedit victimas, adit templar, neque ipse gaudium
moderans et magis insolescente Plancina, quae luctum
amissae sororis tum primum laeto cultu mutavit. Ad-
fluebant centuriones monebantque prompta illi legionum
studia: repeteret provinciam non iure ablatam et vacuam.
Igitur quid agendum consultanti M. Piso filius prope-
randum in urbem censebat: nihil adhuc inexpiabile ad-
missum, neque suspicione imbecillas aut inania famae
pertimescenda. Discordiam erga Germanicum odio 3
fortasse dignam, non poena; et ademptione provinciae
satis factum inimicis. Quod si regrederetur, obsistente 4
Sentio civile bellum incipi; nec duraturos in partibus
centuriones militesque, apud quos recens imperatoris
sui memoria et penitus inexitus in Caesaris amor prae-
valeret. Contra Domitius Celer, ex intima eius amicitia, 77
disseruit: utendum eventu; Pisonem, non Sentium Su-
riae praepositum; huic fasces et ius praetoris, huic
legiones datas. Si quid hostile ingrat, quem iustius 2

75. matrimonio: ablative of characteristic.
infelici fecunditate: her numerous children were so many hostages to fortune.
2. Coum: better known as Cos.
3. laeto cultu: bright colors, jewels, etc.; ablative with mutavit.
76. centuriones: these were of his own appointment (see 55. 4).
2. consultanti: construed with properandum.
nihil adhuc, etc.: this argument of young Piso shows that he regarded his parents as innocent.
4. in partibus, on his side; their temporary enthusiasm would be outweighed by their attachment to the
imperial house.
77. huic: i.e. Piso, as the one nearest the speaker (see I. 42.
6 n.).
2. hostile: on the part of foreign enemies.
arma oppositum quum qui legati auctoritatem et
propría mandata acceperit? Relinquendum etiam rumoribus tempus quo senescant; plerumque innocentes
recenti invidiae impares. At si teneat exercitum, augeat vires, multa quae provideri non possint fortuito in
melius casura. 'An festinamus cum Germanici cineribus appellare, ut te inauditum et indefensum planctus
Agrippinae ac vulgus imperitum primo rumore rapiant?

Est tibi Augustae conscientia, est Caesaris favor, sed in occulto; et perisse Germanicum nulli iactantius maerent
quam qui maxime laetantur.'

78 Haud magna mole Piso, promptus ferocibus, in sententiam trahitur, missisque ad Tiberium epistulis incusat
Germanicum luxus et superbiae; seque pulsum, ut locus rebus novis patefiaret, curam exercitum eadem fide qua
tenuerit repetivisse. Simul Domitium impositum triumvitare litorum oram praeterque insulas lato mari
pergere in Suriam iubet. Concurrentes desertores per manipulos componit, armat lixas, traiectisque in continentem navibus vexillum tironum in Suriam euntium intercipit, regulis Cilicum ut se auxiliis iuvarent scribit,

propríà, personal; referring to the independent command given to him, as contrasted with Sentius' irregular commission.
3. récenti, while it is fresh.
4. si teneat: i.e. keeping on his present course.
5. an festinamus: the present colloquially with a future force; cf. quam conscendimus equos? Livy, I. 57. 7:
imperitum: having no experience in affairs of state, and, therefore, not qualified to judge.
6. conscientia: i.e. the private understanding.
nulli = nemo: a very rare case of this plural as a substantive.
iactantius, with more ostentation.
78. ferocibus: dative, neuter.
luxus: see 57. 5.
pulsum: apparently by Germanicus; cf. iussum provincia decedere,
70. 3. Furneaux refers it to Sentius, but the word pulsum can hardly be applied to his action; moreover the words rebus novis appear to contain a suggestion of disloyalty on the part of Germanicus, designed to excite or confirm the suspicions of the emperor against him and his family, a suspicion which would be absurd in the case of Sentius.
3. in continentem: i.e. from the island of Cos.
vexillum, detachment (I. 20. 1 n).
regulis Cilicum: Philopator
haud ignavo ad ministeria belli iuvene Pisone, quamquam suspiciendum bellum abnuisset. Igitur oram Lyciae ac Pamphyliae praegentes, obviis navibus quae Agrippinam vehebant, utrimque infensi arma primo expediere; dein mutua formidine non ultra iurgium processum est, Marsusque Vibius nuntiavit Pisoni Romam ad dicendum causam veniret. Ille eludens respondit ad futurum, ubi praetor, qui de neficiis quaereret, reo atque accusatoribus diem prodixisset.

Interim Domitius Laodiciam urbem Suriae appulsus, cum hiberna sextae legionis peteret, quod eam maxime novis consiliis idoneam rebatur, a Pacuvio legato praeventur. Id Sentius Pisoni per litteras aperit monetque ne castra corruptoribus, ne provinciam bello temptet. Quosque Germanici memores aut inimicis eius adversos cognoverat contrahit, magnitudinem imperatoris identi-

(42. 7) had been of this class of petty kings.

Lyciae et Pamphyliae: Pamphylia had been made a province by Augustus, B.C. 25; Lycia was still an independent federal public, but was united to Pamphylia by Claudius, A.D. 43.

praegentes: Piso and his company proceeded between the island of Rhodes and the mainland, while Domitius had gone lato mari.

infensi: the construction is irregular; praegentes belongs to Domitius and his company, infensi to Agrippina as well.

2. eludens, in derision.

praetor qui de neficiis quaereret: there was a special quaestio de neficiis, established by Sulla among the quaestiones perpetuae, and presided over by one of the prætors selected by lot. Whether any given case should be brought before this tribunal or before the senate depended partly upon the accuser, partly upon the court itself (I. 72. 4 n). In this case, Piso's request to be tried before the regular tribunal was refused, and the trial was conducted before the senate. (Momm. Röm. St. II. 105.)

prodixisset: the technical term for the prætor's appointing a day for the trial, after the formal presentation of charges.

3. Laodiciam: a few miles south of Antioch, on the sea-coast.

sextae legionis: this was named Ferrata,—the "iron brigade."


legato: sc. legionis (I. 44. 3 n).

4. aperit, lays before. Takes up.
corruptoribus: ablative of instrument, a relation more commonly expressed with persons by the accusative with per. Pfitzner thinks it shows contempt.

5. imperatoris: best understood of Tiberius.
dem ingerens et rem publicam armis peti; ducitque validam manum et proelio paratam.

80 Nec Piso, quamquam coepta secus cadebant, omisit tutissima e praesentibus, sed castellum Ciliciae munitum admodum, cui nomen Celenderis, occupat; nam admixtis desertoribus et tirone nuper intercepto suisque et Plancinae servitiis auxilia auxilia Cilicum, quae reguli miserant, in numerum legionis composuerat. Caesariisque se legatum testabatur provincia, quam is dedisset, arceri, non a legionibus (earum quippe accitu venire), sed a Sentio privatum odium falsis criminibus tegente. Consisterent in acie, non pugnaturis militibus, ubi Pisonem, ab ipsis parentem quondam appellatum, si iure ageretur, potior, si armis, non invalidum, vidissent. Tum pro monumentis castelli manipulos explicat, colle arduo et destructo; nam cetera mari cinguntur. Contra veterani ordinibus ac subsidiis instructi: hinc militum, inde locorum asperitas, sed non animus, non spes, ne tela quidem nisi agrestia aut subitum in usum properata. Ut venere in manus, non ultra dubitatum quam dum Romanae cohortes in aequum enterentur: vertunt terga Cilices seque castello claudunt.

81 Interim Piso classem haud procul opperientem appug-
nare frustra temptavit; regressusque et pro muris, modo semet adflictando, modo singulos nomine ciens, praemiis vocans, seditionem coepitbat, adeoque com- moverat ut signifer legionis sextae signum ad eum transtulerit. Tum Sentius occanere cornua tubasque et peti aggerem, erigi scalas iussit, ac promptissimum quemque succedere, alios tormentis hasas et faces ingere. Tandem victa pertinacia Piso oravit ut traditis armis maneret in castello, dum Caesar cui Suriam permetteret consulitur. Non receptae conditiones, nec aliud quam naves et tutum in urbem iter concessum est.

At Romae, postquam Germanici valetudo percrebruit cunctaque ut ex longinquo aucta in deterius adferebantur, dolor ira. Et erumpabant questus: ideo nimirum in extremas terras relegatum, ideo Pisoni permissem provinciam; hoc egisse secretos Augustae cum Plancina serones; vera prorsus de Druso seniores locutos, displicere regnantibus civilia filiorum ingenia, neque ob aliud interceptos quam quia populum Romanum aequo iure complecti redditae libertate agitaverint. Hos vulgi serones audita mors adeo incendit ut ante edictum 

81. pro muris, on the walls, towards the enemy, cf. 13. 4. * semet afflictando: beating his breast and other signs of grief. * seditionem: among the soldiers of Sentius. * signifer: not aquilifer, the standard-bearer of the legion. Each maniple, as well as, probably, each cohort, had its signum (I. 18. 3 n.), and there were as many signiferi. It was only one out of this number that deserted.

2. aggerem: materials for a mound, preparatory to an assault (I. 65. 10).

3. cui: interrogative.  
82. 2. ideo: begins the complaints. * hoc egisse, this was the meaning of; a common use of agere.  
3. de Druso: cf. II. 41. 5. * displicere...ingenia: Suetonius (Claud. 1) says, nonnullos tradere ausos, suspectum eum [sc. Drusum] Augusto, revocatumque ex provincia, et quia cunctatur, interceptum veneno. But it was a groundless rumor. * filiorum: Drusus was step-son of Augustus; Germanicus, adopted son of Tiberius.
magistratum, ante senatus consultum sumpto iustitio
desererentur fora, clauderentur domus. Passim silentia
et gemitus, nihil compositum in ostentationem; et quam-
quam neque insignibus lugentium abstinerent, altius
animis maerebant. Forte negotiatores, vivente adhuc
Germanico Suria egressi, laetiora de valetudine eius
attulere. Statim credita, statim vulgata sunt; ut quis-
que obvius, quamvis leviter audita in alios atque illi in
plures cumulata gaudio transferunt. Cursant per urbem,
moliuntur templorum fores; iuvat credulitatem
nox et promptior inter tenebras adfirmatio. Nec obstitit falsis
Tiberius, donec tempore ac spatio vanescerent; et po-
pulus quasi rursum ereptum acrius doluit.

Honores, ut quis amore in Germanicum aut ingenio
validus, reperti decretique: ut nomen eius Saliari car-
mine caneretur; sedes curules sacerdotum Augustalium
locis superque eas querceae coronae statuerentur; ludos
circenses eburna effigies praieiret, neve quis flamen aut
augur in locum Germanici nisi gentis Iuliae crearetur;

4. iustitio: see I. 16. 2 n.
5. nihil compositum: no formal arrangements.
7. ut quisque obvius (sc. est negotiatoiribus): equivalent to
quicumque obvius est, subject of transitio understood.
8. moliuntur . . . fores: which had been closed for the night.
   tempore ac spatio: a hendiadys, in the course of time.

Saliari carmine: the Salii, special priests of Mars, were a
very ancient collegium, membership in which was reserved for men of
high rank. Their chant had come down from high antiquity, and was
scarcely intelligible. Of those who received the honor of having their
names inserted in this hymn, we know only of Germanicus, probably
the younger Drusus (IV. 9. 2), Lucius Verus, and perhaps Caracalla
(Marquardt, Rom. Staatsverf. III. 420).

sedes curules, etc.: a curule seat at the theatre was a special
honor highly esteemed, which had been granted to Julius Cæsar and to
Marcellus after his death, and was now bestowed upon the whole col-
lege to which Germanicus had belonged (I. 54. 2). The oaken
wreath was a reward of civil distinction; those here described were
made of precious materials (διαλιθον καὶ διάχρυσον. Dio, XI.IV. 6. 3).

effigies: of Germanicus.

praieiret: in the sacred wagon (tensa), along with the images of
the gods.

flamen: sc. Augustalis.
arcus additi Romae et apud ripam Rheni et in monte 3
Suriae Amano, cum inscriptione rerum gestarum ac mortem ob rem publicam obisse; sepulcrum Antiochiae, ubi crematus, tribunal Epidaphnae, quo in loco vitam finierat. Statuarum locorumve in quis coleretur, haud facile quis numerum inierit. Cum censeretur clipeus auro et magnitudine insignis inter auctores eloquentiae, asseveravit Tiberius solitum parem quem ceteris dicaturum: neque enim eloquentiam fortuna discerni, et satis illustre, si veteres inter scriptores haberetur. Equester ordo 5
Cuneum Germanici appellavit, qui iuniorum dicebatur, instituitque uti turmae idibus Iuliiis imaginem eiu sequerentur. Pleraque manent; quaedam statim omissa sunt aut vetustas oblitteravit.

Ceterum recenti adhuc maestitia soror Germanici 84

3. Amano: north of Antioch, separating Syria from Cilicia.

rerum...obisse: depending upon inscriptione (Intr. 35, r).

sepulcrum, a cenotaph.

tribunal, a catafalque: a structure in the shape of a scaffold or bier, no doubt with an inscription.

Epidaphnae: a suburb of Antioch, about five miles from the city; it had its name from a grove and sanctuary of Apollo.

4. censeretur, was proposed; cf. decreverere, 32. 4.

clipeus: a medallion bust, such as was common for distinguished persons. Tiberius held, sensibly enough, that his place among orators should not be distinguished by a medallion superior to others; Suetonius says (Calig. 3), ingeniurn in uero eloquentiae doctrinaeque generé praececellens.

scriptores, masters.

5. equester ordo: the turmae equitum, mentioned below; in the empire there were no knights except these equites equo publico (Momm. Köm. St. III. 484).

cuneum: a wedge-shaped division of seats at the theatre. The equites occupied fourteen concentric rows, which were divided by aisles into cunei; some of the cunei of the knights appear to have been assigned to jniores, some to seniores. This honor was probably given to Germanicus as princeps iuventutis; cf. Ovid, Ex Pont. II. 5. 41: te iuvenem princeps, cui dat Germania nomen: (see also I. 3. 2 n.).

turmae: the eighteen centuriae equitum, a part of the centuriae organization for voting purposes, were, for purposes of parade, divided into squadrons, turmae, of thirty men each. Their principal display was the transvectio equitum, or annual procession of the equites, from the Porta Capena to the Temple of Castor, which took place upon July 15, with great splendor. The image of Germanicus was to lead the procession like a banner.
Livia, nupta Druso, duos virilis sexus simul enixa est.

2 Quod rarum laetumque etiam modicis penatibus tanto gaudio principem adfecit ut non temperaverit quin iactaret apud patres, nulli ante Romanorum eiusdem fastigii viro geminam stirpem editam; nam cuncta, etiam fortuita, ad gloriem vertebat. Sed populo tali in temore id quoque dolorem tulit, tamquam auctus liberis Drusus domum Germanici magis urgeset.

85 Eodem anno gravibus senatus decretis libido feminarum coercita, cautumque ne quaestum corpore faceret cui avus aut pater aut maritus eques Romanus fuisset.

2 Nam Vistilia praetoria familia genita licentiam stupri apud aediles vulgaverat, more inter veteres recepto, qui satis poenarum adversum impudicas in ipsa professione flagitii credebant. Exactum et a Titidio Labeone, Vistiliae marito, cur in uxore delicti manifesta ultionem legis omisisset. Atque illo praetendente sexaginta dies ad consultandum datos necdum praeterisse, satis visum de Vistilia statuere: eaque in insulam Seriphon abdita est. Actum et de sacris Aegyptiis Judaicisque pellen-

84. Livia: usually called Livia, to distinguish her from the elder Livia. For her later history see IV. 3, and VI. 2. 1.

duos virilis sexus: one (Germanicus) died in childhood (IV. 15. 1); the other (Tiberius) was put to death by order of Caligula; see VI. 46. 8; Suet. Calig. 23.

2. modicis penatibus, households of inferior rank.

3. tamquam, etc., as if the exaltation of the house of Drusus was a further humiliation to that of Germanicus.

85. 2. satis poenarum, etc.: i.e. by becoming professional prostitutes, they were no longer subject to the laws of adultery. The declaration was made apud aediles.

3. exactum: se. est, account was demanded.

ultionem legis: the Julian law (50. 2) required separation, and then allowed an action to be brought by the husband within sixty days; as this time had not elapsed, Titidius was not deemed guilty of neglect.

4. Seriphon: one of the Cyclades.

5. sacris Aegyptiis et Judaicis: the worship of the Egyptian goddess Isis was extremely fashionable among the Roman women, especially those of the lower classes, and was often attended with im-
dis factumque patrum consultum, ut quattuor milia libertini generis ea superstitione infecta, quis idonea aetas, in insulam Sardiniam veherentur, coercendis illic latrociniis et, si ob gravitatem caeli interissent, vile damnun; ceteri cederent Italia, nisi certam ante diem profanos ritus exuissent. Post quae ret tulit Caesar capiendam 86 virginem in locum Occiae, quae septem et quinquaginta per annos summa sanctimonia Vestalibus sacris prae- sederat; egitque grates Fonteio Agrippae et Domitio Pollioni, quod offerendo filias de officio in rem publicam certarent. Praelata est Pollionis filia, non ob aliud 2 quam quod mater eius in codem coniugio manebat; nam Agrippa discidio domum imminuerat. Et Caesar quamvis posthabitam deciens sestertii dote solatus est.

Saevitiam annonaec incusante plebe statuit frumento 87 pretium, quod emptor penderet, binosque nummos se additum negotiatoribus in singulos modios. Neque 2 moral practices. The Jews also were numerous and influential at Rome. The scandalous incidents which led to the demolition of the temples of Isis, and to the banishment of the Jews, are related by Josephus (Ant. Iud. XVIII. 3, 4 and 5).

libertini generis: they had been brought to Rome as slaves.

ea superstitione: apparently the Jewish, for Suetonius says (Tit. 36), Iudaecorum tuventutem per spectum sacramenti in provincias gravioris caeli distribuit.

quis: dative of possession.

latrociniis: Intr. 35 f. Sardina was then, as in modern times, infested with banditti, whom they were to suppress. Its climate still continues unhealthy.

86. ret tulit: brought the business before the senate.


Vestalibus sacris prae sederat: this does not mean as head or eldest of the collegium, maxima virgo; it is the technical expression for having charge of the sacred rites, and is thus applicable to all the vestals.

2. discidio, divorce.

domum: i.e. dignitatem domus. This was not an absolute bar, for the law only required that both parents should be living.

imminuerat: cf. auctus, 84. 3.

deciens sestertii: this appears to have been the usual dowry for a noble lady.

87. binos nummos: two sesterces = ten cents. This was the difference between the legal price and the market value at the time. The modius was about a peck.
tamen ob ea parentis patriae delatum et antea vocabulum assumpsit, acerbeque increpuit eos qui divinas occupationes ipsumque dominum dixerant. Unde angusta et lubrica oratio sub principe qui libertatem metuebat, adulationem oderat.

88 Reperio apud scriptores senatoresque eorumdem temporum Adgandestrii principis Chattorum lectas in senatu litteras, quibus mortem Arminii promittebat, si patrandae neci venenum mitteretur; responsumque esse non fraude neque occultis, sed palam et armatum populum Romanum hostes suos ulcisci. Qua gloria aequabat se Tiberius priscis imperatoribus, qui venenum in Pyrrhum regem vetuerant prodiderantque. Ceterum Arminius abscedentibus Romanis et pulso Maroboduo regnum adfectans libertatem popularium adversam habuit, petitusque armis cum varia fortuna certaret, dolo propinquorum cecidit: liberator haud dubie Germaniae et qui non primordia populi Romani, sicut alii reges ducesque, sed florentissimum imperium lacerserit, proeliis ambiguus, bello non victus. Septem et triginta

2. delatum et antea: I. 72. 2. divinas, etc.: Suetonius says (Tib. 27) that when some one spoke of his occupations as sacras, he directed him to say laboriosas, and that the use of the word dominus to him he denounced as contumeliae causa. This word properly expresses the relation of master and slave, and was inconsistent with the semi-republican constitution of the early empire, but afterwards became common among other slavish practices. Tiberius used to say that he was imperator to his soldiers, dominus to his slaves, and princeps to others. διστότης μὲν τῶν δούλων, αὐτοκράτωρ δὲ τῶν στρατιωτῶν, τῶν δὲ δὴ λουτᾶν πρὸκριτός εἰμι. Dio, LVII. 8.

88. principis, a chief; the princes of the Germans were elected in the public assembly, and, no doubt, for life (Germ. 12).

palam et armatum: contrasted chiastically with fraude and occultis.

2. venenum . . . vetuerant: it was the consuls Gaius Fabricius and Quintus Æmilius, to whom the physician of Pyrrhus made the offer.

3. pulso Marobodu: 63. 1. alii reges, etc.: Pyrrhus, Hannibal, etc.

proeliiis ambiguus, etc.: he lost
A.D. 19.] ANNALS. 195

annis vitæ, duodecim potentiae explevit, caniturque adhuc barbaras apud gentes, Graecorum annalibus ignotus, qui sua tantum mirantur, Romanis haud perinde celebris, dum vetera extollimus recentium incuriosi.

some battles, but never was subdued.

4. Graecorum: the Greek historians of this reign.

haud perinde, inadequately.

recentium incuriosi: so in the 
Agricola (1), he calls his own age incuriosa suorum.

Agrrippina.

(From a coin in the Berlin Museum.)
ARGUMENT OF BOOK III.

A.D. 20; M. Valerius Messalla, M. Aurelius Cotta, Coss.

1-18. Trial and Death of Gnaeus Piso.

A.D. 21; T.i. Augustus Caesar IV., Drusus Caesar II., Coss.

31. Tiberius retires to Campania. 32. War with Tacfarinas. 33, 34. Proposition to forbid governors of provinces to have their wives with them. 35. Blesus made governor of Africa. 36, 37. The delators held in check by Drusus. 38, 39. Affairs in Thrace.

40-47. Revolt of Sacrovir and Florus in Gaul.
   40. Preparations for the insurrection. 41. Revolt of the Andecavi and Turoni. 42. The Treveri. 43-45. The Aedui. 46. Death of Sacrovir. 47. Report to the Senate by Tiberius.

A.D. 22; C. Sulpicius Galba, D. Haterius Agrippa, Coss.

LIBER III.

1 Nihil intermissa navigatione hiberni maris Agrippina Corcyram insulam advehitur, litora Calabriæ contra sitam. Illic paucos dies componendo animo insumit, violenta luctu et nescia tolerandi. Interim adventu eius audito intimus quisque amicorum et plerique militares, ut quique sub Germanico stipendia fecerant, multique etiam ignoti vicinis et municipiis, pars officium in principem rati, plures illos securi, ruere ad oppidum Brundisium, quod naviganti celerrimum fidissimumque appulsu erat. Atque ubi primum ex alto visa classis, complentar non modo portus et proxima maris, sed moenia ac tecta, quaque longissime prospectari poterat, maerentium turba et rogitantium inter se, silentione an voce aliqua egredientem exciperent. Neque satis constabat quid pro tempore foret, cum classis paulatim successit, non alacri, ut adsolet, remigio, sed cunctis ad tristitiam compositis. Postquam duobus cum liberis, feralem urnam tenens, egressa navi defixit oculos, idem omnium gemitus; neque discerneres proximos alienos, virorum feminarumve planctus, nisi quod comitatum

1. Corcyram: Corfu, the most important of the Ionian islands.
2. plerique, a good many.
3. maris: partitive genitive.
4. pro tempore, suitable to the occasion.
5. discerneres: subjunctive of indefinite subject, in second person singular,—one could distinguish.
Agrippinae longo maerore fessum obvii et recentes in
dolor anteibant.

Miserat duas praetorias cohortes Caesar, addito ut 2
magistratus Calabriae Apulique et Campani supra
erga memoriam filii sui munera fungerentur. Igitur 2
tribunorum centurionumque umeris cineres portabantur;
praecedebant incompta signa, versi fasces; atque ubi
colonias transgrederentur, atrata plebes, trabeati equites
pro opibus loci vestem odores aliaque funerum sollemnia
cremabant. Etiam quorum diversa oppida, tamen obvii 3
et victimas atque aras dis Manibus statuentes lacrimis
et consolationibus dolorem testabantur. Drusus Tar-
rarinam progressus est cum Claudio fratre liberisque
Germanici, qui in urbe fucrunt. Consules M. Valerius 5
et M. Aurelius (iam enim magistratum occeperant)
et senatus ac magna pars populi complevere, disiecti
et ut cique libitum flentes; aberat quippe adulatio,

obvii, those who had gone to meet
her.

in dolore: qualifies recentes.

2. Calabriae, etc.: as she landed
at Brundisium, her route lay through
Calabria, Apulia, and Campania.

munera fungerentur: see App. I.

XI. 93; tum maesta phalanx
Teucrique sequuntur | Tyrrenique
omnes et versis Arcades armis. Cf.
I. 24. 4.

colonias: no doubt the municipi-
ia also (see I. 79. 1 n.). The
important towns through which they
passed — Tarentum, Venusia, Bene-
ventum, Capua, Sinuessa — were as
a fact colonies. The municipal aris-
tocracy belonged to the equestrian
order; hence plebs and equites.

transgrederentur: subjunctive
of repeated action.

trabeati: the trabea was a toga,
striped white and purple, worn by
the equites on public occasions.

vestem: for an offering; so at
Cesar's funeral: tibicines et scaenici
artifices vestem quam ex triumpho-
rum instrumento ad praesentem
usum induerant, detractam sibi
atque discassam iniecerunt flammae,
et veteranorum militum legionarum
arma sua, etc. (Suet. Iul. 84).

3. diversa, off the road. Cf. di-
versas terras, I. 17. 5.

4. Tarracina: the old Volscian
town of Anxur, fifty-eight miles
from Rome, made a maritime colony,
B.C. 329. Being at the point where
the Appian Way reached the sea, it
was a convenient place of meeting;

liberis Germanici: these were
Nero, Drusus, Agrippina, and Dru-
silla; Gaius (Caligula) and Julia
were with their mother. (II. 70. 2 n.)

5. ut cique libitum: i.e. with
gnaris omnibus laetam Tiberio Germanici mortem male dissimulare. Tiberius atque Augusta publico abstinuere, inferius maiestate sua rati, si palam lamentarentur, an ne omnium oculis vultum eorum scrutantibus falsi inter- tellegerentur. Matrem Antoniam non apud auctores rerum, non diurna actorum scriptura reperio ullo insigni officio functam, cum super Agrippinam et Drusum et Claudium ceteri quoque consanguinei nominatim prescripti sint, seu valetudine praepedebatur, seu victus luctu animus magnitudinem mali perferre visu non toleravit. Facilius crediderim Tiberio et Augusta, qui domo non excedebant, cohibitam, ut par maeror et matris exemplo avia quoque et patruus attineri vide- rentur.

3 Dies, quo reliquiae tumulo Augusti inferebantur, modo per silentium vastus, modo ploratibus inquies; plena urbis itinera, collocentes per campum Martis faces.

2 Illic miles cum armis, sine insignibus magistratus, populus per tribus concidisse rem publicam, nihil spei no formal ceremonies of mourning.

laetam . . . mortem, joy at the death (Intr. 35 q); subject of dissimulare.

3 falsi: predicate — known to be false.

2 Antoniam: this was Antonia minor, the younger daughter of Mark Antony and Octavia (Intr. 26 e): the elder married L. Domitius Ahenobarbus, and was grandmother of the emperor Nero. Plutarch (Ant. 87) pronounces the younger sister σωφροσύνη καὶ κάλλει περιβότην.

diurna actorum scriptura: this was an official bulletin of events of public interest first established by Julius Cæsar; scriptura is ablative.

non toleravit, could not endure.

3 Augusta: see App. I.

par maeror: the verb is not esset understood, but it is to be taken with viderentur.

4 tumulo Augusti: the mausoleum of Augustus, in the northern part of the Campus Martius, still partly preserved.

vastus, desolate.

faces: these were regularly carried at funerals.

2 miles . . . tribus: all of these were present officially and in their organizations, but the magistrates without their insignia, etc. The tribes here mentioned were probably not the organization described in I. 8. 3 n., but the entire people (populus), organized in voting tribes.
reliquum clamitabant, promptius apertiusque quam ut meminisse imperitantium crederes. Nihil tamen Tiberium magis penetravit quam studia hominum accensa in Agrippinam, cum decus patriae, solum Augusti sanguinem, unicum antiquitatis specimen appellarent, versique ad caelum ac deos integram illi subolem ac superstitem iniquorum precarentur. Fuere qui publici funeris pom-pam requirerent compararentque quae in Drusum patrem Germanici honora et magnifica Augustus fecisset: ipsum quippe asperrimo hiemis Ticinum usque progressum neque abscedentem a corpore simul urbem intravisse; circumfusas lecto Claudiorum Iuliorumque imagines; defletum in foro, laudatum pro rostris, cuncta a maioribus reperta aut quae posteri invenerint cumulata: at Germanico ne solitos quidcm et cuicumque nobili debitos honores contigisse. Sane corpus ob longinquitatem itinerum externis terris quoquo modo crematum; sed tanto plura decora mox tribui par fuisset, quanto prima fors negavisset. Non fratrem, nisi unius meminisse imperitantium: it was in truth an affront to the rulers, and Tiberius might have been pardoned for taking offence.

3. studia...Agrippinam: the suspicion of Agrippina's loyalty, which led to such tragic results, may have begun now; but even before the emperor appears to have felt some uneasiness (see I. 69. 4).

solum Augusti sanguinem: she was the only descendant of Augustus living, except her dissolute sister Julia (see 24. 2).

integram...precarentur: the partial fulfilment of this prayer, in the survival of Caligula and the younger Agrippina, brought no good to the people.

5. requirerent, missed.

2. ipsum, etc.: cf. Suet. Tib. 7.

asperrimo hiemis: Intr. 35 d. Ticinum: the modern Pavia.

circumfusas...imagines: referring to the great number of these. Other families (as the Livii) must also have been represented. Drusus, having never been adopted into the Julian gens, was not properly entitled to its imagines, but the rule was probably relaxed in his favor. He died B. C. 9 from a fall of his horse in the heart of Germany.

laudatum pro rostris: the funeral oration, by some near relative, was an essential part of the ceremony.

cuncta: i.e. ceremonies of honor.

4. sane: that is, this could not have been avoided. These first ceremonies (prima) chance had made informal.
6 diei via, non patruum saltem porta tenus obvium. Ubi illa veterum instituta, praepositam toro effigiem, meditata ad memoriam virtutis carmina et laudationes, et lacrimas vel doloris imitamenta?


5. fratre: Drusus; but he appears to have come all the way from Illyricum, where he had been in command (see 11.1 n.); moreover, Tarracina is fifty-eight miles from Rome, more than a day's journey. saltem porta tenus, if it were only as far as to the gate. 6. praepositam: see App. I. vel . . . imitamenta: even if they were pretences. 6. premeret, repress. egregium, honorable. 2. decora: from decorus. principibus . . . populo, the men who are at the head of the state, and the nation that rules the world. recenti: cf. II. 77. 3 n. 3. unica filia: Cæsar's daughter Julia, wife of Pompey, died B.C. 54, while her father was on his expedition to Britain. Augustus lost two grandsons, Gaius and Lucius (I. 3. 3); and Suetonius says of him (Oct. 65), aliquanto patientius mortem quam dedecora suorum tulit. 4. funditus . . . familias: e.g. the destruction of the Fabii in the war against Veii, B.C. 477. 5. sollemnia = solita munia. Megalesium: the festival of the Great Mother was held April 4 to 10, and celebrated, with a remarkable and vivid symbolism, the death of nature and its re-animation at this season. suberat: indicative, as being the reason assigned by Tacitus.
Tum exuto iustitio reditum ad munia, et Drusus Illyricos ad exercitus profectus est, erectis omnium animis spe petendae e Pisoni ulationis et crebro questu, quod vagus interim per amoena Asiae atque Achaiae arroganti et subdola mora scelerum probationes subverteret. Nam vulgatum erat missam, ut dixi, a Cn. Sentio famosam veneficiis Martinam subita morte Brundisii exstinctam, venenumque nodo crinium eius occultatum, nec ulla in corpore signa sumpti exitii reperta. At Piso praemisso in urbem filio datisque mandatis, per quae principem molliret, ad Drusum pergit, quem haud fratris interitu trucem quam remoto aemulo aequiorem sibi sperabat. Tiberius quo integrum iudicium ostentaret, exceptum comiter iuvenem erga filios familiarum nobiles liberalitate auget. Drusus Pisoni, si vera forent quae iacerentur, praecipuum in dolore suum locum respondit: sed malle falsa et inania nec cuiquam mortem Germanici exitiosam esse. Haec palam et vitato omni secreto; neque dubitabantur praescripta ei a Tiberio, cum incallidus alioqui et facilis iuventa senilibus tum artibus uteretur.

7. iustitio: see I. 16. 2 n.  
Illyricos ad exercitus: see II. 44. 1; he had returned to meet the body of his cousin (2, 4), and returned again for the trial (II. 1). 
arroganti: by his proud and defiant bearing, as if he had no need to clear himself.  
subverteret: i.e. in the hope that his crime would be forgotten in the long interval. It is explained by the sentence that follows.  
2. ut dixi: see II. 74. 2.  
nodo crinium: by means of a hollow bodkin or hair-pin.  
nec . . . reperta: as there were no indications of suicide, it was inferred that she had been put out of the way by Piso. As in the case of Germanicus, there appears no real ground for suspicion.  
8. haud = non tamen; cf. Intr. 35 m; but the affection of Drusus for Germanicus was well known.  
2. liberalitate: a present, such as was usual; cf. II. 37. 2; the service, in cases like this, was gratuitous, but was rewarded with gifts.  
3. si . . . iacerentur: belongs to the indirect discourse.  
falsa et inania: sc. ea esse: Intr. 35 c.  
4. haec, these words.  
facilis, ingenious.
Piso Delmatico mari tramisso relictisque apud Anconam navibus per Picenum ac mox Flaminiam viam assequitur legionem, quae e Pannonia in urbem, dein praesidio Africæ ducebatur: eaque res agitata rumori-bus, ut in agmine atque inimere crebro se militibus ostentavisset. Ab Narnia, vitandae suspicionis an quia pavidis consilia in incerto sunt, Nare ac mox Tiberi devectus auxit vulgi iras, quia navem tumulo Caesarum appuferat dieque et ripa frequenti, magno clientium agmine ipsè, feminarum comitatu Plancina, et vultu alacres incessere. Fuit inter irritamenta invidiae domus foro imminens festa ornatu conviviumque et epulae et celebritate loci nihil occultum.

Postera die Fulcinius Trio Pisonem apud consules postulavit. Contra Vitellius ac Veranius ceterique Germanicum comitati tendebant nullas esse partis Trioni; neque se accusatores, sed rerum indices et testes man-datà Germanici perlaturos. Ille dimissa eius causae delatione, ut priorem vitam accusaret obtinuit, petitum-
que est a principe cognitionem exciperet. Quod ne 4 reus quidem abnuebat, studia populi et patrum metuens; contra Tiberium spernendis rumoribus validum et conscientiae matris innexus esse; veraque aut in deterior credita iudice ab uno facilius discerni, odium et invidiam apud multos valere. Haud fallebat Tiberium moles 5 cognitionis quaque ipse fama distraheretur. Igitur 6 paucis familiarium adhibitis minas accusantium et hinc preces audit integramque causam ad senatum remittit.

Atque interim Drusus rediens Illyrico, quamquam 11 patres censuissent ob receptum Maroboduum et res priore aestate gestas ut ovans iniret, prolato honore urbem intravit. Post quae reo L. Arruntium, P. Vi-

Germanicus; priorem vitam would include Piso’s command in Spain.

excipere, take into his own hands. This he could do by virtue of his special judicial authority, coordinate with that of the senate (I. 72. 4 n.). To this senators were especially subject, and in the reigns of Gaius, Claudius, and Nero the imperial court was converted into a regular engine of tyranny. Tiberius, on the other hand, characteristically allowed the senate to make itself responsible for “orgies of judicial murder” (Momm. Röm. St. II. 898).

4. studia: the emperor’s court would be less influenced by the popularity of Germanicus; moreover, the emperor himself cared little for public opinion.

in deterior credita, that which looked worse than it was.

iudice ab uno: see note on initio ab Suriæ, IV. 5. 4.

6. paucis . . . adhibitis: the prince joined others with himself, but was not bound by their judgment.

hinc: i.e. on the part of the defendant.

integram, etc.: it rested with the emperor, as it did with the senate (IV. 21. 3), to decline to undertake the case. (Cf. also 12. 10.)

11. ob receptum Maroboduum: II. 63. 1.

priore aestate: the military successes belonged two years before, and the intervening year had been passed in securing what had been won. It may be that priore here means a former (see 20. 1 n.).

ovans: see II. 64. 1.

prolato honore: it was no occasion for festivity and display; moreover, by entering the city he would lose his imperium, and with it his right to a triumph. This entrance, of course, preceded the events narrated in 2, etc. He appears to have hastened from his province and foregone the ovation, in order to do honor to Germanicus.

2. L. Arruntium, etc.: for Arruntius and Gallus see I. 12. 2 and 13. 1. Pompeius was consul A.D. 14 (I. 7. 2). Publius Vinicius, consul A.D. 2, was distinguished for eloquence and literary tastes: summus amator Ovi-
TACITUS. [Book III.

nicipium, Asinium Gallum, Aeserninum Marcellum, Sex. Pompeium patronos petenti iisque diversa excusantibus M’. Lepidus et L. Piso et Livineius Regulus adfuere, arrecta omni civitate, quanta fides amicis Germanici, quae fiducia reo; satín cohiberet ac premeret sensus suos Tiberius. Haud alias intentior populus plus sibi in principem occultae vocis aut suspicacis silentii permisit.

12 Die senatus Caesar orationem habuit meditato temperamento. Patris sui legatum atque amicum Pisonem fuisse adiutoremque Germanico datum a se auctore senatu rebus apud Orientem administrandis. Illic contumacia et certaminibus asperasset iuvenem exituque eius laetatus esset, an scelere extinxisset, integris animis diiudicandum. ‘Nam si legatus officii terminos, obsequium erga imperatorem exuit eiusdemque morte et luctu meo laetatus est, odero seponamque a domo mea et privatas inimicitias non vi principis ulciscar; sin facinus in cuiuscumque mortalium nece vindicandum detegitur, vos vero et liberos Germanici et nos parentes iustis solaciis adficite. Simulque illud repute, turbide et seditiose tractaverit exercitus Piso, quaesita sint per

dii (Sen. Controv. X. 4. 25). He was father of Marcus Vinicius (VI. 15. 1); Marcellus was grandson of Asinius Pollio, and inherited his talent for oratory. (Sen. Contr. IV. 3 and 4).

patronos, counsel.
M. Lepidus, etc.: for Lepidus see I. 13. 2; Lucius Piso was brother of the accused (II. 34. I, IV. 20. 4); of Regulus nothing is known.
arrecta: with expectation; followed by dependent question.
sensus suos, his private feelings.
12. 2. legatum: he was governor of Hither Spain (Further Spain being a senatorial province); consul with Tiberius B.C. 7.

3. contumacia . . . laetatus esset: this, the mildest supposition, was yet a serious offence.
4. nam, etc.: Tacitus here passes abruptly to the direct discourse.

imperatorem, his commander,—Germanicus.

non vi principis: i.e. it being a private quarrel, the offence shall be punished as a private one.

5. cuiuscumque mortalium: no matter what his station.
ambitionem studia militum, armis repetita provincia, an falsa haec in maius vulgaverint accusatores, quorum ego nimiis studiis iure succenseo. Nam quo pertinuit nudo
dare corpus et contractandum vulgi oculis permittere, differriique etiam per externos tamquam veneno interceptus esset, si incerta adhuc ista et scrutanda sunt? Defleo equidem filium meum semperque deflebo: sed neque reum prohibeo quo minus cuncta proferat, quibus innocentia eius sublevari aut, si qua fuit iniquitas Germanici, coargui possit, vosque oro ne, quia dolori meo causa conexa est, obiecta crimina pro approbatis accipiat. Si quos propinquus sanguis aut fides sua patronos dedit, quantum quisque eloquentia et cura valet, iuvate periclitantem. Ad eundem laborem, eandem constantiam accusatores hortor. Id solum Germanico super leges praestiterimus, quod in curia potius quam in foro, apud senatum quam apud iudices de morte eius anquirit; cetera pari modestia tractentur. Nemo Drusi lacrimas, nemo maestitiam meam spectet, nec si qua in nos adversa finguntur.'

Exim biduum criminibus obiciendis statuitur, utque sex dierum spatio interiecto reus per triduum defendentur. Tum Fulcinius vetera et inania orditur, ambitiose avareque habitam Hispaniam; quod neque convictum

6. repetita: on his return to Syria, after the death of Germanicus.  
7. quo, what end.  
differri, to let the report be spread.  
tamquam: Intr. 35 j.  
8. iniquitas, unfairness.  
10. praestiterimus: future perfect. — 'This I have done: I shall do nothing more.'  
in curia: see 10. 3 n. and II.  
11. spectet, have regard to; be biased by.  
12. si qua . . . finguntur: knowing the suspicions entertained of himself.  
13. 2. habitam: i.e. as legatus (see 12. 2 n.).  
convictum, defensum: participles, — if proved, if disproved; noxae and absolutioni are datives of service.
noxae reo, si recentia purgaret, neque defensum absolutioni erat, si teneretur maioribus flagitiis. Post quem Servaeus et Veranius et Vitellius consimili studio, et multa eloquentia Vitellius, obiecere odio Germanici et rerum novarum studio Pisonem vulgus militum per centiam et sociorum injurias eo usque corrupisse ut parens legionum a deterrimis appellaretur; contra in optimum quemque, maxime in comites et amicos Germanici saevisse; postremo ipsum devotionibus et veneno peremisse; sacra hinc et immolationes nefandas ipsius atque Plancinae, petitam armis rem publicam, utque reus agi posset, acie victum.

14  Defensio in ceteris trepidavit; nam neque ambiti-nem militare neque provinciam pessimo cuique obnoxiam, ne contumelias quidem adversum imperatorem ini-fitiari poterat; solum veneni crimen visus est diluisse, quod ne accusatores quidem satis firmabant, in convivio Germanici, cum super eum Piso discumberet, infectos manibus eius cibos arguentes. Quippe absurdum vide-batur inter aliena servitia et tot adstantium visu, ipso Germanico coram, id ausum; offerebatque familiam reus et ministros in tormenta flagitabat. Sed iudices per

3. per licentiam, etc.: see II. 55. 4.

devotionibus: II. 69. 5; for sacra and immolationes, II. 75. 3.

acie victum: II. 81. 4.

14. in ceteris: explained by solum veneni crimen.
trepidavit, was weak.
obnoxiam, exposed to; he allowed all manner of license.
2. super eum discumberet: the place of honor at a banquet for the most distinguished guest was inus in medio lecto, while the host reclined summus in imo lecto. Piso, therefore, occupying the former place, was partly behind Germanicus, where his movements might be unobserved by him.

3. offerebat...flagitabat: he offered the testimony of his own slaves (familiam), and demanded that of the attendants (ministros) serving at the time.

4. sed: although the charge of poisoning fell through.
diversa implacabiles erant, Caesar ob bellum provinciae inlatum, senatus numquam satis credito sine fraude Germanicum interisse. * * scripsissent expostulantes, quod haud minus Tiberius quam Piso abnuere. Simul populi ante curiam voces audiebantur: non temperaturos manibus, si patrum sententias evasisset; effigiesque Pisonis 6 traxerant in Gemonias ac divellebant, ni iussu principis protectae repositaeque forent. Igitur inditus lecticae et a tribuno praetoriae cohortis deductus est, vario rumore, custos saluti an mortis exactor sequeretur. Eadem Plancinae invidia, maior gratia; eoque am-15 biguum habebatur quantum Caesari in eam liceret. Atque ipsa, donec mediae Pisoni spes, sociam se cuiuscumque fortunae et, si ita ferret, comitem exitii promitterat. Ut secretis Augustae precibus veniam obtinuit, paulatim segregari a marito, dividere defensionem coepit. Quod reus postquam sibi exitiabile intellegit, an adhuc experiretur dubitans, hortantibus filiis durat mentem senatumque rursum ingreditur; redintegratamque accusationem, infensas patrum voces, adversa et saeva cuncta perpessus, nullo magis exterritus est quam quod Tiberium sine miseratione, sine ira, obstinatum clausumque vidit, ne quo affectu perrumperetur. Relatus 5

scripsissent: there is here a gap, as Nipperdey thinks, of considerable length, containing some change in the conduct of the trial, a comperendinatio (adjournment), and production of new evidence. Another gap (the other side of the same torn leaf) is found 16. 3.

6. in Gemonias: the stairs which led from the Arx, or northern summit of the Capitoline, to the prison at its foot (cf. V. 9. 3).

divellebant ni, etc.: a condensed form of condition common in Tacitus.

repositaes: i.e. in their place of honor.

15. quantum . . . liceret: i.e. by Livia, as is shown below.

2. mediae: i.e. not hopeless.

4. quod: his wife's demeanor.

experiretur: sc. ius: doubting whether to continue his defence.

nullo = nulla re: earlier writers use this form substantively only as masculine.

ne . . . perrumperetur: whether by feeling or influence from without.
domum, tamquam defensem in posterum meditaretur, paucu conscibit obsignatque et liberto tradit; tum solita curando corpori exsequitur. Dein multam post noctem, egressa cubiculo uxore, operiri fores iussit; et coepta luce perfosso iugulo, iacente humi gladio, reper-tus est.

16 Audire me memini ex senioribus visum saepius inter manus Pisonis libellum, quem ipse non vulgaverit; sed amicos eius dictitavisse, litteras Tiberii et mandata in Germanicum contineri, ac destinatum promere apud patres principemque arguere, ni elusus a Seiano per vana promissa foret; nec illum sponte extinctum, verum immisso percussore. Quorum neutrum asseveraverim: neque tamen occulere debui narratum ab iis qui nostram ad iuventam duraverunt.

Caesar flexo in maestitiam ore suam invidiam tali morte quaesitam apud senatum crebrisque interrogationibus exquirit, qualem Piso diem supremum noctemque exegis-set. Atque illo pleraque sapienter, quaedam inaxultius respondente, recitat codicillos a Pisone in hunc ferme modum compositos: ‘Conspiratione inimicorum et invidia falsi criminis oppressus, quatenus veritati et innocentiae meae nusquam locus est, deos immortales testor vixisse

5. meditaretur, was composing. in posterum: sc. diem. solita . . . corpori: i.e. bath, dinner, etc.

16. mandata in Germanicum: i.e. the commission to destroy him. It is not at all improbable that Tiberius privately gave him the com- mission to watch over the young man, and exercise a certain restraint over him (see II. 43. 3 n.).

destinatum (sc. fuisses ei: cf. I. 47. 1), he had intended. Seiano: see I. 24. 3 n.

2. duraverunt, lasted, continued in life.

3. crebris, etc.: the passage here omitted evidently contained the mention of some person—perhaps Piso’s son, perhaps his freedman mentioned above—who was intro- duced and questioned; he is re- ferred to by illo below.

4. recitat: sc. Tiberius. The document referred to is that which Piso is said (15. 5) to have prepared, —pauca conscisit obsignatique.

5. quatenus, since (Intr. 35 f).
me, Caesar, cum fide adversum te, neque alia in matrem tuam pietate; vosque oro liberis meis consulatis, ex quibus Cn. Piso qualicumque fortunae meae non est adiunctus, cum omne hoc tempus in urbe egerit, M. Piso repetere Suriam dehortatus est, — atque utinam ego potius filio iuveni quam ille patri seni cessisset. Eo impensius precor, ne meae pravitatis poenas innoxius luat. Per quinque et quadraginta annorum obsequium, per collegium consulatus, quondam divo Augusto parenti tuo probatus et tibi amicus nec quicquam post haec rogaturus salutem infelicis filii rogo.' De Plancina nihil addidit.

Post quae Tiberius adulescentem crimine civilis belli purgavit, patris quippe iussa nec potuisse filium detrectare, simul nobilitatem domus, etiam ipsius quoquo modo meriti gravem casum miseratur. Pro Plancina cum pudore et flagitio disseruit, matris preces obtendens, in quam optimi cuiusque secreti questus magis ardescebant: id ergo fas aviae, interfectricem nepotis aspicere, alloqui, eripere senatui; quod pro omnibus civibus leges obtineant, uni Germanico non contigisse; Vitellii et Veranii voce defletum Caesarem, ab imperatore et Augusta defensam Plancinam; proinde venena et artes tam feliciter expertas verteret in Agrippinam, in liberos eius, egregiamque aviam ac patruum sanguine miserrimae domus exsatiaret. Biduum super hac imagine cognitionis absumptum, urgente Tiberio liberos Pisonis matrem ut tuerentur."

Et cum accusatores ac testes certatim perorarent

dehortatus est: see II. 76. 2.
7. collegium consulatus: see cf. gloria; I. 8. 2 n.
12. 2 n.
17. adulescentem: Marcus Piso.
iussa: sc. fuisse.
2. flagitio, a sense of disgrace;
5. patruum: see I. 33. 3 n.
6. imagine cognitionis, shadow of a trial.
respondente nullo, miseratio quam invidia augebatur. 8 Primus sententiam rogatus Aurelius Cotta consul (nam referente Caesare magistratus eo etiam munere fungebantur) nomen Pisonis radendum fastis censuit, partem bonorum publicandam, pars ut Cn. Pisoni filio concedetur isque praenomen mutaret; M. Piso exuta dignitate et accepto quinquagiiens sestertio in decem annos relegaretur, concessa Plancinae incolumitate ob preces Augustae. 18 Multa ex ea sententia mitigata sunt a principe: ne nomen Pisonis fastis eximeretur, quando M. Antonii, qui bellum patriae fecisset, Iuli Antonii, qui domum Augusti 2 violasset, manerent. Et M. Pisonem ignominiae exemit concessitque ei paterna bona, satis firmus, ut saepe memoravi, adversus pecuniam et tum pudore absolutae 3 Plancinae, placabilior. Atque idem, cum Valerius Mes-
salinus signum aureum in aede Martis Ulторis, Caeca
Severus aram Ulioni statuendam censuissent, prohibuit,
ob externas ea victorias sacrari dictitans, domestica mala
tristitia operienda. Addiderat Messalinus Tiberio et
Augustae et Antoniae et Agrippinae Drusoque ob vin-
dictam Germanici grates agendas omiseratque Claudii
mentionem. Et Messalimum quidem L. Asprenas senatu
5 coram percontatus est an prudens praeterisset; ac tum
demum nomen Claudii adscriptum est. Mihi, quanto plura
recentium seu veterum revolvo, tanto magis ludi-
bria rerum mortalium cunctis in negotiis obversantur.
Quippe fama spe veneratione potius omnes destinaban-
tur imperio quam quem futurum principem fortuna in
occulto tenebat.

Paucis post diebus Caesar auctor senatui fuit Vitellio
atque Veranio et Servaeo sacerdotia tribuendi; Fulcinio
suffragium ad honores pollicitus monuit ne facundiam
violentia praecipitaret. Is finis fuit ulciscenda Ger-
manici morte, non modo apud illos homines qui tum
agebant, etiam secutis temporibus vario rumore iactata.
Adeo maxima quaeque ambigua sunt, dum alii quoquo
modo audita pro cœptis habent, alii vera in contra-

this year (cf. 34. 2); for Caecina,
see I. 31. 2.

**signum aureum**: *i.e.* of Mars
Ultor: this and the altar to Venge-
ance were prohibited by the em-
peror from a praiseworthy feeling.

**ob externas**, etc.: the same sen-
timent as that which forbade a tri-
umph for victory in a civil war.

**omiserat...mentionem**: on
account of his alleged imbecility.

**tum demum, not until then.**

**quem**: Claudius.

**sacerdotia tribuendi**: the priest-
hoods were very wealthy corpora-
tions, and additional members were
often admitted to them for the sake
of the profit.

**praecipitaret, ruin.**

**2. ulciscenda...morte**: we
should expect here the dative after
finis. Some editions insert *in.*

**non modo**, etc.: belongs with
iactata; *sed* is understood before
etiam.

**agebant**: see I. 68. 1 n.

**3. dum = since**, as often in Taci-
tus.
rium vertunt, et gliscit utrumque posteritate. At Drusus urbe egressus repetendis auspiciis, mox ovans introiit. Paucosque post dies Vipsania mater eius excessit, una omnium Agrippae liberorum miti obitu: nam ceteros manifestum ferro vel creditum est veneno aut extinctos.

20 Eodem anno Tacfarinas, quem priore aestate pulsum a Camillo memoravi, bellum in Africa renovat, vagis primum populationibus et ob pernicitatem inultis, dein vicos exscindere, trahere graves praedas; postremo haud procul Pagyda flumine cohortem Romanam circumsedit.

Praeerat castello Decrius impiger manu, exercitus militia et illam obsidionem flagitii ratus. Is cohortatus milites ut copiam pugnae in aperto facerent, aciem pro castris instruit. Primoque impetu pulsa cohorte promptus inter tela occursat fugientibus, increpat signiferos, quod inconditis aut desertoribus miles Romanus terga daret; simul excepta vulnera et quamquam transfosso oculo adversum os in hostem intendit, neque proelium omisit, donec desertus suis caderet. Quae postquam L. Apronio (nam Camillo successerat) comperta, magis dedecore suorum quam gloria hostis anxius, raro ea tem-

utraque: i.e. the true and the false.
4. repetendis auspiciis: see II. 1 n.
Vipsania: see I. 12. 6 n.
5. ceteros: of the children of Agrippa by his second wife, Marcella (II. 50. 1 n.), nothing is known. By Julia he had, besides Agrippina, whose fate is still to be narrated, Gaius and Lucius, who were believed to have been poisoned (I. 3. 3), Agrippa Postumus (I. 6), and Julia, whose death appears to have been natural (IV. 71. 6), although in exile.

20. priore aestate: really three years before (see II. 52). Probably the meaning is a former summer (cf. 11. 1).
exscindere, trahere: historical infinitive, joined inelegantly with populationibus.
Pagyda: this river is unknown.
3. inconditis aut desertoribus: see II. 52. 2.
vulnera, os: objects of intendit; his wounds were in front.
raro . . . facinore: ablative of manner; the accusative of apposi-
pestate et e vetere memoria facinore decimum quemque ignominiosae cohortis sorte ductos fusti necat. Tantuque severitate profectum ut vexillum veteranorum, non amplius quam quingenti numero, easdem Tacfarinatis copias praesidium, cui Thala nomen, aggressas fuderint. Quo proelio Rufus Helvius gregarius miles servati civis decus revertit et donatus est ab Apronio torquibus et hasta. Caesar addidit civicam coronam, quod non eam quoque Apronius iure proconsulis tribuisset questus magis quam offensum. Sed Tacfarinas perculsis Numidis et obsidia aspernantibus spargit bellum, ubi instaretur cedens ac rursum in terga remeans. Et dum ea ratio barbaro fuit, irritum fessumque Romanum impune ludificabatur; postquam deflexit ad maritimos locos, illigatus praeda stativis castris adhaerebat, missu patris Apronius Caesianus cum equite et cohortibus auxiliariis, quis velocissimos legionum addiderat, prosperam adversum Numidas pugnam facit pelliteque in deserta.

At Romae Lepida, cui super Aemiliorum decus L.
Sulla et Cn. Pompeius proavi erant, defcerptur simulavisse partum ex P. Quirinio divite atque orbo. Adieebantur adulteria venena, quaesitumque per Chaldaeos in domum Caesaris, defendente ream Manio Lepido fratre. Quirinius post dictum repudium adhuc infensus quamvis infami ac nocenti miserationem addiderat. Haud facile quis dispexerit illa in cognitione mentem principis: adeo vertit ac miscuit irae et clementiae signa. Deprecatus primo senatum ne maiestatis crimina tractarentur, mox M. Servilium e consularibus aliosque testes illexit ad proferenda quae velut reicere voluerat. Idemque servos Lepidae, cum militari custodia haberentur, transtulit ad consules neque per tormenta interrogari passus est de iis quae ad domum suam pertinent. Exemit etiam Drusum consulem designatum dicendae primo loco sententiae; quod alii civile rebantur, ne ceteris assentiendi necessitas fieret, quidam ad saevitiam trahebant: neque enim cessurum nisi dammandi officio. Lepida ludorum

(son of the dictator) by Pompeia (daughter of the great Pompey). She had been divorced from Quirinius twenty years before (Suet. Tib. 49), and had afterwards married Scaurus (23. 3). For Quirinius, see II. 30. 4.

2. quaesitum: sc. esse; impersonal.

Manio Lepido: see II. 2.

3. Quirinius . . . infensus, the continued resentment of Quirinius (Intr. 35 q).

dictum, pronounced.

haud facile . . . signa: i.e. he was really impartial.


velut: in this word lies the imputation of hypocrisy, — he instigated to the charge which he had just refused to entertain. The grounds of the charge of maestas appear to have been partly quaesitum . . . Caesaris (2), partly her betrothal to Lucius Caesar (23. 1).

5. militari custodia: probably of the praetorian cohorts. Their transfer from the care of his own body-guard to that of the consules was a guarantee of impartiality.

iis: i.e. the charges of maestas.

6. consulem designatum: the consul-elect was called upon for his sententia before the consules.

officio: limits cessurum [fuisse]: his withdrawal of Drusus was regarded as an indication that he wished the defendant condemned, but Drusus relieved of the obloquy, —very puerile reasoning.

23. ludorum: probably the Ludi Romani, which were celebrated Sept. 4—19. The occurrence of this festival interrupted the trial.

Illustrium domuum adversa (etenim haud multum 24 distantis tempore Calpurnii Pisonem, Aemilii Lepidam amiserant) solacio adfecit D. Silanus Iuniae familiae redditus. Casum eius paucis repetam. Ut valida divo 2 Augusto in rem publicam fortuna, ita domi improspera

cognitionem: Intr. 35 b.
theatrum: sc. Pompeii: situated on the Campus Martius, west of the Capitoline. It was the largest theatre in Rome, and the earliest constructed of stone. Some remains of it still exist.
cuius . . . imagines: cf. 22. 1.
effusi: the audience.

senectae atque orbitati: Suetonius (Tib. 49) gives this case as one of the earliest proofs of Tiberius' degeneracy: procedente max tempore etiam ad rapinas convertit animum. Dio also (LVII. 19) places this change for the worse after the death of Germanicus. Tacitus, however, constantly testi- fies that Tiberius at this period was

firmus adversum pecuniam (18. 2).
See also below.

2. itumque in sententiam, it was voted; the vote was taken by going to one side or the other (pedibus ire). This Rubellius Blandus was father of the more distinguished Rubellius Plautus.

3. ne bona publicarentur: this sufficiently disproves the charge of Suetonius, mentioned above.

4. tum demum, etc.: this suppression of a part of the evidence against her shows that Tiberius did not seek her condemnation.

24. adversa: construed with solacio adfecit, which is used, like solari, with the accusative of that for which consolation is offered.
fuit ob impudicitiam filiae ac neptis, quas urbe depulit
adulterosque earum morte aut fuga punivit. Nam culpam
inter viros ac feminas vulgatum gravi nomine laesa-
rum religionum ac violatae maiestatis appellando clemen-
tiam maiorum suasque ipse leges egrediebatur. Sed
aliorum exitus, simul cetera illius aetatis memorabo, si
effectis in quae tetendi plures ad curas vitam produxero.
D. Silanus in nepti Augusti adulter, quamquam non ultra
foret saevitum quam ut amicitia Caesaris prohiberetur,
exsilium sibi demonstrari intellexit, nec nisi Tiberio
imperitante deprecari senatum ac principem ausus est
M. Silani fratris potentia, qui per insignem nobilitatem
et eloquentiam praecelestebat. Sed Tiberius gratis agenti
Silano patribus coram respondit se quoque laetari,
quod frater eius ei peregrinatione longinqua revertisset;
idque iure licitum, quia non senatus consulto, non lege pulsus
foret; sibi tamen adversus eum integras parentis sui
offensiones, neque reditu Silani dissoluta quae Augustus
voluisset. Fuit posthac in urbe neque honores
adeptus est.

25. Relatum deinde de moderanda Papia Poppaea, quam

2. filiae ac neptis: see I. 6. 3 n.
3. vulgatum, which had become
common.
suas leges: i.e. de adulteriis; he had chosen to treat the crime of
adultery in his own household as
impiety and treason.
egrediebatur, disregarded (Intr.
35 b).
4. memorabo: Tacitus appears
to have had the plan of writing a
history of Augustus, which would
have served as an introduction to
the Annals.
5. ut . . . prohiberetur: such
prohibition was a severe penalty, as
the right to visit the emperor and
claim his friendship appears to have
been open to all to whom it had not
been forbidden. Momm. Röm. St.
II. 781. Cf. II. 70. 3.
imperitante: i.e. in his reign.
6. non senatus consulto, etc.: he had been banished solely by the
will of the emperor.
7. quae . . . voluisset: i.e. the
renunciation of friendship (5).
25. Papia Poppaea: se. lege: the law passed in the reign of Au-
gustus, A.D. 9, for the regulation of
marriage, and its encouragement by
offering privileges to those with fam-
ilies, and imposing penalties or dis-
abilities upon the unmarried (28. 4).
senior Augustus post Iulias rogationes incitandis caelibum poenis et augendo aerario sanxerat. Nec ideo con-

2 iugia et educationes liberum frequentabantur, praevalida

orbitate; ceterum multitudo delatorum interpretationibus subver-
teretur, utque antehac flagitiis, ita tunc legibus labora-
batur. Ea res admonet ut de principiis iuris, et quibus 3

modis ad hanc multitudinem infinitam ac varietatem

legum perventum sit, altius disseram.

Vetustissimi mortalium, nulla adhuc mala libidine, 26

sine probro scelere, eoque sine poena aut coercionibus

agebant. Neque praemiiis opus erat, cum honesta suopte 2

ingenio peterentur; et ubi nihil contra morem cuperent, 
nihil per metum vetabantur. At postquam exui aequali-
tas et pro modestia ac pudore ambitio et vis incedebat,

provenere dominationes multosque apud populos aeter-
num mansere. Quidam statim, aut postquam regum 

pertaesum, leges maluerunt. Hae primo rudibus homi-
um animis simplices erant; maximeque fama celebravit

Cretensium, quas Minos, Spartanorum, quas Lycurgus,

It made more stringent and compre-
hensive the provisions of the early part of his reign (post Iulias ro-
gationes), B.C. 28 and 18. The consideration of its importance in
the history of legislation suggests the digression which follows.

augendo aerario: by the fines and forfeitures which it prescribed.

2. praevalida, prevailing in

men’s tastes and preferences. Fur-

neau suggests that it refers to the

social power that childlessness con-
ferred (see 48. 4, praepotentem senec-
tam).

interpretationibus: the strained

constructions of these laws by which

the delators secured convictions and

forfeitures.

laborabatur, the community suf-

fered.

26. 2. honesta, virtue, in a

concrete sense; a frequent use of

the neuter plural of adjectives.

suopte ingenio, from its own

nature = on its own account.

nihil: secondary object after ve-
tabantur.

3. postquam exui: Intr. 35 k.

dominationes: the rule of kings;
this was permanent (aeternum
mansere) with the nations of the
East. The Greeks and Romans
(quidam) chose a republican form
of government,—a government of
law instead of irresponsible will
(leges maluerunt).

ac mox Atheniensibus quaesitiores iam et plures Solo
perscrpsit. Nobis Romulus ut libitum imperitaverat;
5 dein Numa religionibus et divino iure populum devinxit,
repertaque quaedam a Tullo et Anco; sed praecipuus
Servius Tullius sanctor legum fuit, quis etiam reges
obtemperarent. Pulso Tarquinio adversum patrum fac-
tiones multa populus paravit tuendae libertatis et fir-
mandae concordiae, creatique decemviri et accitis quae
usquam egregia compositae duodecim tabulae, finis aequi
2 iuris. Nam secutae leges etsi aliquando in maleficos
ex delicto, saepius tamen dissensione ordinum et api-
escendi illicitos honores aut pellendi claros viros aliaque
3 ob prava per vim latae sunt. Hinc Gracchi et Satur-
nini turbatores plebis, nec minor largitor nomine sena-

Atheniensibus: here is an ana-
coluthon, arising from a change in
construction; supply in thought some
such expression as eas quas.
5. ut libitum: the institutions
of Romulus—senate, comitia, etc.—
were those of self-government; but
tradition represented him as having
created them by his sole authority.
quaedam, some enactments, going
to substitute the rule of law for that
of the individual.
6. obtemperarent: the subjunc-
tive expresses the intent of Servius,
the supposed founder of the repub-
lican constitution.
27. patrum, the senate. The
popular rights gained in the early
republic—such as the Valerian law
of appeal (provocatio) and the aux-
ilium of the tribunes—were for
the protection of all, patricians as
well as plebeians, against the arbi-
trary power of the government.
tuendae libertatis: Intr. 35 n.
creati decemviri: B.C. 451, for
the purpose of codifying and amend-
ing the laws. On this occasion an
embassy was sent to Greece to ex-
amine the laws, and a Greek named
Hermodorus accompanied the em-
bassy back to Rome, in order to
assist in the codification. This is re-
ferred to by the phrase accitis [iis] quae usquam egregia [erant].
finis aequi juris, the last piece
of impartial legislation.
2. securae leges: the sketch here
is very cursory, and the reference
indefinite. A period of three hun-
dred years is passed over with this
brief mention.
dissensione ordinum: this
began long before the time of the
Decemvirs, and the abuses here
spoken of were already rife. Among
the distinguished men banished were
Coriolanus, Camillus, and Metellus
Numidicus.
apiscendi: this construction
(Intr. 35 n) is rare with the gerund.
per vim latae sunt: the use of
violence in the elections and legisla-
tive assemblies began about the time
of the Gracchi (B.C. 133 and 123).
The legislation of Saturninus was
tus Drusus: corrupti spe aut illusi per intercessionem socii. Ac ne bello quidem Italico, mox civili, omissum quin multa et diversa sciscerentur, donec L. Sulla dictator abolitis vel conversis prioribus, cum plura addidisset, otium eius rei haud in longum paravit, statim turbidis Lepidi rogationibus, neque multo post tribunis reddita licentia quoquo vellent populum agitandi. Iamque non modo in commune, sed in singulos homines latae quaestiones, et corruptissima re publica plurimae leges. Tum Cn. Pompeius, tertium consul corrigendis

B.C. 100. Drusus, B.C. 91, grandfather of the empress Livia, urged reforms in the interest of the senatorial order itself.

3. corrupti, etc.: a principal item of the proposed reforms of Marcus Livius Drusus (B.C. 91) was the admission of the Italian allies (socii) to the citizenship. Their disappointment in this was the cause of the Social or Italian War, which followed the next year; and immediately after (mox) came the civil war of Marius and Sulla.

per intercessionem: i.e. of the tribunes. Each one of the ten tribunes was invested with the power of blocking the actions of the others; as a result, the hopes held out by one party were baffled by the obstructions placed in the way by the other.

4. prioribus (neuter), former measures. Sulla got the upper hand B.C. 82, and held unlimited power for about three years.

plura: the legislation of Sulla was very broad and radical, in the interest of the senate. Many of his reforms were permanent; a part were soon repealed (see below).

eius rei: i.e. from the violent changes of party and abrupt changes in policy.

turbidis Lepidi rogationibus: ablative absolute. Marcus Lepidus, father of the triumvir, was consul B.C. 78, and attempted to overthrow the legislation of Sulla.

tribunis reddita licentia: Sulla took away from the tribunes a great part of their power, especially in regard to making laws; but it was restored to them in the first consulship of Pompey, B.C. 70.

5. in commune, with a general jurisdiction; i.e. as a permanent institution.

in singulos homines latae quaestiones: not privilegia, or laws directed against individuals (like modern bills of attainder), but, rather, special courts organized to try individual offenders, as in the case of Milo, B.C. 52.

corruptissima, etc.: the greatest number of laws when society was most corrupt.

28. tertium consul: in B.C. 52, after several months of anarchy, Pompey was made sole consul (ab sens et solus, quod nulli ali i unquam contigit, Liv. Epit. CVII.), and proceeded to re-establish order by the severe use of his extraordinary powers. For the last five months of the year he took his father-in-law, Metellus Scipio, as colleague.
moribus delectus; sed gravior remedii quam delicta erant, suarumque legum auctor idem ac subversor, quae armis tuebatur armis amisit. Exin continua per viginti annos discordia, non mos, non ius; deterrima quaeque impune ac multa honesta exitio fuere. Sexto demum consulatu Caesar Augustus, potentiae securus, quae triumviratu iussarat abolevit deditque iura, quis pace et principe uteremur. Acriora ex eo vincla, inditi custodes et lege Papia Poppaea praemiis inducti, ut, si a privilegiis parentum cessaretur, velut parens omnium populus vacantia teneret. Sed altius penetrabant urbensque et

gravior, etc.: his remedies were more dangerous than the disorders that they sought to abolish.

subversor: his consulship was in violation of the law which required an interval of ten years between two successive occupations of the same magistracy (he had been consul B.C. 55). Moreover, after procuring the passage of a law forbidding the candidacy of any person absent from the city, he inserted a clause in the law, making an exception in the case of Cæsar; the clause was, of course, legally invalid. He also used his personal influence to secure the acquittal of Metellus Scipio on a charge of bribery.

quae armis tuebatur: from the year of his second consulship (B.C. 55) he held the proconsulship of Spain, which he governed by legati, remaining himself in the neighborhood of Rome. During his third consulship, therefore (B.C. 52), he was at once consul and proconsul, and thus armed with extraordinary military power.

armis amisit: by the civil war with Cæsar.

2. per viginti annos: in round numbers; the civil war began B.C. 49, and was finally ended by the victory of Augustus at Actium, B.C. 31. The reign of force did not, however, cease until the formal establishment of the empire, B.C. 27.

exitio: especially in the proscriptions in the Second Triumvirate (of Antony, Lepidus, and Cæsar Octavianus).

3. sexto consulatu: B.C. 28 (see note on I. 1. 3 and 2. 1).

quae...iussarat: the violent and illegal measures of the triumvirate.

iura, the rule of law.

pace et principe: object of uteremur: the emperor was the guaranty of peace, —l'empire c'est la paix.

4. acriora...vincla, more severe restraints.

custodes: sc. legum: referring to the informers, through whom the machinery of the laws was set in motion (see Intr. 13). The law excluded the unmarried from inheritance; the childless received only half of the property; while a large share fell to the informer. The rest went to the state (populus vacantia teneret).

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vacantia: having no legal heir.

5. penetrabant: i.e. the informers; they began to assail all citizens, wherever they were.
Italiam et quod usquam civium corripuerant, multorumque excisi status. Et terror omnibus intentabatur, ni Tiberius statuendo remedio quinque consularium, quinque e praetoriis, totidem e cetero senatu sorte duxisset, apud quos exsoluti plerique legis nexus modicum in praesens levamentum fuere.

Per idem tempus Neronem e libris Germanici, iam ingressum iuventam, commendavit patribus, utque munere capessendi vigintiviratus solveretur et quinquennio maturius quam per leges quaesturam peteret, non sine irrisu audientium postulavit. Praetendebat sibi atque fratri decreta eadem petente Augusto. Sed neque tum fuisse dubitaverim qui eius modi preces occulti illudarent: ac tamen initia fastigii Caesaribus erant magisque in oculis vetus mos, et privignis cum vitrico levior necessitudo quam avo adversum nepotem. Additur pontificatus et quo primum die forum ingressus est congiarium plebi admodum laetae, quod Germanici stirpem iam

excisi status: they were ruined.
6. quinque consularium, etc.: these formed a commission, who were to mitigate the severity of the law.
nexus: Intr. 35 q.
29. Neronem: the eldest child of Germanicus, now about thirteen years old. For his fate see V. 1–3.
vigintiviratus: the name given collectively to a number of inferior magistracies, including the triumviri capitales, triumviri monetales, etc. They had no connection with each other as magistracies, but were associated together in the series of honores. One of them must be held before the quaestorship.
quinquennio, etc.: the legal age for the quaestorship in the empire was twenty-five,

2. sibi atque fratri: for Tiberius, B.C. 24; for Drusus, B.C. 19.
tum: i.e. in the time of Augustus. The request was then excusable, because the empire was but just founded (initia fastigii), and, besides, the relation (necessitudo) was less close than in the present case.
3. pontificatus: according to Nipperdey, this is a mistake, or a confusion with his brother Drusus, Nero's pontificate being found upon no inscription.
forum ingressus est: the formal entering upon life as a citizen, after assuming the toga virilis. Suetonius says (Tib. 54): Neronem et Drusum patribus conscriptis commendavit diemque utriusque tironi consiarii plebei dato celebravit.
plebi: see I. 8. 3 n.
4. nuptiis Neronis et Iuliae: Nero had before been betrothed to the daughter of Silanus (II. 43. 3).
5. filio Claudi: named Drusus; he died shortly after.
6. videbatur: sc. Tiberius.
30. 2. neque egressa, etc.: i.e. none of the family before him had held any higher office.
consulatum intulit: as consul suffectus, B.C. 12.
censoria . . . functus: the office of censor, after being suspended for some years, was restored by Augustus, who, in accordance, as Mommsen remarks, with the original constitution of the republic, exercised its functions as consul. It was abolished by Domitian (Momm. Röm. St. II. 310). That part of their duties which consisted in an annual inspection of the turmae equitum (II. 83. 5), July 15, he intrusted to a special triumviratus . . . recognoscendi turmas equitum (Suet. Oct. 37), to which Volusius probably belonged. Tacitus, therefore, in using the word enrolling (legendis), is, as Mommsen says, inexact (id. 368).
3. C. Sallustius . . . auctor: the historian, Sallust. in nomen adscivit: by adoption, the person adopted taking the name of his adoptive father (cf. I. 8. 2).
4. Maecenatem aemulatus: Mæcenas never cared for political office, but continued a member of the equestrian order.
luxu: dative.
Sequitur Tiberii quartus, Drusi secundus consulatus, 81
patris atque filii collegio insignis. Nam biennio ante
Germanici cum Tiberio idem honor neque patruo laetus
neque natura tam conexus fuerat. Eius anni principio
Tiberius quasi firmandae valetudini in Campaniam con-
cessit, longam et continuam absentiam paulatim medi-
tans, sive ut amoto patre Drusus munia consulatus solus
impleret. Ac forte parva res magnum ad certamen
progressa praebuat iuveni materiem apiscendi favoris.
Domitius Corbulone praetura functus de L. Sulla nobili
iuvene questus est apud senatum, quod sibi inter spec-
tacula gladiatorum loco non decessisset. Pro Corbulone
aetas, patrius mos, studia seniorum erant: contra Ma-

5. quo . . . ostentabat: he made a pretence of indolence.
6. mox: i.e. after the death of Mæcenas.
   interficiendi . . . conscius: see I. 6. 6.
7. potentiae (genitive), personal influence, like that of Mæcenas; limits fato.
   an, etc.: or it may be; see I. 13. 7.
   illos: the princes; hos: the favorites.
81. Tiberii, etc.: Dio Cassius says (LVII. 20) that many prognos-
ticated misfortune to Drusus, because every colleague of Tiberius
had met an evil fate,—Varus, Piso,
and Germanicus; afterwards Sejanus
also.
   biennio: the consulship of Tibe-
rius and Germanicus, A.D. 18, was
not two years before, but with an
interval of two years.
2. longam . . . absentiam: five
years later he left the city (IV. 57),
and never returned to it. On this
occasion he was absent a year.
4. Domitius Corbulone: cannot
have been the distinguished general
who died A.D. 67, in the prime of
life; probably his father.
   inter . . . gladiatorum: the law
of the republic assigned the sena-
tors special seats in the theatre;
mercus Scaurus et L. Arruntius aliique Sullae propinquii nitebantur. Certabantque orationibus et memorabantur exempla maiorum, qui iuventutis irreverentiam gravibus decretis notavissent, donec Drusus apta temperandis animis disseruit; et satisfactum Corbuloni per Mamecum, qui patruus simul ac vitricus Sullae et oratorum nitetbantur. Certabantque orationibus et memorabantur exempla maiorum, qui iuventutis irreverentiam gravibus decretis notavissent, donec Drusus apta temperandis animis disseruit; et satisfactum Corbuloni per Mamecum, qui patruus simul ac vitricus Sullae et oratorum

7 ea aetate uberrimus erat. Idem Corbulo plurima per Italiam itinera fraude mancipum et incuria magistrii interrupta et impervia clamitando, executionem eius negotii libens suscepit; quod haud perinde publice usui habitum quam exitiosum multis, quorum in pecuniam atque famam damnationibus et hasta saeviebat.

32 Neque multo post missis ad senatum litteris Tiberius motam rursurn Africam incursu Tacfarinatis docuit, iudicioque patrum deligendum pro consule gnarum militiae, corpore validum et bello suffecturum. Quod initium

but in the amphitheatre and circus this was not done until the reign of Claudius.

6. patruus, vitricus, uncle (on the father's side, Scaurus and the elder Sulla being half-brothers), step-father (Scaurus having married the widowed mother of Sulla). He had himself been before married to Lepida (23. 3). This Sulla was descended from the Publius Sulla whom Cicero defended in an extant oration.

7. magistratum: the curatores viarum, established by Augustus. 

executionem, management; i.e. prosecution.

publice usui, advantageous to the public.

hasta, confiscation: the hasta was the sign of an auction sale, an execution being levied upon the insolvent contractors.

saeviebat: in the reign of Caligula Corbulo allowed himself, by these prosecutions, to be made an agent of gross extortion (Dio, LIX. 15); but the sums extorted were refunded by Claudius (id. LX. 17).

92. rursum: see 20. 1.

iudicio patrum: Africa, although it had an army, was a senatorial province (see Intr. 18. A. 2), and the governor was regularly appointed by lot; the two oldest consulares being assigned to the two wealthiest and most honorable senatorial provinces, Africa and Asia. On this occasion, owing to the military exigency, Africa was withdrawn from the lot, and Lepidus, the oldest consular, was to receive Asia in course. This gave an opportunity to his enemy, Pompeius, to urge that this province too should be made an exception: the judgment of the emperor implying that Lepidus was unfit for Africa, Pompeius argued that this proved him unfit for Asia as well.
Sex. Pompeius agitandi adversus Marcum Lepidum odii nactus, ut socordem, inopem et maioribus suis dedecorum eoque etiam Asiae sorte depellendum incusavit, adverso senatu, qui Lepidum mitem magis quam ignavum, paternas ei angustias et nobilitatem sine pro-bro actam honoris quam ignominiae habendam ducbat. Igitur missus in Asiam, et de Africa decretum ut Caesar legeret cui mandanda foret. Inter quae Severus Caecina censuit ne quem magistratum, cui provincia obvenisset, uxor comitaretur, multum ante repetito concordem sibi coniugem et sex partus enixam, seque quae in publicum statueret domi servavisse, cohibita intra Italianam, quamquam ipse pluris per provincias quadraginta stipendia explevisset. Haud enim frustra placitum olim ne feminae in socios aut gentes externas traherentur: inesse mulierum comitatu quae pacem luxu, bellum formidine morentur et Romanum agmen ad similitudinem barbari incessus conver-tant. Non imbecillum tantum et imparem laboribus

2. M. Lepidum: not to be con-founded with Manius Lepidus (35. 1, also I. 13. 2), a far more distinguished man; they appear to have been second cousins, both being great-grandsons of Marcus Emilius Lepidus, cos. B.C. 78. The praenomina are constantly confused in the manu-script of Tacitus, but are distinguis hed by the aid of inscriptions. Nipperdey. paternas . . . angustias: see II. 48. 1.

3. de Africa, etc.: Furneaux points out that five consulars junior to Lepidus had already held Africa, and suggests that these violations of the rule were in conformity with the Lex Papia Poppaea, or in consequence of the absence from Rome of the one whose turn it was.

33. inter quae: he brought up this matter, which really had nothing to do with the business before the senate (neque relatum de negotio, 34. 1).

Caecina: see 18. 3; this is the same Cæcina that commanded in Germany under Germanicus (see I. 31, etc.).

repetito: ablative absolute with the clause that follows.

seque . . . servavisse: he had himself followed the rule which he would prescribe for others.

cohibita: sc. coniuge.

2. frustra, without good reason; see VI. 6. 2 n.

morentur, are a hindrance to.

barbari incessus: such as the march of Xerxes, with his wives, servants, etc.
sexum, sed si licentia adsit, saevum ambitiosum potestatis avidum; incedere inter milites, habere ad manum centuriones; praesedisse nuper feminam exercitio cohortium, decursu legionum. Cogitarent ipsi, quotiens repetundarum aliqui arguerentur, plura uxoribus obiectari; his statim adhaerescere deterrimum quemque provincialium, ab his negotia suscipi transigi; duorum egressus colit, duo esse praetoria, pervicacibus et impotentibus mulierum iussis, quae Oppiis quondam aliisque legibus constrictae, nunc vinclis exsolutis do-mos fora iam et exercitus regerent. Paucorum haec assensu audita; plures obturbabant neque relatum de negotio, neque Caecinam dignum tantae Rei censorem.

Mox Valerius Messalinus, cui parens Messalla ineratque imago paternae facundiae, respondit multa duritiae veterum melius et laetius mutata; neque enim, ut olim, obsideri urbem bellis aut provincias hostilis esse. Et paucorum necessitatibus concedi, quae ne coniu-

3. ad manum, at their beck (Fur- neaux).

praesedisse, etc.: see II. 55. 5. There may also be an allusion to the action of Agrippina, I. 69. 1.

4. quotiens, etc.: as often as such charges are made, the weight of them falls upon the women. The charge of repetundae (sc. res) is that of extortion in the provinces (demand for restitution). The court for the trial of such offences, the earliest of the permanent courts, quaestiones perpetuae, was founded B.C. I49.

coli: this refers to the suite or throng of followers who accompanied the governors and their wives.

praetoria, governor’s residence or headquarters.

Oppiis . . . legibus: the Oppian law, passed B.C. 215, regulated the dress and ornament of women, and other matters in which they were deemed too luxurious.

34. relatum: sc. esse; the matter had not been formally brought before the senate by the consuls.

2. Messalinus: the same who is called Messalla, I. 8. 5.

paternae facundiae: his father, the distinguished soldier and patron of literature in the reign of Augustus, was, as an orator, nitidus et candidus et quodammodo praefersen dicendo nobilitatem suam, viribus minor (Quint. X. I. 113).

multa duritiae, many features of the harshness; cf. multa laudis et artium, 55. 6; Intr. 35 d.

melius . . . mutata: i.e. it was better that they had been changed. Pfitzner.

obsideri urbem bellis: the Oppian law was passed in the time of the war with Hannibal.

3. coniugum . . . penates: i.e., the harmony and well-being of the household.
adeo non: much less.
promisca cum marito: they received no more consideration than their husbands would have received by themselves.
4. plane, to be sure.

at: anticipates an objection.
7. ignaviam, neglect.
9. luxu: dative.
10. praesenti: while the husband is present.
sic: explained by ut... meminissent—on this condition: irent is hortatory subjunctive.
alibi: in the provinces.
munium liberorum parente divelleretur. Sic Caecinae sententia elusa est.

35 Proximo senatus die Tiberius per litteras, castigatis oblique patribus quod cuncta curarum ad principem reicerent, M'. Lepidum et Iunium Blaesum nominavit, ex quis pro console Africae legeretur. Tum audita ambo-rum verba, intentius excusante se Lepido, cum valetudinem corporis, aetatem liberum, nubilem filiam obtineret, intellegentereturque etiam quod silebat, avunculum esse Seiani Blaesum atque eo praevailum. Respondit Blaesus specie recusantis, et neque eadem asseveratione, et consensu adulantium haud iutus est.

36 Exim promptum quod multorum intimis questibus tegebatur. Incedebat enim deterrimo cuique licentia impune probra et invidiam in bonos excitandi, arrepta imagine Caesaris; libertique etiam ac servi patrono vel domino, cum voces, cum manus intentarent, ultro metuebantur. Igitur C. Cestius senator disseruit principes quidem instar deorum esse, sed neque a dis nisi iustas supplicum preces audiri, neque quemquam in Capitolium

35. proximo ... die: the senate sat regularly at this period on the Kalends and Ides.
quod ... reicerent: in referring to him the selection of a governor for Africa, 32. 3.
cuncta curarum: cf. cuncta terrarum, Hor. Od. II. 1. 23; Intr. 35 d.
M' Lepidum, etc.: for Lepidus, see I. 13. 2; for Blesus, I. 16. 2.
2. aetatem, youth.
intellegenteretur: has for subject the following clause.
3. haud iutus est: i.e. in his refusal, which they believed to be insincere.

36. promptum: sc. est, came to light.

deterrimo cuique: dative of advantage with incedebat, increased.
arrepta ... Caesaris: i.e. in the nature of an asylum (cf. IV. 67. 6). What was intended as a protection against abuse, was converted into a means of covert attacks. It is related, for example, by Philostratos (Apol. I. 15), that it was an offence to chastise a slave who held in his hand a coin stamped with the image of the emperor.
patrono: relating to liberti, as domino to servi; the dominus of the slave became the patronus of the freedman.
2. neque ... utatur: the male-factor who made an asylum of the temple of a god was compared to
Aliave urbis templà perfugere ut eo subsidio ad flagitia utatur; abolitas leges et funditus versas, ubi in foro, 3 in limine curiae ab Annia Rufilla, quam fraudis sub iudice damnavisset, probra sibi et minae intendantur, neque ipse audeat ius experiri ob effigiem imperatoris oppositam. Haud dissimilia alii et quidam atrociora 4 circumstrepebant, precabanturque Drusum daret ultionis exemplum, donec accitam convictamque attineri publica custodia iussit. Et Considius Aequus et Caelius Censor equites Romani, quod fictis maiestatis crimínibus Magium Caecilianum praetorem petivissent, auctore princepe ac decreto senatus puniti. Utrumque in 2 laudem Drusi trahebatur: ab eo in urbe, inter coetus et sermones hominum obversante, secreta patris mitigari. Neque luxus in iuvene adeo displicebat: huc 3 potius intenderet, diem aedificationibus, noctem conviviis traheret, quam solus et nullis voluptatibus avocatus maestam vigilantiam et malas curas exerceret. Non enim Tiberius, non accusatores fatiscebant. Et Ancha-rius Priscus Caesium Cordum pro consule Cretae postu-

the guilty slave who was protected by the image of the emperor.

3. **versas**: cf. II. 42. 4; Intr. 35 b.

**damnavisset**: *i.e.* had brought about her conviction; the words sub iudice imply that it was a jury trial.

**oppositam**: held out against him in her hand.

4. **precabanturque**, etc.: as the fault in suffering this abuse lay in the officers and the courts, a representative of the emperor was called upon to correct it.

**accitam**, etc.: sc. Anniam.

37. 2. **utrumque, both acts**; the punishment of Annia and that of these two men.

**secreta, the sullen tyranny.**

3. **luxus**: Drusus is represented (I. 29. 4 and 76. 5) as cruel in disposition, but no charge has been made of licentiousness. His luxury seems to have consisted partly in erecting magnificent buildings (*aedificationibus*).

**solus**, etc.: these words point to the alleged characteristics of his father's rule; and yet nothing has so far appeared to throw upon him the burden of the charges. He was undoubtedly severe by nature, and disposed to let the laws have their course. In the case of Antistius in the next chapter, the punishment appears to have been merited.

38, **et**: introduces an illustration of the general statement; cf. II. 50. 1.
laverat repetundis, addito maiestatis crimen, quot tum omnium accusationum complementum erat.

2 Caesar Antistium Vetcrem e primoribus Macedoniae, absolutum adulterii, increpitis iudicibus ad dicendam maiestatis causam retraxit, ut turbidum et Rhescuporidis consiliis permixtum, qua tempestate Cotye [fratre] interfecit bellum adversus nos volverat. Igitur aqua et igni interdictum reo, appositumque ut teneretur insula neque Macedoniae neque Thraeciae opportuna. Nam Thraecia diviso imperio in Rhoemetalcenc et liberos Cotyis, quis ob infantiam tutor erat Trebellienus Rufus, insolentia nostri discors agebat neque minus Rhoemetalcen quam Trebellenum incusans popularium injurias inultas sinere. Coelaletae Odrusaeque et Dii, validae nationes, arma cepere, ducibus diversis et paribus inter se per ignobilitem; quae causa fuit ne in bellum atrox coalescerent. Pars turbant praesentia, ali montem Haemum transgrediuntur, ut remotos populos concirent; plurimi ac maxime compositi regem urbemque Philippopolim, a Macedone Philippo sitam, circumsi-

repetundis: the usual construction is the genitive,—repetundarum (sc. crimen).
complementum: every charge dragged that of treason along with it.
2. Rhescuporidis consiliis: see II. 64–67; as Cotys is there shown to have been the nephew of Rhescuporis, the word fratre is bracketed.
3. opportuna, accessible.
insolentia: abl.; because they were not used to our rule; nostri is objective genitive.
discors: i.e. the tributes and other impositions of the Romans they regarded as inuriae. These were inflicted by Trebellienus and submitted to by Rhoemetalces.
sinere: the infinitive after incuso is very rare (cf. VI. 3. 3; Intr. 35 l).
5. Odrusae: an ancient and powerful nation of Thrace, the nucleus of the kingdom; the two other nations are insignificant.
paribus . . . ignobilitatem: of equally mean extraction.
6. Haemum, the Balkan, which separated Thrace from Moesia.
maxime compositi, those best organized.
regem: Rhoemetalces.
Philippopolim: the modern Philippopolis, in the valley of the Hebrus. It was founded by the father of Alexander the Great.
dunt. Quae ubi cognita P. Vellaeo (is proximum exercitum praesidebat), alarios equites ac levis cohortium mittit in eos qui praedabundi aut assumendis auxiliis vagabantur, ipse robur peditum ad exsolvendum obsidium ducit. Simulque cuncta prospera acta, caesis populatores et dissensione orta apud obsidentes regis et opportuna eruptione et adventu legionis. Neque aciem aut proelium dici decuerit, in quo semeremi ac palantes trucidati sunt sine nostro sanguine.

Eodem anno Galliarum civitates ob magnitudinem aeras alieni rebellionem coeptavere, cuius exstimulator acerrimus inter Treveros Iulius Florus, apud Aeduos Iulius Sacrovir. Nobilitas ambobus et maiorum bona facta, eoque Romana civitas olim data, cum id rarum nec nisi virtuti pretium esset. Ii secretis colloquiis, ferocissimo quoque assumto aut quibus ob egestatem

39. exercitum: after praesidebat (Intr. 35 b); cf. praesedisse exercitio, 33. 3. The army in question is that of the province of Moesia, of which Velleius was governor, having succeeded Pomponius Flaccus (II. 66. 3).

alarios equites, auxiliary cavalry (see I. 49. 6 n.).

cohortium: Intr. 35 d.

2. populatoribus = those qui vagabantur. The besiegers fell out among themselves, and were then routed by a sally from the town and the arrival of the relieving force.

40. eodem anno, etc.: this rebellion of Florus and Sacrovir was the only formidable uprising in Gaul after that of Vercingetorix, and shows, says Mommsen (Rom. Prov. I. 88), "the hatred towards the foreign rulers, which still at that time prevailed in the land and particularly among the nobility." The armies of the Rhine, Mommsen thinks, were as important for keeping Gaul quiet, as for holding the Germans in check.

aeras alieni: incurred to pay the tributes and meet the other requirements of Rome,—including private debts, which were enforced by the government. Mommsen maintains that the taxes and financial distress were only the pretext for the rebellion, not its real cause.

Treveros: a tribe in the province of Belgica, represented by Treves in Rhenish Prussia. The Aeduoi were in Burgundy. These leaders, Florus and Sacrovir, as well as Indus (42. 3), took the name of Iulius, in accordance with usage, from Julius or Augustus Caesar, to whom they owed their citizenship.

2. rarum: Augustus civitatem Romanam parcissime dedit (Suet. Oct. 40); but from the time of Claudius citizenship became very cheap.
ac metum ex flagitiis maxima peccandi necessitudo, componunt Florus Belgas, Sacrovir propiores Gallos concire. Igitur per conciliabula et coetus seditiosa disserebant de continuatione tributorum, gravitate faenoris, saevitiae ac superbia praesidentium; et discordare militem audito Germanici exitio. Egregium resumendae libertati tempus, si ipsi florentes, quam inops Italia, quam imbellis urbana plebes, nihil validum in exercitu bus nisi quod externum, cogitarent. Haud ferme ulla civilitas intacta seminibus eius motus fuit; sed erupere primi Andecavi ac Turoni. Quorum Andecavos Acilius Aviola legatus excita cohorte, quae Lugduni praesidium agitabat, coercuit. Turoni legionario milite, quem Visellius Varro inferioris Germaniae legatus miserat, oppressi eodem Aviola duce et quibusdam Galliarum primoribus, qui tulere auxilium quo dissimularent defec tionem magisque in tempore efferrent. Spectatus et Sacrovir intecto capite pugnam pro Romanis ciens, os-

3. componunt, make an agreement.
4. conciliabula: the conciliabulum was in Italy the name of a class of villages inferior to the civitates (municipia and coloniae); the word may here be used in general for villages, but is probably used, as etymologically it may be, to indicate public gatherings. In either case it designates assemblies regularly convened or of a public character, while coetus are irregular gatherings called for some special purpose.

discordare . . . exitio: governed by disserebant; this afforded a favorable opportunity for revolt.
5. inops: sc. esset; depending on cogitarent. This is a significant indication of the economic decay of Italy, discussed in Tiberius' speech, 52-54.

externum: even the Roman legions were now chiefly composed of natives of the provinces.
41. Andecavi [the Andes of Cæsar] et Turoni: represented by the modern Angers (Anjou) and Tours, upon the Loire.
2. cohorte: sc. civium Romanorum (I. 8. 3 n.).
Lugduni, Lyons: capital of Gallia Lugdunensis.
3. legionario milite: this, too, appears from 46. 3 to have been a single cohort.
Visellius Varro: he had succeeded Cæcina (I. 31. 2).
primoribus: in the same construction as Aviola.
efferrent, proclaim, as well as dissimularent, governs defec tionem. They saw that a rising at this time must fail, and therefore
tentandae, ut ferebat, virtutis; sed captivi ne inex-"seretur telis agnoscendum se praebuisse arguebant. Consultus super eo Tiberius aspernatus est indicium aluitque dubitatione bellum.

Interim Florus insistere destinatis, pellicere alam equitum, quae conscripta e Treveris militia disciplinaque nostra habebatur, ut caesis negotiatoribus Romanis bel-"lum inciperet; paucique equitum corrupti, plures in offi-

cio mansere. Aliud vulgus obaeratorum aut clientium arma cepit; petebantque saltus, quibus nomen Arduenna, cum legiones utroque ab exercitu, quas Visellius et C. Silius adversis itineribus obiecerant, arcuerunt. Prae-

missusque cum delecta manu Iulius Indus e civitate eadem, discors Floro et ob id navandae operae avidior, inconditam multitudinem adhuc disiecit. Florus incer-

tis latebris victores frustratus, postremo visis militibus, qui effugia insederant, sua manu cecidit. Isque Treve-

rici tumultus finis.

Apud Aeduos maior moles exorta, quanto civitas concealed their complicity, and de-
ferred action until a more favorable opportunity (magis in tempore); their example was followed by Sacer-rov him self.

4. agnoscendum: i.e. his bared head would cause him to be recog-
nized by the insurgents, with whom he had a secret understanding.

ostentandae... virtutis; Intr.

35 n.

42. destinatis, his purpose.

quae... habebatur: under the empire the auxiliary troops were organized (militia) and disciplined after the Roman model, and their divisions were permanent.

negotiatoribus: not merchants, as in later times, but bankers and money-lenders. They were looked upon as the instruments of the exactions.

2. obaeratorum aut clientium: Cesar (B. G. I. 4) mentions these same classes as composing the re-
tainers of Orgetorix.

Arduenna: the great forest of Ardennes stretched at this time from the territory of the Remi (Rheims) to the neighborhood of the Rhine.

utoque ab exercitu: i.e. that of Upper Germany, under Silius, and that of Lower Germany, under Visellius.

3. e civitate eadem: the Tre-

veri.

adhuc: a clumsy order of words; many editors place adhuc before multitudinem.

4. effugia, his means of escape.
236


44 At Romae non Treveros modo et Aeduos, sed quattuor et sexaginta Galliarum civitates descivisse, assumpatos in societatem Germanos, dubias Hispanias, cuncta, ut mos famae, in maius credita. Optimus quisque rei publicae cura maerebat; multi odio praesentium et cupi-

43. opulentior: the Aedu were one of the two most powerful states of Gaul (Cæs. B. G. I. 31).

Augustodunum, Autun.

et: see App. I.

liberalibus studiis: the school of Augustodunum, founded by Augustus, was noted in all times of the empire.

2. legionariis armis: helmet (cassis), shield (scutum), greaves (ocreae), breast-plate (lorica), javelin (pilum), and short two-edged sword. It is ablative of characteristic, — a fifth of them provided with, etc.

3. continuum . . . tegimen: covering the whole body, like the armor of the middle ages; the Roman armor, on the other hand, protected only certain parts.

cruppellarios: the name is not met with elsewhere.

4. civitatum: limits consensione, as well as studiis.

ut . . . ita, although . . . yet.

viritim, of individuals.

44. quattuor et sexaginta, the sixty-four states or cities, identical with the former tribes, into which Gaul (exclusive of Narbonensis) was divided: of these, there were seventeen in Aquitania, twenty-five in Lugdunensis, twenty-two in Belgica
dine mutationis suis quoque periculis laetabantur, incre-pabantque Tiberium quod in tanto rerum motu libellis accusatorum insumeret operam. An Sacrovirum maies-
tatis crimine reum in senatu fore? Exstitisse tandem
viros, qui cruentas epistulas armis cohiberent. Miseram
pacem vel bello bene mutari. Tanto impensius in secu-
ritatem compositus, neque loco neque vultu mutato, sed
ut solitum per illos dies egit, altitudine animi, an compe-
rerat modica esse et vulgaris leviora.

Interim Silius, cum legionibus duabus incendens, praec-
missa auxiliari manu vastat Sequanorum pagos, qui
finium extremi et Aeduis contermini sociique in armis
erant. Mox Augustodunum petit propero agmine, cer-
tantibus inter se signiferis, fremente etiam gregario
milite, ne suetam requiem, ne spatia noctium opperire-
tur: viderent modo adversos et asplicerentur; id satis
ad victoriam. Duodecimum apud lapidem Sacrovir copi-
aeque patentibus locis apparuere. In fronte statuerat
ferratos, in cornibus cohortes, a tergo semermos. Ipse
inter primores equo insigni adire, memorare veteres
Gallorum glorias quaeque Romanis adversa intulissent;
quam decora victoribus libertas, quanto intolerantior

(Longnon, Atlas historique de la France). Of these Augustus made
sixty, and four had been added since.
2. libellis accusatorum: see II. 29. 2.
3. cruentas epistulas: for examples of such letters, common in
the last years of Tiberius, see IV. 70. 1; VI. 9. 2; no instances have as
yet appeared. Does not Tacitus here project the memories of the reign of
terror into an earlier period?
4. altitudine: not loftiness, but
dissimulation, or perhaps reticence.
modica: i.e. the insurrection.
The experienced general and states-
man is entitled to the benefit of this
explanation, seeing that his coolness
was justified by the event.
45. Sequanorum: the Sequani
(of Franche Comté) bordered the
Aedui to the east, and their districts
adjoining the Aedui had taken part
in the rebellion.
2. signiferis: of the two legions.
These, as officers, are contrasted
with gregario milite.
frenente: in their impatience.
adversos, face to face.
3. duodecimum ad lapidem: i.e. from Augustodunum.
ferratos: the cruppellarii; by
TACITUS. [Book III]

46 servitus iterum victis. Non diu haec nec apud laetos; etenim propinquabat legionum acies, inconditique ac militiae nescii oppidani neque oculis neque auribus satis competebant. Contra Silius, etsi praesumpta spes hortandi causas exemerat, clamitabat tamen pudendum ipsissimae Germaniarum victores adversum Gallos tamquam in hostem ducerentur. ‘Una nuper cohares rebellem Turonum, una ala Treverum, paucae huius ipsius exercitus turmae profugavere Sequanos. Quanto pecunia dites et voluptatibus opulentos, tanto magis imbelles Aeduos evincite et fugientibus consulite.’ Ingens ad ea clamor, et circumfudit eques frontemque pedites invasere, nec cunctatum apud latera. Paulum morae attulere ferrati, restantibus laminis adversum pilae et gladiiis; sed miles correptis securibus et dolabris, ut si murum perrumperet, caedere tegmina et corpora; quidam trudibus aut furcis inertem molem prostrernere, iacentesque nullo ad resurgendum nisu quasi examines linquabuntur. 

7 Sacrovir primo Augustodunum, dein metu deditionis in villam propinquam cum fidissimis pergit. Illic sua manu, reliqui mutuis ictibus occidere; incensa super villa omnes cremavit.

47 Tum dcmum Tiberius ortum patratumque bellum senatu scripsit; neque dempsit aut addidit vero, sed fide

cohortes are meant the fully equipped soldiers; by semermos, those cum venabulis, etc. (43. 2).
4. iterum: having once been subdued by Caesar.
46. oppidani, towns-people (students, etc.); see below, pecunia dites, etc.
neque...competebant: they lost their senses from panic.
3. Turonum, Treverum: the singular for the plural.
4. voluptatibus opulentos, rich in pleasures; i.e. made effeminate by pleasure (Andresen). The comparison is between the Aeduï and these less wealthy nations.
evincite: see App. I.
consulite = parcite.
6. restantibus = resistentibus.
nullo...nisu: on account of the weight of their armor.
7. villam: either a farm-house (villa rustica), or more probably a country-seat (villa urbana).
super, over their heads.
ac virtute legatos, se consiliis superfuisse. Simul causas 2 cur non ipse, non Drusus profecti ad id bellum forent adiunxit, magnitudinem imperii extollens, neque decorum principibus, si una alterave civitas turbet, omissa urbe, unde in omnia regimen. Nunc, quia non metu 3 ducatur, iturum, ut praesentia spectaret componeretque. Decrevere patres vota pro reditu eius supplicationesque et alia decora. Solus Dolabella Cornelius, dum anteire 4 ceteros parat, absurdam in adulationem progressus, consuit ut ovans e Campania urbem introiret. Igitur securae Caesaris litterae, quibus se non tam vacuum gloria praedicabat ut post ferocissimas gentes perdomitas, tot receptos in iuventa aut spretos triumphos, iam senior peregrinationis suburbanae inane praemium peteret.

Sub idem tempus, ut mors Sulpicii Quirini publicis 48 exsequiis frequentaretur, petivit a senatu. Nihil ad 2 veterem et patriciam Sulpiciorum familia Quirinius pertinuit, ortus apud municipium Lanuvium; sed imperger militiae et acribus ministeriis consulatum sub divo Augusto, mox expugnatis per Ciliciam Homonadensium castellis insignia triumphi adeptus, datusque rector Gaio Caesari Armeniam obtinti. Tiberium quoque Rhodi 3

47. superfuisse, had been on hand—shown themselves prepared; in contrast with the panic of the senators and others (Pţźzer).
2. decorum principibus: an infinitive may be supplied from prefecti . . . forent.
unde . . . regimen: the source of all authority and administration.
4. e Campania: see 31.2; Pţźzer thinks that this refers to an entrance from this direction after his visit to Gaul; the words peregrinationis suburbanae, however, show that an immediate entrance was intended.

5. spretos triumphos: Velleius (II. 122) asserts that Tiberius was entitled to seven triumphs, but celebrated only three.
48. Sulpicii Quirini: see 22.1; also II. 30.4.
2. apud municipium: the inhabitants of the Italian towns were of course plebeian, while the Sulpii were an ancient patrician gens.
consulatum: B.C. 12.
insignia triumphi: I. 72.1 n.
rector Gaio Caesari: the same relation in which Sejanus stood to Drusus in his mission to the Pannonian army (I. 24.3).
agentem coluerat; quod tunc patefecit in senatu, laudatis in se officiis et incusato M. Lollio, quem auctorem Gaio Caesari pravitatis et discordiarum arguebat. Sed ceteris haud laeta memoria Quirinii erat ob intenta, ut memoravi, Lepidae pericula sordidamque et praepotential tem senectam.

49 Fine anni Clutorium Priscum equitem Romanum, post celebre carmen quo Germanici suprema deflereverat, pecunia donatum a Caesare, corripuit delator, obiectans aegro Druso composuisse quod si extinctus foret maiore praemio vulgaretur. Id Clutorius in domo P. Petronii, socru eius Vitellia coram multisque illustribus feminis, per vaniloquentiam legerat. Ut delator exstitit, ceteris ad dicendum testimonium exterritis, sola Vitellia nihil se audivisse asseveravit. Sed argumentibus ad perniciem plus fidei fuit, sententiaque Haterii Agrippae consulis designati indictum reo ultimum supplicium. Contra M'. Lepidus in hunc modum exorsus est: 'Si, patres conscripti, unum id spectamus, quam nefaria voce Clutorius Priscus mentem suam et aures hominum polluerit, neque carcer neque laqueus, ne serviles quidem cruciatus,

3. M. Lollio: he preceded Quirinius in this office, and appears to have been bitterly hostile to Tiberius; Suetonius says (Tib. 12), pri-vignum Gaum [Tiberius had married Julia, the mother of Gaius]... alieniorem subi sensit ex crimina-tionibus M. Lollit, comitis et rectoris eius. As Tiberius returned to Rome the same year in which Lollius died (A.D. 2), it seems probable that his intercourse with Tiberius was at an earlier date, when he was proconsul of Asia; this explanation (suggested by Mommsen) requires a period after obtinenti, which most editions place after coluerat.

4. ut memoravi: 22. 3.

49. vulgaretur: he had the poem ready to publish in case of Drusus' death; this was regarded as speculating upon his death.

2. P. Petronii [Turpilianus]: see VI. 45. 3; a friend of the emperor Claudius, who, as governor of Syria, opposed Caligula's design of setting up his own image in the temple at Jerusalem.

4. argumentibus ad perniciem, those who brought evidence for his condemnation.

Agrippae: see I. 77. 3.

indictum: not adjudged, but proposed.

in eum suffecerint. Sin flagitia et facinora sine modo sunt, supplicii ac remediis principis moderatio maiorumque et vestra exempla temperant, et vana a secelatis dicta a maleficiis differunt, est locus sententiae per quam neque huic delictum impune sit et nos clementiae simul ac severitatis non paeniteat. Saepe audivi principem nostrum conquerentem si quis sumpta morte praevenisset. Vita Clutorii in integro est, qui neque servatus in periculum rei publicae neque interfectus in exemplum ibit. Studia illi, ut plena ve-

cordiae, ita inania et fluxa sunt; nec quicquam grave ac serium ex eo metuas qui suorum ipse flagitiorum pro-
ditor non virorum animis sed muliercularum adrept. Cedat tamen urbe et bonis amissis aqua et igni arce-
tur; quod perinde censeo ac si lege maiestatis teneretur.' Solus Lepido Rubellius Blandus e consularibus assensit; 51 ceteri sententiam Agrippae secuti, ductusque in carcere

Priscus ac statim exanimatus. Id Tiberius solitis

sibi ambagibus apud senatum incusavit, cum extolleret

pietatem quamvis modicas principis injurias acriter ulci-
scentium, deprecaretur tam praecipitis verborum poenas,

2. sin . . . differunt: this protasis describes not the case in hand, but the prevailing condition of things at the time. The apodosis begins with est locus. temperant, moderate; temper justice with mercy.

3. saepe audivi: see II. 31. 4; III. 16. 3.

4. in integro: he was still alive, and they might spare the emperor this regret. To spare his life would not involve a danger, nor would his death be a warning.

5. censeo, propose: although he did not think him guilty of treason, he was willing to punish it as treason in this degree. This crime was limited to offences against the emperor and his mother (cf. IV. 34. 3). The penalty here proposed was the legal punishment for treason.

51. ductusque, etc.: this is an instructive illustration of the power of punishment still exercised by the senate, independent of the emperor. In this case no direct responsibility rests upon Tiberius; but no doubt his pedantic insistence upon the strict exercise of judicial forms (IV. 30. 4 and Intr. 15) was an incitement to severity.

2. ambagibus, obscurity of speech. pietatem, loyalty; the word sig-
3 laudaret Lepidum neque Agrippam argueret. Igitur factum senatus consultum ne decreta patrum ante diem *decimum* ad aerarium deferrentur idque vitae spatium damnatis prorogaretur. Sed non senatui libertas ad paenitendum erat, neque Tiberius interiectu temporis mitigabatur.

52 C. Sulpicius D. Haterius consules sequuntur, inturbidus externis rebus annus, domi suspecta severitate adversum luxum, qui immensum proruperat ad cuncta quis pecunia prodigitur. Sed alia sumptuum, quamvis graviors dissipulatis plerumque pretiis occultabantur; ventris et ganeae paratus assiduis sermonibus vulgati fecerant curam ne princeps antiquae parsimoniae du- 3 rius adverteret. Nam incipiente C. Bibulo ceteri quo- que aediles disseruerant sperni sumptuariam legem

cf. II. 51. 2: son of Quintus Haterius, I. 13. 4.

*inturbidus*: a word peculiar to Tacitus (Intr. 35 t).

*annus*: in apposition with C. . . .

*consules.*

*suspecta severitate*: ablative of characteristic, parallel with *inturbidus.*

*sermonibus*, *town-talk.*

*antiquae parsimoniae*: Suetonius (*Tib. 34*) says of the economy of Tiberius, *prudiana saepe ac semesa obsonia apposuit, dimidiatumque aprum, affirmans omnia eadem habere, quae lutum.*

*adverteret*: used absolutely, with the meaning, *take notice, punish.*

*aediles*: they had the superintendence of the markets.

*sumptuariam legem*: *i.e.* the Julian law passed by Augustus, limiting the amount of expense upon banquets. Aulus Gellius (II. 24) mentions also six laws of the republic of the same general purport.

**3. decretac**: this word, properly describing the action of the presiding magistrate, is used as *'com- completely synonymous with consultum'* (Momm. *Rom. St. III. 994).*

*ante diem decimum*: cf. Suet. *Tib.* 75; see App. I.

**ad aerarium**: the *senatus consultum* were deposited in the treasury, in the temple of Saturn. This gave them validity. In early times they were under the care of the plebeian *aediles* in the temple of Ceres.

**4. non . . . mitigabatur**: this law worked no improvement, for the Senate was not allowed to reconsider its judgment in this interval, nor did the emperor, as time went on exercise his prerogative of mercy.

**52. C. Sulpicius [Galba]**: brother of the emperor Galba.

**D. Haterius [Agrippa]**: 49. 4;
vetitaque utensilium pretia augeri in dies, nec mediocribus remediis siti posse. Et consulti patres integrum id negotium ad principem distulerant. Sed Tiberius saepe apud se pensitato an coerceri tam profusae cupidines possent, num coercitio plus damni in rem publicam ferret, quam indecorum attrectare quod non obtineret vel retentum ignominiam et infamiam virorum illustrium posceret, postremo litteras ad senatum compositus, quarum sententia in hunc modum fuit:

'Ceteris forsitans in rebus, patres conscripti, magis expediat me coram interrogari et dicere quid ere publica senseam; in hac relatione subtrahi oculos meos melius fuit, ne denotantibus vobis ora ac metum singularum qui pudendi luxus arguerent, ipsa etiam viderem eos ac velut deprenderem. Quod si mecum ante viri strenui aediles consilium habuissent, nescio an suasurus fuerim omittere potius praevaleita et adulta vitia quam hoc assequi, ut palam fieret quibus flagitiis impares essemus. Sed illi quidem officio functi sunt, ut ceteros quoque magistratus sua munia implere velim: mihi autem neque honestum silere neque proloqui expedium, quia non aedilis aut praetoris aut consulis partis sustineo. Maius aliquid et excelsius a principe postulatur; et cum recte factorum sibi quises Gratiam

4. quam: interrogative — how unbecoming it was, etc. non obtineret, he could not carry through; retentum has a conditional force — even if secured. 58. relatione: with its technical meaning; in the matter before you. ipse, etc.: as exercising the authority of censor. 2. strenui, vigorous in the exercise of official duties. nescio an, etc., I should probably have advised. omittere: the use of the infinitive after suadeo is poetic, and found in Tacitus only in the Annals. palam fieret, it should be published to the world. 3. proloqui, express my opinion. partis sustineo, hold the office. 4. a principe: the emperor, too, was a magistrate, having certain definite functions, one of which
trahant, unius invidia ab omnibus peccatur. Quid enim primum prohibere et priscum ad morem recidere aggre-
diar? villarumne infinita spatia? familiarum numerum et nationes? argenti et auri pondus? aeris tabularum-
que miracula? promiscas viris et feminis vestes atque illa feminarum propria, quis lapidum causa pecuniae
nostrae ad externas aut hostilis gentes transferuntur?
Nec ignoro in conviviis et cirulis incusari ista et mo-
dum posci; sed si quis legem sanciat, poenas indicat,
idem illi civitatem verti, splendidissimo cuique exitium
parari, neminem criminis expertem clamitabunt. At-
qui ne corporis quidem morbos veteres et diu auctos
nisi per dura et aspera coerceas; corruptus simul et
corruptor, aeger et flagrans animus haud levioribus
remediis restinguendus est quam libidimbus ardescit.
Tot a majoribus repertae leges, tot quas divus Augustus
was to see that the others did their duty.
unius: i.e. the prince, who has
to endure the unpopularity of bad acts, while good ones are placed to
the credit of others (sibi quisque
trahant).
5. villarum infinta spatia: the
peninsula was fast being converted
into pleasure-grounds and parks.
The word villa, which originally
meant farm-house, then a country
residence, had now come to mean
an estate, with which meaning it
came down into the middle ages.
nationes: it was the pride of rich
Romans to have slaves of different
countries assigned to different employ-
ments. See XIV. 44: nationes in
familis habemus, quibus diversi ri-
tus, externa sacra aut nulla sunt.
pondus: i.e. plate, referring to
solid metal, not to coined money.
aeris tabularumque, articles of
bronze and paintings.

promiscas . . . vestes: delicate
stuffs and bright colors, formerly
worn by women alone, were coming
into use among men.
quid, through which, relating to
illa . . . propria.
lapidum, etc., jewels, etc. (illa
feminarum propria). Pliny the
elder (N. H. XII. 84) estimated
that at least one hundred million
sesterces ($5,000,000) annually went
to the East for spices, pearls, and
similar luxuries.
54. in conviviis et cirulis:
empty declamation against the
abuscs, with unwillingness to see
them corrected.

idem illi: i.e. the same that
make the complaints.
verti = everti: Intr. 35 b.
splendidissimo, of most sump-
tuous life — applied especially to the
equites, the wealthy class.

2. corporis . . . auctos: chronic
diseases.
tulit, illae oblivione, hae, quod flagitiosius est, contemptu abolitae securiorem luxum fecere. Nam si velis 4 quod nondum vetitum est, timeas ne vetere; at si prohibita impune transcenderis, neque metus ultra neque pudor est. Cur ergo olim parsimonia pollebat? Quia 5 sibi quisque moderabatur, quia unius urbis cives eramus; ne irritamenta quidem eadem intra Italiam dominabantis. Externis victoriis aliena, civilibus etiam nostra consumere didicimus. Quantulum istud est, de 6 quo aediles admonent! Quam, si cetera respicias, in levi habendum! At hercule nemo refert, quod Italia externae opis indiget, quod vita populi Romani per incerta maris et tempestatum cotidie volvitur. Ac nisi 7 provinciarum copiae et dominis et servitiis et agris subvenirent, nostra nos scilicet nemora nostraeque villae tuebuntur! Hanc, patres conscripti, curam sustinet 8 princeps; haec omissa funditus rem publicam trahet. Reliquis intra animum medendum est: nos pudor, pau-
peres necessitas, divites satias in melius mutet. Aut si
quis ex magistratibus tantam industriam ac severitatem
pollicetur ut ire obviam queat, hunc ego et laudo et
exonerari laborum meorum partem fateor: sin accusare
vitia volunt, dein, cum gloriam eius rei adepti sunt,
simultates faciunt ac mihi relinquunt, credite, patres
conscripti, me quoque non esse offensionum avidum;
quas cum graves et plerumque iniquas pro re publica
suscipiam, inanes et irritas neque mihi aut vobis usui
futuras iure deprecor.'

55 Auditis Caesaris litteris remissa aedilibus talis cura;
luxusque mensae, a fine Actiacci belli ad ca arma quis
Servius Galba rerum adeptus est, per annos centum pro-
fusis sumptibus exerciti paulatim exolevere. Causas eius
mutationis quae rerem libet. Dites olim familiae nobilium
aut claritudine insignes studio magnificentiae prolabe-
bantur. Nam etiam tum plebem socios regna colere et

self with the senatorial order,— the
governing class, which he contrasts
with both rich and poor.

11. simultates . . . relinquunt: they leave him to bear the brunt.

me quoque non: stronger than
ne me quidem.
quas, etc.: the necessary ones
he is willing to undergo, however
burdensome and thankless,— un-
necessary ones (inanes et irritas),
he excuses himself from. This let-
ter of Tiberius displays high states-
manship and keen insight into the
condition of the state. That he
favors sumptuary laws is a senti-
ment that he shares with his times;
but he sees that they can accom-
plish very little in the face of moral
and economic causes of decay.

55. remissa, excused; i.e. from
following up this line of official
action (cf. I. 8. 6). The correction
of the abuses was left to time and
the working of moral forces, which
at last appear to have been effica-
cious (paulatim exolevere).

a fine . . . adeptus est: the
battle of Actium was B.C. 31; Galba
began to reign A.D. 68.

rerum: governed by adeptus
est, after the analogy of potior; VI.
45. 5, dominationis apisceretur.
paulatim exolevere: i.e. after the
hundred years ending with the
death of Nero.

2. olim: i.e. during the one hun-
dred years in question.
prolabebantur, fell into ruin;
their passion for splendor, finding
gratification in display and number
of clients, drew upon them suspicion,
and caused their overthrow.

3. socios: this term (cf. I. 79.
3 n.) was now applied to all pro-
vincials (Kuhn, Städte. Verf. II.
22).

regna: many kings had remained
coli licitum; ut quisque opibus domo paratu speciosus, per nomen et clientelas illustrior habebatur. Postquam caedibus saevitum et magnitudo famae exitio erat, ceteri ad sapientiora convertere. Simul novi homines e municipiis et coloniis atque etiam provinciis in senatum crebro assumpti domesticam parsimoniam intulerunt, et quamquam fortuna vel industria plerique pecuniosam ad senectam pervenirent, mansit tamen prior animus. Sed praecipuus astricti moris auctor Vespasianus fuit, antiquo ipse cultu victuque. Obsequium inde in principem et aemulandi amor validior quam poena ex legibus et metus. Nisi forte rebus cunctis inest quiclam velut orbis, ut quem ad modum temporum vices, ita morum vertantur; nec omnia apud priores meliora, sed nostra quoque aetas multa laudis et artium imitanda posteris tulit. Verum haec nobis in maiores certamina ex honesto maneant.

Tiberius fama moderationis parta, quod ingruentis accusatores represserat, mittit litteras ad senatum, quis nominally independent, even within the limits of the provinces (Intr. 35 f). clientelas: the rich and noble gathered about themselves as clients all of inferior rank, as well as foreign cities and princes. caedibus saevitum: the reign of terror, ending with Nero. sapientiora: simpler tastes and habits of life, which exposed them to less danger.

4. municipiis, etc.: as Rome had ceased to be a mere city and had become a world-empire: first, citizens of the municipal towns of Italy, then citizens of the provinces rose to power and distinction, and even to the first place: the emperor Vespasian was a native of Reate in Italy, Trajan of Italica in Spain. prior animus: referring to domesticam parsimoniam.

5. astricti, frugal. Vespasianus: emperor, A.D. 69 to 79. He set an example of simplicity and frugality in high station, and from this time a marked improvement in morals is noticeable, in contrast to the extreme corruption of the early empire. See Boissier, La Religion Romaine, II. 193.

6. temporum, the seasons. vertantur, go round in a cycle. multa . . . imitanda, many praiseworthy examples. certamina ex honesto, rivalry in virtue.

56. mittit litteras, etc.; see I. 10. 7 n.
2 potestatem tribuniciam Druso petebat. Id summi fastigii vocabulum Augustus repperit, ne regis aut dictatoris nomen assumeret ac tamen appellatione aliqua cetera imperia praemineret. Marcum deinde Agrippam socium eius potestatis, quo defuncto Tiberium Neronem delegit, ne successor in incerto foret. Sic cohiberi pravas aliorum spes rebatur; simul modestiae Neronis et suae magnitudini fidebat. Quo tunc exemplo Tiberius Drusum summae rei admovit, cum incolumi Germanico integrum inter duos iudicium tenuisset. Sed principio litterarum veneratus deos ut consilia sua rei publicae prosperarent, modica de moribus adulescentis neque in falsum aucta rettulit. Esse illi coniugem et tres liberos eamque aetatem, qua ipse quondam a divo Augusto ad capessendum hoc munus vocatus sit. Neque nunc propere, sed per octo annos capto experimento, compressis seditionibus, compositis bellis, tri-

2. summi fastigii vocabulum: Mommsen, in his Römisches Staatsrecht, shows that the tribunician power, even though lacking the imperium, or full power of command, was the highest in the state, being sacrosanct, or protected by an inviolable sanctity, and having the power to control the actions of all other magistrates (cetera imperia praemineret; cf. I. 2. 1 n.). It was from the assumption of the tribunician power that the emperors dated their reigns. The association of Agrippa and Tiberius in this office was equivalent to nominating them as successors, and that was the meaning of the present association of Drusus (ne successor in incerto foret). On the first grant of this power to Tiberius, however (B.C. 7), Gaius and Lucius were still alive and designated as successors; the second grant (A.D. 4) was equivalent to appointing Tiberius as successor.

ne . . . assumeret: see I. 2. 1.

cetera imperia (Intr. 35 b): properly the tribunician power was not an imperium at all.

4. simul . . . fidebat: by the act in question Tiberius received equal rights in law with Augustus, and was only restrained by modestia and pietas from claiming equality in power and station.

5. integrum . . . iudicium, an impartial judgment, as to which should be his successor.

6. consilia: object of prospe-

rarent.

in falsum aucta, exaggerated.

7. tres liberos: two sons (II.

84. 1), and a daughter Julia (29. 4;

VI. 27. 1).

eam aetatem: thirty-five. Tiber-

ius was born B.C. 42, and first re-

ceived the tribunician power, B.C. 7.
umphalem et bis consulem noti laboris participem sumi. Praeceperant animis orationem patres, quo quaesitior 57 adulatio fuit. Nec tamen repertum nisi ut effigies principum, aras deum, templae et arcus aliaque solita censerent, nisi quod M. Silanus ex contumelia consulatus honorem principibus petivit dixitque pro sententia, ut publicis privatisve monumentis ad memoriam temporum non consulum nomina praescriberentur, sed eorum qui tribuniciam potestatem gererent. At Q. Haterius cum eis diei senatus consulta aureis litteris figenda in curia censuisset, deridiculo fuit senex foedissimae adulationis tantum infamia usurus.

Inter quae provincia Africa Iunio Blaeso prorogata, 58 Servius Maluginensis flamen Dialis ut Asiam sorte haberet postulavit, frustra vulgatum dictitans non licere anything but discredit by his proposition; adulationis limits infamia, and the participle usurus may be rendered by a relative clause,—who would gain, etc. (I. 13. 2 n.). Haterius was now about eighty years old. 58. Iunio Blaeso: see 35. ut...haberet: see 32.

frustra vulgatum, an unfounded notion; the flamines were priests of special deities, fifteen in number, of which the three here mentioned,—of Jupiter, Mars, and Quirinus,—called flamines maiores, were required to be patricians. They enjoyed peculiar sanctity and privileges, and were at the same time subject to certain strict regulations, which were, however, relaxed, except in the case of the flamen of Jupiter, who continued subject to a multitude of petty restrictions, among them noctem unam extra urbem manere nefas (Liv. V. 52.13); also that he could not touch or even name a goat, or uncooked meat, or ivy, or beans (Gell. X. 15).
Dialibus egredi Italia, neque aliud ius suum quam Martialium Quirinaliumque flaminum: porro, si hi duxissent provincias, cur Dialibus id vetitum? Nulla de eo populi scita, non in libris caerimoniarum reperiri. Saepe pontifices Dialia sacra fecisse, si flamen valetudine aut munere publico impediretur. Duo et septuaginta annis post Cornelii Merulae caedem neminem suffecit, neque tamen cessavisse religiones. Quod si per tot annos posset non creari nullo sacrorum damno, quanto facilius afuturum ad unius anni proconsulare imperium? Privatis olim simultatibus effectum ut a pontificibus maximis ire in provincias prohiberentur: nunc deum munere summum pontificum etiam summum hominum esse, non aemulationi, non odio aut privatis affectionibus obnoxium. Adversus quae cum augur Lentulus alique varie dissererent, eo decursum est, ut pontificis maximis sententiam opperirentur.

2 Tiberius dilata notione de iure flaminis, decretas ob tribuniciam Drusi potestatem caerimonias temperavit,

neque aliud, etc.: the flamens of Mars and Quirinus might take foreign commands.
reperiri: i.e. any such restrictions.
2. pontifices: the supreme priests, to whom the flamens were subject. The argument of Maluginensis, that the pontiffs might as well perform these duties in his absence, was weak, because it was not so much for their performance as on account of the special sanctity of the person, that the flamen was placed under these disqualifications.
duo et septuaginta annis: see App. I.
3. afuturum: sc. flaminem.
4. a pontificibus maximis: see for this instance, Livy, XXXVII. 51.

summum pontificum, etc.: upon the death of the pontifex maximus Lepidus, B.C. 13, Augustus had assumed this title, which continued to be borne by the emperors, even after the establishment of Christianity, until it was given up by the Emperor Gratian, A.D. 382.

59. augur Lentulus: of this man, who was enormously wealthy and equally miserly, Seneca says (de Ben. II. 27): nummos citius emittebat quam verba, tanta illi inopia erat sermonis.

eo decursum est, they had recourse to this.

2. notione, inquiry; expressing the radical signification of nosco, to find out.
decretas . . . caerimonias: 57. 2.
nominatim arguens insolentiam sententiae aureasque litteras contra patrium morem. Recitatae et Drusi epistulæ quamquam ad modestiam flexae pro superbissimis accipiuntur. Huc decidisse cuncta, ut ne iuvenis quidem tanto honore accepto adiret urbis deos, ingrederetur senatum, auspicia saltem gentile apud solum inciperet. Bellum scilicet, aut diverso terrarum distineri litora et lacus Campaniae cum maxime peragrantem. Sic imbui rectorem generis humani, id primum e paternis consiliis discere. Sane gravaretur aspectum civium senex imperator, fessamque aetatem et actos labores praetenderet: Druso quod nisi ex arrogantia impedimentum?

Sed Tiberius, vim principatus sibi firmans, imaginem antiquitatis senatui praebebat, postulata provinciarum ad disquisitionem patrum mittendo. Crebrescebat enim Graecas per urbes licentia atque impunitas asyla statuendi; complebantur templum pessimis servitiorum; eodem subsidio obaerati adversum creditores suspectique capitalium criminum receptabantur. Nec ullum satis validum imperium erat coercendis seditionibus populi, flagitia hominum ut caerimonias deum protegentis. Igitur placitum ut mitterent civitates iura atque legatos. Et quaedam ut quo falsa usurpaverant sponte omisere; multae vetustis superstitionibus aut meritis in populum Roma-

3. auspicia . . . inciperet: he should have taken the auspices before entering upon his new dignity.
4. bellum: sc. esse.
5. sic imbui: this is the training he is getting for the imperial office.
60. vim principatus: Pfitzner refers this to the power assumed by Tiberius of receiving the ambassadors himself, and then referring the decision of special points to the senate, while in the times of the re-public the entire business would have come before the senate. It appears more natural, however, to refer it back to his influence over Drusus, just complained of — while thus securing the substantial power of royalty.

ad disquisitionem patrum: the management of foreign affairs had always belonged to the senate.
2. asyla: cf. 36. 1.
4. iura: the evidences of their claims to the right of asylum.
num fidebant. Magnaque eius diei species fuit, quo senatus maiorum beneficia, sociorum pacta, regum etiam qui ante vim Romanam valuerant decreta, ipsorumque numinum religiones introspexit, libero, ut quondam, quid firmaret mutaretve.

61 Primi omnium Ephesii adiere, memorantes non, ut vulgar crederet, Dianam atque Apollinem Delo genitos; esse apud se Cenchreum amnem, lucum Ortygiam, ubi Latonam partu gravidam et oleae, quae tum etiam maneant, adnisam edidisse ea numina, deorumque munus.

2 Atque ipsum illic Apollinem post interfec...
ut i Dianae Leucophrynae perfugium inviolabile foret. Aphrodisienses posthac et Stratonicenses dictatoris Caesaris ob vetusta in partis merita et recens divi Augusti decretum attulere, laudati quod Parthorum irruptionem nihil mutata in populum Romanum constantia pertulissent. Sed Aphrodisiensium civitas Veneris, Stratonicenses Iovis et Triviae religionem tuebantur. Atlius Hierocaesarienses exposuere, Persicam apud se Dianam, delubrum rege Cyro dicatum; et memorabantur Perpennae, Isaurici multaque alia imperatorum nomina, qui non modo templo, sed duobus milibus passuum eandem sanctitatem tribuerant. Exim Cyprii tribus de delubris, quorum vetustissimum Paphiae Veneri auctor Aerials,

Dianae Leucophrynae: the temple of this goddess at Magnesia ranked in splendor and beauty next to those of Artemis at Ephesus and the Didymæan Apollo at Miletus, among the temples of Asia Minor; her cult was similar to that of 'Diana of the Ephesians.'

2. Aphrodisienses, etc.: Aphrodisias and Stratonicea, as well as Magnesia, were in Caria.

in partis: i.e. in the civil war. This proclamation of Cæsar, which is recorded in an extant inscription, has reference to Aphrodisias alone; that of Augustus to Stratonicea alone, which by itself resisted the invasion of the Parthians under Labienus, B.C. 40. laudati, therefore, belongs only to Stratonicenses.

3. Veneris: i.e. Aphrodite, from whose name that of the city was derived.

Iovis: the temple of Zeus Chrysoereos at Stratonicea was the common place of assemblage for the cities of Caria (Strab. XIV. p. 660).

Triviae: Hecate, the goddess of occult mysteries—worshipped where three ways met.

4. Dianam: this Diana appears to have been identical with the Ephesian Artemis. A Persian cult is described by Pausanias (V. 27. 3) at Hierocaesarea as a kind of fire worship, conducted by a magian priest, in which wood laid upon the altar took fire of itself. The city of Hierocesarea was in Lydia.

Perpennae, Isaurici: limiting nomina. Perpenna (usually spelt Perperna) commanded in Asia, B.C. 129; P. Servilius Isauricus (son of the eminent Isauricus), B.C. 46.

duobus milibus passuum: i.e. in every direction from the temple. This is illustrated by an inscription found at Oropus, in which it is stated that the temple of Amphiaras at that place received from Sulla a grant of immunity from public burdens, to which was added: voti reddendi causa aedii Amphiararui agrum tribuo undequaque pedum M. ut hic quoque agrer sacer sit. Mommsen in Hermes, XX. p. 268.

5. Veneri: the island of Cyprus was believed to have been the birthplace of Aphrodite, and the cities of Paphos and Salamis were the prin-
post filius cius Amathus Veneri Amathusiae et Iovi Salaminio Teucer, Telamonis patris ira profugus, posuissent.


cipal seats of her cult—the latter with Adonis.

post: the second and third objects of posuissent (the temples founded by Amathus and Teucer) are not expressed; they would correspond to vetustissimum.

Salaminio: Salamis was the chief town of Cyprus.

Teucer: see Horace, Od. I. 7. 21.

63. 2. studiis, partisan zeal for one or another.

3. Aesculapii: from his statue at Pergamus by Pyromachus (B.C. 250) is derived the familiar representation of the god in art.

ceteros, all other claimants.

4. Stratonicidi: of this Venus nothing further is known.

Tenios: Tenos was one of the Cyclades. The temple of Poseidon here is called θέας Ἐισον by Strabo (X. p. 487).

5. propiora, more recent.

utrisque: dative of possession.

venerandi: limits cultus numinum (cf. ambitu . . . ornandi, IV. 2. 4). Sardes had the worship of Artemis; Miletus that of the Didymæan Apollo (62. 1 n.).

6. petere, made a petition; ius asyli may be understood.

7. modus: it would appear that those cities mentioned after ceteros (3) were denied the right of asylum;

Suetonius (Tib. 37) says, abolevit et ius moremque asyliorum quae usquam erant.

eaera, bronze tablets inscribed with the decree of the senate.
sacrandam ad memoriam, neu specie religionis in ambitionem delaberentur.


Exsequi sententias haud institui nisi insignes per 65

64. Iuliae Augustae: Livia, who had been adopted into the Julian gens (see I. 8. 2).
occultis odiis: Intr. 26 a.
2. theatro Marcelli: on the Campus Martius, built by Augustus in memory of his nephew, and still partly preserved.
3. supplicia: for supplicationes.
ludi magni: the great games in the Circus (Circenses) consisted chiefly of horse and chariot races. Of this class the annual games on Sept. 15 were known distinctively as Ludi Romani, the term ludi magni or votivi being reserved for occasional celebrations like these.
septemviris: sc. Epulonibus; the board of seven (originally three) having charge of the public ban- quets; at first only of the Epulum Iovis in Capitolio, Nov. 12. It is governed by simul, which is here a preposition (Intr. 35 i).
sodalibus Augustalibus: I.54.1.
4. fetiales: a college of twenty persons of high rank, who had charge of the formalities of declaring war and making treaties. This was not among the magna collegia, — the pontifices, augurs, quindecimviri, and epulones (neque umquam fetialis hoc maiestatis fuisse).
5. Augustales: neither were these one of the great colleges, but they stood in a peculiarly near relation to the imperial family.
65. exsequi . . . institui: his object is to narrate facts, not repeat opinions.
honestum aut notabili dedecore, quod praecipuum munus annalium reor, ne virtutes sileantur, utque pravis dictis factisque ex posteritate et infamia metus sit.

Ceterum tempora illa adeo infecta et adulatione sordida fuere ut non modo primores civitatis, quibus claritudo sua obsequiis protegenda erat, sed omnes consulares, magna pars eorum qui praetura functi, multique etiam pedarii senatores certatim exsurgerent foedaque et nimia censerent. Memoriae proditur Tiberium, quotiens curia egresseretur, Graecis verbis in hunc modum eloqui solutum: 'O homines ad servitutem paratos!' Scilicet etiam illum, qui libertatem publicam nollet, tam proiectae servientiae patientiae taedebat.

Paulatim dehinc ab indecoris ad infesta transgrediebantur. C. Silanum pro consule Asiae, repetundarum a sociis postulatum, Mamercus Scaurus e consularibus, Iunius Otho praetor, Bruttedius Niger aedilis simul corripiunt, obiectantque violatum Augusti numen, spretam Tiberii maiestatem, Mamercus antiqua exempla iaciens, L. Cottam a Scipione Africano, Servium Gal-
Bam a Catone censorio, P. Rutilium a M. Scauro accusatos. Videlicet Scipio et Cato talia ulcisciebantur, aut ille Scaurus, quem proavum suum opprobrium maiorum Mamercus infami opera dehonestabat. Iunio Othoni litterarium ludum exercere vetus ars fuit; mox Seiani potentia senator obscura initia impudentibus ausis propolluebat. Bruttedium artibus honestis copiosum et, si rectum iter pergeret, ad clarissima quaeque iturum festinatio exstimulabat, dum aequalis, dein superiores, postremo suasmet ipse spes anteire parat; quod multos etiam bonos pessum dedit, qui sprevis quae tarda cum securitate, praematura vel cum exitio properant. Auxere numerum accusatorum Gellius Publicola et M. Paconius, ille quaestor Silani, hic legatus. Nec dubium habebatur saevitiae captarumque pecuniarum teneri reum; sed multa aggerebantur etiam insontibus periculosa, cum super tot senatores adversos facundissimis totius Asiae eoque ad accusandum delectis responderet solus et orandi nescius, proprio in metu, qui exercitam quoque eloquentiam debilitat, non temperante Tiberio quin premeret voce vultu, eo quod ipse creberrime interrogabat, neque refellere aut eludere dabatur, ac saepe etiam con-

government in Spain, was acquitted by his eloquence and the spectacle of his weeping children; Rutilius, though innocent, was condemned. Not one of them was prosecuted for maiestas.

3. talia ulcisciebantur: ironical, proposed to punish a similar offence, referring to the emptiness of the charge of maiestas. There was no such personal spite in their case. 

ille Scaurus: M. Æmilius Scaurus, the leader of the senatorial party in the period of reaction after the Gracchi. He discredited himself by tricky transactions in the war with Jugurtha. He was ancestor of Mamercus.

4. litterarium ludum: a grammar school,—he disgraced even his low origin.

5. ad clarissima quaeque, to any height of distinction.

festinatio: i.e. to rise.

67. quaestor: see I. 74, 1 n.

2. teneri reum: that he was guilty.

delectis: i.e. by the assembly of the province.

temperante: Intr. 35 p.

premeret, bear hard upon him.

eo quod, by the fact that.
fitendum erat, ne frustra quaesivisset. Servos quoque Silani, ut tormentis interrogarentur, actor publicus mancipio acceperat. Et ne quis necessariorum iuvaret periclitantem, maiestatis crimina subdebantur, vinclum et necessitas silendi.


At Cornelius Dolabella dum adulationem longius sequitur, increpitis C. Silani moribus addidit, ne quis vita probrosus et opertus infamia provinciam sortiretur, idque princeps diiudicaret. Nam a legibus delicta puniri: quanto fore mitius in ipsos, melius in socios, provideri ne peccaretur?

quaesivisset: sc. Tiberius. He would be satisfied with nothing short of confession.
3. actor publicus: see II. 30. 3.
4. necessitas: i.e. to his kinsmen.
4. invidiam, reproaches.
68. quae: relates to ea understood, subject of acciperentur.
Voleso Messalla: Seneca (de Ira, II. 5) relates that in one day he had three hundred men beheaded, and incedens inter cadavera vultu superbo ... graece proclamavit: 'o rem regiam!'
2. L. Pisonem: brother of Gnaeus Piso; see II. 34.
Gyarum: one of the Cyclades.
relegandum: see 17. 8 n.
3. alia parente: probably a stepmother, whose property should not be confiscated; see App. I.
69. Dolabella: for another instance of his subserviency see 47.
4. longius: further than the others.
2. delicta: i.e. after their occurrence,—how much better to prevent them.

Post auditi Cyrenenses, et accusante Anchario Prisco Caesius Cordus repetundarum damnatur. L. Ennium

3. non ex rumore: he was to be punished for specific offences, not on the ground of vague report.
4. ambitione, intrigues.
7. popularitas: not popularity, but a disposition favorable to the people,—democratic leanings.
8. prudens moderandi: Intr. 35 e.
quondam ordinis eiusdem: sc. senatorii; which rank he had lost.
Cythnum: a larger island, nearer Greece.
9. priscae ... virginem: two pedestals have been discovered in the newly excavated Atrium Vestae, with inscriptions showing that they supported statues of this vestal; she is there called Iunia C. Silani f., and her title reads urr. vest. maximae, the adjective showing that she was the eldest of the virgins, and therefore presided over the collegium; one of the inscriptions, sacerdoti vestali annis lxvii, shows her to have been at least seventy years old. Jordan, Der Tempel der Vesta und das Haus der Vestalinnen, p. 45.
70. Cyrenenses: the inhabitants of the modern Barca.
equitem Romanum, maiestatis postulatum, quod effigiem principis promiscum ad usum argenti vertisset, recipi Caesar inter reos vetuit, palam aspernante Ateio Capitone quasi per libertatem. Non enim debere eripi patribus vicr statuendi neque tantum maleficiwm impune habendum. Sane lentus in suo dolore esset; rei publicae iniurias ne largiretur. Intellexit haec Tiberius ut erant magis quam ut dicebantur, perstititque intercedere. Capito insignior infamia fuit, quod humani divinique iuris sciens egregium publicam locum et bonas domi artes dehonestavisset.

71 Incessit dein religio, quonam in templo locandum foret donum quod pro valetudine Augustae equites Romani voverant equestri Fortunae; nam etsi delubra eius deae multa in urbe, nullum tamen tali cognomento erat. Repertum est aedem esse apud Antium quae sic nuncuparetur, cunctasque caerimoniasItalicis in oppidis

2. promiscum . . . argenti: as silver plate, etc.
vetuit: by his tribunician power; see below, intercedere. For Tiberius' good sense in such cases cf. I. 73. 3.
Ateio Capitone: on his servile spirit, see 75. 3. Suetonius (de ill. gram. 22) tells a story in illustration of this. Pomponius having corrected Tiberius upon the use of a word, Capito declared that the word was Latin, or if not, that it would now be made such, to which Pomponius answered: Mentitur Capito; tu enim, Caesar, civitatem dare potes hominibus, verbo non potes.
4. ut erant: as expression of a servile spirit.
egregium, etc.: referring to his professional reputation; see App. I.
bonas domi artes: his private character.

71. religio, a religious question. nullum . . . erat: there had been such a temple, dedicated B.C. 173; probably it had been destroyed by fire.
2. Antium: this was a principal seat of the worship of Fortuna; see Hor. Od. I. 35.
cunctasque, etc.: the conquering city, in annexing the cities of Italy, and incorporating them in its civitas, had adopted also their religions, and incorporated them in its pantheon, even although the cult continued to be celebrated in the old locality. The formal adoption of foreign religions was under the direction of the pontifices. The present decision is regarded by Boissier (La Religion Romaine, II. 412), as the first formal enunciation of the principle, that all the religions of the empire belonged to Rome.
templaque et numinum effigies iuris atque imperii Romani esse. Ita donum apud Antium statuitur. Et quoniam de religionibus tractabatur, dilatum nuper responsum adversus Servium Maluginensem flaminem Dialem prompsit Caesar, recitavitque decretum pontificum, quotiens valetudo adversa flaminem Dialem inessisset, ut pontificis maximi arbitrio plus quam binoctium abesset, dum ne diebus publici sacrificii neu saepius quam bis eundem in annum: quae principec Augusto constitueta satis ostendebant annumam absentiam et provinciarum administrationem Dialibus non concedi. Memorabaturque L. Metelli pontificis maximi exemplum, qui Aulum Postumium flaminem attinisset. Ita sors Asiae in eum, qui consularium Maluginensi proximus erat, collata.

Isdem diebus Lepidus ab senatu petivit ut basilicam Pauli, Aemilia monumenta, propria pecunia firmaret ornaretque. Erat etiam tum in more publica munificentia; nec Augustus arcuerat Taurum, Philippum, Balbus.

3. dilatum, etc.: see 59. 2.
4. decretum pontificum: a decision made under Augustus, as is shown below, quae principec, etc.
   plus...abesset: when he was in ordinary condition of health, he could not be away longer than two nights; originally not more than one night.
   4. L. Metelli...exemplum: this was during the First Punic War, B.C. 242 (Val. Max. I. 1. 2).
   attinuissest: i.e. at Rome. Postumius was flamen Martialis, to the example of which office Maluginensis had appealed (58. 1).
   72. Lepidus: Marcus Lepidus (32. 2).
   basilicam: an oblong building, divided lengthwise by two parallel rows of columns; the form adopted for the earliest Christian churches, and now to be seen in the basilicas of Santa Maria Maggiore and St. John Lateran. The earliest building of this class was the Basilica Porcia, built B.C. 184, upon the Comitium west of the Curia, and named from Marcus Porcius Cato; it was used for courts of justice, the Forum having become too crowded. The Basilica AEmilia, or Pauli, here mentioned, was east of the Curia.
   2. etiam tum: i.e. it has now gone out of fashion.
   nec Augustus, etc.: he might have forbidden it from a fear that the popularity gained would be menacing to his own power. Taurus built an amphitheatre, and Balbus

73 Nam Tacfarinas, quamquam sacius depulsus, reparatis per intima Africae auxiliis huc arrogantiae vene-rat ut legatos ad Tiberium mitteret sedemque ulterius sibi atque exercitui suo postularet, aut bellum inexplicabile mimitaretur. Non alias magis sua populi Romani contumelia indoluiisse Caesarem ferunt quam quod desertor et praedo hostium more ageret. Ne Spartaco quidem post tot consularium exercitum clades inultam

a theatre, while Philippus restored a temple of Hercules (Suet. Oct. 29). 
posterus: genitive plural.
3. pecuniae modicius: cf. inopem et paternas angustias, 32. 2.
avitum decus: cf. Aemilia monumenta above; the basilica was built by his grandfather, Lucius Aemilius Lepidus, brother of the triumvir.
sufficeret, had sufficient means.
tamquam: Instr. 35. 1.
eius: i.e. as praetorian prefect.
unum... stetisset, confined to this damage. In fact, only the stage (scena) appears to have been destroyed (VI. 45. 2), so that the word exustum used by Seneca (5 n.), seems too strong.
5. effigiem Seiano: the remark of Cremutius Cordus at this: tune vere theatrum perse! (Sen. Cons. ad Marc. 22. 4) was no doubt one cause of his prosecution three years later (IV. 34. 1).
73. sedem: he would retire to some territory set apart for him.
aut: as an alternative.
inexplicable, interminable.
2. hostium more ageret: should assume the character and rights of a belligerent.
3. Spartaco: his insurrection
Italiam urenti, quamquam Sertorii atque Mithridatis ingentibus bellis labaret res publica, datum ut pacto in fidem acciperetur; nedum pulcherrimo populi Romani fastigio latro Tacfarinas pace et concessione agrorum redimeretur. Dat negotium Blaeso, ceteros quidem ad spem proliceret arma sine noxa ponendi, ipsius autem ducis quoquo modo poteretur. Et recepti ea venia plerique. Mox adversum artes Tacfarinatis haud dissimili modo belligeratum. Nam quia ille robore exer- citus impar, furandi melior, pluris per globos incursaret eluderetque et insidias simul temptaret, tres incessus, totidem agmina parantur. Ex quis Cornelius Scipio legatus praefuit qua praedatio in Leptitanos et suffugia Garamantum; alio latere, ne Cirtensium pagi impune traherentur, propriam manum Blaesus filius duxit. Medio cum delectis, castella et munitiones idoneis locis imponens, dux ipse arta et infensa hostibus cuncta fecerat, quia, quoquo inclinarent, pars aliqua militiae Romani in ore in latere et saepe a tergo erat; multique eo modo caesi aut circumventi. Tunc tripertitum exercitum pluris in manus dispersit, praeponitque centuriones virtutis expertae. Nec, ut mos fuerat, acta aestate

was B.C. 73, suppressed by Crassus two years later; the wars with Sertorius (in Spain) and Mithridates (in Asia Minor) were going on at the same time.

pulcherrimo . . . fastigio: the empire was now at its height of power.

4. sine noxa: under a promise of safety.

5. haud dissimili: i.e. to his own.

74. furandi, guerilla warfare; the genitive with melior is found only here and in Silius. (Intr. 35 e.)

tres incessus, etc.: an advance by the Romans in three columns.

2. praedatio ... Garamantum: this was the movement furthest east, near the Syrtis, where Tacfarinas had plundered Leptis (Minor, on the coast, south of Carthage), and then taken refuge among the Garamantes, who occupied Fezzan, south of Tripoli, but whose wanderings, no doubt, extended further west. The movement against Cirta (Constantine), the capital of Numidia, was furthest west.

traherentur, be ravaged.
retrahit copias aut in hibernaculis veteris provinciae componit, sed ut in limine belli dispositis castellis per expeditos et solitudinem gnaros mutantem mapalia Tacfarinatem proturbabat, donec fratre eius capto regressus est, properantius tamen quam ex utilitate sociorum, relictis per quos resurgeret bellum. Sed Tiberius pro confecto interpretatus id quoque Blaeso tribuit, ut imperator a legionibus salutaretur, utroque prisco erga duces honore, qui bene gesta re publica gaudio et impetu victoris exercitus clamabantur; erantque multos simul imperatores nec super ceterorum aequalitatem. Concessit quibusdam et Augustus id vocabulum, ac tunc Tiberius Blaeso postremum.

75 Obiere eo anno viri illustres Asinius Saloninus, M. Agrippa et Pollione Asinio avis, fratre Druso insignis Caesarique progenor destinatus, et Capito Ateius, de quo memoravi, principem in civitate locum studiis civilibus assecutus, sed avo centurione Sullano, patre praetorio. Consulatum ei acceleraverat Augustus, ut

5. veteris provinciae: the old province of Africa (Tunis), established B.C. 146, and enlarged by Augustus (B.C. 25) by the addition of Numidia (Algiers); see II. 52. 2 n.

mutantem, whenever he changed.
mapalia: thatched huts instead of tents, used by the Numidians. See Sallust, Jug. 18.
properantius, etc.: the provincials were left unprotected.
6. ut imperator, etc.: the title of imperator, given to victorious generals in the time of the republic, and continued until this time (I. 58. 9 n.), was now discontinued, and after this occasion there was no imperator except the princeps himself.

plures imperatores: imperator being a title of honor, not, as now, an office.

76. Asinius Saloninus: son of Asinius Gallus (I. 12, 13) and Vipsania, daughter of Agrippa; she had been married to Tiberius (I. 12. 6), and Drusus was thus his half-brother; Saloninus had been betrothed to a daughter of Germanicus, hence Caesari progener. The agnomen Saloninus was derived from the city of Salona in Dalmatia, captured by Pollio.

Capito Ateius: see 70. 2.

studiis civilibus: this term is used especially to designate legal studies.
2. consulatum: A.D. 5, as consul suffectus.

duo pacis decora: Capito and Labeo were the founders of rival schools of jurisprudence, called respectively Sabinians and Proculians, which divided Roman jurists for about two centuries. The Digest says of them (1. 2, 2, 47): Ateius Capito in eis quae ei tradita fuerunt, perseverabat; Labeo...plurima innovare instituit,—that is, in the words of Hadley (Intr. to Roman Law, p. 64), the ground of difference was in "the recognition of reason or of authority as supreme guide." Suetonius (Oct. 54) relates an instance of Labeo's independent spirit: that, in the filling up of the senate, depleted by the Civil Wars, he nominated Marcus Lepidus, the triumvir, an enemy of Augustus, then in exile; interrogatusque ab eo an essent aliis digniores, 'suum quemque iudicium habere' respondit.

He appears, also, from an allusion in Horace (Sat. I. 3. 82), to have been of a passionate temper.

4. praeturam intra stetit: he held no higher office.

commendatio ex iniuria, popularity from the wrong done to him.

76. Catone avunculo: her mother, Servilia, was sister of Cato and (by a second marriage) mother of Brutus.

2. Caesarem omisit: as was worthy of the sister of Brutus; and the spirit of Tiberius seems to have been equally honorable (civiliter acceptum).

4. Manlii, Quinctii: these were among the oldest patrician gentes.

5. non visebantur: cf. IV. 35. 3; also Pliny, Ep. I. 17: mirum est qua religione, quo studio imagines Brutorum, Cassiorum, Catonum domi, ubi potest, habeat.
ARGUMENT OF BOOK IV.

A.D. 23; C. Asinius Pollio, C. Antistius Vetus, Coss.


A.D. 24; Ser. Cornelius Cethegus, L. Vitellius Varro, Coss.


A.D. 25; Cossus Cornelius Lentulus, M. Asinius Agrippa, Coss.


A.D. 26; Cn. Cornelius Lentulus Getulicus, C. Calvisius Sabinus, Coss.


A.D. 27; M. Licinius Crassus Frugi, L. Calpurnius Piso, Coss.

62, 63. Fall of amphitheatre at Fidenæ. 64, 65. Fire on Mons Cælius. 66. Accusation of Varus. 67. Retirement of Tiberius to Capri.


68–70. Arrest and death of Titius Sabinus. 71. Death of Julia. 72, 73. Uprising of the Frisii. 74. Visit of Tiberius to Campania. 75. Marriage of Agrippina, daughter of Germanicus.
C. Asinio C. Antistio consulibus nonus Tiberio annus erat compositae rei publicae, florentis domus (nam Germanici mortem inter prospera ducebat), cum repente turbare fortuna coepit, saevire ipse aut saevientibus vires praebere. Initium et causa penes Aelium Seianum cohortibus praetoriis praefectum, cuius de potentia supra memoravi; nunc originem, mores, et quo facinore dominationem raptum ierit, expediam. Genitus Vulsiniis patre Seio Strabone equite Romano, et prima iuventa Gaium Caesarem divi Augusti nepotem sectatus, non sine rumore Apicio diviti et prodigo stuprum veno dedisse, mox Tiberium variis artibus devinxit, adeo ut obscurum adversum alios sibi uni incautum intectumque efficeret, non tam sollertia (quippe isdem artibus victus est) quam deum ira in rem Romanam, cuius pari exitio

1. **C. Asinio**: son of Asinius Gallus,—his cognomen was Pollio; see I. 12. 6. Antistius belonged to a family of considerable influence.  
2. **cum repente**: in this Tacitus differs from Suetonius and Dio, who date the deterioration in Tiberius' character from the death of Germanicus (see III. 22. 1 n.); but the facts as related by Tacitus bear out his view; from the time of Drusus' death we note a steady change for the worse.  
3. **turbar**: absolute; cf. III. 47. 2.  
4. **supra memoravi**: see I. 24. 3, 69. 7; III. 29. 6, 35. 2, 72. 4. He was colleague of his father, Seius Strabo, in this office, until the appointment of his father to the praefecture of Egypt, A.D. 18.  
5. **ierit**: see App. I.  
6. **Vulsiniis**: Bolsena, a town in the southeastern part of Etruria, the metropolis of the old Etruscan confederacy.  
7. **Seio**: the name *Seianus* was a derivative from this, the son having been adopted into the Ælian gens.  
8. **Apicio**: Apicius was a man in the time of the republic notorious for luxury and debauchery; the person here alluded to was one Marcus Gavius, who was called Apicius, from his resemblance to the other.  
9. **veno**: dative; only here used after *dare*; cf. *dono dare*.  
10. **isdem artibus**: *i.e.* on the part of Tiberius, in his downfall, A.D. 31.  
11. **pari exitio**: his ruin was attended and followed by greater
viguit ceciditque. Corpus illi laborum tolerans, animus audax; sui obtegens, in alios criminator; iuxta adulatio et superbia; palam compositus pudor, intus summa apiscendi libido, eiusque causa modo largitio et luxus, saepius industria ac vigilantia, haud minus noxiae quotiens parando regno finguntur. Vim praefecturae modicam antea intendit, dispersas per urbem cohortes una in castra conducendo, ut simul imperia acciperent, numeroque et robore et visu inter se fiducia ipsis, in ceteros metus oreretur. Praetendebat lascivire militem diductum; si quid subitum ingruit, maiore auxilio pariter subveniri; et severius acturos, si vallum statuatur procul urbis illecebris. Ut perfecta sunt castra, irrepere paulatim militares animos adeundo appellando; simul centuriones ac tribunos ipse deligere. Neque senatorio ambitu abstinebat clientes suos honoribus aut provinciis ornandi, facili Tiberio atque ita praetono ut socium laborum non modo in sermonibus, sed apud patres et populus

atrocities than those of his lifetime.

4. compositus, artificial.

summa: usually taken as the object of apiscendi, but perhaps better as qualifying libido.
eius: relates to apiscendi.

parando regno: Intr. 35 f.
finguntur, are directed.

2. praefecturae: the praefectus praetorio was at first inferior in dignity to the praefectus urbi, but, as is well known, he came in later time into possession of a power hardly less than that of the emperor himself; the beginning of this advance was made by Sejanus.

dispersas per urbem: Suetonius (Oct. 49) says: neque unquam plures quam tres cohortes in urbe esse passus est, easque sine castris, reliquas in hiberna et aestiva circa

fustima oppida dimittere assuetur.

una in castra: this camp lay outside of the city (procul) to the northeast, but when the larger circuit of walls was built by Aurelian, they were made to embrace the camp. The ruins of it still remain. The construction of this fortress, like that of the Tower of London by William the Conqueror, was the commencement of an authority founded upon military power.

visu inter se, by seeing one another, and thus becoming conscious of their strength.

2. diductum, scattered.

4. senatorio ambitu: i.e. gaining supporters among the senators by appointing such of them as chose to be his clients to honorable positions; ornandi limits ambitu.
lum celebraret colique per theatra et fora effigies eius interque principia legionum sineret.

Ceterum plena Caesarum domus iuvenis filius nepotes adulti moram cupitis adferebant; et quia vi tot simul corripere intutum, dolus intervalla scelerum poscebat. Placuit tamen occultior via et a Druso incipere, in quem recenti ira ferebatur. Nam Drusus impatiens aemuli et animo commotior orto forte iurgio intenderat Seiano manus et contra tendentis os verberaverat. Igitur cuncta temptanti promptissimum visum ad uxorem eius Liviam convertere, quae soror Germanici, formae initio aetatis indecorae, mox pulchritudine praecellebat. Hanc ut amore incensus adulterio pellexit, et postquam primi flagitii potitus est (neque femina amissa pudicitia alia abnuerit), ad coniugii specem, consortium regni, et necem mariti impuls. Atque illa, cui avunculus Augustus, socer Tiberius, ex Druso liberi, seque ac maiores et posteros municipali adultero foedabat, ut pro honestis et praesentibus flagitiosae et incerta exspectaret. Sumi-

per theatra: cf. III. 72. 5.
principia: see I. 61. 3 n. Suetonius (Tit. 48) says that, after the fall of Sejanus, Tiberius rewarded the Syrian legions _quod solae nullam Seiani imaginem inter signa coluisse_.
3, ceterum: introduces the obstacles that were in the way of his ambition.
nepotes adulti: Nero and Drusus, sons of Germanicus (4. 1).
intervalla scelerum: contrasted with _simul corripere_.
occultior: contrasted with _vi_.
2. contra tendentis: _sc._ Seiani manus.
3. indecorae, plain or ungraceful; i.e. until she reached maturity.
adulterio: dative. Merivale well remarks, that "the wife of Drusus was already nearer to the throne than the paramour of Sejanus" (V. 176). Sejanus, however, it is clear was a man of peculiar personal fascination, and the story has in itself no improbability.

abnuerit: perfect subjunctive of softened assertion, a favorite tense with Tacitus, especially in statements of general truths.
4. avunculus: _i.e._ great-uncle; her mother Antonia was daughter of Octavia, sister of Augustus.
municipali, of _low birth_,—her paramour being a native of the _municipium_ of Volsinii. The provincial origin of Sejanus was an aggravation of Livia's disgrace.
praesentibus: Drusus was the
tur in conscientiam Eudemus, amicus ac medicus Liviae, specie artis frequens secretis. Pellit domo Seianus uxorem Apicatam, ex qua tres liberos genuerat, ne paecili suspectaretur. Sed magnitudo facinoris metum prolactiones, diversa interdum consilia adferrebat.

4 Interim anni principio Drusus ex Germanici liberis togam virilem sumpsit, quaeque fratri eius Neroni decreverat senatus repetita. Addidit orationem Caesar, multa cum laude filii sui quod patria benevolentia in fratris liberos forct. Nam Drusus, quamquam arduum sit eodem loci potentiam et concordiam esse, aequus adolescentibus aut certe non adversus habebat.

4 Exin vetus et saepe simulatum proficiscendi in provincias consilium refertur. Multitudinem veteranorum praetexebat imperator et dilectibus supplendos exercitus; nam voluntarium militem deesse, ac si suppeditet, non eadem virtute ac modestia agere, quia plerumque inopes ac vagi sponte militiam sumant. Percensuitque cursim numerum legionum et quas provincias tutarentur. Quod mihi quoque exsequendum reor, quae tunc Romana copia in armis, qui socii reges, quanto sit angustius imperitatum. Italianum utroque mari duae classes, Misenum apud et Ravennam, proximumque

3. loci: limits eodem.
4. vetus ... consilium: see I. 47. 5; III. 47. 3.
veternorum: i.e. who demanded discharge; see I. 17. 8; 31. 4.
6. socii reges: see III. 55. 3 n.
angustius: sc. quam nunc; this was written after the conquests of Trajan. Moreover several provinces were added in the interval, as Britain, Mauretania, Lycia, Thrace.
5. utroque mari: Ravenna upon the Adriatic, Misenum upon the Tyrrenian Sea.

legitimate heir to the throne; Sejanus was only a pretender.

5. specie ... secretis: at all times the family physician has been admitted to family consultations.

Apicatam: it was through her that the crime became afterwards known to Tiberius. Dio, LVIII. 11 (p. 350).

4. decreverat: see III. 29. 1.
2. fratri: Drusus appears to have transferred to the sons of Germanicus, the affection he had felt for their father.

**Foroiuliense**, Fréjus, founded by Julius Cæsar, and in the time of the empire an important naval station of the western Mediterranean.

2. **octo legiones**: see I. 3. 5. These occupied the region along the Rhine, organized by Tiberius into the two provinces of Germany.

3. **recens perdomitae**: B.C. 19, after a war of seven years against the Cantabrians and Asturians.

**Iuba rex**: Juba, king of Numidia, fought against Cæsar, and killed himself after the battle of Thapsus. Numidia was annexed by Augustus to the province of Africa, and Juba, son of the former king, received Mauretania in recompense, B.C. 25. At his death, A.D. 23, his son Ptolemaeus succeeded (23. 1). His kingdom was made into two provinces by Caligula, A.D. 40.

4. **duas legiones**: see III. 9. 1 n. **initio ab Suriae**: such anastrophe, not found in earlier prose writers, is rare in Tacitus, except in the case of dissyllabic prepositions, where it is frequent even without an adjective or genitive following.

**ingenti . . . sinu**: stretching up to the Albanian and Iberian frontier.

**accolis**, etc.: an ablative absolute of cause.

**Hibero Albanoque**: for these nations; see VI. 32 and 33.

5. **Rhoeometalces**: see III. 38. 4. Thrace, like Mauretania, was still independent.

**duae in Pannonia**: regularly three (I. 16. 2), but one had been despatched to Africa.

**Moesia**: this province, on the lower course of the Danube, was organized by Augustus, B.C. 29.

**apud Delmatiam**: the province formerly known as Illyricum, which term now embraced a group of provinces; see I. 5. 5 n.

**illis**: i.e. those in Pannonia and Moesia.
haud procūl accirentur, quamquam insideret urbem proprius miles, tres urbanae, novem praetoriae cohortes, Etruria ferme Umbriaque delectae aut vetere Latio et coloniis antiquitus Romanis. At apud idonea provinciarum sociae triremes alaeque et auxilia cohortium, neque multo secus in iis virium: sed persequi incertum fuit, cum ex usu temporis huc illuc mearent, gliscerent numero et aliquando minuerentur.

6 Congruens crediderim recensere ceteras quoque Rei publicae partes, quibus modis ad eam diem habitae sint, quoniam Tiberio mutati in deterius principatus initium ille annus attulit. Iam primum publica negotia et privatorum maxima apud patres tractabantur, dabaturque primoribus disserere, et in adulationem lapsos cohibebat ips; mandabatque honores, nobilitatem maiorum, clari- tudinem militiae, illustres domi artes spectando, ut satis constaret non alios potioresuisse. Sua consulibus, sua praetoribus species; minorum quoque magistratum exercita potestas; legesque, si maiestatis quaestio exime-

proprius miles: see I. 8. 3 n. vetere Latio: those towns which had the ius Latum before the Social War.

colonii antiquitus Romanis: this term is used to designate the old Roman colonies, situated in Italy, as distinguished from the military colonies of the empire. Heisterberghk, Jus Italicum, p. 169.

6. apud idonea, at suitable points.

neque multo secus: the number of auxiliaries about equalled that of the legions, which was twenty-five legions; in iis relates to alaeque et auxilia cohortium, the auxiliary cavalry and infantry.

persequi: i.e. in detail, as has been done with the legions.

ex usu, according to need.

6. quoniam, etc.: the praise here bestowed upon the administration of Tiberius during the first eight years of his reign is a sufficient reply to the insinuations of cruelty and hypocrisy that have been made in the earlier books. From this point the question is a new and more difficult one.

2. primum, in the first place.

publica negotia, etc.: Suetonius says (Tib. 30): neque tam parvum quacquam, neque tam magnum publici privatique negotii fuit, de quo non ad patres conscriptos referetur.

cohiebat: for illustrations, see I. 72. 1; III. 47. 5; IV. 37. 2. potiores, preferable.

3. species, honor, dignity; their powers, on the other hand, had been reduced.
retur, bono in usu. At frumenta et pecuniae vectigales, 4
cetera publicorum fructuum societatibus equitum Ro-
manorum agitabantur. Res suas Caesar spectatissimo 5
cuique, quibusdam ignotis ex fama mandabat, semelque
assumpti tenebantur prorsus sine modo, cum plerique
isdem negotiis insenescerent. Plebes acri quidem an-
nona fatigabatur, sed nulla in eo culpa ex principe:
quin infecunditati terrarum aut asperis maris obviam iit,
quanto impendio diligentiaque poterat. Et ne pro-
vinciae novis oneribus turbarentur utque 
vetera sine
avaritia aut crudelitate magistratuum tolerarent pro-
videbat; corporum verbera, ademptiones bonorum abe-
rant. Rari per Italiam Caesaris agri, modesta servitia,
intra paucos libertos domus; ac si quando cum privatis
disceptaret, forum et ius. Quae cuncta non quidem 7
comi via, sed horridus ac plerumque formidatus, retine-
bant tamen, donec morte Drusi verterentur: nam dum 2
superfuit, mansere, quia Seianus incipiente adhuc poten-

4. frumenta: the tithes of agri-
cultural produce levied in certain
provinces; pecuniae vectigales:
the indirect taxes paid by citizens;
see I. 11. 6 n.
societatibus equitum Roma-
norum: companies of capitalists,
of the equestrian order, called publi-
cani, who farmed the revenues and
collected them through agents,—a
common custom to this day in the
East, but one that gave great op-
portunity for extortion and fraud.
5. res suas: the affairs of the
fiscus, or privy purse; these were
administered by special agents of
the emperor, called procuratores.
tenebantur: cf. I. 80. 2; VI.
27. 3.
cum plerique, etc.: a contrast
to the changeable administration of
the Republic.

6. acri annona: i.e. the exorbi-
tant price of grain.

obviam iit, attempted to remedy;
III. 54. 8; VI. 13. 2.

7. providebat: according to Suet-
onius (Tib. 32): praesidibus [i.e.
the governors of provinces] oneran-
das tributo provincias suadentibus
rescritis boni pastoris esse tondere
pecus, non deglubere.

rari, few and scattered, not con-
centrated in enormous plantations,
latifundia.

modesta, under good discipline.
intra paucos libertos: in con-
trast with the excessive power and
insolence of this class under Cla-
dius and Nero.

forum et ius: the regular tribun-
als.

7. horridus, etc., forbidding in
manner; see I. 75. 6. Suetonius

8 Igitur Seianus maturandum ratus deligit venenum, quo paulatim irrepente fortuitus morbus assimularetur. Id Druso datum per Lygdum spadonem, ut octo post annos cognitum est. Ceterum Tiberius per omnes valentudinis eius dies, nullo metu an ut firmitudinem animi ostentaret, etiam defuncto necdum sepulto, curiam ingressus est. Consulesque sede vulgari per speciem (Tib. 68) says: omnia ingrata atque arrogantiae plena.

2. ultor: i.e. Drusus.

occultus: used with the genitive only here and VI. 36. 3.

adiutorem imperii: not a formal title, but expressing his intimate participation in the counsels of the emperor; cf. socium laborum, 2. 4.

collega dicatur: this would be an official recognition of his share in the government; cf. I. 3. 3.

3. studia et ministros: i.e. personal adherents and (among these) agents to carry out his schemes; cf. crimina et innoxios, I. 55. 3. The fears of Drusus illustrate the wisdom of Augustus in designating a successor, — sic cohiberi pravas aliorum spes, III. 56. 4.

sponte, at the behest of; cf. 31. 4. For the genitive, see II. 59. 3 n.

effigiem: see III. 72. 5.

4. communes, etc.: referring to the betrothal of a daughter of Sejanus to a son of Claudius (III. 29. 5).

8. Lygdum: a favorite slave of Drusus (10. 2), and probably praegustator, like the eunuch Halotus, who administered poison to Claudius (XII. 66. 5; cf. Suet. Claud. 44).

octo post annos: A.D. 31, after the fall of Sejanus, when the crime was divulged by Apicata, the divorced wife of Sejanus. Pistor (L. Aelius Sejanus, p. 49) raises some plausible doubts as to the probability that Apicata could have known of the crime, but the testimony of the ancients appears quite unanimous on the subject.

3. sede vulgari: i.e. on the subsellia, or benches, with the other senators. They regularly sat on
maestitiae sedentes honoris locique admonuit, et effusum in lacrimas senatum victo gemitu simul oratione continua erexit: non quidem sibi ignarum posse argui, quod tam recenti dolore subierit oculos senatus; vix propinquorum alloquia tolerari, vix diem aspici a plerisque lugentium. Neque illos imbecillitatis damnandos; se tamen fortiora solacia e complexu rei publicae petivisse. Miseratusque Augustae extremam senectam, rudem adhuc nepotum et vergentem aetatem suam, ut Germanici liberi, unica praesentium malorum levamenta, inducerentur petivit. Egressi consules firmatos alloquio adulescentulos deductosque ante Caesarem statuunt. Quibus apprensis: 'Patres conscripti, hos' inquit 'orbatos parente tradidi patruo ipsorum precatusque sum, quamquam esset illi propria suboles, ne secus quam suum sanguinem fovere, attolleret, sibique et posteris conformaret. Erepto Druso preces ad vos converto disque et patria coram obtestor: Augusti pronepotes, clarissimis majoribus genitos, suscipite, regite, vestram meamque vicem explete. Hi vobis, Nero et Druse, parentum loco. Ita nati estis ut bona malaque vestra ad rem publicam pertineant.' Magno ea fletu et mox precationibus faustis audita; ac si modum orationi possisset, misericordia sui gloriaque animos audientium curule chairs, but now took the lower seat as an indication of sorrow.

ignarum = ignotum; cf. gnarum, I. 5. 4 n.
4. e complexu rei publicae: figurative, as if the republic were a near friend.
5. nepotum: there were three sons of Germanicus (Nero, Drusus, and Gaius), and two of Drusus (Tiberius and Germanicus).

vergentem aetatem, declining years.
6. quibus apprensis, taking their hands.
patruo: i.e. Drusus.
8. Nero et Druse: the younger son Gaius (afterwards the emperor Caligula) was now only eleven years of age.
9. gloria: i.e. resting upon his personal dignity, and proceeding from sympathy (misericordia).
impleverat: ad vana et totiens irissa revolutus, de reddenda re publica utque consules seu quis alius regimen susciperent, vero quoque et honesto fidem dempsit.

2 Memoriae Drusi eadem quae in Germanicum decernuntur, plerisque additis, ut ferme amat posterior adulatio.

3 Funus imaginum pompa maxime illustre fuit, cum origo Iuliae gentis Aeneas omnesque Albanorum reges et conditor urbis Romulus, post Sabina nobilitas, Attus Clausus ceteraeque Claudiorum effigies longo ordine spectarentur.

10 In tradenda morte Drusi quae plurimis maximeaque fidei auctoribus memorata sunt rettuli; sed non omiserim eorum temporum rumorem, validum adeo ut nondum exolescat. Corrupta ad scelus Livia Seianum Lygdi quoque spadonis animum stupro vinxisse, quod is Lygdus aetate atque forma carus domino interque primores ministros erat; deinde inter conscios ubi locus veneficii tempusque composita sint, eo audaciae provectum ut verteret et occulto indicio Drusum veneni in patrem arguens moneret Tiberium, vitandam potionem quae prima ei apud filium epulanti offerretur. Ea fraude captum senem, postquam convivium inierat, exceptum poculum Druso tradidisse; atque illo ignaro et iuveniliter hauriente auctam suspicionem, tamquam metu et

impleverat: the indicative, for more vivid effect, represents what came near taking place as having actually occurred. Cf. Hor. Od. II. 17. 28.

de reddenda, etc.: that it was a matter of serious concern, what would become of the state after his death, is shown by the history of his successor Caligula. It is not impossible that he considered the possibility of devising some plan which should avoid the rule of a boy.

2. eadem, etc.: II. 83.

posterior adulatio: trying to outdo those who have gone before.

3. imaginum pompa: the Julian gens claimed to be descended from Iulus, son of Aeneas; the Claudian, from the Sabine Attus Clausus.

10. 2. occulto indicio, by dark hints.

in patrem: follows veneni.

3. illo . . . hauriente: the cup was really poisoned by the tools of Seianus.

Ceterum laudante filium pro rostris Tiberio senatus populusque habitum ac voces dolentum simulatione

11. nullo auctore certo, no trustworthy authority,—not necessarily no written account, but the use of the word scriptor below (4) shows that it could have been handed down only in oral tradition, or informal and irresponsible writings, like letters.
2. ad paenitendum: i.e. for himself.
ministrum veneni: the cupbearer, while auctorem was the contriver of the crime.

insita, inborn = characteristic.
3. atrociore fama, rumor having always an inclination to the horrible.
4. alioqui, moreover.
Seiani: sc. uxorem.
obiectaret: i.e. this story.
intenderent, aimed at him.
5. auditiones, reports.
cura nostra: i.e. this book.
12. laudante . . . Tiberio: Seneca (ad Marc. de Cons. 15) relates the same story, adding, in conspectu posito corpore, interiecto
magis quam libens induebat, domumque Germanici re
tyescere occulti laetabantur. Quod principium favo-
ris et mater Agrippina spem male tegens perniciem ac
celeravere. Nam Seianus ubi videt mortem Drusi in-
ultam interfectoris, sine maerore publico esse, ferox
scelerum, et quia prima provenerant, volutare secum
quonam modo Germanici liberos perverteret, quorum
non dubia successio. Neque spargi venenum in tres
poterat, egregia custodum fide et pudicitia Agrippinae
impenetrabili. Igitur contumaciam eius insectari, vetus
Augustae odium, recentem Liviae conscientiam exagi-
tare, ut superbam fecunditate, subnixam popularibus
studiis inhiare dominationi apud Caesarem arguerent.

6 Atque haec callidis criminatoribus, inter quos delegerat
tantummodo velamento, quod pontificis oculos a funere arcerat,—the emperor being pontifex maximus.
2. favoris: i.e. with the people,
—popularity.
mater . . . tegens: Intr. 35 g; the present and future participles are very rare in this idiom; cf. I.
36. 2; IV. 34. 2; connected by et to principium.
perniciem: for the young men, Nero and Drusus.
3. non dubia successio: as the children of Drusus were still very young, those of Germanicus would be preferred in the succession.
5. exagitare, excite; used with both persons and feelings—excite
the hatred of Augusta and Livia by the consciousness of crime; cf. Sall.
Cat. 38; Cic. Att. III. 7. 2.
inhiare . . . arguerent: it is hard to believe that Agrippina actually en-
gaged in plots against the emperor,
—for this there could be no induce-
ment, considering his great age, the
maturity of her sons, and the infancy
of those of Drusus; the succession
would seem to have been secured
to Nero, and this was confirmed by
the acts of the emperor himself.
Nevertheless, with her restless and
ambitious temper, and his suspi-
cious disposition, it would be easy
for misunderstanding and hard feel-
ing to arise between them.
6. atque haec, etc.: this pas-
sage is variously interpreted, and is
probably corrupt. Furneaux makes
haec relate to Livia (the younger),
which is hardly possible, seeing that
the last person mentioned is Agrip-
pina; it is clear, too, that Livia was
a mere tool, and that it was Sejanus,
not she, who made use of the callidi
criminatores. Madvig corrects to
alique; Orelli, more probably, con-
strues haec as a neuter plural, gov-
erned by some such word as egit.
Both take Prisca as subject of
efficiebat; but it is the agency of
Postumus, not of Prisca, that is in
question, and quia . . . valida is a
good explanation of peridoneum,
while quia . . . efficiebat is not. It
seems best to insert a comma after
Iulium Postumum, per adulterium Mutiliae Priscae inter intimos aviae et consiliis suis peridoneum, quia Prisca in animo Augustae valida, anum suapte natura potentiae anxiam insociablem nurui efficiebat. Agrippinae quoque proximi illiciebantur pravis sermonibus tumidos spiritus perstimulare.

At Tiberius nihil intermissa rerum cura, negotia pro solaciis accipiens, ius civium, preces sociorum tractabat; factaque auctore eo senatus consulta ut civitati Cibyraticaee apud Asiam, Aegiensi apud Achaiam, motu terrae labefactis, subveniretur remissione tributi in triennium. Et Vibius Serenus pro console ulterioris Hispaniae, de vi publica damnatus, ob atrociatem morum in insulam Amorgum deportatur. Carsidius Sacerdos, reus tamquam frumento hostem Tacfarinatem iuvisset, absolvi tur, eiusdemque criminis C. Gracchus. Hunc comitem exsilii admodum infantem pater Sempronius in insulam valida (with which erat is to be understood), and to regard the sentence as an anacoluthon,—the subject of efficiebat being the same as that of egit understood (i.e. Sej anus), but the two verbs having no grammatical connection with one another. Nipperdey brackets the words inter . . . et, on the ground that Livia could not properly be called the grandmother of Agrippina, and that Postumus, as inter intimos of the empress, would not need to make Prisca his tool. This is a very probable hypothesis,—indeed, it is quite impossible to explain the phrase satisfactorily, while without it the sentence is reasonably clear,—but it is hard to conceive of any way in which these words could have crept into the text.

inter intimos, intimate with, referring to Postumus.

anxiam, sollicitus for,


tumidos spiritus: i.e. of Agrippina.

perstimulare: depends upon illiciebantur. Intr. 35 l.

18. Cibyraticaee, etc.: Cibyra was a town of Phrygia, which carried on an extensive trade; cf. Horace (Ep. I. 6. 33), — ne Cibyratica, ne Bithyna negotia perdas.

Aegiensi: Aegrum was a city of Achaia, the meeting place of the Achaean League.

2. Vibius Serenus: see II. 30. 1; 28. 1.

de vi publica: inflicting death, scourging, torture or imprisonment upon a Roman citizen after an appeal to Cesar.

Amorgum: a small island in the Aegan, near Naxos.

deportatur: see 31. 5 n.

4. Sempronius: see 31. 5.

Variis dehinc et saepius irritis praetorum questibus, mutando ... merces: petty traffic was, by the ancients, regarded as unworthy a freeman, and Plato excluded hucksters from his ideal republic. Of commerce on a large scale Cicero says (de Off. I. 42), non est admodum vituperanda.

neque tamen, etc.: he came near being swept into destruction (abstractus), through the memory of his illustrious ancestors and guilty father: his low estate should have saved him from the perils of rank.

5. Aelius Lamia: vir antiquissimi moris et priscam gravitatem semper humanitate temperans (Vell. Pat. II. 116). Horace (Ep. I. 14. 6) speaks of Lamiae pietas; he also addresses to him Odes I. 26 and III. 17. For his death, see VI. 27. 2. For Apronius, see III. 21. 1.

14. is quoque annus: as well as the last; see III. 61-63.

Samis, etc.: Samos and Cos were islands off the western coast of Asia Minor. Samos was a chief seat of the worship of Hera (Juno); the worship of Aesculapius at Cos was connected with a medical school.

2. qua tempestate, etc.: the early period of the colonization of the Greek cities of Asia Minor, at which time the Amphictyonic League had great sanctity and influence

3. induxerant: i.e. to give them the protection of the asylum.

1ussu regis Mithridatis: this event, B.C. 88, was the cause of the first Mithridatic war, conducted by Sulla against Mithridates, king of Pontus.

4. variis ... retulit: the prætors had failed to curb this licentiousness.
postremo Caesar de immodestia histrionum rettulit: multa ab iis in publicum seditiose, foeda per domos temptari; Oscum quondam ludicrum, levissimae apud vulgum oblectationis, eo flagitiorum et virium venisse ut auctoritate patrum coercendum sit. Pulsi tum histriones Italia.

Idem annus alio quoque luctu Caesarem adficit, alterum ex geminis Drusi liberis extinguendo, neque minus morte amici. Is fuit Lucilius Longus, omnium illi tristium laetorumque socius unusque e senatoribus Rhodii secessus comes. Ita quamquam novo homini censorium funus, effigiem apud forum Augusti publica pecunia patres decrevere, apud quos etiam tum cuncta tractabantur, adeo ut procurator Asiae Lucilius Capito

histrionum: see I. 54. 3 n.
per domos, in private homes.
Oscum ludicrum: a kind of low farce, in the Oscan dialect, the speech of Campania and central Italy, sufficiently like the Latin to be understood by the Romans,—just as the Scotch dialect is understood upon our stage. By levissimae oblectationis is meant the frivolous amusement of the populace; once (quondam) this was the worst that could be said of it.
pulsi, etc.: they were allowed to return by Caligula (Dio, LIX. 2).
15. alterum: his name was Germanicus, and his age four.
2. Rhodii secessus: see I. 4. 4 n.
3. novo homini: i.e. none of his ancestors had held curule office.
censorium funus: a magnificent public funeral. The term is explained by some as being such a funeral as was given to censors, whose office was the first in dignity and honor; by others, as being under the direction of the censors,—the magistrates who had the charge of public contracts. The first explanation seems the most reasonable.
forum Augusti: a public square opened by Augustus to the northeast of the Forum Romanum, and adorned with the statues of distinguished generals; portions of its heavy walls, and the portico of the Temple of Mars Ultor, situated in it, are still to be seen; other fora were made by other emperors to the north and south of it.
procurator: the procurator was the special agent of the emperor, especially in matters which related to the fiscus, or privy purse (I. 80. 2). There was one in every province; and in the smallest provinces, like Judea and Alpes Maritimae, he was the sole governor. Standing in a specially close relation to the emperor, it might have been expected that he would be, like the slaves of the emperor, subject to his private jurisdiction.
accusante provincia causam dixerit, magna cum as-
severatione principis, non se ius nisi in servitia et
pecunias familiares dedisse; quod si vim praetoris
usurpasset manibusque militum usus foret, spreta in eo
mandata sua: audirent socios. Ita reus cognito negotio
dannatur. Ob quam ulptionem, et quia priore anno in
C. Silanum vindicatum erat, decrevere Asiae urbes
templum Tiberio matrique eius ac senatui. Et per-
missum statuere; eigitque Nero grates ea causa patri-
bus atque avo, laetas inter audientium adfectiones, qui
recenti memoria Germanici illum aspici, illum audiri
rebantur. Aderantque iuveni modestia ac forma prin-
cipe viro digna, notis in eum Seiani odiis ob periculum
gratiora.

16 Sub idem tempus de flamine Diali in locum Servi
Maluginensis defuncti legendo, simul roganda nova lege
disseruit Caesar: nam patricios confrarreatis parentibus
genitos tres simul nominari, ex quis unus legeretur,
vetusto more; neque adesse, ut olim, eam copiam,
omissa confrarreandi assuetudine aut inter paucos re-

causam dixerit: i.e. before the senate.
dedisse: sc. ei.
vim praetoris: i.e. of the provincial governor (1. 74. i n); if the procurator had usurped the functions of governor, it was by no authority; for his powers extended only to matters touching the emperor’s private property (pecunias familiares).
socios: see III. 55. 3 n.
templum: see 55 and 56.
5. Nero: the cities of Asia were his clients, as those of Sicily were the clients of Cicero in the action against Verres.
16. Maluginensis: see III. 58. 1 and 71. 3.

nova lege: i.e. in regard to filling this priesthood. The flamen dialis must be a patrician whose parents had been married by the peculiarly patrician rite of confrarreatio; he must himself have been married by the same rite to a woman of the same qualifications, and his wife, the flaminica, had also certain official duties. As the patrician body had now become much reduced in numbers, and the antique ceremony of confrarreatio had almost gone out of use, it was very difficult to find qualified candidates. The selection was made by the pontifex maximus, who had authority to take (capere) a qualified person even against his will.
tent 

d 3. eius rei: i.e. the omission of con
to the cashier.
penes: used with things only here, Hist. I. 57, and Hor. A. P. 71; Intr. 35 i.
difficultates: not only in the cumbersome ceremonial, but in the process of divorce (diffacratio), equally cumbersome and difficult; and the Romans of this age did not fancy having any obstacles in the way of divorce.
e iure patrio: every paterfamilias had through life his sons and unmarried daughters under his ab-
solute authority (patria potestas), which included the power of life and death (ius vitae necisque). The son might be freed from this authority by being emancipated, or by being adopted into another family; also the flamen dialis and the vestal virgins were sui iuris.
The authority of the paterfamilias extended also to his wife, who was in loco filiae, but in her case it was called manus instead of potestas; therefore quae in manum flaminis conveniret was his wife, the flaminica. The disqualifications attending the office would be a second reason (besides the disuse of con-
to the cashier) for the want of candidates for the office; on this view et connects this clause with the causal ablative absolute omissa, etc. A still more influential cause must have been the numerous and vexatious petty requirements which attended the office (III. 58. i n.); and Nipperdey thinks that some words describing these must have dropped out (Gell. X. 15).
flamonium: this is attested by inscriptions to be the correct form, instead of flaminium.
lege: leges, passed by the people in comitia, were still adopted, although this form of legislation was being rapidly superseded by senatus consultae and edicts of the emperor.
Augustus: e.g. with regard to absence from the city (III. 71. 3).
5. tractatis religionibus, after taking into consideration all religious aspects.
flaminica Dialis, etc.: a woman married by confarreatio or coemptio came as a matter of course into the manus of her husband; but by the third form of marriage (usus) it was possible to avoid this, and the marriage without manus had now become the usual form. At the same time, while the woman escaped the manus of her husband, the potestas of her father was so far relaxed that she was practically her own mistress. Maine describes the relation at this period "as amounting in law to little more than a temporary deposit of the woman by her family" (Anc.
rum causa in potestate viri, cetera promisco feminarum iure ageret. Et filius Maluginensis patri suffectus. Utque glisceret dignatio sacerdotum atque ipsis promptior animus foret ad capessendas caerimonias, decretum Corneliae Virgini, quae in locum Scantiae capiebatur, sestertium viciens, et quotiens Augusta theatrum introisset, ut sedes inter Vestalium consideret.

17 Cornelio Cethego Visellio Varrone consulibus pontifices eorumque exemplo ceteri sacerdotes, cum pro incolumitate principis vota susciperent, Neronem quoque et Drusum isdem dis commendavere, non tam caritate juvenum quam adulatione, quae moribus corruptis perinde anceps, si nulla et ubi nimia est. Nam Tiberius haud umquam domui Germanici mitis, tum vero aequari adolescidentes senectae suae impatienter indoluit; accitosque pontifices percontatus est num id precibus Agrippinae aut minis tribuissent. Et illi quidem, quamquam abnuerent, modice perstricti; etenim pars magna e propinquis ipsius aut primores civitatis erant; ceterum

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Law, p. 150). By the law in question, this freedom of status on the part of the flaminica was preserved in all the common relations of life (cetera), while in sacred matters alone she passed under the full authority of her husband. This law confirmed a senatus consultum of B.C. 11 of the same purport (Gaius, I. 136). See Mommsen, Röm. St. III. 1, p. 35.

6. capiebatur: see II. 86. 1 n. sedes inter: see 5. 4 n.

17. Visellio Varrone: he was curator riparum et alvei Tiberis (C. I. L. VI. 1. 1237); for his father, see III. 41. 3.

vota susciperent: this took place regularly on the 3d of January. perinde anceps: cf. II. 87. 2, angusta et lubrica orato, etc.

2. nam Tiberius: there has been no indication thus far of any unfriendly feeling towards the sons of Germanicus, and on the present occasion the remarks of Tiberius to the senate were wise and sagacious. We see here, however, the beginnings of that jealous suspicion of Agrippina which may have been well founded, and which, at any rate, poisoned the aged emperor's mind during the last years of her life. As to the immediate occasion, see II. 69. 3 n.; such vows were freely permitted in behalf of women (III. 64. 1).

3. perstricti, reprimanded.
in senatu oratione monuit in posterum ne quis mobiles adulescentium animos praematuris honoribus ad super-biam extolleret. Instabat quippe Seianus incusabatque diductam civitatem ut civili bello: esse qui se partium Agrippinae vocent, ac ni resistatur, fore pluris; neque aliud gliscetis discordiae remedium quam si unus al-terve maxime prompti subverterentur.

Qua causa C. Silium et Titium Sabimum aggreditur. Amicitia Germanici perniciosa utrique, Silio et quod ingentis exercitus septem per annos moderator partis-que apud Germaniam triumphalibus Sacroviriani belli victor, quanto maiore mole procideret, plus formidinis in alios dispergebatur. Credebant plerique auctam of-fensionem ipsius intemperantia, immodice iactantis suum militem in obsequio duravisse, cum alii ad seditiones prolaberentur; neque mansurum Tiberio imperium, si iis quoque legionibus cupido novandi fuisse. Destrui per haec fortunam suam Caesar imparemque tanto merito rebatur. Nam beneficia eo usque laeta sunt, dum_videntur exsolvi posse: ubi multum antevenere, pro gratia odium redditur. Erat uxor Silio Sosia Galla, caritate Agrippinae invisa principi. Hos corripi dilato ad tempus Sabino placitum, immissusque Varro consul, qui paternas inimicitias obtendens odiis Seiani per de-decus suum gratificabatur. Precante reo brevem mo-ram, dum accusator consulatu abiret, adversatus est

4. instabat . . . Seianus: he is always represented as the instigator of these suspicions.
diductam, divided into factions.
unus alterve: i.e. of the adherents of Agrippina.
18. C. Silium: commander of Upper Germany in Book I.; see also III. 42. 2. His army had taken no part in the mutiny.

partis triumphalibus: I. 72. 1.
Silio et (= etiam): sc. perniciosum erat.
2. mansurum: sc. fuisse.
imparem, etc.: such a service could never be requited (exsolvi).
19. paternas inimicitias: see III. 43. 4.
2. dum . . . abiret: as the Ro-mans had no official prosecutors
Caesar: solitum quippe magistratibus diem privatis dicere; nec infringendum consulis ius, cuius vigiliis nitetetur ne quod res publica detrimentum caperet. Proprium id Tiberio fuit scelera nuper reperta priscis verbis obtegere. Igitur multa asseveratione, quasi aut legibus cum Silio ageretur aut Varro consul aut illud res publica esset, coguntur patres. Silente reo, vel si defensionem coeptaret, non occultante cuius ira premeretur ne quod res publica detrimentum caperet. Nec dubie repetundarum criminiibus haerebant, sed cuncta quaestione maiestatis exercita, et Silius imminenter damnationem voluntario fine praeverit. Saevitum tamen in bona, non ut stipendiariis pecuniae redderentur, quorum nemo repetebat, sed liberalitas Augusti avulsa, computatis singillatim quae fisco petebant. Ea prima Tiberio erga pecuniam alienam diligentia fuit.

Sosia in exsilium pellitur Asinii Galli sententia, qui

(Intr. 16), the prosecution by a high magistrate would carry more weight than by a private citizen.

diem dicere: the technical expression for bringing a prosecution.

3. priscis verbis: language borrowed from the usages of the republic. The phrase quoted by Tiberius had reference to the proclamation of martial law, not to ordinary criminal prosecutions.

quasi, etc.: as if there were any reality in the forms of the republic.

4. cuius ira: i.e. that it was on the ground of his friendship for Agrippina.

conscientia . . . foedata: Intr. 35 g.

uxor Sosia: i.e. her offences.

arguebantur, were charged against him.

5. haerebant, were caught. maiestatis: the correct ground, if he was guilty of complicity in the rebellion of Sacrovir; and Tacitus does not deny that he was. Stahr.

20. tamen: this was in violation of the rule mentioned VI. 29. 2,—that, of those who escaped condemnation by suicide, manebant testamenta.

stipendiariis, the tributaries of the province, in behalf of whom the charge of repetundae had been prosecuted; but it seems they themselves took no part in the prosecution (nemo repetebat).

liberalitas Augusti: the gifts bestowed upon him by Augustus.

singillatim: a strict reckoning by items.

2. ea prima, etc.: see III. 18. 2, satis firmus adversum pecuniam.
partem bonorum publicandam, pars ut liberis relinquere
retur censuerat. Contra M'. Lepidus quartam accusa-
toribus secundum necessitudinem legis, cetera liberis
concessit. Hunc ego Lepidum temporibus illis gravem
et sapientem virumuisse: nam pleraque ab
saevis adulationibus aliorum in melius flexit. Neque
tamen temperamentum egebat, cum aequabili auctoritate
et gratia apud Tiberium viguerit. Unde dubitare
cogor 5
fato et sorte nascendi, ut cetera, ita principum inclinatio
in hos, offensio in illos, an sit aliquid in nostris consiliis,
liceatque inter abruptam contumaciam et deforme obse-
quium pergere iter ambitione ac periculis vacuum. At
Messalinus Cotta haud minus claris maioribus, sed animo
diversus, censuit cavendum senatus consulto, ut quam-
quam insontes magistratus et culpae alienae nesci
provincialibus uxorum crimini proinde quae suis
plectentur.

Actum dehinc de Calpurnio Pisone, nobili ac feroci
viro. Is namque, ut rettuli, cessurum se urbe ob fac-
tiones accusatorum in senatu clamitaverat et spreta po-
tentia Augustae trahere in ius Urgulaniam domoque
principis excire ausus erat. Quae in praesens Tiberius
civiliter habuit; sed in animo revolvente iras, etiam si
impetus offensionis languerat, memoria valebat. Piso-

3. M'. Lepidus: cf. III. 50. 1. quartam: sce. partem; this was the regular share of the accuser by the lex maiestatis.
4. pleraque: he obtained the mitigation of many judgments which the flatterers of the emperor would have made more severe.
neque . . . egebat, he had no need to control himself, enjoying as he did the favor of the prince.
aequabili, steady.

5. liceat: i.e. by discretion (aliquid in nostris consiliis). For Tacitus' attitude on fatalism, see VI. 22.
6. uxorum crimini: see the proposition of Cæcina, III. 33. 1; this had perhaps been occasioned by observation of the administration of Silius, who was in his near neighborhood.

21. ut rettuli: see II. 34. 1.
2. revolvente: as a habit.
nem Q. Granius secreti sermonis incusavit adversum maiestatem habit, adiecitque in domo eius venenum esse, eumque gladio accinctum introire curiam. Quod ut atrocius vero tramissum; ceterorum, quae multa cumulabantur, receptus est reus, neque peractus ob mortem opportunam. Relatum et de Cassio Severo exsule, qui sordidae originis, maleficae vitae, sed orandi validus, per immodicas inimicitias ut iudicio iurati senatus Cretam amoveretur effecerat; atque illic eadem actitando recentia veteraque odia advertit, bonisque exutus, interdicto igni atque aqua, saxo Seripho consenuit.

Per idem tempus Plautius Silvanus praetor incertis causis Aproniam coniugem in praeceps iecit, tractusque ad Caesarem ab L. Apronio socero turbata mente respondit, tamquam ipse somno gravis atque eo ignarus, et uxor sponte mortem sumpsisset. Non cunctanter Tiberius pergit in domum, visit cubiculum, in quo reluctantis et impulsae vestigia cernebantur. Refert ad senatum, datisque iudicibus Urgulania Silvani avia pugionem nepoti misit. Quod perinde creditum quasi principis monitu, ob amicitiam Augustae cum Urgulania. Reus frustra temptato ferro venas praebuit exsolvendas. Mox Numantina, prior uxor eius, accusata

3. adversum maiestatem, treasonable.

gladio, etc.: carrying concealed weapons into the senate was strictly forbidden.

5. Cassio Severo: see I. 72. 4.

orandi validus: Quintilian says of him (X. 1. 116), "ingenii plurimum est in eo et acerbitas mira, et urbanitas eius summa, sed plus stomacho quam consilio dedit.

iurati, on oath, a more formal procedure, contrasted with the usual discessio; cf. I. 74. 5.

advertit: sc. in se.

saxo: the barren, rocky island.

22. in praeceps: out of the window.

2. non cunctanter, etc.: a striking example of Tiberius' earnestness in the administration of justice; cf. I. 75. 1.

3. datis iudicibus: either the regular criminal court, to which the senate referred the case, or a judicial committee of the senate itself.

amicitiam Augustae: II. 34. 3.

4. venas exsolvendas: opening
iniecisse carminibus et veneficiis vecordiam marito, insons iudicatur.

Is demum annus populum Romanum longo adversum 23 Numidam Tacfarinatem bello absolvit. Nam priores duces, ubi impetrando triumphalium insigni sufficere res suas crediderant, hostem omittebant; iamque tres laurateae in urbe statuae, et adhuc raptatbat Africam Tacfarinas, auctus Maurorum auxiliis, qui, Ptolemaeo Iubae filio iuventa incurioso, libertos regios et servilia imperia bello mutaverant. Erat illi praedarum receptor ac socius populandi rex Garamantum, non ut cum exercitu incederet, sed missis levibus copiis, quae ex longinquo in maurus audiebantur; ipsaque e provincia, ut quis fortuna inops, moribus turbidus, promptius rueabant, quia Caesar post res a Blaeso gestas, quasi nullis iam in Africa hostibus, reportari nonam legionem iusserat, nec pro consule eius anni P. Dolabella retinere ausus erat, iussa principis magis quam incerta belli metuens. Igitur Tacfarinas dispersa rumore rem Romanam aliis quoque ab nationibus lacerari eoque paulatim Africa decredere, ac posse reliquos circumveniri, si cuncti, qui-

the arteries in a warm bath was a favorite mode of suicide.

iniecisse . . . vecordiam: and that this was the cause of the murder.

23. ubi: i.e. as soon as.

triumpalium insigni: the ornameata triumphalia; see I. 72. 1; dative after sufficere.

tres . . . statuae: of Camillus (II. 52. 9), Blaesus (III. 72. 6), and probably Apronius (III. 21).

Ptolemaeo: see 5. 3 n.; his Egyptian name came from his mother, who was Cleopatra Selene, daughter of Mark Antony and Cleopatra.

24. paulatim: the ninth legion had gone, the other would follow soon.

reliquos; the troops who were left behind.
bus libertas servitio potior, incubuissent, auget vires positisque castris Thubuscum oppidum circumsidet.

2 At Dolabella contracto quod erat militum, terrore nominis Romani et quia Numidae peditum aciem ferre nequeunt, primo sui incessu solvit obsidium locorumque opportuna permunivit; simul principes Musulamiorum defectionem coeptantes securi percutit. Dein, quia pluribus adversum Tacfarinatem expeditionibus cognitum non gravi nec uno incursu consectandum hostem vagum, excitum cum popularibus rege Ptolemaeo quattuor agmina parat, quae legatis aut tribunis data; et praedatorias manus delecti Maurorum duxere: ipse consultor

25 aderat omnibus. Nec multo post adfertur Numidas apud castellum semirutum, ab ipsis quondam incensum, cui nomen Auzea, positis mapalibus consedisse, fisos loco, quia vastis circum saltibus claudebatur. Tum expeditae cohortes alaeque, quam in partem ducerentur ignarae, cito agmine rapiuntur. Simulque coeptus dies et concentu tubarum ac truci clamore aderant semisomnos in barbaros, praepeditis Numidarum equis aut diversos pastus pererrantibus. Ab Romanis confertus pedes, dispositae turmae, cuncta proelio provisa; hosti-

_Thubuscum_: this is probably the same as Thubursicum, a town on the slopes of Mount Aurasius, in the southern part of Numidia, in the neighborhood of the Musulamii; it is mentioned by Mommsen (Provinces, II. 366) as having arisen from a former settlement of Numidians.

2. _sui_: Tacitus often uses this genitive without any special emphasis; cf. _nostri origine_, II. 54. 3.

_Musulamiorum_: see II. 52. 2.

3. _cognitum_: _sc. erat_; has for subject the clause _non... vagum_.

_gravi... incursu_: a single movement of heavy troops; he adopted the same policy as Blæsus (III. 74. 1).

_praedatorias manus_: in addition to the _quattuor agmina_.

25. _Auzea_: this town was further west than Thubuscum, in the eastern part of Mauretania.

_positis mapalibus_: equivalent to pitching tents (see III. 74. 5).

2. _coeptus_: _sc. est_.

_praepeditis_, hobbled, fastened by one foot, according to the custom of Orientals.

3. _ab Romanis_, _on the part of the Romans_.

_confertus_, _in close order_.
bus contra omnium nesciis non arma, non ordo, non consilium, sed pecorum modo trahi occidi capi. In-4 fensus miles memoria laborum et adversum eludentis optatae totiens pugnae se quisque ultione et sanguine explebant. Differtur per manipulos, Tacfarinatem om-5 nes, notum tot proeliis, consectentur: non nisi duce interfecto requiem bellorum, et effusis et effusus undique Ro-6 manis, ruendo in tela captivitatem haud inulta morte effugit isque finis armis impositus.

Dolabellae petenti abnuit triumphalia Tiberius, Se-26 jano tribuens ne Blaesius avunculi eius laus obsolesceret. Sed neque Blaesus ideo illustrior, et huic negatus honor 2 glorios intendent: quippe minore exercitu insignis capti-7 vos Tacfarinate caeso perculsa gens et culpae nescia ad satis faciendum populo Romano miserat. Cognitis dehinc Ptolemaei per id bellum studiis repetitus ex ve-8 tusto more honos missusque e senatoribus, qui scipio-9 nem eburnum, togam pictam, antiqua patrum munera, dare regemque et socium atque amicum appellaret.

Eadem aestate mota per Italian servilis belli semina 27 fors oppressit. Auctor tumultus T. Curtius, quondam praetoriae cohortis miles, primo coetibus clandestinis apud Brundisium et circumiecta oppida, mox positis

5. differtur, word is spread.
6. effusus, pouring in upon him.
26. avunculi: see III. 72. 6. Of the motives of this refusal we really know nothing, but as Tiberius was already strongly under the influence of Sejanus, we may fairly admit the justice of Tacitus' suspicion, and regard this, like the case in 20. 2, as an indication of the change for the worse in Tiberius.
3. culpae nescia: it was their king, not the nation, that had sent aid to Tacfarinas (23. 2); some editors, nevertheless, change et to set.
4. Ptolemaei: king of Maure-10 tania (23. 1). His sympathy (studiis) had been with the Romans.
propalam libellis ad libertatem vocabat agrestia per longinquos saltus et ferocia servitia, cum velut munere deum tres biremes appulere ad usus commeatium illo mari. Et erat isdem regionibus Cutius Lupus quaestor, cui provincia vetere ex more calles evenerant: is disposita classiariorum copia coeptantem cum maxime coniurationem disiecit. Missusque a Caesare propere Staius tribunus cum valida manu ducem ipsum et proximos audacia in urbem traxit, iam trepidam ob multitudinem familiarum, quae gliscebat immensum, minore in dies plebe ingenua.

28 Isdem consulibus miseriae miseriaurum et saevitiae exemplum atrox, reus pater, accusator filius (nomen utrique Vibius Serenus) in senatum inducti sunt. Ab exilio retractor illuvieque ac squalore obsitus et tum catena vinctus pater oranti filio comparatur. Adulescens multis munditiis, alacri vultu, structas principi insidias, missos in Galliam concitores belli index idem et testis dicebat, adnectebatque Caecilium Cornutum praetorium ministravisse pecuniam; qui taedio curarum, et quia pericum pro exitio habebatur, mortem in se festinavit.

27. libellis, proclamations. 
per longinquos saltus: this part of Italy was occupied for the most part in pasturage, the herds being tended by slaves.
2. provincia: the word is used here in its primitive sense, as a special field of duties, not a territory to be administered.
calles, lanes = the lanes or by-paths by which the pastures were reached, and so, by usage, the pastures themselves. The extensive pastures, which were the property of the state in these regions, appear to have been under the charge of a quaestor, whose business it was to collect the revenues and protect the pastures from highwaymen, etc.; see App. I.

classiariorum: i.e. from the three biremes.
cum maxime: qualifies coeptantem, — at its very beginning.
3. familiarum, slaves; the slaves of a household were called familia.
quae gliscebat, etc.: slave labor was fast expelling the free population.
28. Vibius Serenus: see 13. 2. oranti, speaking; — conducting the prosecution.
comparatur, is confronted, — a figure taken from gladiators.
multis munditiis, elegantly dressed.
At contra reus nihil infracto animo obversus in filium 3 quatere vincla, vocare ultores deos ut sibi quidem red-
derent exsiliun, ubi procul tali more ageret, filium au-
tem quandoque supplicia sequerentur. Asseverabatque
innocentem Cornutum et falsa exterritum; idque facile
intellectu, si proderent alii: non enim se caedem
principis et res novas uno socio cogitasse. Tum accu-
sator Cn. Lentulum et Seium Tuberonem nominat,
magno pudore Caesaris, cum primores civitatis, intimi
ipsius amici, Lentulus senectutis extremae, Tubero de-
feçto corpore, tumultus hostilis et turbandae rei publicae
acasserentur. Sed hi quidem statim exempti; in pa-
trem ex servis quaesitum, et quaestio adversa accusatori
fuit. Qui scelere vecors, simul vulgi rumore territus, 2
robur et saxum aut parricidarum poenas mimitantium,
cessit urbe. Ac retractus Ravenna exsequi accusa-
tionem adigitur, non occultante Tiberio vetus odium
adversum exsulem Serenum. Nam post damnatum Libo-
3 nem missis ad Caesarem litteris exprobraverat suum
studium sine fructu fuisse, addideratque quaedam
contumacio quam tutum apud aures superbas et offen-
belli: i.e. the war of Sacrovir.
index, etc.: the index was the
one who brought the crime to the
knowledge of the magistrates (II.
28. 3); here the son also gave tes-
timony in the trial as testis.
3. falsa exterritum, terrified by
lies; falsa is a Græcism, an adver-
bial accusative.
alii: i.e. conspirators, besides
Cornutus; no man would be so rash
as to conspire with one accomplice.
29. Cn. Lentulum: for his
death see 44. 1.
Seium Tuberonem: brother of
Sejanus.
accesserentur, were accused of.
2. mimitantium: agrees with
vulgi. By robur is meant the Tul-
lianum or Mamertine prison, just
above the Forum, described by Sal-
lust (Cat. 55), and still to be seen;
saxum is the Tarpeian rock, from
which evil-doers were hurled; par-
ricides were sewed in a sack with a
dog, a cock, a viper, and a monkey,
and then dropped in the sea.
3. exsequi accusationem: which
he had dropped when the prelimi-
ary investigation (quaestio) had
gone against him.
4. post damnatum Libonem:
Serenus (the father) had been one
of the accusers (II. 30. 1), and, it
seems, had alone of the accusers re-
ceived no share of Libo's property.
sioni proniores. Ea Caesar octo post annos rettulit, 
medium tempus varie arguens, etiam si tormenta per-
vicacia servorum contra evenissent. Dictis dein senten-
tiis ut Serenus more maiorum puniretur, quo molliret 
invidiam, intercessit. Gallus Asinius cum Gyaro aut 
Donusa claudendum censeret, id quoque aspernatus est, 
egenam aquae utramque insulam referens dandosque 
vitae usus, cui vita concederetur. Ita Serenus Amor-
gum reportatur. Et quia Cornutus sua manu ceciderat, 
actum de praemiis accusatorum abolendis, si quis ma-
iestatis postulatus ante perfectum iudicium se ipse vita 
privavisset. Ibaturque in eam sententiam, ni durius 
contraque morem suum palam pro accusatoribus Caesar 
irritas leges, rem publicam in praecipiti conquestus 
esset: subverterent potius iura quam custodes eorum 
amoverent. Sic delatores, genus hominum publico 
extio repertum et ne poenis quidem umquam satis 
coeictum, per praemia eliciabantur.

His tam assiduis tamque maestis modica laetitia in-
tericitur, quod C. Cominium equitem Romanum, pro-
brosi in se carminis convictum, Caesar precibus fratris, 
qu senator erat, concessit. Quo magis mirum habeba-

5. medium tempus, etc.: the 
man was clearly of a bad character, 
and the offences for which he had 
been banished the year before had 
been committed since the affair of 
Libo. But although the emperor 
desired his conviction, it is notice-
able that he took care to make the 
punishment as mild as possible.

da evenissent, had failed

30. more maiorum: by scourging 
and beheading (sec II. 32. 5).

2. Gyaro aut Donusa: two 
small islands among the Cyclades.

3. Amorgum: his former place 
of exile (13. 2).

de praemiis, etc.: see 20. 3; it 
would seem that in such cases the 
informers received their share, even 
although the property as a whole 
was not confiscated.

4. ibatur . . . ni, it was on the 
point of being voted, but.

irritas: sc. fore.

subverterent, abolish.

custodes eorum: see Intr. 16.

To disappoint the accusers of their 
share of the confiscated property, 
and thus put an end to their trade, 
would be to abolish the machinery 
for the punishment of crimes.

5. publico exitio: dative.
tur gnarum meliorum, et quae fama clementiam sequeretur, tristiora malle. Neque enim socordia peccabat; nec occultum est quando ex veritate, quando adumbrata laetitia facta imperatorum celebrentur. Quin ipse, compositus alias et velut elucrantum verborum, solutius promptiusque eloquebatur, quotiens subveniret. At P. Suillium, quaestorem quondam Germanici, cum Italia arceretur convictus pecuniam ob rem iudicandam cepisse, amovendum in insulam censuit, tanta contentione animi ut iure iurando obstringeret e re publica id esse. Quod aspere acceptum ad praesens mox in laudem vertit regresso Suillio; quem vidit sequens aetas praepotentem, venalem et Claudii principis amicitia diu prospere, numquam bene usum. Eadem poena in Curtum Firmium senatum statuitur, tamquam falsis maiestatis criminius sororem petivisset. Catus, ut rettuli, Libonem illexerat insidiis, deinde indicio perculerat. Eius operae memor Tiberius, sed alia praetendens, ex silium deprecatus est; quo minus senatu pelleretur non obstitit.

Pleraque eorum, quae rettuli quaeque referam, parva 32

31. 2. quae fama, etc.: this judgment as to the emperor’s disposition is significant; he always acted with deliberation (neque socordia peccabat), and it was easy to note his gratification when he could temper justice with mercy (quotiens subveniret: sc. reo); but he was not deterred from severe measures by their unpopularity, to which the applause of his flatterers did not blind him (nec occultum est, etc.).

4. elucrantum, struggling forth; i.e. uttered slowly and with difficulty.

5. cum Italia arceretur: the penalty of relegatio (III. 17. 8 n.) was on the point of being voted, when he substituted deportatio in insulam, a punishment which took the place (with enhanced severity) of aquae et ignis interdictio. It required residence in a specified place, generally an island, and entailed loss of citizenship (Mommsen, Röm. Staatsrecht, III. 140).

contentione, earnestness.
iure iurando, etc., swore (I. 14. 6).

6. aspere acceptum: the aristocracy was not fond of seeing justice exercised upon members of its own order.

7. ut rettuli: II. 27. 2.
TACITUS.

[Book IV.

forsitan et levia memoratu videri non nescius sum; sed nemo annales nostros cum scriptura eorum contenderit, qui veteres populi Romani res composuere. Ingentia illi bella, expugnationes urbium, fusos capitque reges, aut si quando ad interna praeverterent, discordias consulum adversum tribunos, agrarias frumentariasque leges, plebis et optimatum certamina libero egressu memorabant: nobis in arto et inglorius labor; immota quippe aut modice lacessita pax, maestae urbis res et princeps proferendi imperii incuriosus erat. Non tamen sine usu fuerit introspicere illa primo aspectu levia, ex

33 quis magnarum saepe rerum motus oriuntur. Nam cunctas nationes et urbes populus aut primores aut singuli regunt; delecta ex iis et consociata rei publicae forma laudari facilius quam evenire, vel si evenit, haud diuturna esse potest. Igitur ut olim plebe valida, vel cum patres pollerent, noscenda vulgi natura et quibus modis temperanter haberetur, senatusque et optimatum ingenia qui maxime perdidicerant, callidi temporum et sapientes credebantur, sic converso statu neque
alia re Romana quam si unus imperitet, haec conquirit tradique in rem fuerit, quia pauci prudentia honesta ab deterioribus, utilia ab noxiis discernunt, plures aliorum eventis docentur. Ceterum ut profutura, ita minimum oblectationis adferunt. Nam situs gentium, varietates proeliorum, clari ductum exitus retinent ac redintegrant legentium animum: nos saeva iussa, continuas accusations, fallaces amicitias, perniciem innocentium et easdem exitu causas coniungimus, obvia rerum similitudine et satietate. Tum quod antiquis scriptoribus rarus obrectator, neque refert cuiusquam Punicas Romanasne acies laetius extuleris: at multorum, qui Tiberio regente poenam vel infamias subiere, posteri remanant. Utque familiae ipsae iam exstinctae sint, qui ablantes qui ob similitudinem morum aliena malefacta sibi obiectari putent. Etiam gloria ac virtus infensos habet, ut nimis ex pinquo diversa arguens. Sed ad inceptum redeo.

Cornelio Cosso Asinio Agrippa consulibus Cremutius Cordus postulatur, novo ac tunc primum audito crimen, quod editis annalibus laudatoque M. Bruto C. Cassium

alia . . . quam, other than; ablative absolute; it was a monarchy in fact, if not in form.

haec: 32. i.
in rem, to the purpose; predicate with fuerit.
pauci, only a few; the distinction is between the discernment of principles and the teaching of experience.

prudentia: ablative.
3. easdem exitu, always having the same issue. Some editors change exitu to exitii.
4. tum quod: for accedit quod, or the like; he goes back to 32, and gives another reason why nemo contenderit, etc.

Romanasne: see App. I.
5. ut, although.
6. ut nimis, etc.: i.e. the nearness of the illustration in time makes the comparison distasteful.

34. Asinio Agrippa: he was son of Asinius Gallus, by Vipsania, daughter of Agrippa.

Cremutius Cordus: he wrote a history of the Civil Wars and one of the reign of Augustus. The work in question had been published some years before.

Romanorum ultimum dixisset. Accusabant Satrius Secundus et Pinarius Natta, Seiani clientes. Id perniciabile reo, et Caesar truci vultu defensionem accipiens quam Cremutius, relinquundae vitae certus, in hunc modum exorsus est: 'Verba mea, patres conscripti, arguuntur: adeo factorum innocens sum. Sed neque haec in principem aut principis parentem, quos lex maiestatis ampectitur; Brutum et Cassium laudavisse dicor, quorum res gestas cum plurimi componuerint, nemo sine honore memoravit. Titus Livius, eloquentiae ac fidei praeterla in primis, Cn. Pompeium tantis laudibus tulit ut Pompeianum eum Augustus appellaret; neque id amicitiae eorum efficet. Scipionem, Afranium, hunc ipsum Cassium, hunc Brutum nusquam latrones et parricidas, quae nunc vocabula imponunt, saepe ut insignis viros nominat. Asinii Pollionis scripta egregiam eorumdem memoriam tradunt; Messalla Corvinus imperato-

2 Romanorum ultimum: Suetonius (Tib. 61) says, quod Brutum Cassiumque ultimos Romanorum dixisset. This term was, however, applied to Cassius by Brutus himself, and was probably taken up by Cordus. This sole example of the condemnation of a literary work by Tiberius is defended by Stahr on the ground that to eulogize Brutus and Cassius because of their assassination of Caesar was an open declaration that the act might rightfully be repeated.

2. Satrius Secundus: the one who afterwards betrayed the plot of Sejanus to Antonia (VI. 47. 2).

Seiani clientes: according to Seneca (Cons. ad Marc. 22. 4), Sejanus was enraged, quod [Cordus] tacitus ferre non potuerat Seianum in cervices nostras ne imponi quidem, sed escendere (see also III. 72. 5 n.).

et Caesar, etc., and also the fact that Caesar, etc.; connected by et with id, i.e. the fact that the accusers were dependents of Sejanus.

acea, so true it is that.


5. Scipionem: Metellus Scipio, father-in-law of Pompey, who led the opponents of Caesar after the death of Pompey; like Cato, he killed himself after the battle of Thapsus. Afranius was another leader of the same party.

quae, etc.: Valerius Maximus, who flourished in the reign of Tiberius, says (I. 8. 8), Cassius numquam sine praefatione publici parricidii nominandus; similarly of Brutus (VI. 4. 5).

rem suum Cassium praedicabat: et uterque opibus atque honoribus perviguere. Marci Ciceronis libro, 7 quo Catonem caelo aequivavit, quid aliud dictator Caesar quam rescripta oratione, velut apud iudices, respondit? Antonii epistulae, Bruti contiones falsa quidem in Augustum propra, sed multa cum acerbitate habent; carmina Bibaculi et Catulli referta contumeliis Caesarum leguntur: sed ipse divus Iulius, ipse divus Augustus et tulere ista et reliquere, haud facile dixerim moderatione magis an sapientia. Namque spreta exolescunt: si irascare, agnita videntur. Non atingo Graecos, quorum 85 non modo libertas, etiam libido impunita; aut si quis advertit, dictis dicta ultus est. Sed maxime solutum et sine obtrectatore fuit prodere de iis quos mors odio aut gratiae exemisset. Num enim armatis Cassio et Bruto 3 ac Philippenses campos obtinentibus belli civilis causa populum per contiones incendo? an illi quidem septuagesimum ante annum perempti, quo modo imaginibus suis noscuntur, quas ne victor quidem abolevit, sic partem memoriae apud scriptores retinent? Suum cuique 4 decus posteritas rependit; nec deerunt, si damnatio ingruit, qui non modo Cassii et Bruti, sed etiam mei meminerint.'

7. Marci Ciceronis, etc.: this book was called Laus Catonis (A. Gell. XIII. 19), or simply Cato (Cic. ad Att. XIII. 46); Caesar replied in a work called Anticato (A. Gell. IV. 16), of which Cicero says (ad Att. XII. 40), colligit vita Catonis, sed cum maximis laudibus meis.

8. Antonii epistulae, etc.: some extracts from these letters are given by Suetonius (Oct. 7, 16, 63, 69). Of these speeches of Brutus nothing is known. Bibaculus was a poet, described by Horace (Sat. II. 5. 40) as of an inflated style. The vulgar abuse of Cæsar in the poems of Catullus (11 and 29) is still extant. spreta, if you despise them. agnita, recognised = confessed. 35. 2. solutum, free.

3. num: when used, as here, to introduce the first member of a double question, num has the same force as in single questions; i.e. the question introduced by num is negative, that introduced by an is asserted,—is it not rather? etc.

4. etiam mei: i.e. as a champion of liberty.
5 Egressus dein senatu vitam abstinentia finivit. Libros per aediles cremandos censueru patres: sed manse-runt, occultati et editi. Quo magis sociordiam eorum irradiere libet, qui prae senti potentia credunt exstinguis posse etiam sequentis aevi memoriam. Nam contra punitis ingeniis gliscit auctoritas, neque alii externi reges aut qui eadem saevitia usi sunt nisi dedecus sibi

36 atque illis gloriam peperere. Ceterum postulandis reis tam continuus annus fuit ut feriarum Latinarum diebus praefectum urbis Drusum, auspiciandi gratia tribunal ingressum, adierit Calpurnius Salvianus in Sextum Marium; quod a Caesaris palam increpitum causa exsilii

5. vitam abstinentia finivit: this is described by Seneca, Consolatio ad Marciam, 22. 6 (Marcia was his daughter, whom he kept in ignorance of his design): in cubiculum se quasi gustaturus contulit et dimissis puerris quaedam per fenestram, ut videretur edisse, proiecit. A cena deinde, quasi tam satis in cubiculo edisset, abstinent. Altero quoque die et tertio idem fecit. Quartus ipsa infirmitate corporis faciebat indicum. Complexus tague te: "Carissima, inquit, "filia, et hoc unum tota celata vita, iter mortis ingressus sum, et iam medium fere tendo. Revocare me nec debes nec potes." Atque ita suscit lumen omne praecauduit et se in tenebras condidit. His daughter afterwards published his writings.

6. auctoritas, influence.

36. continuus, uninterrupted; i.e. even by this solemn festival.

feriarum Latinarum: a movable festival (feriae conceptivae), appointed directly after the new consuls entered upon their office, and generally celebrated in the spring. It was held upon the Alban Mount, at this period for four days.

praefectum urbis: under the kings and in the early republic the chief magistrate appointed a praefectus urbis to administer in his absence, whenever he was absent from the city for more than one day. After the establishment of the office of pretor, that of prefect was no longer necessary, except on the occasion of the Latin Festival, which all magistrates were required to attend. The office became, therefore, a mere form, being filled by young men below the senatorial age, and with the understanding that no business of importance should be brought before them; hence the irregularity of this prosecution. This officer was distinguished from the regular city prefect by the title praefectus urb. feriarum Latinarum causa.

auspicandi: the duty of every magistrate on assuming office. The auspices were regularly taken upon the Arx, or northern summit of the Capitoline; the tribunal employed on this occasion was that which he was entitled to use by virtue of his office.

increpitum: perhaps on the ground of this irregularity; but Ti-

Per idem tempus Hispania ulterior missis ad senatum legatis oravit ut exemplo Asiae delubrum Tiberio matrique eius exstrueret. Qua occasione Caesar, validus alioqui spernendis honoribus et respondentum ratus iis quorum rumore arguebatur in ambitionem flexisse, huiusce modi orationem coepit: 'Scio, patres conscripti, constantiam meam a plerisque desideratam, quod Asiae civitatibus nuper idem istud petentibus non sim adversatus. Ergo et prioris silentii defensionem et quid in futurum statuerim, simul aperiam. Cum divus Augustus sibi atque urbi Romae templum apud Pergamum

berius had not yet wholly lost his disposition to check the excesses of the delators.

2. **Cyzicenis**: they had failed to complete a chapel (ηρων), which they had commenced to Augustus, and had imprisoned some Romans (Dio, LVII. 24).

3. **bello Mithridatis**: this is the siege of Cyzicus mentioned by Cicero in his oration for the Manilian law (8. 20); they had forfeited their privileges once before, in the reign of Augustus, but they had been afterwards restored.

4. **Vibium Serenum**: of course, the son (28. 1).

5. **destrictior**: the figure is taken from a drawn sword,—*more active* or *vindictive*; cf. Plin. *Epp.* IX. 21. 4, *distrincte minatus*.

87. **exemplo Asiae**: see 15. 4; on this occasion the name of the senate was added to those of Tiberius and his mother. Furneaux suggests that the occasion was gratitude for the punishment of Serenus (30).

2. **ambitionem**, *vain-glory*.

3. **desideratam**, *missed*, on the earlier occasion.
sisti non prohibuisset, qui omnia facta dictaque eius vice legis observem, placitum iam exemplum promptius secutus sum, quia cultui meo veneratio senatus adiungebatur. Ceterum ut semel recepisse veniam habuerit, ita omnes per provincias effigie numinum sacrari ambitio-sum superbum; et vanescet Augusti honor, si promisscis adulationibus vulgatur. Ego me, patres conscripti, mortalem esse et hominum officia fungii satisque habere, si locum principem impleam, et vos testor et meminisse posteros volo; qui satis superque memoriae meae tribuent, ut maioribus meis dignum, rerum vestrarum providum, constantem in periculis, offensionum pro utilitate publica non pandidum credant. Haec mihi in animis vestris templta, hae pulcherrimae effigies et mansurae. Nam quae saxo struuntur, si iudicium posterorum in odium vertit, pro sepulcris spernuntur. Proinde socios cives et deos ipsos precor, hos ut mihi ad finem usque vitae quietam et intellegentem humani divinique iuris mentem duint, illos ut, quandoque concessero, cum laude et bonis recordationibus facta atque famam nominis mei sequantur.’ Perstititque posthac secretis etiam sermonibus aspernerari talem sui cultum. Quod alii

4. qui . . . observem: Strabo says (VI. 288), Τιβέριος, κανώνα τῆς διοικήσεως καὶ τῶν προσταγμάτων ποιόμενος ἐκείνον [Augustus].

placitum, approved.

5. effigie numinum, a statue with divine attributes; the genitive defines the class of statues meant; cf. I. 10. 5.

38. officia: Tacitus uscs fungor with the accusative only here and III. 2. I,— in each case quoting from Tiberius, who appears to have affected an archaic style; cf. App. I. (note on III. 2. 1).

ut = dummodo: in this sense generally with a correlative ita. All the merits here claimed must certainly be conceded to him up to this time; later his natural severity of disposition degenerated into unreasoning cruelty.


pro sepulcris: i.e. as the abode of the dead, not of a living deity.


concessero: see II. 71. 2 n.

4. secretis, private.

alii, etc.: Intr. 35 r.
modestiam, multi, quia diffideret, quidam ut degeneris animi interpretabantur. Optimos quippe mortalium altissima cupere: sic Herculem et Liberum apud Graecos, Quirinum apud nos deum numero additos; melius Augustum, qui speraverit. Cetera principibus statim adesse: unum insatiabiliter parandum, prosperam sui memoriam; nam contemptu famae contemni virtutes.

At Seianus nimia fortuna socors et muliebri insuper cupidine incensus, promissum matrimonium flagitante Livia, componit ad Caesarem codicillos: moris quippe tum erat quamquam praesentem scripto adire. Eius talis forma fuit: benevolentia patris Augusti et mox plurimis Tiberii iudiciis ita insuevisse ut spes votaque sua non prius ad deos quam ad principum aures conterret. Neque fulgorem honorum umquam precatum: excubias ac labores, ut unum e militibus, pro incolumi- tate imperatoris malle. Ac tamen quod pulcherrimum adeptum, ut coniunctione Caesaris dignus crederetur: hinc initium spei. Et quoniam audiverit Augustum in collocanda filia non nihil etiam de equitibus Romanis

5. sic Herculem, etc.: see Horace, Od. III. 3. 9-16: Hac arte Pollux et vagus Hercules | Enisus arces attigit igneas, | Quos inter Augustus recumbens | Purpuroo bit ore nectar. | Hac te merentem, Bacche pater, tuae | Vexere tugres, indocii tugum | Collo trahentes,— hac Quirinus | Maris equis Ache- ronta fugit. |
melius: see I. 43. 1 n.
speraverit: contrasted with dif- fideret above.
6. statim: i.e., without effort.
contemptu famae: but in the words, cum laude, etc., there is a noble expression of desire for a more genuine and worthy fame than the popular view of deification.

39. muliebri: relating to Li- villa; cf. I. 33. 6.
codicillos, a memorial.
moris . . . adire: Cesar introduced this practice (Plut. Caes. 17), and Augustus even conversed with his wife Livia on important subjects in writing, ne plus minusve loquere- tur ex tempore (Suet. Oct. 84).
2. eius: related by synesis to codicillos.
4. coniunctione Caesaris: see 7. 3, and III. 29. 5.
5. de equitibus Romanis: Sue- tonius (Oct. 63) says, multis ac diu, etiam ex equestri ordine, circumspec- tis conditionibus; probably Proculeius, mentioned in the next chapter, was one of these.
consultavisse, ita, si maritus Liviae quaereretur, haberet in animo amicum sola necessitudinis gloria usurum.  
6 Non enim exuere imposta munia: satis aestimare firmari domum adversum iniquas Agrippinæ offensiones, idque liberorum causa; nam sibi multum superque vitae fore, quod tali cum princepe explevisset.

Ad ea Tiberius laudata pietate Seiani suisque in eum beneficiis modice percursis, cum tempus tamquam ad integram consultationem petivisset, adiunxit: ceteris mortalibus in eo stare consilia, quid sibi conducere putent; principum diversam esse sortem, quibus praecipua rerum ad famam derigenda. Ideo se non illuc decurrere, quod promptum rescriptu, posse ipsam Liviam statuere nubendum post Drusum an in penatibus isdem tolerandum haberet; esse illi matrem et aviam, propiora consilia. Simplicius acturum, de inimicitii primum Agrippinæ, quas longe acrius arsuras si matrimonium Liviae velut in partes domum Caesarum distraxisset.

Sic quoque erumpere aemulationem feminarum, eaque discordia nepotes suos convelli: quid si intendatur certamen tali coniugio? 'Falleris enim, Seiane, si te man-

sola: i.e. he would aspire to nothing higher; cf. III. 57: 3 n.
necessitudinis, connection (here by marriage).
6. munia: as praetorian prefect.
satis: sc. esse.
domum, etc.; representing Agrippina as his personal enemy.
liberorum causa: not on his own account; for he was protected by the emperor, whom he had no wish to survive (sibi multum, etc.). Furneaux.
40. praecipua rerum: Intr.
35 d.
2. illuc, to this answer; i.e. posse ipsam Liviam, etc.
nubendum: sc. sibi esse.
matrem, aviam: see Intr. p. xxix., no. 19.
3. Agrippinæ: see 39. 6; it will be noticed that fear of Agrippina’s ambition is given as a leading motive of Tiberius at this period. The rivalry of her family (that of Germanicus) with that of Drusus is represented as already strong; the marriage of Livia would give birth to a third faction.
4. sic quoque, even as things were.
nepotes suos: the children of Germanicus and of Drusus.
intendatur, made more intense.
surum in eodem ordine putas, et Liviam, quae Gaio Caesari, mox Druso nupta fuerit, ea mente acturam ut cum equite Romano senescat. Ego ut sinam, credisne passuros qui fratrem eius, qui patrem maioresque nostros in summis imperiiis videre? Vis tu quidem istum intra locum sistere: sed illi magistratus et primores, qui te invitum perrumpunt omnibusque de rebus consulunt, excessisse iam pridem equestre fastigium longeque antisse patris mei amicitias non occulti ferunt, perque invidiam tui me quoque incusant. At enim Augustus filiam suam equiti Romano tradere meditatus est: minor Hercule, si cum in omnis curas distraheretur, immensumque attolli provideret quem conjunctione tali super alios extulisset, C. Proculeium et quosdam in sermonibus habuit insigni tranquillitate vitae, nullis rei publicae negotiis permixtos. Sed si dubitatione Augusti movemur, quanto validius est quod Marco Agrippae, mox mihi collocavit? Atque ego haec pro amicitia non occultavi: ceterum neque tuis neque Liviae destinatis adversabor. Ipse quid intra animum voluta-
verim, quibus adhuc necessitudinibus immiscere te mihi parem, omittam ad praesens referre; id tantum aperiam, nihil esse tam excelsum quod non virtutes istae tuusque in me animus mereantur, datoque tempore vel in senatu vel in contione non reticebo.'

41 Rursum Seianus, non iam de matrimonio, sed altius metuens, tacita suspicionum, vulgi rumorem, ingruitem invidiam deprecatur. Ac ne assiduos in domum coetus arcendo infringeret potentiam aut receptando facultatem criminantibus praebet, huc flexit, ut Tiberti ad vitam procul Roma amoenis locis degendam impelleret. Multa quippe providebat: sua in manu aditus litterarumque magna ex parte se arbitrum fore, cum per milites commearent; mox Caesarem vergente iam senecta secretoque loci mollitum munia imperii facilius tramissurum: et minui sibi invidiam adempta salutantum turba, sublatisque inanibus veram potentiam augeri.

42 Ac forte habita per illos dies de Votieno Montano,

41. rursum, in reply, in a second letter.
altius: i.e. the intimation that he was looked upon as already too powerful.
suspicionum: Intr. 35 d.
2. assiduos coetus: relates to qui ... consulunt in the last chapter: by excluding the nobles from his house he would be guilty of an affront, by receiving them he would incur more and more suspicion.
3. aditus: sc. ad principem.
per milites: soldiers called speculatores (see Suet. Calig. 44) were employed as couriers in the army, although the regular letter-carriers (tabellarii) of the imperial post were ordinarily slaves or freedmen. Hirschfeld, Untersuchungen, p. 105.
tramissurum, let slip through his hands.
adempta ... turba: the crowd of dependents and parasites who every morning attended the hall of the great man.
4. praecipua ... agitari: i.e. there would be leisure to attend to really important concerns.
42. Votieno Montano: an orator of some distinction, — rarissimi,
celebris ingenii viro, cognitio cunctantem iam Tiberium perpulit ut vitandos crederet patrum coetus vocesque, quae plerumque verae et graves coram ingerebantur. Nam postulato Votieno ob contumelias in Caesarem dicatas, testis Aemilius e militaribus viris dum studio probandi cuncta refert et quamquam inter obstrepentes magna asseveratione nititur, audivit Tiberius probratis per occultum lacerabatur, adeoque perculsus est ut se vel statim vel in cognitione purgaturum clamitaret precibusque proximorum, adulatione omnium aegre componeret animum. Et Votienus quidem maiestatis passionis adfectus est. Caesar obiectam sibi adversus reos inclementiam eo pervicacius amplexus Aquiliam adulterii delatam cum Vario Ligure, quamquam Lentulus Gaetulicus consul designatus lege Iulia damnasset, exsilio punivit Apidiumque Merulam, quod in acta divi Augusti non iuraverat, albo senatorio erasit.

Auditae dehinc Lacedaemoniorum et Messeniorum legationes de iure templi Dianae Limnatidis, quod suis

etiam si non emendatissimi ingenii (Sen. Contr. IX. 5. 15).

cunctantem iam: he had already brought the emperor to consider the project, but he still hesitated.

voces, abusive language.

coram, in his presence, contrasted with per occultum below.

2. obstrepentes: i.e. the senators, in the effort to drown his voice, which he raised above the din (magna asseveratione); cf. obtrababant, VI. 24. 4.

lacerabatur: the imperfect shows that it is not the specific assaults of Votienus that excited him, but the knowledge that he was popularly the object of attacks of this nature. See Intr. 14.

cognitione, the trial; at present it was only a preliminary examination.

3. eo pervicacius amplexus: driven by these indignities to accept with insistence the character of severity which had been attributed to him.

damnasset: i.e. had given his sententia to this effect, having been called upon first, as consul designatus; so with punivit.

exsilio: this punishment entailed the loss of citizenship and property; while the Lex Iulia inflicted temporary exile, with loss of only a part of the property (II. 50. 5 n.).

in... iuraverat: see I. 72. 2.

48. de iure templi: i.e. the jurisdiction over it. The temple was at Limnæ, on the confines of
Messenia and Laconia. It will be remembered that Messenia was for several hundred years subject to the Lacedaemonians, so that questions of boundary and jurisdiction might easily arise.

Macedonius Philippi: the father of Alexander the Great.

2. divisionem Peloponnesi: at the Doric conquest of the Peloponnesus, the so-called Return of the Heraclidae, at the traditional date of B.C. 1104. At this time the three great Doric states of Argos, Sparta, and Messene were founded.

Denthaliam agrum: probably the name of the district in which the temple was situated. A late writer, Stephanus Byzantius, speaks of certain $\delta\varepsilon\nu\theta\delta\alpha\iota\iota\omega\varsigma$, who are perhaps the same.

3. locupletiores, more reliable. potestas, by an arbitrary act of power.

4. regis Antigoni: Antigonus Doson; he invaded the Peloponnesus, B.C. 223, and died two years later.

imperators Mummii: the Roman commander who captured Corinth, B.C. 146.

5. permissio . . . arbitrio: i.e. they had been taken as umpires. An inscription containing their judgment has been discovered, from which it appears that the vote in favor of the Messenian claim was 584 to 16. From this Furneaux infers "that the case was clear, and that the subsequent counter-decision was probably an instance in which Antonius had traded on the memorandum of Caesar." The date was probably B.C. 135.

Atidium Geminum: perhaps B.C. 29 (Nipperdey).

6. Segestani: the people of Segesta, in Sicily, near Mount Eryx. The worship of Venus on this mountain was believed to have been founded by Aeneas (Verg. Aen. V. 759) in honor of his brother Eryx, son of Venus and Butes. The form Erycum is found in Cicero (Verr. Act. II., II. 8. 22; 47. 115).
dilapsam, restaurari postulavere, nota memorantes de origine eius et laeta Tiberio. Suscepit curam libens ut consanguineus. Tunc tractatae Massiliensium preces 7 probatumque P. Rutilii exemplum; namque eum legibus pulsum civem sibi Zymrnaei addiderant. Quo iure 8 Vulcatius Moschus exsul in Massilienses receptus bona sua rei publicae eorum ut patriae reliquerat.

Obiere eo anno viri nobiles Cn. Lentulus et L. Domitianus. Lentulo super consulatum et triumphalia de Getis gloriae fuerat bene tolerata paupertas, dein magnae opes innocenter partae et modeste habitae. Domitian decoravit pater civili bello maris potens, donec Antonii partibus, mox Caesaris misceretur. Avus Pharsalica acie pro optimatibus ceciderat. Ipse delectus, 3 cui minor Antonia, Octavia genita, in matrimonium

**laeta Tiberio**: because the Julian race, to which he belonged by adoption, professed to be descended from Iulus, son of Aeneas; this made him **consanguineus**.

7. **preces**: explained by what follows. The will of Moschus had been contested on the ground that he could not thus expatriate himself; but it was sustained by the precedent of Rutilius (III. 66. 2), who, under similar circumstances, had become a citizen of Smyrna.

8. **Massilienses**: this rich and populous commercial city, although deprived of most of its territory by Julius Caesar, B.C. 49, still, like Rhodes (I. 4. 4 n.), retained its independence, as a *civitas foederata* (Plin. *N. H.* III. 4. 35), and possessed therefore the *ius exsilii*, or right of receiving exiled Roman citizens.

**44. Cn. Lentulus**: see I. 27. 1. The Getæ, whom he subdued, were a Thracian people residing upon both banks of the Danube, probably identical with the Dacians.

**L. Domitianus**: grandfather of the emperor Nero. His grandfather, Lucius Domitianus Ahenobarbus, fell at Pharsalus on the side of Pompey (*pro optimatibus*); he was, says Suetonius (*Nero*, 2), *vir neque satis constans et ingegeo truci*, and adds that he favored treating neutrals as enemies.

**gloriae**: dative of service.

2. **miseretur, joined.**

**pater civili bello maris potens**: this son Gnaeus, whom Suetonius (*Nero*, 3) pronounces *omnibus gentis suae procul dubio praeverendum*, commanded the republican fleet, under Brutus and Cassius, and after the downfall of his party, delivered it up to Antony, receiving therefor pardon, and retaining his property; he afterwards went over to Octavius. He is the *Enobarbus* of Shakespeare.

**3. minor Antonia**: Suetonius
daretur, post exercitu flumen Albim transcendit, longius penetrata Germania quam quisquam priorum, easque ob res insignia triumphi adeptus est. Obiit et L. Antonius, multa claritudine generis, sed impospera. Nam patre eius Iulo Antonio ob adulterium Iuliae morte punito hunc admodum adultescens, sororis nepotem, seposuit Augustus in civitatem Massiliensem, ubi specie studiorum nomen exsilii tegeratur. Habitus tamen supremae honor, ossaque tumulo Octaviorum illata per decretum senatus.

Isdem consulibus facinus atrox in citeriore Hispania admissum a quodam agresti nationis Termestinae. Is praetorem provinciae L. Pisonem, pace incuriosum, ex improviso ad exercitus adficiit; ac pernicitate equi profugus, postquam saevius postquam saevius attigerat, dimisso equo per deruptam et avia sequitur frustratus est. Neque diu fefeller: nam prenso ducitoque per proximos pagos equo, cuius foret cognitum.

Et repertus cum tormentis edere conscios adigeretur, voce magna sermone patrio frustra se interrogari clamitavit: assisterent socii ac spectarent; nullam vim tantam doloris fore ut veritatem eliceret. Idemque cum postero ad quaestionem retraheretur, eo nisu pro-

(Nero, 5) says it was the elder, no doubt correctly (see III. 3. 2 n.). For their son, the father of Nero, see 75. 1.

Post...aepetus est: he commanded in Germany for six years, ending B.C. 1 (see I. 63. 6).

5. Iulo Antonio: see I. 10. 3.

sororis nepotem: his mother was Marcella, daughter of Octavia, the sister of Augustus.

specie studiorum: so Agricola sedem ac magastram studiorum Massiliam habuit, locum Graeca comitate et provinciali parsimonia mistum ac bene compositum (Tac. Agr. 4).

45. Termestinae: of Termes, west of Numantia.

praetorem, etc.: this being an imperial province, was governed by a legatus pro praetore of the emperor (see Intr. 17 and 18, B. 17).

L. Pisonem: believed to have been the elder of the two brothers to whom Horace addressed the epistle known as Ars Poetica: O maior iuvenum, etc.
ripuit se custodibus saxoque caput adfixit ut statim examinaretur. Sed Piso Termestinorum dolo caesus habetur; quippe pecunias e publico interceptas acrius quam ut tolerarent barbari cogebant.

Lentulo Gaetulico C. Calvisio consulibus decreta triumphi insignia Poppaeo Sabino contusis Thraecum gentibus, qui montium editis inculto atque eo ferocius agitabant. Causa motus super hominum ingenium, quod pati dilectus et validissimum quemque militiae dare aspersabantur, ne regibus quidem parere nisi ex libidine soliti, aut si mitterent auxilia, suos duces praeficere nec nisi adversum accolas belligerare. Ac tum rumor incesserat fore ut disiecti aliisque nationibus permixti diversas in terras traherentur. Sed antequam arma inciperent, misere legatos amicitiam obsuequiumque memoraturos, et mansura haec, si nullo onere temptarentur: sin ut victis servitium indiceretur, esse sibi ferrum et iuventutem et promptum libertati.

4. custodibus: dative after pro-ripuit, with the construction of eripere.

5. pecunias e publico: i.e. due from the town of Termes.

interceptas, withheld: he, as governor, exacted the tribute with excessive rigor.

46. Lentulo Gaetulico: he afterwards conspired against Caligula, and was put to death by him.

Poppaeo Sabino: see I. 80. 1.

montium editis: cf. subiecta vallium, I. 65. 1; these were in the Hæmus range, north of the cultivated parts of Thrace.


2. pati dilectus, etc.: the change from their native license to the strictness of the Roman administration was too great.

ne regibus quidem, etc.: cf. Tac. Germ. 7; nec regibus infinita aut libera potestas, et duces exemplo potius quam imperio ... praesunt.

suos ductores: so as not to form a part of the Roman army, like the auxiliaries, who served under Roman praefecti, but, like the later foederati, as an independent, national force.

3. disiecti, etc.: this was the Roman policy, to prevent local or national sympathies in the several armies; but it had not been enforced in this turbulent region.

diversas, distant: cf. the complaints of the Pannonian legions (I. 17. 5), trohi diversas in terras.

4. memoratuos: this form, since Livy, often expresses purpose.

haec: their present condition of order and obedience.
aut ad mortem animum. Simul castella rupibus indita
collatosque illuc parentes et coniuges ostentabant bel-

lumque impeditum arduum cruentum mimitabantur. At
Sabinus, donec exercitus in unum conduceret, datis
mitibus responsis, postquam Pomponius Labeo e Moesia
cum legione, rex Rhoemetalces cum auxiliis popularium,
qui fidem non mutaverant, venere, addita praesenti copia
ad hostem pergit compositum iam per angustias sal-
tuum. Quidam audentius apertis in collibus visebantur,
quos dux Romanus acie suggressus haud aegre pepulit,
sanguine barbarorum modico ob propinqua suffugia.

Mox castris in loco communitis valida manu montem
occupat, angustum et aequali dorso continuum usque ad
proximum castellum, quod magna vis armata aut incond-
dita tuebatur. Simul in feroxissimos, qui ante vallum
more gentis cum carminibus et tripudiis persultabant,
mittit delectos sagittariorum. Ii dum minus grassa-
bantur, crebra et inulta vulnera fecere: propius ince-
dentes eruptione subita turbati sunt receptique subsidio
Sugambrae cohortis, quam Romanus promptam ad peri-
cula nec minus cantuum et armorum tumultu trucem
haud procul instruxerat. Translata dehinc castra hos-
tem propter, relictis apud priora munimenta Thraecibus,
quos nobis adfuisset memoravi. Tisque perm issum vas-


47. Pomponius Labeo: governor of Moesia (VI. 29. 1).

Rhoemetalces: king of a part of Thrace (II. 67. 4); he was re-
quired to furnish auxiliaries (5. 5).

compositum, gathered together.

2. visebantur, showed themselves.
suffugia: in the mountain re-
treats.

3. aequali dorso continuum, stretching in a continuous ridge.

incondita: only in part armed
and disciplined (cf. III. 43. 2).

4. tripudiis, a war dance.

5. recepti, rescued.

nec minus: i.e. than the Thra-
cians. The Sugambrians were a
German tribe who had been removed
to the west bank of the Rhine (see
II. 26. 3), and who were afterwards
merged in the Franks.

cantuum et armorum tumultu:
it is well known what terror is in-
spired by the Indian war-whoop;
tare, trahere praedas, dum populatio lucem intra sistere-
tur noctemque in castris tutam et vigilem capesserent.  
Id primo servatum: mox versi in luxum et raptis opu-
3 lenti omittere stationes, lascivia epularum aut somno et 
vino procumbere.

Igitur hostes incuria eorum comperta duo agmina 4 
parant, quorum altero populatores invaderentur, alii ca-
stra Romana appugnarent, non spe caviendi, sed ut cla-
more telis suo quisque periculo intentus sonorem alterius 
proelii non acciperet.  Tenebrae insuper delectae augen-
dam ad formidinem.  Sed qui vallum legionum tempta-
5 bant, facile pelluntur; Thraecum auxilia repentino in-
cursu territa, cum pars munionibus adiacerent, plures 
extra palarentur, tanto insensius caesi, quanto perfugae 
et prodiores ferre arma ad suum patriaeque servitium 
incusabantur.  Postera die Sabinus exercitum aequo 49 
loco ostendit, si barbari successu noctis alacres proelium 
auderent.  Et postquam castello aut coniunctis tumulis 2 
non degredieabantur, obsidium coepit per praesidia, quae 
opportune iam muniebat; dein fossam loricamque con-
texens quattuor milia passuum ambitu amplexus est; 
tum paulatim, ut aquam pabulumque eriperet, contra-
here claustra artaque circumdare; et struebatur agger, 
unde saxa hastae ignes propinquum iam in hostem

Tacitus describes the war-songs of 
the Germans, Germ. 3.
48. 3. id, these directions.
somno et vino: a hendiadys, — 
a drunken sleep; cf. Verg. Aen. IX. 
189.
5. munionibus adiacerent: 
explaining the carelessness of their 
watch, — lying around instead of 
standing guard; cf. I. 65. 1.
quanto, in proportion as; they 
were more incensed against their 
traitorous countrymen than against 
the Romans.
49. 2. castello: 47. 3.
presidia, redoubts.
loricam: properly the work con-
structed to strengthen the palisade 
(vallum), here used for the whole 
breastwork.  This was constructed 
from redoubt to redoubt, making a 
continuous circumvallation enclos-
ing the fortress.
claustra: the fortified line de-
TACITUS.

3 iacerentur. Sed nihil aeque quam sitis fatigabat, cum ingens multitudo bellatorum imbellium uno reliquo fonte uterentur; simul equi armenta, ut mos barbaris, iuxta clausa, egestate pabuli examinari; adiacere corpora hominum, quos vulnera, quos sitis peremerat; pollui cuncta sanie odore contactu.

50 Rebusque turbatis malum extremum discordia accessit, his deditionem, aliis mortem et mutuos inter se ictus parantibus; et erant qui non inultum exitium, sed erup-tionem suaderent. Neque ignobiles tantum his diversi sententiis, verum e ducibus Dinis, provectus senecta et longo usu vim atque clementiam Romanam edoctus, ponenda arma, unum adficits id remedium disserebat, pri-musque se cum coniuge et liberr victori permisit; secuti aetate aut sexu imbecilli et quibus maior vitae quam gloriae cupido. At iuventus Tarsam inter et Turesim distrahebatur. Utrique destinatum cum libertate occi-dere, sed Tarsa properum finem, abrumpendas pariter spes ac metus clamitans, dedit exemplum demisso in pectus ferro; nec defuere qui eodem modo oppeterent.

5 Turesis sua cum manu noctem opperitur, haud nescio duce nostro; igitur firmatae stationes densioribus glo-bis. Et ingruebat nox nimbo atrox, hostisque clamore turbido, modo per vastum silentium, incertos obsessores effecerat, cum Sabinus circumire, hortari ne ad ambigua

scribed above; by advancing this (contrahere), the enclosed space became arta.

3. imbellium: the non-combatants—women, children, etc.; cf. 50. 2; 51. 2.

4. iuxta clausa, shut up along with them.

50. 2. neque ignobiles tan-tum: see App. I.; it was not only the commonalty who were thus di-vided in opinion, but even one of the leaders favored surrender, while those opposed to him were divided between the two parties headed by Tarsa and Turesis (3).

6. modo: answers to modo un-derstood before clamore turbido.

vastum: cf. III. 4. 1, dies per silentium vastus.

ad: i.e. in reference to, by giving heed to, etc.
sonitus aut simulationem quietis casum insidiantibus aperirent, sed sua quisque munia servarent immoti telisque non in falsum iactis. Interea barbari catervis de currentes nunc in vallum manualia saxa, praecustas sudes, decisa robora iacere, nunc virgultis et cratibus et corporibus exanimis complere fossas, quidam pontis et scalas ante fabricati inferre propugnaculis eaque prensare, de- trahere et adversum resistentis comminus niti. Miles contra deturbare telis, pellere umbonibus, muralia pilae, congestas lapidum moles provolvere. His partae victoriae spes et, si cedant, insignitius flagitium, illis extrema iam salus et assistentes plerisque matres et coniuges earumque lamenta addunt animos. Nox aliis in audaciam, aliis ad formidinem opportuna; incerti ictus, vulnera improvisa; suorum atque hostium igno- ratio et montis anfractu repercussae velut a tergo voces adeo cuncta miscuerant ut quaedam munimenta Romani quasi perrupta omiserint. Neque tamen pervasere hostes nisi admodum pauci: ceteros, deiecto promptissimo quoque aut saucio, appetente iam luce trusere in summa castelli, ubi tandem coacta deditio. Et proxima sponte incolarum recepta; reliquis, quo minus vi aut obsidio subigerentur, praematura montis Haemi et saeva hiems subvenit.

casum = occasionem.
in falsum: i.e. into empty space.
51. catervis: cf. Hist. II. 42. 4, catervis et cuneis concurrebant.
manualia: capable of being grasped with the hand.
iacere . . . provolvere: Intr. 35 k. 2. muralia, to be thrown from the walls: larger javelins than those used in battle.
his: the Romans; illis: the barbarians.

partae: the victory was just in their hands; but their confidence became only a hope by the obsti- nacy of their antagonists.
3. aliis . . . aliis: the barbarians . . . the Romans.
omiserint, neglected to guard; cf. I. 36. 2 n.; 47. 1.
5. proxima: the country round about.
sponte, by the voluntary submis- sion; cf. 7. 3 n.; II. 59. 3.

2. sobrina, second cousin. Her mother, Marcella, was daughter of Octavia; see table, Intr. p. xxix.


2. recens praetura: a new construction; cf. recens dolore, I. 41. 4.

devotiones: see II. 69. 5.

3. atrox, harsh.

4. quo initio invidiae, taking this act as an occasion for her reproaches.

effigies: referring to the image of Augustus, before which they stood.

divinum spiritum: i.e. of Augustus.

suscipere sordes, put on mourning.

5. praescribi, given as a pretext.

Sosiae: see 19. i.

6. occulti pectoris vocem, betrayal of his hidden feelings.

correptamque Graeco versu admonuit non ideo laedi, quia non regnaret. Pulchra et Furnius damnantur. Afer primoribus oratorum additus, divulgato ingenio et secuta asseveratione Caesares, qua suo iure disertum eum ap-
pellavit. Mox capessendis accusationibus aut reos tando prosperiore eloquentiae quam morum fama fuit, nisi quod aetas extrema multum etiam eloquentiae dempsit, dum fessa mente retinet silentii impatietiam.

At Agrippina pervicax irae et morbo corporis implicata, cum viseret eam Caesar, profusis diu ac per silentium lacrimam, max invidiam et preces orditur: subveniret solitudini, daret maritum; habilem adhuc iuventam sibi, neque aliud probis quam ex matrimonio solacium; esse in civitate Germanici coniugem ac liberis eius recipere dignarentur. Sed Caesar non ignarus quantum ex re publica peteretur, ne tamen offensionis aut metus manifestus foret, sine responso quamquam instantem reliquit. Id ego, a scriptoribus annalium non traditum, repperi in commentariis Agrippinae filiae, quae Neronis principis mater vitam suam et casus suorum posteris memoravit. Ceterum Seianus maerentem et improvidam altius perculit, immissis qui per speciem amicitiae monerent paratum ei venenum, vitandas soceri epulas. Atque illa simulationum nescia, cum propter discumberet, non vultu aut sermone flecti, nullos attingere cibos, donec advertit Tiberius, forte an quia audiverat; idque quo acerius experiretur, poma, ut erant apposita, laudans nurui sua manu tradidit. Aucta

8. nisi quod: cf. Tac. Agr. 6. silentii impatietiam: Quintilian (XII. ii. 3) adds that it was said of him, malle eum deficere quam desinere.

53. invidiam et preces: mingled entreaties and reproaches.

habilem, marriageable.

Germanici: there is before this word a gap of about fourteen letters, probably to be filled by something in the sense of qui in memoriam.

2. quantum ex republica: i.e. her sons being the only surviving heirs to the throne, her husband would occupy a public position.

3. Agrippinae filiae: the younger Agrippina, infamous for her debaucheries.

54. 2. non . . . flecti: her countenance and voice showed unfriendliness, and this she did not change during the interview.

ut erant apposita, just as they were placed upon the table, not tasting them first himself.
318

TACITUS.

(Book IV.

ex eo suspicio Agrippinae, et intacta ore servis trasmit.
Nec tamen Tiberii vox coram secula, sed, obversus ad
matrem, non mirum ait si quid severius in eam statuis-
set, a qua veneficiis insimulare tur. Inde rumor parari
exitium, neque id imperatorem palam audere, secretum
ad perpetrandam quaeri.

55 Sed Caesar quo famam averteret, adesse frequens
senatui legatosque Asiae, ambigentes quanam in civitate
2 templum statueretur, pluris per dies audivit. Undecim
urbes certabant, pari ambitione, viribus diversae. Neque
multum distantia inter se memorabant de vetustate ge-
neris, studio in populum Romanum per bella Persi et
3 Aristonici aliorumque regum. Verum Hypaepeni Tral-
lianique Laodicenis ac Magnetibus simul tramissi ut
4 parum validi; ne Ilienses quidem, cum parentem urbis
Romae Troiam referrent, nisi antiquitatis gloria polle-
bant. Paulum addubitatum, quod Halicarnasii mille et
ducentos per annos nullo motu terrae nutavisse sedes

3. coram, addressed to her. statuisset, should determine, re-
representing the future perfect of direct
address.
4. secretum, a secret opportunity.
55. famam: of his designs
against Agrippina.
templum: see 15. 4.
audivit: joined by a peculiar
combination with the historical in-
finite adesse.
2. Persi: this form of this gen-
tive (as if from Perses) is found
also in Sallust. Perseus, king of
Macedonia, was subdued by the
Romans in the battle of Pydna,
B.C. 168.

Aristonici: Aristonicus, natural
son of Eumenes II., king of Per-
gamus, revolted after the death of
Attalus III., and attempted to set
aside the provisions of his will,
which bequeathed his dominions to
the Roman people. He was cap-
tured and sent to Rome, where he
was beheaded, B.C. 129.

3. Hypaepeni, etc.: Hypæpa
was a town on the southern slope
of Mt. Tmolus; Tralles, Laodicea,
and Magnesia had all been consid-
erable towns, but had suffered from
earthquakes (Strabo, XII. 579); the
Magnesia mentioned by Strabo is
the one Ἰππαπα, from which it is
probable that that is the one here
referred to.
simul: used here as a preposi-
tion, governing the ablative (Intr.
35 7); cf. III. 64. 3.
tramissi, passed over.
4. Ilienses: see II. 54. 3 n.
5. Halicarnasii: Halicarnassus,
in Caria, was the most important
of the Dorian cities of Asia Minor.
suas vivoque in saxo fundamenta templi asseveraverant. Pergamenos (eo ipso nitebantur) aede Augusto ibi sita satis adeptos creditum. Ephesii Milesiique, hi Apollinis, illi Dianae caerimonia occupavisse civitates visi.

Ita Sardianos inter Zmyrnaeos delibertatum. Sar- diani decretum Etruriae recitavere ut consanguinei: nam Tyrre-num Lydumque Atye rege genitos ob multitudinem divisisse gentem; Lydum patriis in terris resedisse, Tyrre-no datum novas ut conderet sedes; et ducum e nominibus indita vocabula illis per Asiam, his in Italia; auctamque adhuc Lydorum opulentiam missis in Graeciam populis, cui mox a Pelope nomen. Simul litteras imperatorum et icta nobiscum foedera bello Macedonum ubertatemque fluminum suorum, tempo- riem caeli ac dites circum terras memorabant. At Zmyrnaei repetita vetustate, seu Tantalus Iove ortus, sive Theseus divina et ipse stirpe, sive una Ama- 6. Pergamenos: see 37. 4, and III. 63. 3.

eo ipso, etc.: what they gave as the ground of their claim was in reality decisive against it.

Ephesii Milesiique: see III. 61. 1, and 63. 5.

civitates: sc. suas; i.e. these cults had occupation of the cities, so that they would obscure any new one.

7. Sardianos: they too had suffered from an earthquake (II. 47. 3), but had probably been restored.

Zmyrnaeos: see III. 63. 4.

Etruriae: in the old days of its power.

Atye rege: Atys, a traditionary king of Lydia, son of Hercules and Omphale.

novas . . . sedes: Herodotus also tells this story (I. 94): ἄμοικ- σαν εἰς Ὄμβρουκοις, ἕκα πυγάς ἐνι- δρύσασθαι πόλις καὶ οἰκίεν τὸ μέχρι τοῦτο. The story, however, has little historical value; the Etruscans probably entered Italy from the north.

auctam adhuc, further increased.

cui: properly only a part of Greece.

Pelope: Pelops, from whom the Peloponnesus was named, was believed to have been son of Tantalus, a king of Lydia.

8. litteras imperatorum: i.e. Roman generals of the republic.

bello Macedonum: the war with Perseus (see 55. 2 n.).

ubertatem fluminum: the gold sands of the River Pactolus are pro- verbal, although it yielded no gold at this time.

circum: an adverb, but with ad- jective force; cf. superne, II. 20. 3 n.

56. et ipse: i.e. as well as Tan- talus.

Theseus: he was asserted to
zonum condidisset, transcendere ad ea, quis maxime fidebant, in populum Romanum officiis, missa navali copia non modo externa ad bella, sed quae in Italia tolerabatur; seque primos templum urbis Romae statuisse, M. Porcio consule, magnis quidem iam populi Romani rebus, nondum tamen ad summum elatis, stante adhuc Punicæ urbe et validis per Asiam regibus. Simul L. Sullam testem adferebant, gravissimo in discrimine exercitus ob asperitatem hiemis et penuriam vestis, cum id Zmyrnæam in contionem nuntiatæ foret, omnes qui astabant detraxisse corpori tegmina nostrisque legionibus misisse. Ita rogati sententiam patres Zmyrnæaeos praetulere. Censuitque Vibius Marsus, ut M'. Lepido, cui ea provincia obvenerat, super numerum legaretur qui templi curam susciperet. Et quia Lepidus ipse deligere per modestiam abnuebat, Valerius Naso e praetoriis sorte missus est.

57 Inter quae diu meditato prolatoque saepius consilio tandem Caesar in Campaniam abscessit, specie dedicandi templæ apud Capuam Iovi, apud Nolam Augusto, sed

have been son, not of Αἰγες, but of Poseidon.

officiis: attracted to the case of quis.

quae in Italia tolerabatur: i.e. the Social War, B.C. 90.

M. Porcio: Marcus Porcius Cato was consul, B.C. 195, five years before Antiochus the Great, who ruled over all Western Asia (validis per Asiam regibus), was defeated at Magnesia. Carthage was not destroyed until 146. The designation of a year by the name of one consul alone is unusual; probably it is done because of Cato’s fame. This mode of recognizing the growing greatness of Rome is an interesting illustration of the religious thought of the ancients.

2. gravissimo in discrimine: B.C. 84, during the war against Mithridates.

3. ea provincia: Lepidus is shown also by an inscription to have been proconsul of Asia.

super numerum, etc.: i.e. an additional legatus, to take charge of the temple; the regular number of legati for the proconsul of a senatorial province of the highest grade, was three, selected by himself, usually from men of consular dignity.

57. Nolam: the place of Augustus’ death; see I. 9. 1.
certus procul urbe degere. Causam abscessus quam-quam secutus plurimos auctorum ad Seiani artes rettuli, quia tamen caede eius patrata sex postea annos pari secreto coniunxit, plerumque permoveor num ad ipsum referri verius sit, saevitiam ac libidinem cum factis promeret, locis occultantem. Erant qui crederent in senectute corporis quoque habitum pudori fuisse: quippe illi praegracilis et incurva proceritas, nudus capillo vertex, ulcerosa facies ac plerumque medicamnibus interstincta; et Rhodi secreto vitare coetus, recondere voluptates insuerat. Traditur etiam matris impotentia extrusum, quam dominationis sociam aspernabatur neque depellere poterat, cum dominationem ipsam donum eius accepisset. Nam dubitaverat Augustus Germanicum, sororis nepotem et cunctis laudatum, rei Romanae imponere, sed precibus uxoris evictus Tiberio Germanicum, sibi Tiberium ascivit. Idque Augusta exprobrabat, reposcebat. Prefectio arto comitatu fuit: unus senator

2. causam abscessus: Pistner (L. Ælius Sejanus, Landshut 1880) points out the great advantage which the ruler of the empire would have in being removed from the necessity of attending in person to wearisome details, long-continued sessions of the senate, etc.

eius: Sejanus was overthrown A.D. 31; Tiberius died 37. The reasoning is not valid, as a life of seclusion begun by the influence of Sejanus might have been kept up by inertia or an acquired liking.

permoveor num: in the sense of nescio an, I am inclined to think.

saevitiam...occultantem, concealing by seclusion [locis] the cruelty and debauchery of which he was guilty in act; the unusual order emphasizes the bad qualities.

3. corporis habitum, etc.: this description of the old man is in painful contrast with the manly beauty displayed in the statues of Tiberius. Rhodi: genitive, not locative. There is very little ground for accepting the stories of a debauched life at Rhodes, when he was in the prime of an honorable manhood, however it may have been at Capri, in his debased old age.

4. impotentia, arrogance. Suetonius (Tib. 50 and 51) also gives this as a cause of his retirement.

5. dubitaverat, had considered with hesitation, inclined; a rare use of dubito, but found also in the classical age (cf. Cic. Att. XII. 49. 1).

ascivit: i.e. caused his adoption (see I. 3. 5).

reposcebat: i.e. recognition, as of a debt or obligation.

58. arto, scanty.
consulatu functus, Cocceius Nerva, cui legum peritia, eques Romanus praeter Seianum ex illustribus Curtius Atticus, ceteri liberalibus studiis praediti, ferme Graeci, quorum sermonibus levaretur.

2 Ferebant periti caelestium iis motibus siderum exces-sisse Roma Tiberium, ut reditus illi negaretur. Unde exitii causa multis fuit properum finem vitae coniectantibus vulgantibusque; neque enim tam incredibilem casum providebant ut undecim per annos libens patria careret. Mox patuit breve confinium artis et falsi, vera-que quam obscuris tegerentur. Nam in urbem non regressurum haud forte dictum: ceterorum nescii egere, cum propinquu rure aut litore et saepe moenia urbis as-sidens extremam senectam compleverit.

59 Ac forte illis diebus oblatum Caesari aniceps periculo-rum auxit vana rumoris, praebuatque ipsi materiem cur amicitiae constantiaeque Seiani magis fideret. Vesce-bantur in villa, cui vocabulum Speluncae, mare Amun-clanum inter et Fundanos montes, nativo in specu.

Cocceius Nerva: a distinguished jurist, belonging to the school of Labeo (see III. 75. 2 n.), grandfather of the emperor Nerva; his death is related VI. 26. 1. The selection by Tiberius of a man of his unblemished character and free principles as his chief companion, goes a great way to show that his object in secluding himself was not to indulge in private debauchery. The company of those liberalibus studiis praediti indicates that it was his intention to spend the rest of his life in the cultivation of literature. ex illustribus: see II. 59. 4; this class included also the younger members of senatorial families, who had not yet been admitted to the senate.

2. periti caelestium, astrologers.
3. artis, genuine science,—the prediction that he would never return was true (artis); that he was soon to die was guess-work (falsi). quam: interrogative.
4. forte, at hae=azard.
ceterorum: neuter.
egere, they were.
assidens, close to.
59. 2. Speluncae: the name is preserved in the modern village of Sperlonga.
mare Amunclanum, etc.: the town of Fundi lay at the foot of the mountains, at some distance from the coast; Amuncle or Amycle was on the sea at the nearest point to Fundi. This whole region abounds in natural caverns.
Eius os lapsis repente saxis obruit quosdam ministros; 3 hinc metus in omnes et fuga eorum qui convivium celebrabant. Seianus genu vultuque et manibus super Caesarem suspensus opposuit sese incidentibus, atque habitu tali repertus est a militibus qui subsidio venerant.

Maior ex eo et, quamquam exitiosa suaderet, ut non sui anxius, cum fide audiebatur. Assimulabatque judicis partes adversum Germanici stirpem, subditis qui accusatorum nomina sustinerent maximeque insectarentur Neronem proximum successioni et, quamquam modesta iuventa, plerumque tamen quid impreasentiarum conducet oblitiu, dum a libertis et clientibus, apiscendae potentiae properis, exstimulator ut erectum et fidentem animi ostenderet: velle id populum Romanum, cupere exercitus, neque ausurum contra Seianum, qui nunc patientiam senis et segnitiam iuvenis iuxta insultet. Haec atque talia audienti nihil quidem pravae cogitationis, sed interdum voces procedebant contumaces et inconsultae, quas appositi custodes exceptas auctasque cum deferrent neque Neroni defendere daret, diversae insuper sollicitudinum formae oriebantur. Nam alius 2 occurrsum eius vitare, quidam salutatione reddita statim averti, plerique inceptum sermonem abrumpere, insi-

4. incidentibus: neuter.
non sui anxius, disinterested.
5. judicis partes, an impartial attitude.
potentiae: the genitive after properus, found in a few other passages, is best taken as objective; although Furneaux considers it a genitive of relation, as with praecipus and primus (VI. 4. 1).
erectum . . . ostenderet: cf. promptios ostentaverere, I. 35. 3. The passage shows a degree of indiscretion on the part of Nero which, by itself, would probably have created no suspicion, but which, taken in connection with his mother's behavior (e.g. 54. 3), served to alienate the emperor and hasten the catastrophe.
ausurum: the absolute use of audoe is frequent in Tacitus; cf. I. 13. 2.
60. audienti, from him, etc.
sollicitudinum: things to excite anxiety.
2. insistentibus, coming to a stand, contrasted with those who avoided him.
stentibus contra irritidentibusque qui Seiano fautores aderant. Enimvero Tiberius torvus aut falsum renidens vultu; seu loqueretur seu taceret iuvenes, crimen ex silentio, ex voce. Ne nox quidem secura, cum uxor vigilias somnos suspiria matri Liviae atque illa Seiano patefaceret; qui fratrem quoque Neronis Drusum traxit in partes, spe obiecta principis loci, si priorem actate et iam labefactum demovisset. Atrox Drusi ingenium super cupidinem potentiae et solita fratibus odio accendebatur invidia, quod mater Agrippina promptior Neroni erat. Neque tamen Seianus ita Drusum fovebat ut non in eum quoque semina futuri exitii meditaretur, gnarus praefercem et insidiis magis opportunum.

61 Fine anni excessere insignes viri Asinius Agrippa, claris maioribus quam vetustis vitaque non degener, et Q. Haterius, familia senatoria, eloquentiae, quoad vixit, celebribae; monumenta ingenii eius haud perinde retinentur. Scilicet impetu magis quam cura vigebat; utque aliorum meditatio et labor in posterum valescit, sic Haterii canorum illud et profluens cum ipso simul extinctum est.

62 M. Licinio L. Calpurnio consulis ingentibus bellorum cladem aequavit malum improvisum: eius initium clari quam vetustis, distinguished, but not ancient (Intr. 35 m). His grandfathers, Pollio and Agrippa, were among the most eminent men of Augustus' reign, but were both of low birth. Haterius: see I. 13. 4. haud perinde retinentur: i.e. as standard works. 2. illud, that well-known style; cf. Cic. de Or. III. 7. 28; profluens quidam habuit Carbo et canorum. 62. M. Licinio, etc.: Licinius is supposed to have been the younger
simul et finis exstìtit. Nam coepto apud Fidenam amphitheatro Atilius quidam libertini generis, quo spectaculum gladiatorem celebraret, neque fundamenta per solidum subdidit neque firmis nexibus ligneum com-pagem superstruxit, ut qui non abundantia pecuniae nec municipali ambitione, sed in sordidam mercedem id negotium quasesivisset. Adluxere aędzi talium, imperitante Tiberio procul voluptatibus habiti, virile ac mulie-bre secus, omnis aetas, ob propinquitatem loci effusius; unde gravior pestis fuit, conferta mole, dein convulsa, dum ruit intus aut in exteriora effunditum immensa-mque vim mortalium, spectaculo intentos aut qui circum astabant, praecepit atque operit. Et illi quidem, quos principium stragis in mortem adflìxerat, ut tali sorte, cruciatum effugere: miserandi magis quos abrupta parte corporis nondum vita desuererat; qui per diem visu, per noctem ululatibus et gemitu coniuges aut liberos noscebant. Iam ceteri fama exciti, hic fratrem, propinquum ille, alius parentes lamentari. Etiam quoru-mum diversa de causa amici aut necessarii aberant, povere tamen; nequedum comperto quos illa vis per-culisset, laitior ex incerto metus. Ut coeppere dimoveri of the two sons addressed by Horace in his Ars Poetica (cf. 45. 1 n.). He was adopted into the Licinian gens, and was father of the Piso Licinianus who was adopted by Galba, and lost his life directly after. Calpurnius was son of that Piso who was accused of having poisoned Germanicus; he bore at first his father's name, Gnaeus (see III. 17. 8).

2. Fidenam: the name is usually plural, Fidenae. It is an ancient Etruscan city upon the Tiber, about five miles northeast of Rome.

per solidum, on solid ground.
municipali ambitione: with the object of recommending himself to office. It was purely a money-making affair.

3. imperitante . . . habiti: see I. 54. 4. Such shows were rare in Rome during this economical and unostentatious reign.

secus, sex; usually construed as an adverbal accusative.

effunditur, falls apart.

4. ut tali sorte: considering the sadness of their fate.


7. nequedum, for not yet.

cmperto: Intr. 35 o.
obruta, concursus ad examinos complectentium, osculantium; et saepe certamen, si confusion facies sed par forma aut aetas errorem agnoscentibus fecerat. Quinquaginta hominum milia eo casu debilitata vel obrita sunt; cautumque in posterum senatus consulto, ne quis gladiatorium munus ederet, cui minor quadringentorum milium res, neve amphitheatrum imponeretur nisi solo firmitatis spectatae. Atilius in exsilium actus est. Ceterum sub recentem cladem patuere procerum domus, fomenta et medici passim praebiti, fuitque urbs per illos dies quamquam maesta facie veterum institutis similis, qui magna post proelia saucios largitione et cura sustentabant.

64 Nondum ea clades exoleverat, cum ignis violentia urbem ultra solitum adfecit, deusto Monte Caelio; feralemque annum ferebant et ominibus adversis suspectum principi consilium absentiae, qui mos vulgo, fortuita ad culpam trahentes, ni Caesar obviamisset tribuendo pecunias ex modo detrimenti. Actaeque ei grates apud senatum ab illustribus, famaque apud populum, quia sine ambitione aut proximorum precibus ignotos etiam

63. obruta, the ruins.-confusion: disfigured and unrecognizable.

2. quinquaginta... milia: Suetonius (Tit. 40) says that upwards of 20,000 perished.
quadringentorum milium: an extension to adjectives of the familiar rule of plus, minus, and amplius; cf. Plin. Ep. X. 79. 3, minor triginta annum. This sum (~$20,000) was the equestrian census.
3. medici: generally slaves or freedmen in the households of nobles.
vetern institutis: cf. Liv. II. 47. 12, consul saucios milites curandos dividit patribus.

64. deusto: cf. VI. 45. 1.
Monte Caelio: the Cædimentium was the second of the fourteen regiones or wards into which Augustus divided the city.
principi: dative of agency.
qui mos, as is the custom.
i Caesar, etc.: the apodosis is ferebant, etc.,—they would have laid the blame of the casualty on him.
2. ab illustribus: the senators, whose formal thanks are contrasted with the popularity gained with the masses (fama apud populum).
sine ambitione: with entire impartiality, with no effort to gain favor or applause.
et ultro accitos munificentia iuverat. Adduntur senten-tiae ut mons Caelius in posterum Augustus appellare-tur, quando cunctis circum flagrantibus sola Tiberii effigies, sita in domo Junii senatoris, inviolata mansisset. Evenisse id olim Claudiae Quintae, eiusque statuam vim ignium bis elapsam maiores apud aedem matris deum consecravisse. Sanctos acceptosque numinibus Claudios et augendam caerimoniam loco in quo tantum in principem honorem di ostenderint.

Haud fuerit absurdum tradere montem eum antiqui-tus Querquetulanum cognomeno fuisse, quod talis silvae frequens fecundusque erat, mox Caelium appellitatum a Caele Vibenna, qui dux gentis Etruscae cum auxilium portavisset, sedem eam acceperat a Tarquinio Prisco, seu quis alius regum dedit; nam scriptores in eo dis-sentiunt. Cetera non ambigua sunt, magnas eas copias per plana etiam ac foro propinquaque habitavisse, unde Tuscum vicum e vocabulo advenarum dictum.

Sed ut studia procerum et largitio principis adversum casus solacium tulerant, ita accusatorum maior in dies et infestior vis sine levamento grassabatur. Corripuerat

3. ut mons Caelius, etc.: according to Suetonius (Tib. 48) it was Tiberius himself who ordered the change of name. But the change does not appear to have been made.

4. Claudiae Quintae: a lady (according to some, a vestal virgin) who with her own hand drew the ship containing the sacred stone of Cybele, the mother of the gods, when this cult was introduced into Rome, B.C. 204; the story was that this marvel was a testimony to her chastity, which had been suspected. Tiberius, too, belonged to this dis-tinguished Claudian gens.

vim, etc.: these occasions were B.C. 111 and A.D. 3.

5. augendam caerimoniam: by changing the name; cf. III. 61, 3.

65. talis silvae: of oak.

Caele Vibenna: this half-myth-i cal personage is placed at various epochs and in various connections. The only certainty we can extract from the story is the fact of an Etruscan immigration at some time, which settled in the vicus Tus cus, west of the Forum, and possibly on the Cælian mount; also the rule of an Etruscan dynasty of kings.

2. plana, the low ground; the vic-us Tus cus ran from the Forum to the
Varum Quintilium, divitem et Caesari propinquum, Domitius Afer, Claudiae Pulchrae matris eius condemnator, nullo mirante quod diu egens et parto nuper praemio male usus plura ad flagitia accingeretur. P. Dolabellam socium delationis exstitisse miraculo erat, quia claris maioribus et Varo conexus suam ipse nobilitatem, suum sanguinem perditum ibat. Restitit tamen senatus et opperendum imperatorem censuit, quod unum urgentium malorum suffugium in tempus erat.

67 At Caesar dedicatis per Campaniam templis, quamquam edicto monuisset ne quis quietem eius irrumpet, concursusque oppidanorum disposito militae prohiberetur, perosus tamen municipia et colonias omniaque in continentii sita, Capreas se in insulam abdidit, trium milium freto ab extremis Surrentini promunturii dianunciam. Solitudinem eiusmod placuisse maxime crediderim, quoniam importuosum circa mare et vix modicis navigiis paucia subsidia; neque appulerit quisquam nisi gnaro custode. Caeli temperies hieme mitis obiectu montis, river, on ground originally swampy, and drained by the cloaca maxima.

66. Varum Quintilium: son of the general defeated by Arminius, A.D. 9; his kinship to the emperor was through his mother Claudia Pulchra (see 52. 1).

praemio: for the condemnation of Claudia and her paramour.
2. P. Dolabellam: see 23. 2 and following.
3. quod unum, etc.: proof that the abuses of delation were still the work rather than the laws and the senate than of the emperor.

67. templis: 57. 1.

monuisset, etc.: Suetonius says (Tib. 40), ut be egredientis, ne quis se interpellaret edixerat, ac toto itinere adeuntes summoverat.

tamen: i.e. as if that were not enough seclusion.

Capreas: the island of Capri. It had been bought by Augustus from the Neapolitans.
2. subsidia, places of refuge—ports.
custode: the guards stationed on the island.
3. caeli temperies, etc.: a mountain in the north to protect from the winter gales; a slope in the west, open to the summer breezes. Probably Tacitus had never visited the island, as the mountain is at its western extremity, and the mountains back of Baiae and Cumae, which are to the north, are too distant to be very efficient protection. The climate is, however, mild and equable.
quo saeva ventorum arcentur; aestas in Favonium obversa et aperto circum pelago peramoena; prospectabatque pulcherrimum sinum antequam Vesuvius mons ardescens faciem loci verteret. Graecos ea tenuisse 4 Capreasque Telebois habitatas fama tradit. Sed tum 5 Tiberius duodecim villarum nominibus et molibus insederat, quanto intentus olim publicas ad curas, tanto occultior in luxus et malum otium resolutus. Manebat quippe suspicionum et credendi temeritas, quam Seianus augere etiam in urbe suetus acrius turbabat, non iam occultis adversum Agrippinam et Neronem insidiis. Quis 6 additus miles nuntios introitus, aperta secreta velut in annales referebat, ultroque struebantur qui monerent perfugere ad Germaniae exercitus vel celeberrimo fori effigiem divi Augusti amplecti populumque ac senatum auxilio vocare. Eaque spreta ab illis, velut pararent, obiciebantur.

Iunio Silano et Silio Nerva consulibus foedum anni 68 principium incessit tracto in carcerem illustri equite Romano, Titio Sabino, ob amicitiam Germanici: neque

**Vesuvius**, etc.: the great eruption of 79, which buried Pompeii and Herculaneum, converting all the surrounding country into a desert. From this time it has continued to be an active volcano.


5. nominibus ac molibus: these words appear to refer to the splendid structures and special titles which distinguished these country seats. One of them is known to have been called *Villa Iovis*, and it has been thought that the twelve were named for the twelve Olympian deities.

6. tardo, more than this; he passed from espionage to attempts to commit them to disloyal acts.

68. Titio Sabino: see 18.1. Pliny (*N. H.* VIII. 145) and Dio Cassius (LVIII. 1) relate a touching story
TACITUS. [Book IV.

enim omiserat coniugem liberisque eius percolere, sectator domi, comes in publico, post tot clientes unus 
2 eoque apud bonos laudatus et gravis inquis. Hunc Latinius Latiaris, Porcius Cato, Petilius Rufus, M. Op-
sius praetura functi aggrediuntur, cupidine consulatus, ad quem non nisi per Seianum aditus; neque Seiani 
3 voluntas nisi scelere quaerebatur. Compositum inter ipsos ut Latiaris, qui modico usu Sabinum contingebat, 
strueret dolum, ceteri testes adessent, deinde accusationem inciperent. Igitur Latiaris iacere fortuitos pri-
2 mum sermones, mox laudare constantiam, quod non, ut ceteri, florentis domus amicus adhibitam deseruisset; 
simul honora de Germanico, Agrippinam miserans, dis-
serebat; et postquam Sabinus, ut sunt molles in ca-
lamitate mortalium animi, effudit lacrimas, iunxit questus, 
audentius iam onerat Seianum, saevitiam superbiam 
6 spes eius. Ne in Tiberium quidem convicio abstinet; 
iique sermones, tamquam vetita miscuessent, speciem 
7 artae amicitiae fecere. Ac iam ultro Sabinus quaerere 
Latiarem, ventitare domum, dolores suos quasi ad fidi-
69 simum deferre. Consultant quos memoravi quonam 
2 modo ea plurium auditu acciperentur. Nam loco, in 
 quem coibatur, servanda solitudinis facies; et si pone 
fores assisterent, metus visus, sonitus, aut forte ortae 
suspicionis erant. Tectum inter et laquearia tres sena-

of the attachment of his dog to him, refusing to leave his dead body, even after it had been cast into the Tiber. 
cientes: the application of this term, which properly implied dependence and inferior rank to an 'illustrious' knight, is a significant indication of the growth of the monarchical principle; he was follower of a member of the imperial family.

inus: the only one remaining.
3. modico usu contingebat, had a slight acquaintance with.
5. onerat: i.e. with reproaches; the word is nowhere else used absolutely in this sense.
6. tamquam vetita miscussent: as if they had been partners in prohibited acts.
69. 3. laquearia: the perforated panels of the ceiling, there
tores, haud minus turpi latebra quam detestanda fraude, scse abstrudunt, foraminibus et rimis aurem admovent. Interea Latiaris repertum in publico Sabinum, velut recens cognita narraturus, domum et in cubiculum tranhit; praeteritaque et instantia, quorum adfatim copia, ac novos terres cumulat. Eadem ille et diutius, quanto maesta, ubi semel prorupere, difficilius reticentur. Properata inde accusatio, missisque ad Caesarem litteris ordinem fraudis suumque ipsi dedecus narravere. Non alias magis anxia et pavens civitas, tegens adversum proximos; congressus, colloquia, notae ignotaeque aures vitari; etiam muta atque inanima, tectum et parietes circumspectabantur. Sed Caesar sollemnia incipientis anni kalendis Ianuariis epistula precatus, vertit in Sabinum, corruptos quosdam libertorum et petitum se arguens, ultionemque haud obscure poscebat. Nec mora quin decerneretur; et trahebatur damnatus, quantum obducta veste et was a space between these and the roof.

tres senatores: Cato, Rufus, and Opisius; as, having held magistracies, they were members of the senate.

4. instantia, the present.

ille: Sabinus.

diutius: qualifies desseit understood.

quanto, in proportion as—seeing that.

6. tegens: sc. se; see App. I.

70. sollemnia . . . precatus: the New Year solemnities. As it was a matter of religion that no evil omen should taint the commencement of the year (verbis etiam profanis abstineri mos erat), the arrest of Sabinus (inter sacra et vota) was a peculiarly heinous act.

libertorum: i.e. of Tiberius. There was, therefore, some more specific and serious charge than the mere talk described in the previous chapters.

2. obducta veste, etc.: his toga being thrown over his head, and the rope drawn around his neck with which he was to be strangled in prison. The account here given, as well as that in Dio Cassius, would imply a condemnation by the senate without trial (like a bill of attainder); but the words of Pliny, cum animadvertetur ex causa Neronis Germanici fili in Titium Sabinum et servitia eius, imply more formal deliberation and definite proof. It appears that the emperor, panic-stricken on account of some real or fancied danger (trepidam sibi vitam) allowed himself to depart from his habitual slow and cautious methods. Sabinus was perhaps
astrictis faucibus niti poterat clamitans sic incohari annum, has Seiano victimas cadere. Quo intendisset oculos, quo verba acciderent, fuga vastitas, deseri itinera fora. Et quidam regrediebantur ostentabantque se rursum, id ipsum paventes quod timuissent. Quem enim diem vacuum poena, ubi inter sacra et vota, quo tempore verbis etiam profanis abstineri mos esset, vincla et laqueus inducantur? Non imprudentem Tiberium tantam invidiam adisse, sed quaesitum meditatumque, ne quid impedire credatur quo minus novi magistratus, quo modo delubra et altaria, sic carcerem recludant. Secutae insuper litterae grates agentis, quod hominem infensum rei publicae punivissent, adiecto trepidam sibi vitam, suspectas inimicorum insidias, nullo nominatim compellato; neque tamen dubitatatur in Neronem et Agrippinam intendi.

71 Ni mihi destinatum foret suum quaeque in annum referre, avebat animus antire statimque memorare exitus, quos Latinius atque Opsius ceterique flagitii eius repertores habuere, non modo postquam Gaius Caesar rerum potitus est, sed incolumi Tiberio, qui scelerum ministros ut perverti ab aliis nolebat, ita plerumque satiatus et oblatis in candem operam recentibus veteres et praegraves: on account of the sense of obligation, guilty, but the manner of his conviction shows how far Tiberius had fallen from his earlier standard of justice.

Seiano, etc.: as if he were a god.  
4. quod timuissent: that they had exhibited terror might itself excite suspicion.  
5. quem diem, etc.: cf. Suet. Tib. 61, nullus a poena hominem cessavit dies, ne religiosus quidem ac sacer.  
6. recludant: as the temples were opened for worship, so the prison was opened to receive victims.  
7. adiecto: Intr. 35 9; this participant is here only used in this way. in Neronem: see the words of Pliny in the note above. intendi: see II. 36. 2 n.  
71. perverti ab aliis: for Tiberius’ defence of the delators as a class necessary for the security of justice, see 30. 4, and Intr. 16. recentibus: sc. ministris; when he had found new instruments, he threw away the old.  
praegraves: on account of the sense of obligation,

Per idem tempus Iulia mortem obiit, quam neptem 6 Augustus convictam adulterii damnaverat proieceratque in insulam Trimerum, haud procul Apulis litoribus. Ilic viginti annis exsilium tolleravit Augustae ope sustentata, quae florentes privignos cum per occultum subvertisset, misericordiam erga adflictos palam ostentabat.

Eodem anno Frisii, transrhenanus populus, pacem 72 exuere, nostra magis avaritia quam obsequii impatientes. Tributum iis Drusus iussurat modicum pro angustia 2 rerum, ut in usus militares coria boum penderent, non intenta cuuisquam cura quae firmitudo, quae mensura,

2. trademus: for the overthrow of Latiaris see VI. 4; that of the others must belong to the lost portions of the Annals.
3. matertera: Asinius Gallus married Vipsania after her divorce from Tiberius (see I. 12. 6); Agrippina was her half-sister, and therefore aunt to her children.
4. ut rebatur, as he considered them, dissimulation being a virtue in his eyes.
quae premeret, what he kept concealed.
5. aperirentur: used reflexively — might be left to disclose themselves.
lentum: sc. principem.
7. quae, etc.: a general statement, only partly applicable to Julia, who, as has just been said, was banished for crime.
72. Frisii: they occupied the coast of the North Sea, in the modern Friesland, and further south.
2. Drusus: the elder Drusus, who conquered this part of Germany (I. 33. 3 n.).
non intenta cuuisquam cura, no one giving any attention.
donec Olennius e primipilaribus regendis Frisiiis impositus terga urorum delegit, quorum ad formam acciperentur. Id aliis quoque nationibus arduum apud Germanos difficilius tolerabatur, quis ingenti belurum feraces saltus, modica domi armenta sunt. Ac primo boves ipsos, mox agros, postremo corpora coniugum aut liberorum servitio tradebant. Hinc ira et questus, et postquam non subveniebatur, remedium ex bello. Rapti qui tributo aderant milites et patibulo adfixi: Olennius infensos fuga praevenit, receptus castello, cui nomen Flevum; et haud spernenda illic civium sociorumque manus litora Oceani praesidebat. Quod ubi L. Apronio inferioris Germaniae pro praetore cognitum, vexilla legionum e superiore provincia peditumque et equitum auxiliarium delectos accivit ac simul utrumque exercitum Rheno dejectum Frisiis intulit, soluto iam castelli obsidio et ad sua tutanda degressis rebellibus.

\textit{igitur} proxima aestuaria aggeribus et pontibus traducendo graviori agmini firmat. Atque interim repertis vadis alam Canninefatem et quod peditum Germano-

e \textit{primipilaribus}: see II. 11. 2 n.

terga urorum: the hides of these wild buffaloes were taken as a standard (\textit{ad formam}) instead of the small domestic cattle of the Germans (see 3, and \textit{Germ.} 5).

3. \textit{id}: this standard, which would have been a difficult one anywhere.

5. patibulo: see I. 61. 6 n.

6. \textit{Flevum} (see I. 45, 1 n.): a fort at the mouth of the \textit{fossa Dru- siana} (II. 8. 1), where it flows into the \textit{Lacus Flevo} (Zuyder Zee).

73. \textit{pro praetore}: sc. \textit{legatus}; not a \textit{propraetor}, but a \textit{legatus} of the emperor, with praetorian powers.

\textit{vexilla}: see I. 20. 1 n.

e \textit{superiore provincia}: see Intr. 18. B. 16.

\textit{utrumque exercitum}: \textit{i.e.} his own army, and the detachments (\textit{vexilla}) from the upper army.

2. \textit{igitur}, etc.: he constructs a road with bridges and causeways along this coast, which is here interrupted by numerous estuaries.

\textit{graviori}: the large and heavily armed force, with its baggage-trains, would require a more solid roadway.

\textit{Canninefatem}: the Canninefates inhabited the eastern portion of the \textit{insula Batavorum}, and were, like the Batavians, subject to Rome.

\textit{quod peditum}: the \textit{peditum} . . . \textit{delectos} above.
rum inter nostros merebat circumgredi terga hostium iubet, qui iam acie compositi pellunt turmas sociales equitesque legionum subsidio missos. Tum tres leves 3 cohortes ac rursum duae, dein tempore interiecto alarius eques immissus: satis validi, si simul incubuissent, per intervallum adventantes neque constantiam addiderant turbatis et pavore fugientium auferebantur. Cethego 4 Labeoni legato quintae legionis quod reliquum auxiliorum tradit. Atque ille dubia suorum re in aniceps tractus missis nuntiis vim legionum implorabat. Pro-rumpunt quintani ante alios et acri pugna hoste pulso recipiunt cohortis alasque fessas vulneribus. Neque 6 dux Romanus ultum iit aut corpora humavit, quamquam multi tribunorum praefectorumque et insignes centuriones cecidissent. Mox compertum a transfugis non-gentos Romanorum apud lucum, quem Baduhennae vocant, pugna in posterum extracta confectos, et aliam quadringentorum manum occupata Cruptorigis quondam stipendiarii villa, postquam proditio metuebatur, mutuis ictibus procubuisse.

**turmas**: the subdivisions of the *ala* of auxiliary cavalry (*sociales*); this refers to the Canninefates.

**equites legionum**: the cavalry, 120 in number, attached to each legion. They were auxiliaries, differently armed from the *alarius eques*, or regular auxiliary cavalry.

**3. leves cohortes**: these were auxiliary infantry.

**satis validi**: refers to the whole force sent, which would have been enough had it been sent in a body (*si simul incubuissent*); coming a few at a time,—first the *ala* Canninefas, then the *equites legio- num*, then *tres leves cohortes*, then *duae*, and, finally, the whole *alarius eques*, —they did not succeed in rallying those who had been routed, but were themselves carried away by the panic.

**4. quintae legionis**: this was a legion of Lower Germany (I. 31. 3).

**vim legionum**: so far only auxiliary troops had been sent.

**5. dux Romanus**: Apronius.

**insignes**: of the higher ranks (see I. 61. 5).

**quintae legio-**

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**4. quintae legio-**

**satis validi**: refers to the whole force sent, which would have been enough had it been sent in a body (*si simul incubuissent*); coming a few at a time,—first the *ala* Canninefas, then the *equites legio- num*, then *tres leves cohortes*, then *duae*, and, finally, the whole *alarius eques*, —they did not suc-
74 Clarum inde inter Germanos Frisium nomen, dissimulante Tiberio damna, ne cui bellum permitteret. Neque senatus in eo cura an imperii extrema dehonestarentur; pavor internus occupaverat animos, cui remedium adulatione quaerebatur. Ita quamquam diversis super rebus consulerentur, aram Clementiae, aram amicitiae, effigiesque circum Caesaris ac Seiani censuere, crebrisque precibus efflagitabant visendi sui copiam facerent. Non illi tamen in urbem aut propinqua urbi degressi sunt: satis visum omittere insulam et in proximo Campaniae aspici. Eo venire patres eques magna pars plebis, anxii erga Seianum, cuius durior congressus, atque eo per ambitum et societate consiliorum parabatur. Satis constabat auctam ei arrogantiam foedum illud in propatulo servitium spectanti; quippe Romae sueti discursus, et magnitudine urbis incertum quod quisque ad negotium pergat: ibi campo aut litore iacentes nullo discrimine noctem ac diem iuxta gratiam aut fastus ianitorum perpetiebantur, donec id quoque vetitum; et revenere in urbem trepidi quos non sermo, non visu dignatus erat, quidam male alacres quibus infaustae amicitiae gravis exitus imminebat.

75 Ceterum Tiberius neptem Agrippinam Germanico ortam cum coram Cn. Domitio tradidisset, in urbe cele-
brari nuptias iussit. In Domitio super vetustatem 2
generis propinquum Caesaribus sanguinem delegerat;
nam is aviam Octaviam et per eam Augustum avuncu-
lum præferebat.

vitæ detestabilem. The fruit of this
marriage was the emperor Nero. 2. aviam Octaviam: his mother
was the elder Antonia (see 44. 3).
ARGUMENT OF BOOK V.

A.D. 29; C. Fufius Geminus, L. Rubellius Geminus, Coss.


For the gap between Books V. and VI., containing the overthrow of Sejanus: —

A.D. 30; M. Vinicius, L. Cassius Longinus, Coss.

LIBRI V. FRAGMENTUM.

Rubellio et Fufio consulibus, quorum utrique Geminus cognomen erat, Iulia Augusta mortem obiit, aetate extrema, nobilitatis per Claudiam familiam et adoptione Liviorum Iuliorumque clarissimae. Primum ei matrimonium et liberi fuere cum Tiberio Nerone, qui, bello Perusino profugus, pace inter Sex. Pompeium ac triumviros pacta in urbem reidiit. Exin Caesar cupidine formae aufert marito, incertum an invitam, adeo prope-rus ut ne spatio quidem ad enitendum dato penatibus suis gravidam induxerit. Nullam posthac subolem edidit, sed sanguini Augusti per coniunctionem Agrippinae et Germanici adnexa communes pronepotes habuit. Sanctitate domus priscum ad morem, comis ultra quam

1. Geminus cognomen: it was a tradition in the early church that the death of Christ was in the consulship of 'the two Gemini'; cf. Lact. Inst. IV. 10, Aug. Civ. Dei, XVIII. 54.

aetate extrema: she was eighty-six years old.

per Claudiam familiam, etc.: her father was a Claudius by birth, adopted into the Livian gens, probably by the distinguished tribune of B.C. 91, Marcus Livius Drusus, whence he bore the name Marcus Livius Drusus Claudianus. The empress, therefore, while of the blood of the patrician Claudii, was a Livia by the adoption of her father; and was afterwards, by the will of her husband (I. 8. 2), adopted into the Julian gens, receiving the name Julia Augusta.

2. bello Perusino: this was a brief episode in the civil wars of the second triumvirate, set on foot by Fulvia, the wife of Mark Antony, and his brother Lucius, against Octavian, B.C. 41. It was ended by the capture of Perusia (the modern Perugia), after which, according to tradition, the soldiers of Octavian exhibited great cruelty. The peace (of short duration) made by the triumvirs with Sextus Pompeius, was two years afterwards, B.C. 39.

3. gravidam: her younger son Drusus, father of Germanicus, was born after her marriage to Cæsar; cf. I. 10. 4.


5. sanctitate, strict morality. comis, of easy manners.
340 

TACITUS. [Book V.

antiquis feminis probatum, mater impotens, uxor facilis et cum artibus mariti simulatione filii bene composita.

6 Funus eius modicum, testamentum diu irritum fuit. Laudata est pro rostris a Gaio Caesare pronepote, qui mox rerum potitus est. At Tiberius, quod supremis in matrem officiis defuisset, nihil mutata amoenitate vitae, magnitudinem negotiorum per litteras excusavit, honoresque memoriae eius ab senatu large decretos quasi per modestiam imminuit, paucis admodum receptis et addito ne caelestis religio decerneretur: sic ipsam maluisset. Quin et parte eiusdem epistulae increpitavit amicitias mulierum, Fufium consulem oblique protestans.

2. amatissimus, imperious.

uxor facilis: she is said to have w inked at and assisted her husband's irregularities of life.

cum artibus, etc.: her great-grandson, Gaius (Caligula), used to call her "Ulysses in petticoats" (Ulyxem stolatum, Suet. Cal. 23).

6. irritum: so Suetonius, Tib. 51; her legacies were paid in full by Caligula (Suet. Cal. 16).

rerum potitus est: A.D. 37; at the death of Tiberius.

2. defuisset: tota quidem triennio, quo vivente mater aeguit, semel omnino eam, nec amplius quam uno die, paucissimis vidit horis: ac max neque aequae adesse curavit, defunctamque, et, dum adventus sua sospit facit, complecturium dictum mora, corrupto demum et tabido corpore funeratum prohibuit consecrari, quasi ut ipsa mandasset (Suet Tib. 51). Stahr excuses this neglect on the ground of illness, advanced age, and heavy cares: hardly an adequate excuse.

caelestis religio, deification: so Suetonius, prohibuit consecrari. This honor was paid her by her grandson, the emperor Claudius.

2. amicitias: omnes amicitias et familiaritates, etiam quibus ea funeris sui curam mortens demandaverat, intra breve tempus adflet (Suet. Tib. 51). Livia was, no doubt, arrogant and exacting, and often interfered injuriously in the administration of affairs.

mulibres, among women (cf. I. 33. 6).

Fufium consulem: Dio (LVIII. 4; see page 345) tells us that in A.D. 31 Tiberius put to death Ἐρνίνος, — probably a corrupted form of this name.

3. acerbis faciis: cf. IV. 42. 2.

3. ex eo, from this time.
nam incolumi Augusta erat adhuc perfugium, quia Tiberio inveteratum erga matrem obsequium, neque Seianus audebat auctoritati parentis antire: tunc velut frenis exsoluti proruperunt, missaeque in Agrippinam ac Neronem litterae, quas pridem allatas et cohibitas ab Augusta creditit vulgus; haud enim multo post mortem eius recitatae sunt. Verba inerant quaesita asperitate; sed non arma, non rerum novarum studium, amores iuvenum et impudicitiam nepoti objecabat. In nurum ne id quidem confingere ausus, arrogantiam oris et contumacem animum incusavit, magno senatus pavore ac silentio, donec pauci, quis nulla ex honesto spes (et publica mala singulis in occasionem gratiae trahuntur), ut referretur postulavere, promptissimo Cotta Messalino cum atroci sententia. Sed aliis a primoribus maximeque a magistratibus trepidabatur: quippe Tiberius etsi infense invectus cetera ambigua reliquerat.

Fuit in senatu Iunius Rusticus, componendis patrum actis delectus a Caesare, eoque meditationes eius introspicere creditus. Is fatali quodam motu (neque enim ante specimen constantiae dederat) seu prava sollertia, perfugium: see VI. 51. 6.

2. missae...litterae: that these proceedings had been suppressed by the influence of Livia is hardly consistent with her alleged complicity in the murder of Germanicus (II. 43. 5). allatas: from Capreae to Rome.

3. non arma, etc.: as Stahr remarks, it is significant that the charge made was not of treason (cf. IV. 59. 5; 70. 7). Velleius (II. 130) says, quam diu pectus eius flagravit incendio, quod ex nuru, quod ex nepote dolore indignari erubescere coactus est!

4. ut referretur: see I. 13. 4 n. Cotta Messalino: called (VI. 5. 1) saevissimae cuiusque sententiae auctor; for an illustration, see II. 32. 2. promptissimo...sententia, readiest to support the motion, and that with severe propositions. 5. cetera: i.e. the next step to take; he had brought charges, but made no proposition.

4. componendis patrum actis: to edit the journal of the senate, which was published as a sort of official bulletin (see III. 3. 2 n.).

2. fatali...motu: his efforts for mercy must have been by divine instigation, for they were not in keeping with his former character. prava, perverse: his shrewdness deceived him; for, in guarding
dum imminentium oblitus incerta pavet, inserere se dubitantibus ac monere consules ne relationem incipe-
rent; disserebatque brevibus momentis summa vertit:
posse quandoque domus Germanici exitium paenitentiae
esse seni. Simul populus efflues Agrippinae ac Neronis
gerens circumsistit curiam faustisque in Caesarem omini-
bus falsas litteras et principe invito exitium domui eius
intendi clamat. Ita nihil triste illo die patratum. Ferebantur etiam sub nomenibus consularium fictae in
Seianum sententiae, exercentibus plerisque per occultum
atque eo procacius libidinem ingeniorum. Unde illi ira
violentior et materies criminandi: spretum dolorem ab
senatu; descivisse populum; audiri iam et legi novas contiones, nova patrum consulta: quid
reliquum nisi ut caperent ferrum et, quorum imagines
pro vexillis securi forent, duces imperatoresque deli-
gerent?

Igitur Caesar repetitis aaversum nepotem et nurum
probris increpitaque per edictum plebe, questus apud
patres quod fraude unius senatoris imperatoria maiestas
elusa publice foret, integra tamen sibi cuncta postulavit.

against future perils (incerta), he
forgot the immediate danger of his
action (imminentium oblitus).

brevibus momentis, impulses of
trifling weight. Momentum here
has its primary force (from moveo),
as that which causes motion. For
the thought, cf. Cic. Phil. 5. 10. 26,
minmis momentis maximae incli-
nationes temporum fiant.

domus, etc.: see App. I.

3. faustis . . . omnibus, with
demonstrations of favor; protesting
their loyalty to the emperor (cf. I.
35: 3).

invito, without the consent of; that
is, without his knowledge.

4. ferebantur, were reported, as
having been uttered in the senate.

5. audiri iam et legi: i.e. spoken
and published, and thus both heard
and read.

novas, nova, revolutionary.
contiones, speeches.

patrum consulta: no vote had
been taken, but these as well as the
speeches might be falsified.

imagines: those of Agrippina
and Nero, mentioned above.

5. fraude, disloyalty.

unius senatoris: Junius Rusti-
cus.

integra . . . cuncta: i.e. that the
whole matter be put in his hands.
Nec ultra deliberatum quo minus, non quidem extrema decernerent (id enim vetitum), sed paratos ad ultionem vi principis impediri testarentur.

2. deliberatum: taken as a verb of hindering, and thus followed by quo minus, there was no further hesitation in, etc.

extrema: i.e. punishment.

paratos, etc.: to give the impression that the senate was eager to punish, but was restrained by the emperor's interposition.

There is at this point no gap in the manuscript, but, as the history of more than two years is omitted, it is evident that the copyist by some blunder passed over several pages. All recent editors agree that the six chapters which follow, formerly regarded as a part of Book V., really belong to Book VI. The history of the intervening period can be partly reconstructed from the account of Dio Cassius, a translation of which, together with passages of Juvenal and Suetonius bearing on the same events, is here inserted.

DIO CASSIUS, BOOK LVIII.

2. Now Sejanus was exalted more and more, and it was voted that his birthday should be celebrated as a public holiday; and it would not be possible to count the statues erected to him by the senate, the equestrian order, the tribes, and the chief men of the state; special embassies, moreover, were sent both to him and to Tiberius by the senate on its own account, and the knights on their own account, and the people, as represented both by the tribunes and the ædiles; and prayers and sacrifices were offered for both alike, and oaths were sworn by the fortune of each.

A.D. 30.

3. Now Tiberius seized a favorable opportunity to attack Gallus, who had married his divorced wife, and had used too great freedom of speech about the government. He had, it is true, paid court to Sejanus, either in good faith, believing him destined to be emperor, or through fear of Tiberius, or through artifice, in order that Sejanus might by insolence lose credit with the emperor; and he had proposed numerous and great honors to him, and had taken an active part in the embassies sent to him. But now the emperor sent a missive to the senate, accusing Gallus, among other things, of envy towards Sejanus on the ground of his friendship with him.

1 Vispania, daughter of Marcus Agrippa (see I. 12. 6). Gallus was now seventy years of age.
[Tiberius], although he himself was intimate with Syriacus. And he did not disclose this to Gallus, but treated him with great honor, so that there befell him the strangest fate, such as never happened to any other person. For on the very same day that he banqueted with Tiberius and drank his health, he was condemned to death by the senate, and a praetor was sent to put him in chains and conduct him to punishment. And yet Tiberius, after he had done this, would not allow him to die, much as he wished it when he learned what had been voted, but, in order that he might suffer to the utmost, bade him be of good courage, and ordered him to be kept guarded, but without fetters, until he himself should come to the city; in order, as I have said, that he might be tormented as much as possible by shame and dread. And this is what happened: he was constantly watched by whoever were consuls for the time being (that is, except when Tiberius held the consulship, for then he was guarded by the praetors), not for fear he would escape,—no, by Zeus, but to prevent his death. He had neither friend nor slave with him, nor did he speak to any one or see any one except when he was forced to take food. And this was such, in amount and quality, as neither to give him pleasure nor strength, but just to keep him alive; for this was the most dreadful thing of all.

Tiberius did the same to many others. Having thrown one of his friends in prison, then, when the question came up of putting him to death, he said that he was not yet reconciled with him. In the case of another, whose innocence he had ascertained after having tortured him very severely, he put him to death immediately, saying that after having suffered such indignities he could not honorably continue in life. Syriacus too, although he had neither committed any crime nor been accused of any, and was distinguished for culture, was executed, merely because Tiberius said that he was a friend of Gallus.

Sejanus also slandered Drusus by means of his wife. For, having intrigues with nearly all the wives of the principal men, he learned everything that was done and said by them, making the women his tools by promising to marry them. But when Tiberius only sent Drusus to Rome, Sejanus, fearing that he might change his mind, persuaded Cassius to bring charges against him.

4. Now Sejanus constantly became more powerful and formidable, so that the senate and the citizens paid court to him as if he were emperor, and even treated Tiberius with contempt. Therefore Tiberius, becoming aware of this, did not regard it with indifference, nor yet did he neglect it; for he feared that they would declare him emperor outright. He did

1 See below.  
2 For his death see VI. 23.  
3 i.e. the son of Germanicus.
nothing, however, openly: for Sejanus had completely gained over the body-guard, and had brought the senators over to his support, partly by favors, partly by hopes, partly by fears, and secured the friendship of all the attendants of Tiberius, so that everything which the emperor said and did was immediately reported to him, while nothing that he did was made known to Tiberius. Therefore Tiberius undertook to hunt him down in a different way, nominating him to the consulsip, calling him the partner of his cares, repeatedly saying "my Sejanus," and making a display of all this in letters to the senate and the people. Therefore, deceived by these expressions, and fully believing in them, men erected brazen statues of both alike everywhere, and coupled their names in documents, and placed gilded chairs for them in the theatres. And finally it was voted that they should be declared joint consuls for five years, and that a joint public reception should be offered to them whenever they should enter Rome. And at last they sacrificed to his statues just as to those of Tiberius.

Thus it went with Sejanus. And many other distinguished men perished, among them Gaius Rufus Geminus. He, being accused of impiety against Tiberius, brought his will into the senate, and read it aloud, showing that he had bequeathed his property in equal shares to the emperor and his own children. And being taunted with his weakness, he went home before the vote was taken; and when he was informed that the quaesitor was at his door to execute the judgment, he stabbed himself, and, showing him the wound, said: "Carry word to the senate that this is the way a man dies." And his wife, Publia Prisca, being accused upon some charge, went into the senate and there stabbed herself with a dagger which she secretly carried with her.

Sejanus became so intolerably insolent in spirit and in sense of power, that, to speak briefly, he seemed in good sooth to be emperor, and Tiberius a petty island king, by reason of his continually living at Capri. There was a constant press and throng at his doors, since every one feared, not merely that he would miss being seen by him, but even that he would not be among the first to be seen by him: for he watched everything very closely, both words and demeanor, especially in the case of prominent men. But once on the Kalends, when a great throng was pressing into the house of Sejanus, a bench in the hall in which he was holding a reception broke down under the multitude of those who were sitting upon it; and when he went out of the house a weasel ran through the crowd. And when, after sacrificing on the Capitol, he went down to the Forum, his servants and guards, not being able to follow him on account

1 i.e. the praetorian guards. (I. 7. 3 n.)
2 No doubt Gaius Fufius Geminus (see V. 2. 2 n.)
of the crowd, turned aside through the street which led to the prison, and, as they descended the steps¹ down which condemned criminals are wont to be hurled, stumbled and fell. And as he was taking the auspices after this, no bird of good omen made its appearance, but ravens in great numbers hovering and crawling about him flew to the prison and perched upon it.

6. These signs, however, neither Sejanus nor any one else took to heart; for even if some god had foretold clearly the change of fortune that was shortly to take place, no one would have believed it. Therefore they continued without stint to swear by his fortune, and to call him the colleague of Tiberius, having in mind not merely the consulship, but the imperial dignity. But nothing which happened to him escaped the knowledge of Tiberius; and he, consulting in his own mind how he might destroy him, and finding no way to do this openly without peril, hit upon a remarkable plan for learning accurately not only his sentiments, but also those of others. He wrote continually and at great length a variety of things about himself both to Sejanus and the senate, at one time saying that he was very ill, and could not last much longer, and at another time that he was in excellent health, and was intending shortly to come to Rome. And Sejanus himself he now praised to the skies, and again depreciated very much, and honored some of his companions and disgraced others on his account, so that Sejanus, being by turns filled with vanity and with dread, was always in a state of suspense. For it did not occur to him (being still treated with distinction) to apprehend any danger,—which might have set him to excite a rebellion,—nor on the other hand to be emboldened to take some decisive step, for he was constantly losing in consideration. And at the same time all others, hearing at short intervals first one story and then just the opposite, and feeling secure neither in admiring Sejanus nor in despising him, constantly expecting too to hear that Tiberius was dead or that he was on his way to the city, were kept in equal uncertainty.

7. Now Sejanus was disturbed by these things, and all the more because first a great cloud of smoke arose from one of his statues, and when the head was removed in order to see what was the cause, a great snake crawled out of it; and when another head had been placed upon it, and he was about to offer sacrifice to himself (for he sacrificed to himself as well as to the gods), a rope was found twisted about the neck. And a statue of Fortune, which had, as men believed, belonged to Servius Tullius, who had once been king in Rome, and which now Sejanus had in his

¹ The Scalae Gemoniae (see III. 14. 6 n.). The principal street, the Clivus Capitolinus, came down by the right, about where the Via del Campidoglio now is.
house, and honored greatly, turned its back upon him as he was sacrificing to it. [There is here a short gap in the manuscript.] . . . And now others began to be suspicious; but, not knowing the purpose of Tiberius, and taking into consideration the fiery temper of Sejanus, and the uncertainty of affairs, they were in a dilemma, secretly consulting for their own safety, but in public paying court to him, especially because Tiberius conferred priestly offices upon both him and his son along with Gaius1; therefore they gave him the proconsular power, and voted in addition that all who should be consuls should take him as their model in governing. Therefore Tiberius, although he honored him with the priesthood, did not summon him to him, but even when he asked leave to go to Campania on the ground that his betrothed was sick, he bade him remain where he was, as he himself was intending soon to repair to Rome.

8. This depressed Sejanus still more, and especially because Tiberius, in appointing Gaius to a priesthood, commended him in high terms, and showed that he regarded him as his successor. And he would have excited a revolution, especially as the soldiers were ready to obey him in everything, if he had not seen that the people were greatly pleased at what had been said about Gaius, in consideration of his father Germanicus. He had before thought that they too were on his side, but now he was discouraged, perceiving that they were enthusiastically devoted to Gaius. And now he regretted not having seized the power during his consulship.2 Others were influenced moreover by the fact that Tiberius acquitted an enemy of his, who had been appointed to the government of Spain ten years before, and then accused by him upon some charges; and that he gave orders that in future those who were to govern provinces or perform any other public service, should not be prosecuted on such grounds during their office.3 And when he wrote to the senate concerning the death of Nero, he mentioned Sejanus merely by his name, without any of the terms of honor which he was accustomed to use, and moreover forbade sacrifices to be offered to any mortal (as had been done to Sejanus), even to himself, for many such honors had been voted to him. He had, to be sure, prohibited this before, but now he renewed it on account of Sejanus; for what he had refused for himself he could not permit to another.

9. For these reasons people began to slight him still more, and openly disregard him, avoid him and neglect him. Tiberius therefore learning this, and being confident that he should have the senate and the people

1 Son of Germanicus, afterwards the emperor Caligula. μετὰ Γαλοῦ is a conjecture of Bekker for μετ’ αὑτοῦ, which makes no sense. For Gaius' receiving the priesthood, see chap. 8.

2 He had held the consulship with Tiberius during the first part of this year, A.D. 31.

3 ἐν τῷ κατά τοῦτο seems here to have this meaning.
on his side, made a direct attack upon him. Giving out that he was about to bestow the tribuniciam power upon him,—in order that he might take him unawares,—he brought accusations against him before the senate through Nævius Sertorius Macro, whom he had secretly commissioned to command the body-guard, and to whom he had given authority to do whatever should be necessary. And Macro coming by night to Rome, as if on some other business, laid his commands before the consul Memmius Regulus¹ (for his colleague was of the party of Sejanus), and Græcinus Laco, commander of the night-guards; and going in the morning to the palace² (for the session of the senate was to be held in the temple of Apollo), he met Sejanus, who had not yet entered the hall; and seeing that he was greatly disturbed because Tiberius had sent no message to him, he reassured him, by telling him in private that he brought him the tribuniciam power. And he, recovering his spirits at this news, tripped into the senate-house; but Macro sent the guardsmen who were about Sejanus and the senate back to the camp, announcing to them that he was to be their commander, and saying that he brought letters from Tiberius giving donatives to them. Then, after placing the night-guards around the temple in their stead, he entered it, and, giving the letter to the consuls, went away before any part of it was read; then, directing Laco to command the guard there, he hastened to the camp, for fear there might be some outbreak.

10. And now the letter was read aloud. It was long, and did not contain any connected accusation against Sejanus, but first some other matter, and then a slight censure of him, and after this something else, and then again something against him; and at last it declared that two senators who were intimate with him should be punished and he himself put in prison. For Tiberius did not at once order him to be put to death—not that he did not wish it, but because he feared that some disturbance would arise from it; and, on the ground that he could not make the journey safely, he sent for one of the consuls to accompany him. This was the purport of the letter, and thereupon many strange things were to be seen and heard. For in the first place, before it was read, all spoke in high praise of him [Sejanus], expecting that he was about to receive the tribuniciam power, and shouted in applause—anticipating what they expected, and wishing to show him that they themselves were ready to give it to him; but when nothing of this sort followed, but everything that they heard was just the opposite of what they expected, they fell into great embarrassment and dejection. Some who were sitting on the bench with

¹ Consul suffixus for this year with Fulcius Trio (see V. 11. 1).
² ἐς τὸ παλάτιον seems to refer to the palace rather than the hill; the temple of Apollo was in the palace of Augustus.
him rose up; having before been most eager to make him their friend, now they would not even sit on the same seat with him. And at this the pretors and tribunes gathered about him, in order that he might not rush out and make a disturbance, which he would certainly have done if the full weight of the accusation had fallen upon him at first. But as it was read, looking upon each separate point as trivial and isolated, and especially hoping that there would be nothing further, or if there should be that at any rate nothing fatal would be brought against him, he hesitated and remained in his place. And then Regulus summoned him, but he did not obey, not out of insolence, for he was already completely broken down, but because he was not accustomed to have orders given to him. Then after he had called him a second and a third time, the consul stretched out his hand towards him and said, "Sejanus, come hither." At this he answered in these very words, "Is it I that you are calling?" \[\text{\textit{kaleis;}}\]; and when he stood up, Laco came up and stood by him. And at last, when the letter had been read through, all with one voice cried out against him, and reviled him—some because they had suffered wrongs from him, and others out of fear, some trying to conceal their former friendship for him, and others rejoicing at his downfall. But Regulus did not call upon them all to speak, and indeed he did not call upon any one to speak in regard to putting him to death, for he feared that some opposition would be made, and some disturbance excited (for Sejanus had many relatives and friends): but he took the opinion of a certain senator, and, finding that he agreed with him that he should be imprisoned, he led him out of the senate, and with Laco and the other magistrates conducted him to the prison.

11. And now might one witness human weakness, and learn to abjure arrogance. He who that very morning had been attended to the senate-house by great numbers, as being raised above all, was now haled into prison, having fallen far below all; he who before had been deemed worthy of garlands was now put in chains; he who, as a ruler, had been surrounded with guards, was now watched like a runaway slave; he who had been clad in purple was now buffeted in the face; he who had been reverenced, and had received sacrifice like a god, was now led to death. . . . The people also assaulted him and upbraided him with the fate of those whom he had ruined, and taunted him with the failure of his hopes. All his statues they cast down, and broke in pieces, and dragged about as if they were tormenting him in person; and thus he became witness of what he was about to suffer in person. For then he was cast into prison; but not long after, indeed the very same day, the senate, assembling in the temple of Concord, close by the prison, when they saw these actions of the people,
and saw none of the body-guard, voted his death. After the judgment was executed, the body was thrown down the Scalae Gemoniae, and the rabble abused it for three entire days, and then cast it into the river.\(^1\) Also his children were put to death by vote of the senate, the girl — who had been betrothed to the son of Claudius — being first deflowered by the executioner, because it was impious to execute a virgin in prison. His wife Apicata\(^2\) was not condemned to death, but when she had been informed that her children were dead, and had seen their bodies on the Gemonian Stairs, she shut herself up in private, wrote out an accusation against Livilla in regard to the death of Drusus (which had been the cause of Apicata’s estrangement from her husband, so that they no longer lived together), sent this to Tiberius, and then put herself to death. And when Tiberius had received the document and read what was written in it, he put to death Livilla and all the rest. I have heard indeed that he spared her in consideration of her mother Antonia, and that Antonia on her own account put her to death by starvation.

12. This however took place at a later time: at present there was great excitement in the city. For if the people caught sight of any one who had had influence with Sejanus, and had been made insolent by this, they slaughtered him. And the soldiers, enraged because they were suspected of devotion to Sejanus (the night-guards being regarded as more loyal to Tiberius), plundered and burned through the city, although the chief magistrates undertook to guard the city at the command of Tiberius. The senate too was disturbed, the partisans of Sejanus being greatly terrified through fear of punishment, and those who had brought accusations or given evidence against any persons, beginning to suspect that they had sacrificed them to Sejanus and not to Tiberius. Very few were there who ventured to take courage, as not having been mixed up in these things, and to hope that Tiberius would treat them with mildness. For, as usually happens, all that had occurred they laid to the account of the man who had been put to death, and the emperor they blamed very little or not at all: saying that of most things he had been kept in ignorance, and some things he had been compelled to do unwillingly. This was the way they felt in private: in public they voted, as if they were now freed from tyranny, that no one should put on mourning for Sejanus, and that a statue of Freedom should be set up in the Forum, and that a feast should be celebrated by all the magistrates and priests, — a thing that never happened before, — and that the day on which he was executed should be celebrated

\(^1\) Cf. Seneca, De Tranq. Animi, XI. 11: quo die Seianum senatus deduxerat, populus in frusta divisit. In quem quicquid concerti poterat di hominesque contulereant, ex eo nihil superfluit quod carnifex traheret.

\(^2\) See IV. 3. 5.
every year with horse-races, and wild-beast fights, by all the four colleges of priests,¹ and also the Augustales (see I. 54. 1). They had pushed him on to destruction by the excess and the novelty of their adulation, and now they voted strange acts of gratitude to the gods. Indeed, it was so well understood that it was by them chiefly that his head had been turned, that they at once voted that it should be expressly forbidden to bestow excessive honors upon any one, or to take oaths by any other than the emperor. And yet they had no sooner voted this, as if by divine inspiration, than they began to flatter Macro and Laco, giving them much wealth and great honors, bestowing upon Laco quaestor rank, and upon Macro prætorian, authorizing Macro to sit in the theatre with the senators, and to wear the praetexta at the votive games. They did not accept the honors, however, for the recent example made them cautious. Neither did Tiberius accept any of the many honors that were offered to him, as for instance that he should now begin to be called 'Father of his Country;'² and that his birthday should be celebrated with ten cavalry fights and a banquet of the senate: but he forbade, as he had before, all of these things.

18. This is what happened in the city. But Tiberius was for a while in great apprehension lest Sejanus should get possession of the city and sail to attack him, and he had vessels ready in order to escape if anything of this sort should happen. And, as some say, he had ordered Macro, if there should be any disturbance, to lead Drusus before the senate and people, and proclaim him emperor. But when he learned of the death of Sejanus, he rejoiced, as is natural, but yet he refused to receive the embassy sent to him on this account, although many from the senate and many from the knights and the people had been sent, as on a former occasion; and he did not even admit the consul Regulus to his presence, who had always been his adherent, and had now come, in accordance with his written request, to accompany him to Rome.

14. Such a downfall had Sejanus, the most powerful of all who have held this office before or after him, except Plautianus;³ and his kinsmen and friends, and all others who had paid court to him, and conferred honors upon him, were put upon their trial. Most of these were convicted on the ground of the very things for which they had before been especially envied, the others condemning them for things which they themselves had formerly voted. And many who had before been tried on certain charges and acquitted, were arrested again and condemned, as if their

¹ The colleges of pontifices, augurs, quindecimviri, and epulones.
² See I. 72. 2 n.
³ He was prætorian prefect under Septimius Severus, and was put to death A.D. 203, after a career of extraordinary insolence.
acquittal had been for his sake. "Thus, if there was no other charge against a man, this was enough for his punishment, that he had been a friend of Sejanus, just as if it had not been on account of the friendship of Tiberius that others had paid court to him." Such accusations were brought especially by those who had been most devoted to Sejanus; for since they knew accurately who were like-minded with themselves, they had no trouble in bringing accusations and proofs. ...  

15. Of those who were accused, many appeared in person and spoke in their own defence with great freedom of spirit; but most took their own lives before being condemned. "They did this especially in order to escape the disgrace and outrage (for all who were arrested on any such charge, not only knights but also senators, not only men but also women, were crowded into the prison, and after being condemned some were put to death there, and others were hurled from the Tarpeian Rock by the tribunes or consuls, and their bodies tossed into the Forum, and after this thrown into the river), and also in order that their children might inherit their property." For they confiscated only a very small proportion of the property of those who committed suicide before judgment, it being the policy of Tiberius to lead them to self-destruction by this inducement, so that it might not appear that it was he who worked their destruction — as if it were not a much more terrible thing to compel a man to slay himself than to give him over directly to the executioner."  

The condemnation of Sejanus is thus described by Juvenal, 10. 56-77: —

Quosdam praecipitat subiecta potestia magnae
Invidiae: mergit longa atque insignis honorum
Pagina. Descendunt statuae restemque sequuntur,
Ipsas deinde rotas bigarum impacta securis
Caedit et immeritis frангuntur crura caballis:
Iam strident ignes, iam follibus atque caminis
Ardet adoratum populo caput et crepat ingens
Seianus; deinde ex facie toto orbe secunda
Fiunt urceoli pelves sartago matellae.
Pone domi laurus, duc in Capitolia magnum
Cretatumque bovem: Seianus dicitur unco
Spectandus: gaudent omnes. "Quae labra, quis illi
Vultus erat! numquam, si quid mihi credis, amavi
Hunc hominem" sed quo cecidit sub crimine? quisnam
Delator? quibus indiciis, quo teste probation?"
Nil horum: verbosa et grandis epistula venit
A Capreis. — 'Bene habet: nil plus interrogo. — Sed quid
Turba Remi?' Sequitur fortunam ut semper et odit
Damnatos: idem populus, si Nortia Tusco
Favisset, si oppressa foret secura senectus
Principis, hac ipsa Seianum diceret hora
Augustum.
Suetonius gives the following account in his life of Tiberius:

55. Super veteres amicos ac familiares, viginti sibi e numero principum civitatis depoposcerat, velut consiliarios in negotiis publicis. Horum omnium vix duos aut tres incolumes praestitit; ceteros, alium alia de causa, percult, inter quos cum plurimorum clade Aelium Seianum, quem ad summam potentiam non tam benevolentia provexerat quam ut esset cuius ministerio ac fraudibus liberos Germanici circumveniret, nepotemque suum ex Druso filio naturalem ad successionem imperii confirmaret. . . .

65. Seianum, res novas molientem, quamvis iam et natalem eius publice celebrari et imagines aureas coli passim videret, vix tandem, et astu magis ac dolo quam principali auctoritate, subvertit. Nam primo, ut a se per speciem honoris dimitteret, collegam sibi assumpsit in quinto consalatu, quem longo intervallo absens ob id ipsum susceperat. Deinde spe adfinitatis ac tribuniciae potestatis deceptum, inopinante criminales est pudenta miserandaque oratione: cum inter alia patres conscriptos precaretur, mitterent alium e consulibus, qui se senem et solum in conspectum eorum cum aliquo militari praesidio peruceret. Sic quoque diffidens tumultumque metuens, Drusum nepotem, quem vinculis adhuc Romae continebat, solvi, si res posceret, ducemque constitut praeceperat. Aptatis etiam navibus ad quascumque legiones meditabatur fugam, speculabundus ex altissima rupe identidem signa, quae, ne nuntii morarentur, tolle procul, ut quidque factum foret, mandaverat. Verum et oppressa coniuratione Seiani, nihilis secuarius aut constantior, per novem proximos menses non egressus est villa, quae vocatur Iovis.

1 Neither Dio nor Juvenal hints at any conspiracy on the part of Sejanus, but they represent his overthrow as caused by jealousy at his excessive greatness and insolence. The conspiracy is, however, mentioned by Josephus (Ant. lit. XVIII. 6, 6), who says that it was revealed to Tiberius by Antonia, the mother of Germanicus. "She had been also the greatest benefactress to Tiberius, when there was a very dangerous plot laid against him by Sejanus, a man who had been her husband's friend, and who had the greatest authority, because he was general of the army, and many members of the senate and many of the freedmen joined with him, and the soldiery were corrupted, and the plot was come to a great height. Now Sejanus had certainly gained his point, had not Antonia's boldness been more wisely conducted than Sejanus' malice; for, when she had discovered his designs against Tiberius, she wrote him an exact account of the whole, and gave the letter to Pallas, the most faithfull of her servants, and sent him to Capri to Tiberius, who, when he understood it, slew Sejanus and his confederates."

A confirmation of the conspiracy is afforded by an inscription, fragmentary in character, and which suggests more problems than it solves, given by Mommsen (Rom. Tribus, p. 207): Seiani scelerati incitatio et improbae comitiae [ill]ae fuerunt in Aventino, ubi [Sei]anus cos. factus est. An inscription of Interamna reads, Providentiae Ti. Caesaris Augusti nati ad aeternitatem Romani nominis sublato hoste perriciosisimo P. R., etc. This may be nothing but the usual adulation: the other inscription points to something formal and official in the development of the conspiracy.
ARGUMENT OF BOOK VI.

A.D. 31; L. FULCINIUS TRIO, P. MEMMIUS REGULUS, CONSULES SUFFECTI.

[V. 6–11. These chapters were formerly reckoned with Book V., but, treating of events after the fall of Sejanus, are now universally recognized as belonging to Book VI.

6–8. (Fragmentary.) Punishment of the accomplices of Sejanus. Accusation and suicide of Vitellius. 9. Execution of the children of Sejanus. 10. Insurrection of the false Drusus. 11. Dissensions of the consuls.]

A.D. 32; CN. DOMITIUS AHENOBARBUS, M. FURIUS CAMILLUS ARRUNTIIUS SCRIBONIANUS, Coss.


A.D. 33; SER. SULPICIUS GALBA, L. CORNELIUS SULLA FELIX, Coss.


A.D. 34; PAULLUS FABIUS PERSICUS, L. VITELLIUS, Coss.


A.D. 35; C. CESTIUS GALLUS, M. SERVILIUS NONIANUS, Coss.


A.D. 36; Q. PLAUTIUS, SEX. PAPINIUS ALLENIUS, Coss.


A.D. 37; CN. ACERRONIUS PROCULUS, C. PETRONIUS PONTIUS NIGRINUS, Coss.


The first six chapters were formerly reckoned with Book V., and still retain their former numbering, for convenience of reference.

V. 6. This chapter contains a portion of an address made to his friends by one of the adherents of Sejanus, after the overthrow and death of the latter. It appears to have been spoken in his house, when he was on the point of committing suicide.

super ea re: probably the trial of Livia (Livilla).

allatum: the subject of this infinitive was in the lost passage.

2. ille: Tiberius.

collegam: i.e. either as consul, or, as Mommsen holds (Röm. St. II. 1051), in the proconsular power.

generum: Zonaras states that Sejanus was betrothed to Julia, daughter of Drusus, and widow of Nero (III. 29. 4; IV. 60. 4).


5. quam laeti: Intr. 35 m. adiciendo, etc.: this would be to cherish his memory laeti.

7. superesse tempus: i.e. that the time had not yet come.

novissimis, the last act.
abdiderat, incubuit. Neque Caesar ullis crimini\ibus aut probris defunctum insectatus est, cum in Blaesum multa foedaque incusavisset.

Relatum inde de P. Vitellio et Pomponio Secundo. Illu\m indices arguebant claustra aerarii, cui praefectus erat, et militarem pecuniam rebus novis obtulisse; huic a Considio praetura functo objectabatur Aelii Galli amicitia, qui punito Seiano in hortos Pomponii quasi \idendum ad subsidium perfugisset. Neque aliud periclitantibus auxilii quam in fratrum constantia fuit, qui vades exstitere. Mox crebris prolationibus spem ac metum iuxta gravatos Vitellius petito per speciem studiorum scalpro le\em ictum venis intulit vitamque aegritudine animi finivit. At Pomponius multa morum elegantia et ingenio illustri, dum adversam fortunam aequus tolerat, Tiberio superstes fuit.

Placitum posthac ut in reliquos Seiani liberos ad\eretur, vanescente quamquam plebis ira ac plerisque per priora supplicia lenitis. Igitur portantur in carce-

8. P. Vitellio: see I. 70. 1 n.

Pomponio Secundo: a trage\dian of whom Quintilian says (X. 1. 98): eorum quos viderim longe princeps Pomponius Secundus, quem senes quidem parum tragicum putabant, eruditione ac nitore praestare confitebantur.
aerarii: sc. militaris: I. 78. 2 n.
rebus novis: the conspiracy of Sejanus.

Aelii Galli: this is supposed to have been the eldest son of Sejanus, who had been adopted into the \Elian gens (IV. I. 3 n.), probably by the knight \Elius Gallus (Dio, LIII. 29. 3).

2. fratrum: Vitellius had three brothers, Lucius (28. 1), Quintus (II. 48. 3), and Aulus, who was consul the following year as colleague of Cn. Domitius, but appears to have died immediately after taking office (inierat), as his name does not stand in the Fasti: Aulus in consulatu obiit quem cum Domitio Neronis Caesaris patre inierat (Suet. Vit. 2). The brother of Pomponius was named Quintus (18. 2).
vades: their brothers gave surety and kept them in custody.

9. placitum: we are not told whether this was the act of Tiberius or the senate.
reliquos: besides \Elius Gallus.
adverteretur: in this sense (cf. III. 52. 2 n.) followed by in with the accusative only here and II. 32. 5.
quamquam: following vanescente by anastrophe.
rem, filius imminentium intellegens, puella adeo nescia ut crebro interrogaret quod ob delictum et quo traheretur; neque facturam ultra, et posse se puerili verbere moneri. Tradunt temporis eius auctores, quia triumvirali supplicio adfici virginem inauditum habebatur, a carnifice laqueum iuxta compressam; exim oblisis faucibus id aetatis corpora in Gemonias abiecta.

Per idem tempus Asia atque Achaia exterritae sunt acri magis quam diuturno rumore, Drusum Germanici Filium apud Cycladas insulas, mox in continenti visum. Et erat iuvenis haud dispari aetate, quibusdam Caesaris libertis velut agnitus; per dolumque comitantibus alliebantur ignari fama nominis et promptis Graecorum animis ad nova et mira. Quippe elapsum custodiae pergere, ad paternos exercitus, Aegyptum aut Suriam invasurum fingebant simul credebatque. Iam iuventutis concursu, iam publicis studiis frequentabatur, laetus praesentibus, cum auditum id Poppaeo Sabino; is Macedoniam tum intentus Achaiam quoque curabat. Igitur quo vera seu falsa antiret, Toronaeum Thermaeumque sinum praefestinans, mox Euboeam Aegaei maris insulam et Piraeum Atticae orae, dein

3. triumvirali supplicio: death by strangling. The triumviri capitates were officers who had charge of the prison and inflicted the death punishment. The incident here given is related also by Suetonius (Tib. 61) and other writers (see p. 350), but is reasonably doubted by Merivale and others, as being a mere rumor.

iuxta, close to; anastrophe; Intr.

id aetatis: an expression of horror.

10. Drusum: he was at this time in prison, where he died of hunger the next year (23. 4).

2. velut, as was claimed.
comitantibus: i.e. the freedmen; ablative absolute.

ad paternos exercitus: those formerly commanded by his alleged father.

3. laetus praesentibus, rejoicing in his present success.

inanium spe: a hope resting upon vain expectations.

Achaiam quoque curabat: see I. 80. 1 n.

4. antiret, get the start of the story, whether true or false.

Toronaeum Thermaeumque sinum: on the coast of Macedonia.
Corinthiense litus angustiasque Isthmi evadit; marique Ionio Nicopolim Romanam coloniam ingressus, ibi demum cognoscit sollertius interrogatum quisnam foret, dixisse M. Silano genitum, et multis sectatorum dilapsis ascendisse navem tamquam Italiam peteret. Scripsitque haec Tiberio, neque nos originem finemve eius rei ultra comperimus.

V. Exitu anni diu aucta discordia consulum erupit. Nam Trio, facilis capessendis inimiciis et foro exercitus, ut segnem Regulum ad opprimendos Seiani ministros oblique perstrinxerat: ille, nisi lacesseretur, modestiae retinens, non modo rettudit collegam, sed ut noxium coniurationis ad disquisitionem trahebat. Multisque patrum orantibus ponerent odia in perniciem itura, mansere infensi ac munitantes, donec magistratu abirent.

VI. Cn. Domitius et Camillus Scribonianus consulatum inierant, cum Caesar tramiesso quod Capreas et Surrentum interluit freto Campaniam praelegebatur, ambiguus an urbem intraret, seu, quia contra destinaverat, speciem venturi simulans. Et saepe in propinqua degressus,

angustias Isthmi, the narrow isthmus (Intr. 35 d); passing from the Saronic to the Corinthian Gulf.

Nicopolim: see II. 53. 1.

interrogatum: i.e. the pretender; subject of dixisse and ascendisse.

M. Silano: perhaps the one mentioned III. 24. 5.

multis ... dilapsis: as the result of his confession.

11. consulum: Fulcinius Trio (II. 28. 3) and Memmius Regulus, consules suffecti.

Trio: he had been a friend and accomplice of Sejanus, whose con-

federates he was therefore, in self-defence, all the more zealous to punish.

foro exercitus, skilled as an advocate.

Regulum: a "man of determined loyalty."

2. modestiae, self-control.

coniurationis: of Sejanus.

1. Cn. Domitius: father of the emperor Nero, by Agrippina, daughter of Germanicus; see IV. 75. 1.

Camillus Scribonianus: son of the proconsul of Africa (II. 52. 5). praelegebatur: cf. II. 79. 1.
aditis iuxta Tiberim hortis, saxa rursum et solitudinem maris repetit, pudore scelerum et libidinum, quibus adeo indomitis exarserat ut more regio pubem ingenuam stupris pollueret. Nec formam tantum et decora corpora, sed in his modestam pueritiam, in aliis imagines maiorum incitamentum cupidinis habebat. Tuncque primum ignota antea vocabula reperta sunt sellariorum et spintriarum ex foeditate loci ac multiplici patientia; praepositique servi qui conquirerent pertraherent, dona in promptos, minas adversum abnuentes, et si retinerent propinquus aut parens, vim raptus suaque ipsi libita velut in captos exercebant.

At Romae principio anni, quasi recens cognitis Liviae flagitiis ac non pridem etiam punitis, atroces sententiae dicebantur in effigies quoque ac memoriam eius, et bona Seiani ablata aerario ut in fiscum cogerentur, tamquam referret. Scipiones haec et Silani et Cassii isdem ferme aut paulum immutatis verbis asseveratione multa censebant, cum repente Togonius Gallus, dum ignobilissimam magnis nominibus inserit, per deridiculum auditur. Nam principem orabat deligere senatores, ex quis viginti sorte ducti et ferro accincti, quotiens curiam inisset, salutem eius defenderent. Crediderat nimirum

2. hortis: those bequeathed by Julius Caesar to the Roman people (II. 41. 1). In this neighborhood Augustus had constructed a naval amphitheatre (in quo loco nunc nemo est Caesarum. Mon. Anc. IV. 43). Of this visit Suetonius says (Tib. 72): triremis usque ad proximos naumachiae hortos subiectus, disposita statione per ripas Tiberis, quae obriviam prodeuntis submoveret . . . sed prospectis nec aditis urbis moenibus rediit.

saxa, etc.: i.e. of Capri.

2. Liviae flagitiis: see IV. 3. 3. These had been divulged, and Livia punished, after the death of Sejanus; see p. 350.

fiscum: the emperor’s privy purse; the aerarium, or public treasury, was quite as much under his control, so that it made no difference (tamquam referret) in which the funds were placed.

2. Scipiones, etc.: members of these noble families, with which the insignificance of Togonius Gallus is contrasted.
epistulae subsidio sibi alterum ex consulibus poscentis, ut tutus a Capreis urbem peteret. Tiberius tamen ludibria seris permiscere solitus, egit gratis benevolentiae patrum: sed quos omitti posse, quos deligi? semperne eosdem an subinde alios? et honoribus perfunctos an iuvenes, privatos an e magistratibus? quam deinde speciem fore sumentium in limine curiae gladios? neque sibi vitam tanti, si armis tegenda foret. Haec, adversus Togonium verbis moderans, neque ultra abolitionem sententiae suadere. At Iunium Gallionem, qui censue-rat ut praetoriani actis stipendiis ius apiscerentur in quattuordecim ordinibus sedendi, violenter increpuit, velut coram rogitans, quid illi cum militibus, quos neque dicta nisi imperatoris neque praemia nisi ab imperatore accipere par esset. Repperisse prorsus quod divus Augustus non providerit: an potius discordiam et seditionem a satellite Seiani quaesitam, qua rudes animos nomine honoris ad corrumpendum militiae morem pelleret? Hoc pretium Gallio meditatae adulationis tulit, statim curia, deinde Italia exactus; et quia incusa-

4. epistulae: the verbosa et grandis epistula (Juv. io. 71), in which Tiberius had denounced Sejanus. See p. 348.

poscentis: see pp. 348, 351, 353.

5. honoribus perfunctos: those who had held magistracies, while those e magistratibus were the actual incumbents.

sumentium ... gladios: to be armed in the senate was a serious offence; cf. IV. 21. 3.

3. Iunium Gallionem: a celebrated rhetorician and an intimate friend of M. Seneca, who calls him one of the four best declamers of the time, adding: hi quotiens conflixissent, penes Latronem gloria fuisset, penes Gallionem palma (Contr. X. 13). Quintilian says: remissius et pro suo ingenio pater Gallio (IX. 2. 91).

actis stipendiis: see I. 17. 3 n.

quatuordecim ordinibus: the fourteen rows of benches assigned to the equites at the theatre. The proposition would have the effect of placing the past members of the prætorian guard on an equality with the equestrian order, as was the rule with centuriones primipilares (II. ii. 2 n).

quos neque, etc.: it will be remembered that the emperor had, by virtue of his proconsular power, sole authority over the army (Intr. 19); moreover, these were his special body-guard.
batur facile toleraturus exsilium delecta Lesbo, insula nobili et amoena, retrahitur in urbem custoditurque domibus magistratum.

Isdem litteris Caesar Sextium Paconianum praetorium perculit magno patrum gaudio, audacem maleficium, omnium secretam rimantem delectumque ab Seiano cuius ope dolus Gaio Caesari pararetur. Quod postquam patefactum, prorupere concepta pridem odia, et summum supplicium decernebatur, ni professus indicium foret. Ut vero Latinium Latiarem ingressus est, accusator ac reus iuxta invisi gratissimum spectaculum praebebantur. Latiaris, ut rettuli, praecipuus olim circumveniendi Titii Sabini et tunc luendae poenae primus fuit. Inter quae Haterius Agrippa consules anni prioris invasit, cur mutua accusatione intenta nunc silerent: metum prorsus et noxae conscientiam pro foedere haberi; at non patribus reticenda quae audivissent. Regulus manere tempus ultionis, seque coram princepe excubetur; Trio aemulationem inter collegas et si qua discordes iecissent melius oblitterari respondit. Urgente Agrippa Sanquinius Maximus e consularibus oravit senatum ne curas imperatoris conquisitis insuper acerbitatibus augerent: sufficere ipsum statuendis remediis. Sic Regulo salus et Trioni dilatio exitii quaesita. Haterius invisor fuit, quia somno aut libidinosis vigiliis

3. domibus magistratum: a not uncommon form of imprisonment; see Cic. in Cat. I. 8. 19.

5. quod, etc.: it would seem that the emperor's letter first brought this act of treachery to the knowledge of the senators.

summum supplicium, etc.: he was nevertheless thrown into prison, where he was put to death three years afterwards; see 39. 1.

professus . . . foret: i.e. turned state's evidence.

4. ut rettuli: see IV. 68. 2.

2. Haterius Agrippa: see II. 51. 2 n.

mutua accusatione: see V. 11. 1.

non patribus reticenda: the senate should not pass over such charges in silence.

4. dilatio exitii: Trio put himself to death, A.D. 35 (38. 2).
marcidus et ob segnitiam quamvis crudelem principem non metuens illustribus viris perniciem inter ganeam ac stupra meditabatur.

5 Exim Cotta Messalinus, saevissimae cuiusque sententiae auctor eoque inveterata invidia, ubi primum facultas data, arguitur pleraque in C. Caesarem quasi incertae virilitatis, et cum die natali Augustae inter sacerdotes epularetur, novendialem eam cenam dixisse; querensque de potentia M'. Lepidi ac L. Arruntii, cum quibus ob rem pecuniariam disceptabant, addidisse: 'Illos quidem senatus, me autem tuebitur Tiberiolus meus.' Quae cuncta a primoribus civitatis revincebatur, iisque instantibus ad imperatorem provocavit. Nec multo post litterae adferuntur, quibus in modum defensionis, repetito inter se atque Cottam amicitiae principio crebrisque eius officiis commemoratis, ne verba prave detorta neu convivalium fabularum simplicitas in crimine duceretur postulavit.

6 Insigne visum est earum Caesaris litterarum initium; nam his verbis exorsus est: 'Quid scribam vobis, patres conscripti, aut quo modo scribam aut quid omnino non scribam hoc tempore, di me deaeque peius perdant quam perire me cotidie sentio, si scio.' Adeo facinora

5. quamvis crudelem: his sluggish nature was insensible to fear.
5. Cotta Messalinus: see II. 32. 2.
incertae: see App. I.
die natali Augustae: Jan. 30.
novendialem, funeral feast, celebrated on the ninth day after death. The allusion has been variously interpreted; the simplest explanation is to refer it to the gloom which prevailed in this reign of terror. Nipperdey's explanation is that a banquet on the birthday of a deceased person who had not been deified was nothing but a funeral feast.
M'. Lepidi ac L. Arruntii: see I. 13. 1 and 2 n.
2. quae cuncta: construed with revincebatur.
revincebatur: note the force of the imperfect — he was on the point of being condemned. Cf. aberant, I. 23. 3 n.
simplicitas, freedom of speech.
6. quid scribam, etc.: these words, reported also by Suetonius
atque flagitia sua ipsi quoque in supplicium verterant. Neque frustra praestantissimus sapientiae firmare solitus est, si recludantur tyrannorum mentes, posse aspici laniatus et ictus, quando ut corpora verberibus, ita saevitia libidine malis consultis animus dilaceretur. Quippe Tiberium non fortuna, non solitudines protegebant quin tormenta pectoris suasque ipse poenas fatereetur. Tum facta patribus potestate statuendi de C. Caeciliano senatore, qui plurima adversum Cottam prompserat, placitum eandem poenam irrogari quam in Aruseium et Sanquinium, accusatores L. Arruntii: quo non aliud honorificentius Cotta evenit, qui nobilis quidem, sed egens ob luxum, per flagitia infamis, sanctissimis Arruntii artibus dignitate ultionis aequabatur.

Q. Servaeus posthac et Minucius Thermus inducti, Servaeus praetura functus et quondam Germanici comes, Minucius equestri loco, moderata habita Seiani amicitia; unde illis maior miseratio. Contra Tiberius praecipuos ad scelera increpans admonuit C. Cestium patrem dicere senatui quae sibi scripsisset, suscepitque Cestius accusationem. Quod maxime exitiabile tulere illa tempora, cum primores senatus infimas etiam delationes exercerent, alii propalam, multi per occultum; neque discerneres alienos a coniunctis, amicos ab igno-

(Tib. 67), are certainly no confession of guilt, but may express the weariness of an old man to whom life was no longer anything but a burden and a disappointment.

2. *frustra* = *sine causa*, a common meaning in Tacitus; see I. 30. 3; III. 33. 2; III. 58. 1, etc.

praestantissimus sapientiae: Socrates; the allusion is to a passage in Plato’s *Gorgias* (80).

7. accusatores L. Arruntii: this event was probably related in the lost portion of the fifth book. This Sanquinius is not the consular mentioned 4. 4.

2. Q. Servaeus: see II. 56. 5.

inducti: *i.e.* for trial.

modeste, without ostentation; a purely private friendship.

3. C. Cestium: see III. 36. 2. The son is probably the one mentioned XV. 25. 5.

sibi: Tiberius.

accusationem, the formal indictment; see II. 28. 3 n.

Nam ea tempestate, qua Seiani amicitiam ceteri falso exuerant, ausus est eques Romanus M. Terentius, ob id reus, amplecti, ad hunc modum apud senatum ordiendo:


4. **repons** = *recess*; a frequent use of the word in Tacitus.

ad subsidium sui, in self-defence.

valetudine et contactu, contagion; a hendiadys.

5. **indicibus accessere**: like Paconianus (3. 5).

Iulius Africanus: probably father of the distinguished orator of Nero’s time (Quint. x. 1. 118).

Santonis: the modern Saintonge, on the Bay of Biscay.

originem: *i.e.* of Seius.

8. nam: here used to introduce an example.

exuerant, had disclaimed.

3. collegam patris: see I. 24. 3.

urbs ... munia: not as praefectus urbis (this was Lucius Piso, 10. 5), but as the emperor’s confidential advisor.

Ne, patres conscripti, ultimum Seiani diem, sed sedecim annos c cogitaveritis. Etiam Satrium atque Pomponium venerabamus; libertis quoque ac ianitoribus eius nunc scere pro magnifico accipiebatur. Quid ergo? indistincta haec defensio et promisca dabitur? immo iustis terminis dividatur. Insidiae in rem publicam, consilia caedis adversum imperatorem puniantur: de amicitia et officiis idem finis et te, Caesar, et nos absolverit.’ Constantia orationis, et quia repertus crat qui efferret quae omnes animo agitabant, eo usque potuere ut accusa-

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5. quemquam: i.e. by name.
8. coram, in public, as opposed to abditos sensus.
9. iee: i.e. by searching (exquirere).
10. sedecim annos: from the accession of Tiberius, A.D. 14, to the fall of Sejanus, A.D. 31; something more than sixteen years.
11. dabitur: i.e. to all friends of Sejanus.

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5. novissimi consilii: his plot against the emperor.
6. tuum, etc.: see V. 6. 2.
7. tua officia capessentem: the affairs of state had been left practically in his hands.
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tores eius, additis quae ante deliquerant, exsilio aut morte multarentur.

2 Secutae dehinc Tiberii litterae in Sex. Vistilium prae-
torium, quem Druso fratri percarum in cohortem suam 
transtulerat. Causa offensionis Vistilio fuit, seu com-
posuerat quaedam in Gaium Caesarem ut impudicum,
sive ficto habita fides. Atque ob id convictu principis 
prohibitus cum senili manu ferrum temptavisset, obligat 
venas; precatusque per codicillos, immi rescripto venas 
resolvit. Acervatim ex eo Annius Pollio, Appius Sila-
nus Scauro Mamerco simul ac Sabino Calvisio maiesta-
tis postulantur, et Vinicianus Pollioni patri adiciebatur,

3 clari genus et quidam summis honoribus. Contremue-
rantque patres (nam quotus quisque adfinitatis aut ami-
citia tot illustrium virorum expers erat?), ni Celsus 
urbanae cohortis tribunus, tum inter indices, Appium et 

4 Calvisium discrimini exemisset. Caesar Pollionis ac 
Viniciani Scaurique causam, ut ipse cum senatu nosce-
ret, distulit, datis quibusdam in Scaurum tristibus notis.

2. Vistilium: perhaps father of 
Vistilia (II. 85. 2). 
cohortem suam: i.e. of friends — those that he had taken with him 
to Capri. 
ficto: i.e. the story; dative. 
3. fuit seu, etc.: for the con-
struction, cf. I. 79. 5. 
habita fides: cf. II. 12. 2. 
4. convictu prohibitus: cf. II. 
70. 3; III. 12. 4. 
5. Annius Pollio: consul suffec-
tus, A.D. 20. 

App. Silanus: consul, A.D. 28 
(IV. 68. 1). 
Scauro: see I. 13. 4. 
simul: see IV. 55: 3 n. 
Sabino Calvisio: consul, A.D. 
26 (IV. 46. 1). 

Vinicianus: son of 'Annius 
Pollio, afterwards proposed as a 
successor to Caligula; he revolted 
against Claudius, and put himself to 
death, A.D. 42. 
genus: Intr. 35 s. 
quidam summis honoribus: 
all of these, with the possible ex-
ception of Vinicianus, were consul-
lars. Pfitzner suggests that et is 
equivalent to and in addition to 
these. Nipperdey suggests atque 
ideem for et quidam, which seems 
preferable. It is probably a care-
lessness of expression. 
6. contremuerant: cf. impleve-
rat, IV. 9. 1 n. 
urbanae cohortis: see I. 8. 3 n. 
7. tristibus notis: for the cause 
of offence, see I. 13. 4; for his fate, 
29. 7.
Ne feminae quidem exsortes periculi. Quia occupandae rei publicae argui non poterant, ob lacrimas incusabantur; necataque est anus Vitia, Fufii Gemini mater, quod filii necem flevisset. Haec apud senatum: nec secus apud principem Vescularius Flaccus ac Iulius Marinus ad mortem aguntur, e vetustissimis familia-rium, Rhodum seuti et apud Capreas individui, Vescularius insidiarum in Libonem internuntius; Marino participè Seianus Curtium Atticum oppresserat. Quo laetius acceptum sua exempla in consultores reci- disse.

Per idem tempus L. Piso pontifex, rarum in tanta claritudine, fato obiit, nullius servilis sententiae sponte auctor, et quotiens necessitas ingrueret, sapienter moderans. Patrem ei censorium fuisse memoravi; aetas ad octogesimum annum processit; decus triumphale in Thraecia meruerat. Sed praecipua ex eo gloria, quod praefectus urbi recens continuam potestatem et insolentia parendi graviorem mire temperavit. Namque antea, prefectis domo regibus ac mox magistratibus, ne urbs sine imperio foret, in tempus deligebatur qui ius redderet ac subitis mederetur; feruntque ab Romulo Den-

10. occupandae rei publicae: the throne could not be occupied by a woman.
Vitia: this name occurs here only.
Fufii Gemini: consul, A.D. 29 (V. 1. 1); for his death, see p. 345.
2. haec apud senatum, etc.: for the criminal jurisdiction of the senate and of the emperor, see III. 10. 3 n. In case of collision, the imperial jurisdiction took precedence of the senatorial, this again of the quaestiones (Momm. Röm. St. II. 902).
Vescularius Flaccus: see II. 28. 1.

Marino participè, etc.: of this occurrence nothing is known.
3. L. Piso: probably father of the two Pisos to whom Horace's Ars Poetica is addressed; the passage referred to (memoravi) must have been in the fifth book.
5. recens continuam, recently made permanent.
11. regibus et mox magistratibus: i.e. in the times of the kings, and afterwards of the republic.
Ius redderet: one of the most important functions of the kings, and afterwards of the consuls.
Subitis, emergencies.
trem Romulium, post ab Tullo Hostilio Numam Marcium et ab Tarquinio Superbo Spurium Lucretium impositos. Dein consules mandabant; duratque simulacrum quotiens ob ferias Latinas praeficitur qui consolare munus usurpet. Ceterum Augustus bellis civilibus Cilinium Maecenatem equestris ordinis cunctis apud Romam atque Italiam praeposuit; mox rerum potitus ob magnitudinem populi ac tarda legum auxilia sumpsit e consularibus qui coerceret servitia et quod civium audacia turbidum nisi vim metuat. Primusque Messalla Corvinus eam potestatem et paucos intra dies finem accepit, quasi nescius exercendi; tum Taurus Statilius, quamquam prorecta aetate, egregie toleravit; dein Piso viginti per annos pariter probatus, publico funere ex decreto senatus celebratus est.

12 Relatum inde ad patres a Quintiliano tribuno plebei

**Numam Marcium**: son-in-law of Numa Pompilius, and father of Ancus Marcius. **Spurium Lucretium**: father of the ill-fated Lucretia, and consul in the first year of the republic. The three here given are probably only the most noted of the praefecti urbi under the monarchy.

2. **mandabant**: *i.e.* the same functions on the same occasions. **simulacrum**: see note, IV. 36. 1. **ferias Latinas**: see IV. 36. 1.

3. **Augustus . . . praeposuit**: this was B.C. 36; but Mæcenas did not bear the title of praefectus urbis: its powers he shared with Agrippa. **equestris ordinis**: see III. 30.

4 n. **atque Italiam**: the city of Rome now embraced politically the whole of Italy. **rerum potitus**: after the battle of Actium, B.C. 31.

**tarda legum auxilia**: the slowness of procedure in the courts. **nisi metuat**: a general condition, qualifying turbidum.

4. **Messalla Corvinus**: a distinguished orator and soldier, as well as patron of literature; see III. 34. 2. **quasi nescius exercendi**: according to St. Jerome's version of Eusebius' Chronicle (B.C. 25), Messala abdicated on the sixth day, declaring his office incivilem potestatem.

5. **tum, afterwards**: it was nine years later (B.C. 16), on occasion of the absence of Augustus from Rome. It was originally the essence of the office that it was only exercised on special occasions, and Mommsen (Köm. St. II. 982) assigns this as the reason why this officer is not mentioned among those taking the oath to the new emperor (I. 7. 3).

6. **viginti**: see App. I.

Caninius Gallus: he is known by inscriptions to have been president of the Fratres Arvales, A.D. 36.

quindecimvirum: partitive genitive; see I. 76. 2 n.

postulaverat: i.e. the tribune, who had the ius referendi, or power of convening the senate, had done this at the request of Gallus, in order to obtain validity for his act.

per discessionem: i.e. by going apart into the lobbies. This was the regular way of voting; its mention appears to show that the vote was taken without discussion; cf. III. 69. 9.

2. scientiae, caerimoniarum: cf. vetus operis (I. 20. 2).

per magistros: the college of Quindecimviri had five magistri as presiding officers. Marquardt, Köln. Staatsverwaltung, III. 366.

infrequentem: there seems at this time to have been no fixed quorum of the senate: before the time of Augustus it was necessary that four hundred senators should be present (that is, about two-thirds of the whole number), in order to transact business. Augustus relaxed this rule. Dio, LIV. 35.

3. deferrentur: Suetonius (Oct. 31) says of this: supra duo milia [fatidicorum librorum] contracta undique cremavit, ac solos retinuit Sibyllinos, hos quoque dilectu habito; condiditque duobus forulis auratis sub Palatini Apollinis basi.

4. sociali bello: an error; it was during the first civil war, B.C. 83.

Samo, etc.: (ablatives of place whence): each of these towns claimed the glory of a Sibyl. It was from Erythrae, a town of Asia Minor, that the Sibyl came who sold the books to King Tarquin.
5 ope potuissent, vera discernere. Igitur tunc quoque notioni quindecimvirum is liber subicitur.

13 Isdem consulibus gravitate annonae iuxta seditionem ventum, multaque et plures per dies in theatro licentius efflagitata quam solitum adversum imperatorem. Quis commotus incusavit magistratus patresque quod non publica auctoritate populum coercuissent, addiditque quibus ex provinciis et quanto maiorem quam Augustus rei frumentariae copiam advectaret. Ita castigandae plebi compositum senatus consultum prisca severitate, neque segnius consules edixere. Silentium ipsius non civile, ut crediderat, sed in superbiam accipiebatur.

11 Fine anni Geminius, Celsus, Pompeius, equites Romani, cecidere comiuniones crimine; ex quis Geminius prodigentia opum ac mollitia vitae amicus Seiano, nihil ad serium. Et Iulius Celsus tribunus in vinclis laxatam catenam et circumdatam in diversum tendens suam ipse cervicem perfregit. At Rubrio Fabato, tamquam desperatis rebus Romanis Parthorum ad misericordiam fugeret, custodes additi. Sane is repertus apud fretum Siciliae retractusque per centurionem nullas probabiles

5. is liber: the book in question.
13. in theatro: the theatre instead of the public assembly was now the usual place for the expression of popular desires; cf. Hist. I. 72.
2. addidit: for Tiberius' care of the corn supply, see III. 54. 8.
3. quam Augustus: Augustus bought every year from Egypt 20,000,000 modii of corn = about five million bushels (Aur. Vict. Ep. I. 6).
3. neque segnius: senate and consuls exercised their respective powers of ordinance (senatus consultum) and proclamation (edictum).
4. silentium ipsius: i.e. that he reproved the people through the mouths of the senate and magistrates; this was ascribed to arrogance, rather than the observance of constitutional forms.
14. nihil ad serium: no danger could have been feared from such a trifler.
2. Iulius Celsus: see 9. 6; not the Celsus mentioned above.
3. circumdatam: sc. cervici.
4. nullas probabiles causas: he was probably a senator, as the senators were forbidden by August
causas longinquae peregrinationis adferebat: mansit tamen incoluis, oblivione magis quam clementia.


tus to leave Italy without permission of the emperor.
15. Ser. Galba: the same who was emperor, A.D. 68. His name was originally Servius, the common praenomen of the Sulpician gens; he had at this time exchanged it for Lucius, but took again his original name as emperor. (Suet. Galba, 4.)

L. Sulla: his cognomen was Felix, which shows that he was probably descended from the dictator.

neptibus suis: the daughters of Germanicus; Drusilla, sixteen, and Julia, fifteen years of age.

L. Cassium: his surname, Lontinus, was that of the distinguished Cassii of the last two centuries of the republic; he was put to death by Caligula.

2. oppidanum: as we say, provincial; he was from the oppidum Cales in Campania. It was to Vini cius that Velleius Paterculus addressed his history. He was afterwards poisoned by order of the empress Messalina.

cetera equestri familia: the aristocracy of the municipal towns enjoyed equestrian rank in the capital.

3. antiqui honoratique: i.e. he belonged to the plebeian nobility, like Metellus, Lucullus, and Catulus.

4. iuvenum: both were already of consular rank, but a man was a iuvenis until forty-five.

5. flexit: intransitive; cf. I. 34. 5.

offensiones: see III. 54. 11; IV. 38. 1.

Macro: he had succeeded Sejanus as praetorian praefect (p. 348).

6. large, in broad terms.
praescriptione generis aut numeri senatus consulto ne tecta quidem urbis, adeo publicum consilium numquam adiit, deviis plerumque itineribus ambiens patriam et declinans.

16 Interea magna vis accusatorum in eos irrupit qui pecunias faenore auctitabant adversum legem dictatoris Caesaris, qua de modo credendi possidendique intra Italiam cavetur, omissam olim, quia privato usui bonum publicum postponitur. Sane vetus urbi faenebre malum et seditionum discordiarumque creberrima causa, eoque cohibebatur antiquis quoque et minus corruptis moribus.

Nam primo duodecem tabulis sanctum ne quis unciario faenore amplius exerceret, cum antea ex libidine locu-

_adeo numquam = nédum um-
quam._

**publicum consilium:** an old name for the senate, derived from its original functions as a counseling body. Cf. Cic. _de Rep._ II. 8. 14; [Romulus] _in regnum consi-
tium delegerat principes, qui appel-
lati sunt propter caritatem patres._

16. _magna vis accusatorum:_ it appears from a passage in Dio Cassius (L.VIII. 21) that this was done at the instigation of the em-
peror, whose habit it was to insist upon a rigid enforcement of the laws; as he had shown himself (III. 53, 54) to have a keen appreciation of the social and economical evils of the time, we may suppose that his enforcement of this law was grounded in considerations of pub-
lic policy. The result, however, was very unfortunate.

**adversum legem dictatoris** Caesaris: we have no knowledge of any usury laws, or laws regulating the rate of interest, of Julius Cesar. Dio, however (XLI. 38), mentions a law of his forbidding any person to possess _κεκτηθών_, more than 15,000 drachmas [ _= denarius_ ] in gold or silver, and we may infer with some probability that that is the law referred to. The description is too vague to warrant us in any positive conclusions; but we may infer that if it prohibited keep-
ing on hand more than a certain amount of cash, it may have regu-
lated the investment of the balance. It is referred to in the other pas-
sage of Dio (LVIII. 21) as a law _περὶ τῶν συμβολῶν_, which may very well apply to such loans ( _de modo credendi possidendique)._

_omissam olim, which had long ago become obsolete._

2. _vetus urbi: i.e._ common in old times. Livy's history mentions many instances of distress and disturbance arising from the exaction of usury, and the harsh enforcement of the laws of debt.

3. _unciaio faenore:_ the view of Niebuhr is now generally adopted, that this was an _uncia_ for an _as; i.e._ one-twelfth of the principal, or eight and one-third per cent, for the year. Niebuhr further assumes, which is not so certain, that this
pletium agitaretur; dein rogatione tribunicia ad semuncias redactum, postremo vetita versura. Multisque 4 plebis scitis obviam itum fraudibus, quae totiens repressae miras per artes rerum oriebantur. Sed tum 5 Gracchus praetor, cui ea quaestio evenerat, multitudine periclitantium subactus rettulit ad senatum, trepidique patres (neque enim quisquam tali culpa vacuus) veniam a principe petivere; et concedente annus in posterum sexque menses dati, quis secundum iussa legis rationes familiares quisque componerent. Hinc inopia rei num-17 mariae, commoto simul omnium aere alieno, et quia tot damnatis bonisque eorum divenditis signatum argentum fisco vel aerario attinebatur. Ad hoc senatus praescrip- 2 rate was for the old year of ten months, which would be ten per cent for the year of twelve months. By the law presently referred to, it was reduced to half this rate.

**rogatione tribunicia**: this was B.C. 347.

**vetita versura**: probably by the Genucian Law, B.C. 342, *ne faene-rare laceret* (Liv. VII. 42. 1). *Versura* is not equivalent to *usura* (interest), but means rather the making of a loan — borrowing from one person to pay a debt to another. What was prohibited therefore was not the taking interest at all, but the trade of money-lending (*faene-rare*). In the present case, at any rate, it is evident that the law did not forbid interest, for in the next chapter it is said that the hundred million sesterces advanced by the emperor were as a favor loaned without interest (*sine usuris*), from which it follows that it would have been lawful to exact interest.

4. *fraudibus*: *e.g.* just after the Second Punic War, loans were made in the name of *socii*, or citizens of allied towns (Liv. XXXV. 7).

5. *tum*, on the present occasion. *ea quaestio*: the court which had cognizance of this offence.

**trepidi patres**: in violating this law the senators likewise offended against the public sentiment which forbade them to engage in trade.

**concedente**: Intr. 35 o. **secundum, etc.**: *i.e.* arrange their business so as to conform to the law.


**commoto**: *i.e.* being called in; this made an enormous demand for ready money, while the extensive confiscations had locked up large sums in the treasury.

2. *ad hoc*, to meet this emergency, — an unusual meaning of this phrase, but supported by the expression of Suetonius who (*Tib.* 48), in describing the measures now taken, adds: *nec res expediretur*; from which we understand that the measure aimed to relieve from embarrassments, but failed, as we see further on to have been the case.
serat duas quisque faenoris partes in agris per Italiam collocaret. Sed creditores in solidum appellabant, nec decorum appellatis minuere fidem. Ita primo concursatio et preces, dein strepere praetorius tribunal, eaque quae remedio quaesita, venditio et emptio, in contrarium mutari, quia faeneratores omnem pecuniam mercandis agris condiderant; copiam vendendi secuta vilitate, quanto quis obaerator, aegrius distrahebant, multique fortunis provolvebantur. Eversio rei familiaris dignitatem ac famam praeceps dabat, donec tuit opem Caesar disposito per mensas milies sestertio factaque mutuandi

Suetonius further tells us that this measure also was initiated by the emperor; see next note. It would seem that in granting the eighteen months' respite he at the same time recommended this measure for immediate relief.

duas quisque, etc.: this measure, hard to understand as here described, is made clear by Suetonius, whose description of the transaction is as follows: cum per senatus consultum sanxisset ut faeneratores duas patrimonii partes in solo collocarent, debitores totidem aени alieni statim solventur, nec res expediretur. He uses the word patrimonium (estate) in exactly, where Tacitus uses faenus (principal). His statement—that the debtors were to pay two-thirds, and the creditors to invest it in land—must be understood to mean that the creditors were to take land in payment. Trajan likewise (Plin. Epp. VI. 19. 4) ordered candidates patrimonii tertiam partem conferre in ea quae solo continenterunt.

in solidum, in full.

decorum: it was no legal obligation, but to refuse to pay would impair their credit. Or possibly the adjustment described above was recommended rather than prescribed.

3. concursatio: i.e. to the creditors.

strepere, to resound with lawsuits.

venditio et emptio: reciprocal terms expressing the two sides of the same act—purchase and sale of property.

faeneratores . . . condiderant: the capitalists did not purchase land at once, but kept the money on hand (condiderant) for the purpose of buying, as favorable opportunities should offer. By this the distress of the debtors was enhanced, because the large capitalists held off in order to buy cheap.

condiderant: most editions place a full stop after this word, and a semicolon after provolvebantur; but it is evident that the passage copiam . . . provolvebantur is a part of the explanation of in contrarium mutari, as following quia.

4. distrahebant, sell in small lots; because the market was glutted.

per mensas: the amount of about $5,000,000 was deposited for the purpose of loans for three years without interest, but on the security
copia sine usuris per triennium, si debitor populo in
duplum praeidis cavisset. Sic refecta fides, et paulatim 5
privati quoque creditores reperti. Neque emptio agro-
rum exercita ad formam senatus consulti, acribus, ut
ferme talia, initis, incurioso fine.

Dein redeunt priores metus postulato maiestatis Con-18
sidio Proculo, qui nullo pavore diem natalem celeb-18
rans raptus in curiam pariterque damnatus interfectusque
est. Sorori eius Sanciae aqua atque igni interdictum 2
accusante Q. Pomponio. Is moribus inquires haec et
huiusce modi a se factitari praetendebat, ut parta apud
principem gratia periculis Pomponii Secundi fratri
fraternitate. Neque emptio agrorum exercita ad formam
senatus consulti, acribus, ut ferme talia, initis, incurioso fine.

3. Argolicum . . . Laconem: these are considered to be personal
cognomina.

4. pater quoque: the name of
Pompeia Macrina shows that in all
probability her father was son of
Pompeius Macer, who was appointed
chief librarian by Augustus (cui or-
dinandas bibliothecas delegaverat,
Suet. Jul. 56), and who was him-
self son of Theophanes.

illustres eques: the term il-
lustres, applied to the knights, had
no technical meaning, but is used
by Tacitus to designate those who
by official position (cf. equestris
nobilitas, Agr. 4), or birth (in a
 senatorial family), or perhaps sena-
torial fortune, enjoyed a rank in-
termediate between the senators
and the common equites (Momms.
Rom. St. III. 56. 3); cf. II. 59.
4 n.; IV. 58. 1 n.
mini, quod Theophanen Mytilenaemum proavum eorum Cn. Magnus inter intimos habuisset, quodque defuncto Theophani caelestes honores Graeca adulatia tribuerat.

19 Post quos Sex. Marius Hispaniarum ditissimus defertur incestasse filiam et saxo Tarpeio deicitur. Ac ne dubium haberetur magnitudinem pecuniae malo vertisse, aurarias argentariasque eius, quamquam publicarentur, sibimet Tiberius seposuit.

2 Irritatusque suppliciis cunctos, qui carcere attinebantur accusati societatis cum Seiano, necari iubet. Iacuit immensa strages, omnis sexus, omnis aetas, illustres ignobles, dispersi aut aggerati. Neque propinquis aut amicis assistere illacramare ne visere quidem diutius dabatur, sed circumieecti custodes et in maerorem cuiusque intenti corpora putrefacta assectabantur, dum in Tiberim traherentur, ubi fluitantia aut ripis appulsa non cremare quisquam, non contingere. Interciderat sortis humanae commercium vi metus, quantumque saevitia glisceret, miseratio arcebatur.

20 Sub idem tempus Gaius Caesar, discedenti Capreas

Theophanen: see Cicero, pro Archita, 10. 24: noster hic Magnus, qui cum virtute fortunam adaequavit, nonne Theophanem Mytilenaemum, scriptorem rerum suarum, in contione militum civitate donavit? Magnus, it will be remembered, was the name given to Pompey by Sulla. A person who thus received citizenship took the gentile name of the one who bestowed it upon him (cf. III. 40. 1 n); hence the name Pompeius Maier.

proavum: this term applies of course only to Pompeia and her brother, — the father was grandson of Theophanes.

19. saxo Tarpeio: see II. 32. 5 n. vertisse: see II. 36. 2 n.

aurarias, etc.: the mines of Spain were famed for productiveness. See Plin. N. H. xxxiii. 4(21).

quamquam, etc.: although made public property, they were transferred to the privy purse (fiscus).

2. irritatus, his appetite whetted.

inctos: Stahr shows that this is incorrect, by referring to the case of Pacomannus (3. 4), — thrown in prison on this charge, but (39. 1) not executed until three years later, — a very meagre extenuation of the horrors of the scene.

3. immensa strages: the number is given by Suetonius (Tib. 61) as twenty in one day. The expression of Tacitus may be exaggerated, but the reality was bad enough.
avo comes, Claudiam, M. Silani filiam, coniugio accept, immanem animum subtola modestia tegens, non damnatione matris, non exitio fratrum rupta voce; qualem diem Tiberius induisset, pari habitu, haud multum distantibus verbis. Unde mox scitum Passieni oratoris dictum percrebruit, neque meliorem umquam servum neque deteriorem dominum fuisse.

Non omiserim praesagium Tiberii de Servio Galba tum consule; quem accitum et diversis sermonibus per temptatum postremo Graecis verbis in hanc sententiam allocutus est: 'Et tu, Galba, quandoque degustabis imperium,' seram ac brevem potentiam significans, scientia Chaldaeorum artis, cuius apiscendae otium apud Rhodum, magistrum Thrasullum habuit, peritiam eius hoc modo expertus. Quotiens super tali negotio consulta ret, edita domus parte ac liberti unius conscientia utebatur. Is litterarum ignarus, corpore valido, per avia ac derupta (nam saxis domus imminet) praeibat eum cuius artem experiri Tiberius statuisset, et regredientem, si vanitatis aut fraudum suspicio incesserat, in subiectum mare praecipitabat, ne index arcani existeret. Igitur Thrasullus isdem rupibus inducatus postquam percontantem commoverat, imperium ipsi et futura sorrerter patefaciens, interrogatur an suam quoque

20. M. Silani: see III. 24. 5; V. 10. 4.
21. imperium: the incident occurred, it will be remembered, at Rhodes, where Tiberius was living in disgrace, and with little prospect of rising to the imperial dignity.
genitalem horam comperisset, quem tum annum, qualem
diem haberet. Ille positus siderum ac spatia dimensus
haerere primo, dein pavescre, et quantum introspiceret,
magis ac magis trepidus admirationis et metus, postremo
exclamat ambiguum sibi ac prope ultimum discrimin
instare. Tum complexus eum Tiberius praescium peri-
culorum et incolumem fore gratatur, quaeque dixerat
oraclii vice accipiens inter intimos amicorum tenet.

Sed mihi haec ac talia audienti in incerto iudicium
est, fatone res mortalium et necessitate immutabili an
forte volvantur. Quippe sapientissimos veterum quique
sectas eorum aemulantur diversos reperies, ac multis in-
sitam opinionem non initia nostri, non finem, non deni-
que homines dis curae; ideo crebere tristia in bonos,
laeta apud deteriores esse. Contra alii fatum quidem
congruere rebus putant, sed non e vagis stellis, verum
apud principia et nexus naturalium causarum; ac tamen
electionem vitae nobis relinquunt, quam ubi elegeris,
certum imminentium ordinem. Neque mala vel bona,
quae vulgus putet: multos, qui conflictari adversis
videantur, beatos, at plerosque quamquam magnas per
opes miserrimos, si illi gravem fortunam constanter to-
lerent, hi prospera inconsulve utantur. Ceterum plur-
mis mortalium non eximitur quin primo cuiusque ortu
ventura destinentur, sed quaedam secus quam dicta sint

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4. quantum... magis: Instr. 35m.
trepidus admirationis, etc., di-
vided between, etc.; cf. ambiguous
pudoris ac metus, II. 40. 2.
22. 2. sapientissimos, etc.: the
founders of the several schools of
philosophy.
multis: the Epicureans.
initia nostri: the idea of per-
sonality strongly emphasized by the
objective genitive, as if it were the
things that begin us, or give us a
beginning.
3. alii: the Stoics.
vagis stellis, planets.
5. plurimis mortalium, etc.: i.e.
in contrast with the Epicureans and
Stoics: they are not freed from the
belief that, etc.; the infinitives ca-
dere, etc., depend upon this im-
plied idea of belief.
cadere fallaciis ignara dicentium: ita corrumpi fidem artis, cuius clara documenta et antiqua aetas et nostra tulerit. Quippe a filio eiusdem Thrasulli praedictum 6 Neronis imperium in tempore memorabitur, ne nunc incepto longius abierim.

Isdem consulibus Asinii Galli mors vulgatur, quem 23 egestate cibi peremptum haud dubium, sponte vel necessitate incertum habebatur. Consultusque Caesar an 2 sepeliri sinceret, non erubuit permettere ultroque incusare casus qui reum abstulissent antequam coram convinceretur: scilicet medio triennio defuerat tempus subeundi 3 iudicium consulari seni, tot consularium parenti.

Drusus deinde exstinguitur, cum se miserandis alimentis, mandendo e cubili tomento, nonum ad diem detinuisset. Tradidere quidam praescriptum fuisse 5 Macroni, si arma ab Seiano temptarentur, extractum custodiae iuvenem (nam in Palatio attinebatur) ducem populo imponere. Mox, quia rumor incedebat fore ut 6 nuru ac nepoti conciliaretur Caesar, saevitiam quam paenitentiam maluit. Quin et inventus in defunctum 24 probra corporis, exitiabilem in suos, infensum rei publicae animum obiecit recitarique factorum dictorumque

6. praedictum, etc.: see XIV. 9: when Agrippina (the younger) consulted as to her son Nero, respondunt Chaldaei fore ut imperaret matremque occideret: atque illa occidat' inguit 'dum imperet.'

23. Asinii Galli: I. 12. 2; he had been arrested, A.D. 30, and kept in close confinement, with only enough food to keep him alive; see PP. 343, 344.

2. non erubuit: not having been convicted, Gallus had a right to burial (29. 2); the consent was therefore only a show of magnanimity.

3. tot consularium: he had had three sons of consular rank,—C. Asinius Pollio (IV. i. 1), M. Asinius Agrippa (IV. 34. 1, 61. 1), and Ser. Asinius Celer; Asinius Salminus (III. 75. 1) was also his son.

4. Drusus: see IV. 60. 6.

5. praescriptum fuisse, etc.: on the occasion of the overthrow of Sejanus through Macro, when there was reason to fear that Sejanus would be too strong to be removed from power (see pp. 351, 353).

6. nuru ac nepoti: Agrippina and Drusus.
eius descripta per dies iussit, quo non aliud atrocius
visum: astitisse tot per annos qui vultum gemitus
occultum etiam murmur exciperent, et potuisse avum
audire legere in publicum promere vix fides, nisi quod
Attii centurionis et Didymi liberti epistulae servorum
nomina praeferebant, ut quis egredientem cubiculo Dru-
sum pulsaverat exterruerat. Etiam sua verba centurio
saevitiae plena, tamquam egregium, vocesque deficientis
adiecerat, quis primo [alienationem mentis simulans]
quasi per dementiam funesta Tiberio, mox, ubi exspes
vitae fuit, meditatas compositasque diras imprecabatur,
ut, quem ad modum nurum filiumque fratris et nepotes
domumque omnem caedibus complevisset, ita poenas
nomini generique maiorum et posteris exsolveret. Ob-
turbabant quidem patres specie detestandi; sed pene-
trabat pavor et admiratio, callidum olim et tegendis
sceleribus obscurum huc confidentiae venisse ut tam-
quam dimotis parietibus ostenderet nepotem sub ver-
bere centurionis, inter servorum ictus extrema vitae
alimenta frustra orantem.

Nondum is dolor exoleverat cum de Agrippina audi-
tum, quam interfecto Seiano spe sustentatam provixisse
reor, et postquam nihil de saevitia remittebatur, volun-
tate extinctam, nisi si negatis alimentis assimulatus est
finis qui videretur sponte sumptus. Enimvero Tibe-
rius foedissimis criminationibus exarsit, impudicitiam

24. descripta per dies: i.e. in
the form of a diary.
2. nisi quod: the evidence was
too strong to be doubted.
3. alienationem mentis simul-
ans: held by most to be a marginal
gloss; his utterances are more likely
to have been a violent passion akin
to frenzy (quasi per dementiam)
than a pretence of madness.
4. obturbabant, interrupted, in
the reading. Cf. III. 34. 1.
callidum: i.e. Tiberius.
tegendis sceleribus: Intr. 35 f.
25. auditum: used absolutely,
—news was heard.
et gratia desiere, ius valuit; petitaque criminibus haud
ignotis sua manu sera magis quam immerita supplicia
persolvit.

27 Tot luctibus funesta civitate pars maeroris fuit quod
Iulia Drusi filia, quondam Neronis uxor, denupsit in
domum Rubellii Blandi, cuius avum Tiburtem equitem
Romanum plerique meminerant. Extremo anni mors
Aelii Lamiae funere censorio celebrata, qui admini-
strandae Suriae imagine tandem exsolutus urbi prae-
fuerat. Genus illi decorum, vivida senectus; et non
permissa provincia dignationem addiderat. Exim Flacco
Pomponio Suriae pro praetore defuncto recitantur
Caesaris litterae, quis incusabat egregium quemque et re-
gendis exercitibus idoneum abnuere id munus, seque ea
necessitudine ad preces cogi, per quas consularium aliqui
capessere provincias adigerentur, obitus Arruntium, ne
in Hispaniam pergeret, decimum iam annum attineri.

4 Obiit eodem anno et M’. Lepidus, de cuius moderatione
atque sapientia in prioribus libris satis collocavi. Ne-
que nobilitas diutius demonstranda est: quippe Aemi-
lium genus fecundum bonorum civium, et qui eadem
familia corruptis moribus, illustri tamen fortuna egere.

28 Paulo Fabio L. Vitellio consulis post longum sae-
culorum ambitum avis phoenix in Aegyptum venit prae-

Rubellii Blandi: see III. 23. 2.
Tiburtem, of Tibur, a municipal
town of Latium, now Tivoli.
2. Aelii Lamiae: see IV. 13. 5;
having been appointed to the gov-
ernment of the province, he was
not allowed to depart to it, out of
suspicion, as was supposed; hence
dignationem addiderat. See I.
80. 4. So with Arruntius (3).
Lamia was made prefect of the city
after the death of Piso (10. 3).

3. Flacco Pomponio: II. 32. 3.
4. in prioribus libris: see es-
5. egere: this may refer to the
triumvir Lepidus, and his father, the
consul of B.C. 78
28. Paulo Fabio: perhaps the
one called by Juvenal (8. 14) cu-
pidus, vanus, and mollis; by Seneca
(De Ben. IV. 30), impudicus.
L. Vitellio: father of the em-
peror Vitellius; see 32. 6.
avis phoenix: according to
buitque materiem doctissimis indigenarum et Graecorum multa super eo miraculo disserendi. De quibus congruunt, et plura ambigua sed cognitu non absurda, promere libet. Sacrum Soli id animal, et ore ac distinctu pinnarum a ceteris avibus diversum consentiunt qui formam eius effinxere; de numero annorum varia traduntur. Maxime vulgatum quingentorum spatium: sunt qui asseverent mille quadringentos sexaginta unum interici, prioresque alios tres Sesoside primum, post Amaside dominantibus, dein Ptolemaeo, qui ex Macedonibus tertius regnavit, in civitatem, cui Heliopolis nomen, advolavisse, multo ceterarum volucrum comitatu novam faciem mirantium. Sed antiquitas quidem obscura; inter Ptolemaeum ac Tiberium minus ducenti quinquaginta anni fuerunt. Unde nonnulli falsum hunc phoenicem neque Arabum e terris credidero, nihilque usurpavisse ex his quae vetus memoria firmavit: confecto quippe annorum numero, ubi mors propinquet, suis in terris struere nidum etque vim genitalem adfundere,

Pliny (N. H. X. 2. 5) and Dio Cassius (LVIII. 27), it was two years later. Pliny says that it was brought to Rome, A. U. C. 800 (A.D. 47), and placed in the comitium, but adds, quem falsum esse nemo dubitaret. In the same chapter he describes the Phoenix as follows: aquilae narratur magnitudine, aurifulgore circa colla, cetero purpureus, caeruleam roseis caudam pinnis distinguentibus, cristis fauces, caputque plumseo apice honestante.

4. mille quadringentos sexaginta unum: the Phoenix period is here confused with the Sothis period, or Great Egyptian year, in which the sidereal year is brought into correspondence with the calendar year; the numbers, as given below, do not at all correspond with this. alios tres, etc.: see App. I.

Sesoside = Sostris: i.e. Rameses II., the most famous king of Egypt, of the 19th dynasty, about the middle of the 14th century B.C.; Amasis, of the 26th dynasty, reigned B.C. 569–526; Ptolemy III. Euergetes, 247–222.

Heliopolis: a city of Lower Egypt, identified with On of the Scriptures.

5. antiquitas obscura: the earlier examples afford no conclusion de numero annorum.

minus ducenti quinquaginta anni: from the death of Ptolemy to the accession of Tiberius, 236 years; to the year of the appearance of the Phoenix, 256 years.

6. ex his: explained by confecto, etc., which follows.
384 TACITUS. [Book VI.

ex qua fetum oriri; et primam adulto curam sepeliendi patris, neque id temere, sed sublato murrae pondere temptatoque per longum iter, ubi par oneri, par meatui sit, subire patrium corpus inque Solis aram perferre at-que adolere. Haec incerta et fabulosis aucta: ceterum aspici aliquando in Aegypto eam volucrem non ambigitur.

29 At Romae caede continua Pomponius Labeo, quem praefuisse Moesiae rettuli, per abruptas venas sanguinem effudit; aemulataque est coniunx Paxaea. Nam promptas eius modi mortes metus carnificis faciebat, et quia damnati publicatis bonis sepultura prohibebantur, eorum qui de se statutebant humabantur corpora, mane-bant testamenta, pretium festinandi. Sed Caesar missis ad senatum litteris disseruit morem fuisse maioris, quotiens dirimerent amicitias, interdicere domo eumque finem gratiae ponere: id se repetivisse in Labeone, at-que illum, quia male administratae provinciae aliorum-que criminum urgebatur, culpam invidia velavisse, frus-tra conterrita uxore, quam etsi nocentem periculi tamen expertem fuisset. Mamercus dein Scaurus rursum postulatur, insignis nobilitate et orandis causis, vita probrosus. Nihil hunc amicitia Seiani, sed labefecit haud minus validum ad exitia Macronis odium, qui easdem

7. murrae pondere: i.e. of equal weight to his father's body.
   in Solis aram: at Heliopolis, the phœnix being sacred to the sun.

29. caede continua: and yet no cases are mentioned except Pomponius and his wife, Scaurus and his wife, Servilius, Cornelius, and Ruso; of these, two committed suicide, while three were banished.

Pomponius Labeo: IV. 47. 1.

2. eius modi: i.e. by suicide.
3. quotiens, etc.: cf. III. 24. 5. repetivisse, revived; i.e. this obsolete practice.
   invidia: i.e. which his death would excite against Tiberius.
   periculi expertem: because he had intended to pardon her.
4. rursum: see 9. 5.
   vita probrosus: see III. 66. 3.
5. easdem artes: i.e. as Sejanus.
artes occultius exercebat; detuleratque argumentum tragoediae a Scauro scriptae, additis versibus qui in Tiberium flecterentur: verum ab Servilio et Cornelio accusatoribus adulterium Liviae, magorum sacra obiectabantur. Scaurus, ut dignum veteribus Aemiliis, damnationem anteit, hortante Sextia uxor, quae incitamentum mortis et particeps fuit.

Ac tamen accusatores, si facultas incideret, poenis adficiebantur, ut Servilius Corneliusque perdito Scauro famosi, quia pecuniam a Vario Ligure omittendae delationis ceperant, in insulas interdicto igni atque aqua demoti sunt. Et Abudius Ruso functus aedilitate, dum Lentulo Gaetulico, sub quo legioni praefuerat, periculum facessit, quod is Seiani filium generum destinasset, ultimo damnatur atque urbe exigitur. Gaetulicus ea tempestate superioris Germaniae legiones curabat, mirumque amorem assequitus erat, effusae clementiae, modicus severitate et proximo quoque exercitui per L. Apronium socerum non ingratus. Unde fama constans ausum mittere ad Caesarem litteras, adfinitatem sibi cum Seiano haud sponte, sed consilio Tiberii coeptam; perinde se quam Tiberium falli potuisse, neque errorem eundem illi sine fraude, aliis exitio habendum. Sibi fidem integram et, si nullis insidiis pateretur, mansu-

tragoediae: the tragedy was entitled *Atreus*, and in it he had introduced a verse from Euripides (*Phoen.*, 393), exhorting to endurance of the folly of rulers. Tiberius, asserting that the poet had made of him an Atreus, said, "I will make of him an Ajax,"—referring to the self-inflicted death of Ajax. Dio, LVIII. 24. Cf. Suet. *Tib.* 61.


magorum sacra, magic rites; with the object of ascertaining when Tiberius would die.

35 n.

in insulas . . . demoti: deportation; see IV. 31. 5 n.


3. *L. Apronium*: see IV. 73. 1.

4. illi: Tiberius.
3S6

TACITUS. [Book VI.

ram; successorem non aliter quam indicium mortis
6 accepturum. Firmarent velut foedus, quo princeps
ceterarum rerum poteretur, ipse provinciam retineret.
7 Haec, mira quamquam, fidem ex eo trahebant quod
unus omnium Seiani adfinium incolium multaque gra-
tia mansit, reputante Tiberio publicum sibi odium, ex-
tremam aetatem magisque fama quam vi stare res suas.

31 C. Cestio M. Servilio consulibus nobiles Parthi in ur-
bem venere, ignaro rege Artabano. Is metu Germanici
fidus Romanis, aequabilis in suos, mox superbiam in nos,
saevitiam in populares sumpsit, fretus bellis quae se-
cunda adversum circumiectas nationes exercuerat, et
senectutem Tiberii ut inermem despiciens avidusque
Armeniae, cui defuncto rege Artaxia Arsacen liberorum
suorum veterrimum imposuit, addita contumelia et mis-
sis qui gazam a Vonone relictam in Suria Ciliciaque
reposcerent; simul veteres Persarum ac Macedonum
terminos, seque invasurum possessa primum Cyro et
post Alexandro per vaniloquentiam ac minas iaciebat.

Sed Parthis mittendi secretos nuntios validissimus auct-
tor fuit Sinnaces, insigni familia ac perinde opibus, et

5. successorem: i.e. removal
from his command.
7. incolumis . . . mansit: he
was put to death by Caligula five
years afterwards.
31. C. Cestio: see 7. 3, and
III. 36. 2.
M. Servilio: his surname was
Nonianus, and he was a historian of
merit. Clari vir ingenii et senten-
tis creber, sed minus pressus quam
historiae auctoritas postulat; Quint.
Artabano: see II. 3. 1.
2. mox: when no longer re-
strained by this fear.

senectutem Tiberii, etc.: there
was a letter of his to Tiberius, par-
ricidia et caedes et ignaviam et
luxuriam obicientis, monentisque
ut voluntaria morte maximo iustis-
simoque civium odio quamprimum
satisfaceret. (Suet. Tib. 66.)
Artaxia: see II. 56. 3.
missis: sc. to Tiberius.
Vonone: see II. 58 and 68.
veteres, etc.: he regarded him-
self as the successor of Cyrus and
Alexander.
per . . . iaciebat, talked loudly
about; governs both terminos and
the clause se . . . Alexandro.
proximus huic Abdus ademptae virilitatis. Non despectum id apud barbaros ultroque potentiam habet. II ascitis et aliis primoribus, quia neminem gentis Arsacidarum summae rei imponere poterant, interfectis ab Artabano plerisque aut nondum adultiis, Phraaten regis Phraatis filium Roma poscebant: nomine tantum et auctore opus, ut sponte Caesaris ut genus Arsacis ripam apud Euphratis cerneretur.

Cupitum id Tiberio. Ornat Phraaten accingitque paternum ad fastigium, destinata retinens, consiliis et astu res externas moliri, arma procul habere. Interea cognitis insidiis Artabanus tardari metu, modo cupidine vindictae inardescere. Et barbaris cunctatìo servilis, statim exsequi regium videtur; valuit tamen utilitas, ut Abdum specie amicitiae vocatum ad epulas lento veneno illigaret, Sinnacen dissimulatione ac donis, simul per negotia moraretur. Et Phraates apud Suriam dum omisso cultu Romano, cui per tot annos insueverat, instituta Parthorum insumit, patriis moribus impar morbo absumptus est. Sed non Tiberius omisit incepta; Tiri datem sanguinis eiusdem aemulum Artabano, recipie-

4. Arsacidarum: II. 1. 1 n. Phraaten: Phraates V., a brother of Vonones, who had been in like manner invited from Rome (II. 1 and 2). His rival Artabanus seems to have been only distantly related to the royal family (Arsacidarum e sanguine, II. 3. 1). nomine: as being an Arsacid. auctore: the authority of Rome. ut . . . ut: this repetition emphasizes the authority of Cesar and that of Arsaces. App. I. 32. destinata, his policy; see II. 65. 1. 2. modo: answering to modo understood before tardari. 3. utilitas: the advantage of caution (cunctatio). illigaret: i.e. the drug dulled his faculties, and rendered him inactive, probably killing him by slow degrees. 4. dum: causal; see III. 19. 3 n. instituta Parthorum: see the reproaches against Vonones (II. 2. 5); these Phraates tried to avoid. impar: physically incapable. 5. sanguinis eiusdem: i.e. a descendant of Phraates IV.; Artabanus was apparently a nephew of the deceased Phraates V. (Phraatis avi, 37. 6). See Rawlinson, Sixth Oriental Monarchy, p. 231.
randaeque Armeniae Hiberum Mithridaten deligit conciliatque fratri Pharasmani, qui gentile imperium obtinebat; et cunctis quae apud Orientem parabantur L. Vitellium praefecit. Eo de homine haud sum ignarus sinistram in urbe famam, pleraque foeda memorari, ceterum regendis provinciis prisca virtute egit. Unde regressus et formidine Gai Caesaris, familiaritate Claudii turpe in servitium mutatus exemplar apud posteros adulatorii dedecoris habetur, cesseruntque prima postremis, et bona iuvenae senectus flagitiosa oblitteravit.

At ex regulis prior Mithridates Pharasmanem perpulit dolo et vi conatus suos iuvare, repertique corruptores ministros Arsacis multo auro ad scelus cogunt; simul Hiberi magnis copiis Armeniam irrumpunt et urbe Artaxata potiuntur. Quae postquam Artabano cognita, filium Oroden ultorem parat; dat Parthorum copias, qui auxilia mercede facerent: contra Pharasmanes adiungere Albanos, accipere Sarmatas, quorum sceptuchi utrimque donis acceptis more gentico diversa induere.

Sed Hiberi locorum potentem Caspia via Sarmatam in

gentile: *i.e.* over the Iberians.
L. Vitellium: the consul of the previous year (28. 1); his commission was similar to that of Germanicus (II. 43. 2).
7. exemplar, etc.: *miri in adu- lando ingenii, primus C. Caesarem adorare ut deum instituit, cum re- versus ex Syria non alter adire ausus esset quam capite velato circumvertensque se, deinde procum- bens.* Suet. Vit. 2.
cesserunt: *i.e.* were obscured by.
33. ad scelus: *i.e.* the murder of their master.
2. Artaxata: II. 56. 3.
Parthorum: see App. I.
faecerent: in the sense of *levy.*
3. Albanos: see II. 68. 1; they were east of the Iberians, upon the Caspian Sea. In the military operations which follow, the Iberians commanded the passes of the Caucasus, which gave free passage to their Sarmatian allies, while those Sarmatians who came as auxiliaries to the Parthians were obliged to try the dangerous passage along the Caspian, between the sea and the Albanian Mountains.

Sarmatas: this Slavonic people was composed of numerous petty tribes, governed by patriarchal chiefs (sceptuchi), who took different sides in the contest (*diversa induere*).
4. Caspia via: properly *portae Caucasiae*, the modern pass of
Armenios raptim effundunt. At qui Parthis adven-
tabant facile arcebantur, cum alios incessus hostis
clausisset, unum reliquum mare inter et extremos
Albanorum montes aestas impediret, quia flatibus
etesiarum implentur vada; hibernus auster revolvit fluc-
tus pulsoque introrsus freto brevia litorum nudantur.

Interim Oroden sociorum inopem auctus auxilio Pharas-
manes vocare ad pugnam et detrectantem incessere,
adequitare castris, infensare pabula; ac saepe in modum
obsidii stationibus cingebat, donec Parthi contumeliarum
insolentes circumsisterent regem, poscerent proelium.

Atque illis sola in equite vis: Pharasmanes et pedite
valebat. Nam Hiberi Albanique saltuosos locos inco-
lentes duritiae patientiaeque magis insuevere;
feruntque se Thessalis ortos, qua tempestate Iaso post aver
tam Medeam genitosque ex ea liberos inanem mox regiam
Aceetae vacuosque Colchos repetivit. Multaque de
nomine eius et oraclum Phrixi celebrant; nec quisquam

Dariel. The Caspia via was properly along the shores of the Caspian
Sea (5); the confusion of the two passes is mentioned by Pliny (N.
H. VI. 11, 30) as a common error.
5. hostis: the Iberians.
flatibus etesiarum: these were periodical north winds, which blew
in July and August, driving the sea with such force upon the shore, as
to prevent the passage, or make it very difficult; in the winter, on the
other hand, the road is practicable (hibernus, etc.); cf. Q. Curtius,
VI. 4. 19, a septentrione ingens in litus mare incumbit longeque agit
fluctus.
34. auxilio: the Sarmatians.
infensare pabula, lays waste the foraging ground.
insolentes, unaccustomed; cf. Cic.
Att. II. 21. 3, insolens infamiae.

2. sola in equite vis: the special military force of these Eastern na-
tions.
et pedite: his army being partly recruited from the mountain regions
of the north, which were unsuited to cavalry.
3. Thessalis ortos: a good illustration of the wild popular ethnolo-
gies of ancient times; these nations, between the Aryan Armenians on
the south, and the Turanian Scythi-
ans on the north, were of uncertain race. Kiepert, Lehrbuch der alten
Geographie, p. 73.
vacuos, without a master; cf. II.
3. 2.
4. de nomine eius, after his name; i.e. named after him; cf. I.
15. 3; the legend of Jason had many
associations in this region.
Phrixi: Strabo (XI. 498) men-
TACITUS. [Book VI.

arie et sacrificaverit, credito vexisse Phrixum, sive id animal seu navis insigne fuit.

5 Ceterum directa utrimque acie Parthus imperium Orientis, claritudinem Arsacidarum, contraque ignobilem Hiberum mercennario milite disserebat; Pharasmanes integros semet a Parthico dominatu, quanto maiora paterent, plus decoris victores aut, si terga darent, flagiti atque periculi latus; simul horridam suorum aciem, picta auro Medorum agmina, hinc viros, inde praedam ostendere. Enimvero apud Sarmatas non una vox ducis: se quisque stimulant ne pugnam per sagittas sinerent: impetu et comminus praeveniendum. Variae hinc bellantium species, cum Parthus sequi vel fugere pari arte suetus distraheret turmas, spatium ictibus quaereret, Sarmatae omissos arcu, quo brevius valent, contis gladiisque ruerent; modo equestris proelii more frontis et tergi vices, aliquando ut conserta acie corporibus et pulsu armorum pellerent pellerentur. Iamque et Albani Hiberique prensare detrudere ancipitem pugnam hostibus facere, quos super eques et propioribus vulneribus pedites ad dictabant. Inter quae Pharas-

\[35\]

5. mercennario milite: the Scythians; explains ignobilem.

6. horridam, rugged.

Medorum: there is some contempt expressed in this word, the effeminate Medes having been brought into subjection by the rude Parthian mountaineers. The Romans often used the terms Medi and Persae for the Parthians; e.g. Hor. Od. I. 2. 51, and elsewhere.

35. ne ... sinerent: since the Parthians excelled as archers, while the Sarmatians fought better comminus: see below.

2. fugere: the skill of the Parthian bowmen in retreat is well known; cf. Hor. Od. II. 13. 17, (perhorrescit) miles sagittas et celebrem fugam | Parthi; Verg. Georg. III. 31, fidentem fuga Parthum versisque sagittis.

distraheret, opened.

brevius: i.e. their bows carry less far.

modo, aliquando: as the advantage was with the Parthians or the Sarmatians.

frontis et tergi vices, alternate advance and retreat.

3. super = desuper; the Parthians had been unhorsed (detrudere).
manes Orodesque, dum strenuis adsunt aut dubitantibus subveniunt, conspicui eoque gnari, clamore telis equis concurrunt, instantius Pharasmanes; nam vulnus per galeam adegit. Nec iterare valuit, praelatus equo et fortissimis satellitum protegentibus saucium; fama tamen occisi falsa credita exterruit Parthos victoriamque concessere.

Mox Artabanus tota mole regni ultum iit. Peritia locorum ab Hiberis melius pugnatum; nec ideo abscede- bat, ni contractis legionibus Vitellius et subdito rumore, tamquam Mesopotamiam invasurus, metum Romani belli fecisset. Tum omissa Armenia versaeque Artabani res, illiciente Vitellio deserent regem saevum in pace et adversis proeliorum exitiosum. Igitur Sinnaces, quem antea infensum memoravi, patrem Abdagaesen aliosque occultos consili et tunc continuis cladibus promptiores ad defectionem trahit, adfluentibus paulatim qui, metu magis quam benevolentia subiecti, repertis auctoribus sustulerant animum. Nec iam aliud Artabanus reliquum quam si qui externorum corpori custodes aderant, suis quisque sedibus extores, quis neque boni intellectus neque mali cura, sed mercede aluntur ministri sceleribus. His adsumptis in longinqua et con-

4. gnari, recognising one another.
5. praelatus = praeterlatus; cf. praevexitur, II. 6. 5.
saucium: i.e. Orodès.
36. mox: here probably begin the events of the year 36; see 38. 1.
tamquam invasurus: equivalent to an accusative with infinitive (Intr. 35 f.).
Mesopotamiam: south of Armenia, between the rivers Tigris and Euphrates (37. 4); its invasion was a menace to the Parthian power.
3. antea: see 31. 3.
ocultos consili: i.e. secretly conspiring; cf. IV. 7. 2 n. Intr. 35 e.
subiecti, retaining their allegiance.
auctoribus, leaders, in their disaffection.
4. aluntur: present tense, describing general characteristics.
5. Scythiae: Turkestan.
Hyrcanis Carmaniiisque per adfinitatem innexus erat; atque interim posse Parthos absentium aequos, praesentibus mobiles, ad paenitentiam mutari.

37 At Vitellius profugo Artabano et flexis ad novum regem popularium animis, hortatus Tiridaten parata capessere, robur legionum sociorumque ripam ad Euphratis ducit. Sacrificantibus, cum hic more Romano suovetaurilia daret, ille equum placando amni adornasset, nuntiavere accolae Euphraten nulla imbrium vi sponte et immensum attolli, simul albentibus spumis in modum diadematis sinuare orbes, auspicium prosperi transgressus. Quidam callidius interpretabantur, initia conatus secunda neque diuturna, quia eorum quae terra caelove portenderent certior fides, fluminum instabilis natura simul ostenderet omina rapere. Sed ponte navibus effecto tramissoque exercitu primus Ornospades multis equitum milibus in castra venit, exsul quondam et Tiberio, cum Delmaticum bellum conficeret, haud inglorius auxiliator eoque civitate Romana donatus, mox repetita amicitia regis multo apud eum honore, praefec-

Hyrcanis Carmaniiisque: the Hyrcanians were southeast of the Caspian Sea, west of the original home of the Parthians; the Carmanians south, upon the Persian Gulf.

per adfinitatem: he had been called to the throne from this region (II. 3. 1).

aequos, favorably disposed.—The genitive after aequos and the dative after mobiles are alike irregular.

37. parata: the power which was ready for him.

legionum sociorumque: cf. I. 49. 6 n.

2. hic, ille: Vitellius, Tiridates.

suovetaurilia: the sacrifice of a swine, a sheep, and a bull; of old time the special offering to Mars, used especially in lustrations.

placando amni: an adorned horse was a favorite sacrifice of the Persians.

sinuare orbes, forming circles in the shape of a diadema, which was a white ribbon passed about the head, as a symbol of sovereignty.

auspicium: cf. causam, I. 27. 1 n.

3. raperet, snatch away — render void.

4. Delmaticum bellum: A.D. 6 to 9 (I. 25. 3 n.).

regis: Artabanus.

Quae duabus aestatibus gesta coniunxi, quo requiesceret animus a domesticis malis; non enim Tiberium, quamquam triennio post caedem Seiani, quae ceteros mollire solent, tempus preces satias mitigabant, quin incerta vel abolita pro gravissimis et recentibus puniret. Eo metu Fulcinius Trio, ingruitis accusatores haud perpessus, supremiss tabulis multa et atrocia in Macronem ac praecipuos libertorum Caesaris composit, ipsi fluxam senio mentem et continuo abscessu velut exsilium oibectando. Quae ab heredibus occultata recitari Tiberius iussit, patientiam libertatis alienae ostentans et contemptor suae infamiae, an scelerum Seiani diunesci mox quoquo modo dicta vulgari malebat verita-

circumflui: a poetical word, used by Tacitus only here.
6. quae, etc.: a more particular definition of Phraatis...Cae-
saris.
utrobie, in reference to each.
38. triennio: Sejanus had been executed Oct. 18, A.D. 31 (25. 5).
quae: relates to tempus preces satias.
2. Fulcinius Trio: cf. 4. 4.
supremis tabulis: it was a custom of the time to say in the will what one had not dared to say while living. That this custom existed in the time of Augustus, is shown by Suetonius (Oct. 56): ne de inhibenda testamentorum licentia quicquam constitueretur intercessit. Tiberius, it would seem from this passage, also declined to interfere with the freedom of testamentary opinion.
libertorum: cf. IV. 6. 7 n.
fluxam senio: see Intr. 14.
abscessu: ablative of cause,—it might be called exile for this reason.
3. an malebat, etc.: Intr. 35 r.
tisque, cui adulatio officit, per probra saltem gnarus fieri.

4 Isdem diebus Granius Marcianus senator, a C. Gracco maiestatis postulatus, vim vitae suae attulit, Tariusque Gratianus praetura functus lege eadem extremum ad supplicium damnatus. Nec dispares Trebellieni Rufi et Sextii Paconiani exitus: nam Trebellienus sua manu cecidit, Paconianus in carcere ob carmina illic in principem factitata strangulatus est. Haec Tiberius non mari, ut olim, divisus neque per longinquis nuntios accipiebat, sed urbem iuxta, eodem ut die vel noctis interiectu litteris consulum rescriberet, quasi aspiciens undantem per domos sanguinem aut manus carnificum.

Fine anni Poppaeus Sabinus concessit vita, modicus originis, principum amicitia consulatum ac triumphale decus adeptus maximisque provinciis per quattuor et viginti annos impositus, nullam ob eximiam artem, sed quod par negotiis neque supra erat.

40 Q. Plautius Sex. Papinius consules sequuntur. Eo anno neque quod L. Aruseius *** morte affecti forent, assuetudine malorum ut atrox advertebatur, sed exterior quod Vibulenus Agrippa eques Romanus, cum perorassent accusatores, in ipsa curia depromptum sinu venenum hausit, prolapsusque ac moribundus festinatis

saltem: i.e. if there was no other way.
4. C. Gracco: see IV. 13. 3.
Sex. Paconiani: 3. 4.
2. litteris: i.e. in which the consuls announced the execution of the sentences.
3. Poppaeus Sabinus: see I. 80. 1; IV. 46. 1.
artem, qualites.
neque supra: i.e. so as to excite the suspicion and jealousy of the prince.
40. L. Aruseius: probably another clause with a second neque quod and other names have dropped out here, although the manuscript shows no gap.
assuetudine malorum: qualifies the whole negative clause.
festinatis, etc.: thus he failed to secure the advantages of suicide (29. 2).
licitorem manibus in carcerem raptus est, faucesque iam exanimis laqueo vexatae. Ne Tigranes quidem, Armenia quondam potitus ac tunc reus, nomine regio supplicia civium effugit. At C. Galba consularis et duo Blaesi voluntario exitu cecidere, Galba tristibus Caesaris litteris provinciam sortiri prohibitus; Blaesis sacerdotia, integra eorum domo destinata, convulsa distulerat, tunc ut vacua contulit in alios, quod signum mortis intellexere et exsecuti sunt. Et Aemilia Lepida, quam iuveni Druso nuptam rettuli, crebris crimínibus maritum insec-
tata, quamquam intestabilis, tamen impunita agebat, dum superfuit pater Lepidus: post a delatoribus corripi-
tur ob servum adulterum, nec dubitabatur de flagitio: ergo omissa defensione finem vitae sibi posuit.

Per idem tempus Clitarum natio Cappadoci Archelao 41 subiecta, quia nostrum in modum deferre census pati

2. Tigranes (fourth of the name): see II. 4. 2 n.; of him Josephus says (XVIII. 5. 4): Τι-
γράψεις μὲν βασιλεύων 'Αρμενίας κα-
tηγοριων αυτοῦ èπι Ρώμης γενομένων
ἀπαις ἔτελετο. His father Alexander was son of Herod, king of Judea, and his mother was daughter of Archelaus, king of Cappadocia (II. 42. 2).

3. C. Galba: consul A.D. 22 (III. 52. 1), brother of the emperor Galba.

duo Blaesi: cousins of Sejanus, sons of Iunius Blaesus (I. 16. 2; III. 35. 1).

provinciam sortiri: as the oldest consular; see III. 32. 1 n.; Sue-
tonius (Galba, 3) says: prohibitus a Tiberio sortiri anno suo procon-

sulatum.

convulsa: sc. domo; i.e. by the fall of Sejanus.

4. quam . . . rettuli: probably

in the lost passage of the fifth book. This Drusus was the son of Germanicus (23. 4); Lepida is probably daughter of Marcus Lepidus (III. 32. 2), whose death must have oc-
curred in this year (dum superfuit, etc.). An interesting inscription refers to her: Pudens M. Lepidi [ibertus] grammaticus. Procurator eram Lepidae moresque regebam: dum vixi, mansit Caesarius illa nu-
rus. (C. I. L., V. 2. 592.)

41. Clitarum: agrestrum Cili-
cum nationes, quibus Clitarum cog-
nomentum (XII. 55); they inhab-
ited the mountainous regions of Western Cilicia — Cilicia Trachea.

Archelao: a successor (son or grandson) of the elder Archelaus (II. 42. 2). He continued to rule this petty tribe after his ancestral kingdom of Cappadocia had been made a Roman province.

nostrum in modum: i.e. as if
tributa adigebatur, in iuga Tauri montis abscessit locorumque ingenio sese contra imbelles regis copias tutabatur, donec M. Trebellius legatus, a Vitellio praeside Suriæ cum quattuor milibus legionariorum et delectis auxiliis missus, duos collis, quos barbari insederant (minori Cadra, alteri Davara nomen est), operibus circumdedit et erumpere ausos ferro, ceteros siti ad deditionem coegit.

2 At Tiridates volentibus Parthis Nicephorium et Anthemusiada ceterasque urbes, quae Macedonibus sitae Graeca vocabula usurpant, Halumque et Artemitam Parthica oppida recepit, certantibus gaudio qui Artabanum Scythas inter eductum ob saevitiam exsecrati come

42 Tiridatis ingenium Romanas per artes sperabant. Plurimum adulationis Seleucenses induere, civitas potens, saepa muris neque in barbarum corrupta, sed conditoris Seleuci retinens. Trecenti opibus aut sapientia delecti ut senatus, sua populo vis. Et quotiens concordes agunt, spernitur Parthus: ubi dissensere, dum sibi quis-

they belonged regularly to a Roman province. The provincials were required to furnish periodical returns of their property, probably every five years. Marquardt, Röm. Staatsverw. II. 236.

ingenio = natura.
praeside: this title, used here as equivalent to legatus, was applied in the fourth century to the greater part of the provincial governors; cf. praesidente, I. 16. 2.
2. Tiridates: the new king of Parthia (32. 5).

Nicephorium, etc.: these Greek towns on the left bank of the Euphrates, near Edessa, would come first in his route; Artemita and probably Halus were beyond the Tigris.
sitae, founded; cf. III. 38. 6.

Scythas inter: see 36. 5; II. 3. 1. artes, training.
42. Seleucenses: Seleucia, on the right bank of the Tigris, was built by Seleucus Nicator as his capital; the Parthians had substituted for it Ctesiphon, opposite it, on the left bank of the river. The inhabitants of the Greek city especially welcomed a ruler educated under civilizing influences.

Seleuci: i.e. of his institutions. For the genitive, cf. II. 38. 9; V. 11. 2.
trecenti . . . vis: a Greek city by its constitution, with senate and popular assembly. The oriental cities were merely places of collective residence and trade, with no corporate or political character.
2. ubi dissensere, etc.: it seems
que contra aemulos subsidium vocant, accitus in partem adversum omnes valescit. Id nuper acciderat Artabano 3 regnante, qui plebem primoribus tradidit ex suo usu; nam populi imperium iuxta libertatem, paucorum dominatio regiae libidini propior est. Tum adventantem 4 Tiridaten extollunt veterum regum honoribus et quos recens aetas largius invenit; simul probra in Artabanum fundebant, materna origine Arsaciden, cetera degenerem.

Tiridates rem Seleucensem populo permittit. Mox 5 consultans quonam die sollemnia regni capesseret, litteras Phraatis et Hieronis, qui validissimas praefecturas obtinebant, accipit, brevem moram precantium. Placitumque opperiri viros praepollentis, atque interim Ctesiphon sedes imperii petita; sed ubi diem ex die prolatabant, multis coram et approbantibus Surena patrio more Tiridaten insigni regio evinxit. Ac si statim interiora ceterasque nationes petivisset, oppressa cunctantium dubitatio et omnes in unum cedebant: assidendo castellum, in quod pecuniam et paelices Artabanus contulerat, dedit spatium exuendi pacta. Nam 2 Phraates et Hiero et si qui alii defectum capiendo dia-

that the Greeks carried with them into the East their fatal defect,—incapacity for united action, and a partisanship stronger than patriotism.

accitus, etc.: called in to aid one party, he is stronger than all.

3. plebem primoribus tradidit: as the Spartans did in the cities of Greece. This policy was reversed by Tiridates.

ex suo usu, in accordance with his advantage (or policy).

iuxta, akin to.

4. cetera: i.e. on his father’s side.

5. sollemnia regni: the coronation.

praefecturas, satrapies, or provincial governments.


Surena: not a personal name, but the title of the hereditary office of commander-in-chief, next in dignity to that of the king.

evinxit: cf. XV. 2. 5, diademate caput Tiridatis evinxit.

43. oppressa (sc. erat): see IV. 9. 1 n.

cedebant, were on the point of yielding.
demati diem haud concelebraverant, pars metu, quidam invidia in Abdagaesen, qui tum aula et novo rege potiebatur, ad Artabanum vertere;isque in Hyrcanis repertus est, illuvie obsitus et alimenta arcu expediens. Ac primo tamquam dolus pararetur territus, ubi data fides reddendae dominationi venisse, allevatur animum et quae repentina mutatio exquirit. Tum Hiero pueritiam Tiridatis increpat, neque penes Arsaciden imperium, sed iuane nomen apud imbellem externa mollitia, vim in Abdagaesis domo.

Sensit vetus regnandi falsos in amore odia non fingere. Nec ultra moratus quam dum Scytharum auxilia conciret, pergit properus et preveniens inimicorum aste, amicorum paenitentiam; neque exuerat paedorem, ut vulgum miseratione adverteret. Non fraus, non preces, nihil omissum quo ambiguos illiceret, prompti firmarentur. Iamque multa manu propinqua Seleuciae adventabat, cum Tiridates simul fama atque ipso Artabano percussus distrahi consiliis, iret contra an bellum cunctatione tractaret. Quibus proelium et festinati casus placebant, disiectos et longinquitate itineris fessos ne animo quidem satis ad obsequium coaluisse disserunt, proditores nuper hostesque cius quem rursum foveant.

Verum Abdagaeses regrediendum in Mesopotamiam censebat, ut amne objecto, Armeniis interim Elymaeis-
que et ceteris a tergo excitis, aucti copiis socialibus et quas dux Romanus misisset fortunam temptarent. Ea sententia valuit, quia plurima auctoritas penes Abdagae-

sen et Tiridates ignavus ad pericula erat. Sed fugae specie discessum; ac principio a gente Arabum facto ceteri domos abeunt vel in castra Artabani, donec Tiri-
dates cum paucis in Suriam revectus pudore proditionis omnes exsolvit.

Idem annus gravi igne urbem adicit, deusta parte 45 Circi, quae Aventino contigua, ipsoque Aventino; quod damnun Caesar ad gloriam vertit exsolutis domuum et insularum pretios. Milies sestertium in munificentia ea collocatum, tanto acceptius in vulgum, quanto modicus privatis aedificationibus ne publice quidem nisi duo opera struxit, templum Augusto et scaenam Pompeiani theatri; eaque perfecta, contemptu ambitionis an per senectutem, haud dedicavit. Sed aestimando cuiusque detrimento quattuor progeneri Caesaris, Cn. Domitius, socialibus: their allies on the west,—the Arabians and others,—while those of the north and east should attack the rear.


pudore...exsolvit: his desertion of his own cause released his followers from all obligation.

45. Circi (sc. Maximi): the XI. regio or ward, in the division of the city by Augustus. It included, besides the valley of the Circus, a portion of the low ground between the Palatine and the Tiber.

Aventino: the XIII. regio, including the hill itself (ipso Aven-
tino), and extending southwest to the river.

exsolutis, etc.: for a similar instance, see IV. 64. 1.

domuum et insularum: the former were private residences; the latter, blocks, or tenement houses rented by flats or single apartments.

2. publice, in behalf of the state, —as public works.

duo opera: the temple of Augustus was in a certain sense a personal obligation, due to his adoptive father; for the theatre of Pompey, see III. 72. 4.

perfecta: Suetonius (Tib. 47, Cal. 21) says these works were completed by Caligula; but the statement of Tacitus, as to one of them at least, appears to be confirmed by a coin of A.D. 34, on which the temple of Augustus is represented.

haud dedicavit: the honor of dedicating a public building was highly valued; cf. Liv. II. 8. 6.

3. quattuor progeneri: the husbands of his four granddaughters,
Cassius Longinus, M. Vinicius, Rubellius Blandus delecti additusque nominatione consulum P. Petronius.

Et pro ingenio cuiusque quaesiti decretique in principem honores; quos omiserit receperitve in incerto fuit ob propinquum vitae finem.

Neque enim multo post suprmi Tiberio consules, Cn. Acerronius C. Pontius, magistratum occere, nimia iam potentia Macronis, qui gratiam Gai Caesaris numquam sibi neglectam acerius in dies fovebat impuleratque post mortem Claudiae, quam nuptam ei rettuli, uxorem suam Enniam imitando amorem iuvenem illicere pactoque matrimonii vincire, nihil abnuentem, dum dominationis apisceretur; nam etsi commotus ingenio simulationum tamen falsa in sinu avi perdidicerat. Gnarum hoc principi, eoque dubitavit de tradenda re publica, primum inter nepotes, quorum Druso genitus sanguine et caritate propior, sed nondum puberatem ingressus, Germanici filio robur iuventae, vulgi studia, eaque apud avum odii causa. Etiam de Claudio agitanti, quod is composita aetate bonarum artium cupiens erat, imminuta mens eius obstitit. Sin extra domum successor quaereretur, ne

Agrippina (IV. 75. 1), Drusilla and Julia (VI. 15. 1), daughters of Germanicus, and Julia, daughter of Drusus (VI. 27. 1).

P. Petronius: see III. 49. 2.

4. pro ingenio cuiusque: i.e. the senators, as in IV. 64. 2; this is implied in the word decreti.

5. rettuli: see 20. 1.

dominationis: the genitive after apiscor only here and III. 55. 1 (rerum adeptus est). This intrigue would secure him the favor of Macro, and thus gain his support.

commotus, violent.

46. Druso genitus: his name was Tiberius (surnamed Gemellus), the only survivor (see IV. 15. 1) of the twins, whose birth is related II. 84. 1. He was now eighteen years old, Gaius (Caligula) twenty-five, Claudius forty-six.

2. Claudio: see I. 54. 2 n. composta, mature.

bonarum artium, etc.: Claudius was amiable by disposition, and fond of literature, but of weak mind (imminuta mens). Cf. III. 18. 4–7.

3. extra domum: the office of emperor was a newly established magistracy, and there was no constitutional reason why it should not
memoria Augusti, ne nomen Caesarum in ludibria et contumelias verterent, metuebat: quippe illi non perinde curae gratia praesentum quam in posteros ambitio. Mox incertus animi, fesso corpore, consilium cui impar erat fato permisit, iactis tamen vocibus per quas intellegeretur providus futurorum; namque Macroni non abdita ambage occidentem ab eo deseri, orientem spectari exprobravit. Et Gaio Caesari, forte orto sermone L. Sullam irritendi, omnia Sullae vitia et nullam eiusdem virtutem habiturum praedixit. Simul crebris cum lacrimis minorem ex nepotibus complexus, truci alterius vultu: 'Occides hunc tu' inquit 'et te alius.' Sed gravescente valetudine nihil e libidinibus omittebat, in patientia firmitudinem simulque eludere mediocrum artes atque eos, qui post tricesimum annum ad internoscenda corpori suo utilia vel noxia alieni consilii indigent.

be given to any member of the nobility; it never had any positive hereditary character.

4. in posteros ambitio: cf. IV. 38. 1, meminisse posteros volo, etc.

6. occidentem . . . spectari: a similar remark is attributed by Plutarch to Pompey (Pomp. 14) comparing himself to Sulla.

7. omnia . . . vitia, etc.: Sulla was cruel and vindictive, but loyal and patriotic, and possessed high genius as a statesman.

8. minorem ex nepotibus: Tiberius.

alterius: Caligula; he was offended at the affection shown to his rival.

occidet hunc tu, etc.: perhaps a prophecy after the event. Caligula did in fact put Tiberius Gemellus to death this very year, and was himself murdered four years later. Josephus (Ant. Iud. XVIII. 6, 9) tells a story how Tiberius undertook to foretell which of the two boys should be his successor, by noting which of them should attend upon him first on a certain morning, and how his attempt to trick the fates, by contriving that it should be his favorite Tiberius, failed. He then puts in the mouth of the old man an earnest and pathetic appeal to Caligula to treat his cousin with kindness; for he would be a support to his house and authority, rather than a rival.

9. patientia, endurance; depending upon the will.

firmatudinem, strength of bodily constitution.

eludere, make sport of. Suetonius (Tib. 68) says that from his thirtieth year he was sine adiumento consiliov medicorum,—a circumstance hardly consistent with his alleged debauchery.

48 Igitur Domitius defensionem meditans, Marsus tamquam inediam destinavisset, produxere vitam; Arruntius, cunctationem et moras suadentibus amicis, non eadem omnibus decora respondit: sibi satis aetatis, neque aliud paenitendum quam quod inter ludibria et pericula anxiam senectam toleravisset, diu Seiano, nunc Macroni, semper alicui potentium invisus, non culpa, sed ut flagitiorum impatiens. Sane paucos ad suprema prin-
cipis dies posse vitari; quem ad modum evasurum im-
minentis iuventam? An, cum Tiberius post tantam rerum exer-
rientiam vi dominationis convulsus et mutatus sit, Gaium Caesarem vix finita pueritia, ignarum omnium aut pessimis innutritum, meliora capessiturum Macrone duce, qui ut deterior ad opprimendum Seianum delectus plura per scelera rem publicam conflictavisset? Prospectare iam se acrius servitium, eoque fugere simul acta et instantia. Haec vatis in modum dictitans venas resolvit. Documento sequentia erunt bene Arruntium morte usum. Albucilla irrito icu ab semet vulnerata iussu senatus in carcerem fertur. Stuporum eius ministri, Carsidius Sacerdos praetorius ut in insulam depor-
taretur, Pontius Fregellanus amitteret ordinem senato-
rion, et eadem poenae in Laelium Balbum decernuntur, id quidem a laetantibus, quia Balbus truci eloquientia habebatur, promptus adversum insontes.

Isdem diebus Sex. Papinius consulari familia repentinum et informem exitum delegit, iacto in praeceps corpore. Causa ad matrem referebatur, quae pridem repudiata assentationibus atque luxu perpulisset iuvenem ad ea quorum effugium non nisi morte inveniret. Igitur accusata in senatu, quamquam genua patris ad volveretur luctumque communem et magis imbecillum tali super casu feminarum animum aliaque in eundem

imminentis: sc. principis; i.e. Caligula. Cf. imminentis dominos, I. 4. 3.
4. cum Tiberius, etc.: Intr. 14.
5. acta et instantia, the past and the future; cf. praeterita et instantia, IV. 69. 4.
6. Carsidius: see IV. 13. 3.
Laelium Balbum: see 47. 1.
laetantibus: sc. senatoribus.

49. Sex. Papinius: probably son of the consul of A.D. 36 (40. 1).
iacto: probably from an upper window.
in praeceps, head-foremost.
2. repudiata: i.e. by her hus-
band.
3. patris: see App. I.
in eundem dolem, in the same pathetic tone; Intr. 35 i.
dolorem maesta et miseranda diu ferret, urbe tamen in
decem annos prohibita est, donec minor filius lubricum
iuventae exiret.

Iam Tiberium corpus, iam vires, nondum dissimula-
tio deserebat: idem animi rigor; sermone ac vultu in-
tentus quaesita interdum comitate quamvis manifestam
defectionem tegebat. Mutatisque saepius locis tandem
apud promunturium Miseni consedit in villa, cui L.
Lucullus quondam dominus. Illic eum appropinquare
supremis tali modo compertum. Erat medicus arte
insignis, nomine Charicles, non quidem regere valetu-
dines principis solitus, consilii tamen copiam praebere.

Is velut propria ad negotia digrediens et per speciem
officii manum complexus pulsum venarum attigit.
Neque fefellit; nam Tiberius, incertum an offensus
tantoque magis iram premens, instaurari epulas iubet
discumbitque ultra solitum, quasi honorii abeuntis amici
tribueret. Charicles tamen labi spiritum nec ultra
biduum duraturum Macroni firmavit. Inde cuncta collo-
quiis inter praeentes, nuntiiis apud legatos et exer-
citus festinabantur. Septimum decimum kal. Aprilis
interclusa anima creditus est mortalitatem explevisse;
et multo gratantum concursu ad capienda imperii pri-
mordia Gaius Caesar egrediabant, cum repente adfertur

ferret: for proferret (Intr. 35 b).  
lubricum iuventae, the slippery  
(critical) period of youth; cf. Sen.  
Contr. II. 6. 4, lubricum tempus  
sine infamia transit.  

50. 2. Miseni: the headland  
beyond Baiae, in sight from Capri.  
L. Lucullus: the commander in  
the war against Mithridates, B.C.  
74–67; he was notorious for his  
luxury, and his villa was equipped  
in the most ostentatious style. It  
had been built by Marius. This is  
the place assigned for a residence  
by Odoacer to the deposed emperor  
Romulus Augustulus.

4. manum complexus: Sueton-
ius (Tib. 72) says that Charicles,  
on leaving the banquet, seized his  
hand osculandi causa, when the  
emperor, suspecting the trick, bade  
him resume his place at the table.  
6. colloquiis: i.e. deliberations  
as to the future.
redire Tiberio vocem ac visus vocarique qui recreandae defectioni cibum adferrent. Pavor hinc in omnes, et ceteri passim dispergi, se quisque maestum aut nescium fingere; Caesar in silentium fixus a summa spe novissima exspectabat. Macro intrepidus opprimi senem in injectu multae vestis iubet discedique ab limine. Sic Tiberius finivit octavo et septuagesimo aetatis anno.

Pater ei Nero et utrimque origo gentis Claudiae, quamquam mater in Liviam et mox Iuliam familiam adoptionibus transierit. Casus prima ab infantia ac nuncipites: nam proscriptum patrem exsul secutus, ubi domum Augusti privignus introiit, multis aemulis conflictatus est, dum Marcellus et Agrippa, mox Gaius Luciusque Caesares viguerunt; etiam frater eius Drusus prosperiorem civium amore erat. Sed maxime in lubrico egit accepta in matrimonium Iulia, impudicitiam uxoris tolerans aut declinans. Dein Rhodo regressus vacuo

9. opprimi senem: Suetonius (Tib. 73) gives several accounts of his death. Sunt qui putent venenum ei a Gaio datum lentum atque tabijcum; ali, in remissione fortuiiae febris cibum desiderari negatum; nonnulli, pulvinum insectum, cum extractum sibi deficienti anulum mox resipiscens requississet. Seneca eum scribit, intellecta defecitione, exemptum anulum, quasi aliqui traditurum, parumper lenuisse; dein rursus aptasse digito et compressa sinistra manu iacuisse diu immobilem; subito, vocatis ministri ac nemine respondente, consurrexit, nec procul a lectulo deficientibus viribus concidisse. Cf. Dio's account (LVIII. 28), and Aurelius Victor, Ep. 2, insidios Caligulae extinctus est.

finivit: Intr. 35 ὅ; cf. vitam finivisset, I. 9. 1.


51. pater ei, etc.: see for the adoption of Livia's father, V. 1. 1. 

familiam = gentem, a very common usage.

2. proscriptum patrem: B.C. 40. Tiberius was at this time about two years old; at the time of the marriage of his mother to Octavius, B.C. 38, he was four years old.

multis aemulis: see I. 3.

Drusus: see I. 33. 3 n.

3. maxime . . . egit, he stood on most slippery ground.

accepta . . . Iulia: see I. 53. 2.

4. vacuos: sc. liberis; Marcellus, Gaius, and Lucius were all dead, Agrippa Postumus was unfit to be his rival.
principis penates duodecim annis, mox rei Romanae arbitrium tribus ferme et viginti obtinuit. Morum quoque tempora illi diversa: egregium vita famaque, quoad privatus vel in imperiis sub Augusto fuit; occultum ac subdolum fingendis virtutibus, donec Germanicus ac Drusus superfuere; idem inter bona malaque mixtus incolui matre; intestabilis saevitia, sed obtectis libidinibus, dum Seianum dilexit timuitve: postremo in scelera simul ac dedecora prorupit, postquam remoto pudore et metu suo tantum ingenio utebatur.

5. morum quoque, etc.: for a discussion of the character of Tiberius and of the attitude of Tacitus towards him, see Intr. 6–14.

egregium, occultum, subdolum: sc. tempus; the epithets being applied to the successive periods or phases of character instead of to the man himself. This form of description extends to superfuere, and with idem Tiberius himself becomes the subject.

in imperiis: in his several military commands, also as the colleague of Augustus.

APPENDIX.

I. TEXTUAL NOTES.

BOOK I.

4. 4. aliquid: this is the manuscript reading, changed by most editors to aliud. There are two objections to it: from its connection we should expect quidquam, and it is also somewhat irregular (but quite in the style of Tacitus) to have it followed by quam (some such word as potius being understood). But the distinction between aliquis and quisquam was somewhat obscured in the later writers, just as the corresponding words some and any are constantly confused by foreigners. A good example is Tac. Dial. 34; ubi nemo impune stulte aliquid aut contrarie dicit, where no one without detection says anything foolish or inconsistent. Dräger (Hist. Syntax, I. 2. 91) cites two examples from Lactantius, where the two words are used as identical: IV. 3. 8, nec tamen moveat quemquam; II. 8. 37, nec tamen commoveat aliquem. There are even instances of this confusion in the classical period (Caes. B. C. III. 71, sineullo vulnere; III. 73, sine aliquo vulnere). See Madvig on Cic. de Fin. II. 27. 87.

8. 3. urbanis quingenos: supplied from Suet. Oct. 101 and Dio, LVI. 32. It is more probable that the omission was due to a scribe's oversight than that Tacitus was ignorant of the fact or, knowing it, failed to state it.

4. insignes: in the manuscript this word is followed by viii [sc. sunt], and some editors insert qui as its subject, before insignes. The reading here given is supported by 77. 5, multa decernuntur, ex quis maxime insignia ne, etc.

10. 4. Vedii Pollionis: this is Mommsen's reading. The manuscript reads nuberetque tedii et vedii pollionis: but nothing is known of any Tedius to whom this would apply, and the similarity of the names makes it easy to suspect an error.

28. 2. quae pergerent: most editors change to qua, on the ground that pergo cannot govern the accusative, except one of cognate meaning, as pergere iter. Bötticher (Lex. Tac. p. 10) suggests that pergo, like porrigo, arrigo, etc., from rego, may properly retain the regimen of the simple verb; or quae may depend on an implied agere; cf. Plaut. Men. 752, pariter hoc atque alias res soles. At any rate the objection does not seem to justify altering the manuscript reading.
31. 1. tracturis: the manuscript reading is tracturus; but if this were retained, as it must agree with Germanicus, vi sua would be inappropriate, as it would be by the force of the legions, not his own, that he would act.

34. 1. seque et proximos: the manuscript reading is seque proximos, for which this is the simplest emendation. Some editions read Sequanos; but the Sequani belonged to Belgica, and it is not likely that one Belgian state would have been specified without some special reason.

35. 3. promptos: the manuscript reads promptas, and some editions insert res; the emendation here given is simpler and more probable. Cf. IV. 59. 5 n.

36. 3. concedentur: many editors change to concederentur, understanding erat with in achipiti. But although the indirect form is dropped with suscipi, the thought in periculosa ... res publica is still that of Germanicus and his friends; from their point of view concedentur is correct, and the verb to be supplied with the three subjects is est.

59. 6. sacerdotium hominum: some editors, following F. A. Wolf, correct hominum to Romanum.

70. 7. Visurgin: this, the manuscript reading, is impossible, and some editors have made up the word Unsingin, as a probable Latin form for Hunse, a river in Groningen. Very likely Tacitus did not give the name of the river at all.

77. 5. spectarentur: Halm, after Wölflin, reads sectarentur, which reading has the advantage of not requiring a change of subject; the prohibition of private performances is a very probable one.

BOOK II.

8. 2. subvexit aut transposuit: the manuscript reading is defective, and various emendations have been proposed. Of these the insertion of aut appears the least violent; but it is not improbable that subvexit is a gloss.

4. Angrivariorum: many editions change to Ampsivariorum (a nation upon the Ems,—the Ems-farers), and make the same change in 22. 3 and 24. 5, on the assumption that the camp mentioned was the first after crossing that river. The interpretation here given (that of Knoke), that the camp is upon the Weser, makes a change of the text unnecessary. Knoke, however, as in many other instances, undertakes to describe the line of march with more particularity of detail than our information warrants.

9. 3. permissum: the manuscript reading is permisset, and Nipperdey supplies the words imperatoris deductur a Stertinio. But it is easier to suppose the dropping out of a single letter m; moreover, the reading here given appears more in keeping with the style of Tacitus than the other.
23. 3. tumidis: some editors change to umidis; but the strength of the winds is not so likely to be ascribed to the moisture of the country, as to its mountainous character.

57. 4. apertis: the manuscript reading is opertis; but it is plain from what follows that the hostility was not concealed.

BOOK III.

2. 1. munera fungerentur: Tacitus regularly uses munia for functions or duties, and munera for gifts; also funger with the ablative. Most editors, therefore, change to munia; but Pfitzner regards these words as quoted from the edict of Tiberius (addito ut), who appears to have affected an archaic style (cf. IV. 38. 1 n.).

3. 3. Augusta: some editors change to Augustae; if the ablative is retained, it must be explained as a peculiar use of the instrumental ablative, as, by the example of, etc.

5. 6. praepositam: most editors change to propositam, on the ground that praepono would describe a waken effigy in presence of the real body, placed upon the couch to be burned: while here the body had been burned already. But we have seen that Tacitus does not keep very close to the facts in this passage; and, as this term applies to the funeral of Augustus (Dio, LVI. 34), we may suppose that the people grumbled because the same honor was not bestowed upon Germanicus, not considering that it was impossible.

48. 1. et nobilissimam: the manuscript reading is nobilissimarum, omitting et. The reading here given, that of Lipsius, is much nearest the ms. of all the emendations proposed, and satisfies the meaning sufficiently. Sacrovir got the young men into his power, in order to have a hold upon their parents. The interchange of et and ut (below) is plausible; but this would imply that his only object in seizing the town was to get possession of these hostages. By the reading here given, subolem is coupled with caput, implying that his object was twofold,—to hold the capital and to obtain the hostages.

46. 4. evincite: many editors, taking this with the meaning prove (cf. Hor. Sat. II. 3. 250), insert esse. But it is more natural to take it as used by Livy (X. 17. 10), in the sense of subdue.

51. 3. decimum: this word, wanting in the manuscript, is supplied from Suetonius, Tib. 75: cum senatus consulto cautum esset ut poena damnatorum in decimum semper diem differretur.

58. 2. duo et septuaginta annis: this is the manuscript reading. The real interval was seventy-five full years, and most editors change to quinque, etc. Merula was made consul on the forced abdication of Cinna, B.C. 87, and when Cinna returned in triumph the same year, put himself to death. From this time the office remained vacant until it was
revived by Augustus, B.C. 11, its duties being meanwhile performed by the pontiffs. It is possible that Tacitus carelessly confounded the death of Cnna (B.C. 84) with his abdication (B.C. 87). At any rate the mistake is as likely, as Plintner argues, to have been made by Tacitus himself as by his transcribers.

62. 1. proximi hos Magnetes: the manuscript reading is proximo snagnetes.

68. 3. alia: most editors change to Atia, on the guess that the mother of Silanus may have been of the same family as that of Augustus.

70. 4. egregium publice locum: this reading is suggested by Prof. C. L. Smith (Harvard Studies, Vol. I. p. 107) for egregium publicum of the manuscript. Professor Smith argues that bonas domi artes must refer to private character, and the other phrase of course to professional eminence; that egregium cannot be regarded as a substantive like bonum in the phrase bonum publicum; nor, if it could be taken as a substantive, could it be applied to Capito's distinction as a jurist, but must signify something belonging to the state (publicum). The word publice forms a suitable antithesis to domi, and the reading publicum would be an easy blunder of some copyist.

BOOK IV.

1. 2. ierit: the manuscript reading is perit.

20. 6. proinde: most editions read perinde; but Nipperdey shows that there is ample authority for proinde with a comparative particle.

27. 2. calles evenerat: this is the manuscript reading, changed by Lipsius to Cales, etc., on the hypothesis that this ancient Campanian town may have been the headquarters of one of the four quaeestoress classici instituted by Augustus, as Ostia certainly was one; but nothing is known of any province of Cales, while it is a familiar fact that silvae callesque were the provinces assigned by the senate to Cesar and his colleague (Suet. Jul. 19).

33. 4. Romanasne: in the manuscript the enclitic is ve, which cannot properly stand in a double question.

46. 1. incultu: this word is found in Sallust and Livy, but is changed by most editors to sine cultu, on account of the harshness of the expression.

50. 2. tantum his: the manuscript reading is quamvis.

69. 6. tegens his: the manuscript reading is egens, which may be interpreted as helpless, distrustful. Other readings that have been proposed are reticens, se tegens, et tegens.

BOOK V.

4. 2. domus Germanici exitium paenitentiae esse seni: the manuscript reads germanicus lictum paenitentiae sens. The correction to Germanici exitium is easy; it seems necessary to insert esse; for domus,
it is plain that the speaker could not have had in mind the death of Germanicus, but the ruin of his family.

**BOOK VI.**

2. 6. suadere: the MS. has *suaderet*, which many editors retain, inserting *ut* after *neque*. *suadere* is historical infinitive.

5. 1. incertae: the manuscript reading is *incerta*; with this change the meaning is perfectly plain; but some editors change to *incestae*, or read *Gaiam* for *Gaum*, in order to make the affront more cutting.

11. 6. viginti: this is by some editors altered to *quindecim*, because a story told by Suetonius (*Tib. 42*) and Pliny (*N. H. XIV. 22. 145*) ascribes his appointment to Tiberius. But Mommsen points out that Tiberius was censor, and received the tribunician power, A.D. 13. At any rate this story is a very insufficient reason for altering the text.

28. 4. alios tres Sesoside: this is Halm’s reading for the MS. *aliter esse sosi de*. Rhenanus proposed *alites*.

31. 4. ut . . . ut: some editors change the first *ut* to *et*; some omit the second *ut*.

33. 2. Parthorum: the manuscript reads *Parthorumque*; some editors join *que* with *dat*; others read *Medorum Parthorumque*, on account of the mention of Medes (34. 6). But in this passage, *Medorum* is evidently used as a general expression of contempt for the effeminate Oriental troops; cf. 34. 6 n.

47. 1. exitium: this reading of Nipperdey, for the MS. *exilium*, which he rejected as inconsistent with *futuris caedibus*, above, has been generally adopted.

49. 3. patris: this word is by most editors emended to *patrum*; but as Pfitzner points out, the word *communem* is best explained by supposing it to be either her own father, or the father of her son — her divorced husband.
II. INDEX OF PROPER NAMES.

Abdagaeses: Parthian leader, VI. 36. 3; 37. 5; 43. 2, 4; 44. 5.
Abdus: eunuch, VI. 31. 3; 32. 3.
Abdus Russo: banished, VI. 30. 2.
Cn. Acerronius: consul, A.D. 37, VI. 45. 5.
Achaia: complaint, I. 76. 4; placed under Poppeus Sabinus, 80. 1; presence of Germanicus, II. 53. 1; traversed by Piso, III. 7. 1; governed by Sabinus, V. 10. 3.
Acilius Aviola: governor of Lugdunensis, III. 41. 2, 3.
Actium: defeat of Mark Antony, I. 2. 1 n., 3. 7 n.; 42. 5 n.; II. 53. 1 n.; captured ships sent to Forum Iulii, IV. 5. 1.
Acutia: accused, VI. 47. 1.
Adgandestrius: prince of the Chatti, II. 88. 1.
Admetus: flocks, III. 61. 2 n.
Adrana: river (Lider), I. 56. 4.
Aedui: allies, I. 36. 2 n.; rebellion, III. 49. 1; 43; 45 f.
Aeetes: king of Colchis, VI. 34.
Aegoecae: city of Asia, II. 47. 4.
Aegaeum mare: V. 10. 4.
Aegyptus: Egypt, Roman possession, II. 1. 1 n.; visited by Germanicus, 59-61; 69. 1; subject to special restrictions, 59. 4; former greatness, 60. 4; superstitions, 85. 5; military force, IV. 5. 4; visited by phoenix, VI. 28.
Aelius Gallus: V. 8. 1.
Aelius Lamia: governor of Africa, IV. 13. 5; death, VI. 27. 2.

Aelius Seianus: proposition to marry Livia, I. 12. 6 n.; fosters Tiberius' jealousy of Agrippina, 60. 7; IV. 17. 4; 67. 5; accompanies Drusus to Pannonia, I. 24. 3; III. 48. 3 n.; donation after his fall, I. 36. 4 n.; in the trial of Piso, III. 16. 1; daughter betrothed to son of Claudius, 29. 5; colleague of Tiberius, 31. 1 n.; nephew of Blesus, 35. 2; praised by Tiberius, 72. 4, 6; his statue placed in the theatre of Pompey, 72. 5; character and antecedents, IV. 1; II. 3; ambitious designs, 2; 12. 3; quarrel with Drusus, 3. 2; 7. 2; seduces Livia, 3. 3; divorces Apicata, 3. 5; poisons Drusus, 8. 1; 10. 2; favored by Tiberius, 26. 1; his sycophants, 19. 1; 34. 2; asks Livia in marriage, 39; design of removing Tiberius from Rome, 41. 2; 57. 2; plot against Agrippina, 54. 1; accompanies Tiberius to Capri, 58. 1; saves his life, 59; designs against the sons of Germanicus, 59. 5; 60; ruins Sabinus, 68. 2; servility of senate, 74. 3; held in check by Augusta, V. 3. 1; his children put to death, 9. 1; his property confiscated, VI. 2. 1; persecution of his adherents, 7. 2, 8; 14. 1; 19. 2; 30. 2; 38. 1; his punishment, 25. 4; his influence on Tiberius, 51. 6; IV. 1. 2; 7. 1; 71.

Aemilia Lepida: accused, III. 22. 1; 48. 4.
Aemilia Lepida: married to Drusus, VI. 40. 4.
Aemilia Musa: intestate, II. 48. 1.
INDEX OF PROPER NAMES.

Aemilii, III. 22. 1; VI. 27. 5; 29. 7.
Aemilius: primipilaris, II. 11. 2; witness, IV. 42. 2.
L. Aemilius Lepidus: father of Lepida, III. 22. 1 n.
M'. Aemilius Lepidus: Augustus' estimate of him, I. 13. 2; defends Piso, III. 11. 2; defends his sister, 22. 2; declines the proconsulship of Africa, 35; speech for Clutorius Priscus, 50; proposition in favor of the children of Silus, IV. 20. 3; character, 20. 4; governor of Asia, 56. 3; influence, VI. 5. 1; death, 27. 4.
M. Aemilius Lepidus: guardian of Ptolemy, b.c. 181, II. 67. 4.
M. Aemilius Lepidus: consul, b.c. 78, III. 27. 4; 32. 2 n.
M. Aemilius Lepidus: triumvir, I. 1. 3; deposed, 2. 1; III. 58. 4 n.; concessions by Octavius, I. 9. 2; war against, 10. 5; proconsuls, III. 28. 2 n.
M. Aemilius Lepidus: inheritance, II. 48. 1; proconsul of Asia, III. 32. 2; repairs basilica, 72. 1.
Mam. Aemilius Scaurus: offends Tiberius, I. 13. 4; married to Lepida, III. 22. 1 n.; 23. 3; takes the part of Sulla, 31. 5; accuses Silanus, 66. 2; accused, VI. 9. 5; accusation renewed, 29. 4; death, ib. 7.
Aeneas: IV. 9. 3.
Aequus: see Considius.
Aerias: founder of temple to Paphian Aphrodite, III. 62. 5.
Aesclapius: son of Apollo, III. 61. 2 n.; shrine at Pergamum, 63. 3; at Cos, IV. 14. 1. 3.
Aeserninus: see Claudius Marcellus.
Aethiopia: in empire of Rameses, II. 60. 4.
Afranius: friend of Brutus and Cassius, IV. 34. 5.
Africa: civil war, II. 43. 3; war of Tacfarinas, 52; Camillus proconsul, 52. 5; receives troops from Pannonia, III. 9. 1; renewal of war, 20. 1; Apronius proconsul, 21. 1; third year, 32. 1; nomination of proconsul by the emperor, 35; renewal of war under Bæsus, 73. 1; military force, IV. 5. 4; end of war under Dolabella, 23-25; searched for Sibylline prophecies, VI. 12. 4.
Africanus: see Iulius.
Agrippa: see Asinius, Fonteius, Haterius, Vibulenus, Vipsanius.
Agrippa Postumus: grandson of Augustus, I. 3. 4; character, 4. 3; visited by Augustus, 5. 2; death, 6. 1; 53. 3; II. 42. 4 n.; III. 30. 6; personated by Clemens, II. 39. 40; son of Agrippa, III. 19. 5 n.
Agrippina: wife of Tiberius; see Vipsania.
Agrippina: wife of Germanicus, I. 33. 2; jealousy of Augustus, 33. 6; character, ib.; VI. 25. 3; leaves the camp, I. 40. 4; daughter of Julia, 53. 1 n.; protects the bridge, 69. 1; Livia incites Plancina against her, II. 43. 5; aunt of Haterius Agrippa, 51. 2 n.; birth of Julia, 54. 1; embarks for Rome, 75. 1; arrival, III. 1; devotion of the people, 4. 3; 17. 5; daughter of Agrippa, 19. 5 n.; her hopes, IV. 12. 2; suspected by Tiberius, 17. 2; plots of Sejanus against her, 12. 4; 17. 4; 19. 1; 39. 6; 52. 1; 54; 59. 5; 67. 5; resentment against Tiberius, 52. 3; asks to be given a husband, 53. 1; partiality for Nero, 60. 5; loyalty of Sabinus, 68. 1; covert threats of Tiberius, 70. 7; he openly assails her, V. 3. 2; popular demonstration, 4. 3; death, VI. 25. 1.
Agrippina: daughter of Germanicus; I. 14. 3 n.; III. 2. 4 n.; 4. 3 n.; Cologne named for her, 31. 3 n.; 33. 2 n.; her memoirs, IV. 53. 3; married to Cn. Domitius, 75. 1.
Albani: dependent allies of the Empire, IV. 5. 4; assist Pharsamenes, VI. 33-35.
Albinovanus: see Pedo.
Albis: river (Elbe), I. 59. 6; II. 14. 6; 19. 2; 22. 1; 41. 2; IV. 44. 3.
INDEX OF PROPER NAMES.

Albucilla: VI. 47. 2; 48. 6.
Alexander (the Great): III. 38. 6 n.; 63. 5; VI. 31. 2; compared with Germanicus, II. 73. 2.
Alexandria: entered by Germanicus, II. 59. 3; death of Rhescuporis, 67. 5.
Aliso: fort, II. 7. 1 n., 5.
Aliaria: wife of Sempronius, I. 53. 8.
Amanus: mountain of Syria, II. 83. 3.
Amasis: king of Egypt, VI. 28. 4.
Amathus: of Cyprus, III. 62. 5.
Amazones: defeated by Bacchus, take refuge at Ephesus, III. 61. 2; founders of Smyrna, IV. 56. 1.
Amenophis III.: king of Egypt, II. 61. 1 n.
Amisia: river (Ems), I. 60. 2, 5; 63. 5; II. 8. 1; 23. 1.
Amorgos: island; banishment of Serenus, IV. 13. 2; 30. 3.
Amphiaraus: temple, III. 62. 4 n.
Amphictyonic League: IV. 14. 2.
Amunclanum mare: IV. 59. 2.
Ancharius Priscus: accuser, III. 38. 1; 70. 1.
Ancona: city of Italy, III. 9. 1.
Andecavi: rebellion, III. 41. 1.
Angrivarii: revolt, II. 8. 4; mound, 19. 3; war, 22. 3; services, 24. 5; triumph over, 41. 2.
Anna Rufilla: punished for misuse of emperor's effigy, III. 36. 3.
Annius Pollio: accused of treason, VI. 9. 5.
Annius Vinicianus: accused of treason, VI. 9. 5.
Anteius: constructs fleet, II 6. 1.
Anthemusias: city of Parthia, VI. 41. 2.
Antigonus (Doson): king of Macedonia, IV. 43. 4.
Antiochia (Antioch): II. 57. 2 n.; vows for Germanicus, 69. 3; funeral of Germanicus, 73. 5; cenotaph, 83. 3.
Antiochus (the Great): king of Syria, II. 63. 3; III. 62. 1.
Antiochus: king of Commagene, II. 42. 7.
C. Antistius: consul, A.D. 23.
Antistius Labeo: jurist, III. 75. 2.
Antistius Vetus: Macedonian noble, III. 37. 3 n.; 38. 2.
Antium: temple of Fortuna, III. 71. 2.
C. Antius: conducts census in Gaul, II. 6. 1.
Antonia maior [incorrectly minor]: wife of Domitius, IV. 44. 3.
Antonia minor: wife of Drusus, II. 41. 5 n.; III. 3. 2; honored by Messalinus, 18. 4.
Antonius Pius: emperor, construction of wall, I. 50. 2 n.
Iulus Antonius: death, I. 10. 3; adultery, III. 18. 1; IV. 44. 5.
L. Antonius: death, IV. 44. 4.
M Antonius: triumvir, I. 3; 2. 1; concessions by Octavius, 9. 5; opposed by Octavius, 10. 1, 2; led expedition against Parthia, II. 1. 2 n.; 2. 4 n.; treachery to Artavasdes, 3. 2; husband of Octavia, 41. 5 n.; gave Cappadocia to Arche- laus, 42. 2 n.; grandfather of Germanicus, 43. 6; his cause espoused by the Athenians, 55. 1; made Polemo king of Pontus, 56. 2 n.; civil war, III. 18. 1; proscriptions, 28. 2 n.; letters, IV. 34. 8; favored the Lacedemonians, 43. 1.
Aphrodisia: city of Asia, III. 62. 2.
Apicata: wife of Sejanus, IV. 3. 5; reveals the murder of Drusus, 11. 4.
Apicius: prodigal, IV. 1. 3.
Apidius Merula: banished, IV. 42. 3.
Apis: sacred bull, II. 60. 3 n.
Apollo: Clarian, II. 54. 3; Didymcan, III. 62. 1 n.; 63. 5 n.; IV. 55. 6; claims of the Ephesians, III. 61. 1, 2.
Apollonia: city of Asia, II. 47. 4.
Appia via: II. 30. 1.
Appius Appianus: expelled from senate, II. 48. 3.
Appuleia Varilla: accused, II. 50. 1.
Sex. Appuleius: consul, A.D. 14, I. 7. 3.
L. Appuleius Saturninus: demagogue, III. 27. 3.
Apronia: killed by her husband, IV. 22. 1.
L. Apronius: companion of Drusus, I. 29. 2; in Germany, 56. 1; triumphal insignia voted, 72. 1; name suggested, II. 6. 1 n.; proposition in relation to Libo, 32. 4; in Africa, III. 21; proposition in relation to the games, 64. 4; protects Gracchus, IV. 13. 5; accuses Silvanus, 22. 1; governor of Lower Germany, 73. 1; father-in-law of Gætulicus, VI. 30. 3.
Apulia: magistrates, III. 2. 1.
Aquilia: accused of adultery, IV. 42. 3.
Aquitania: III. 44. 1.
Arabia, Arabes: Roman province, II. 57. 5 n.; home of phoenix, VI. 28. 6; desert Tiridates, 44. 7.
Archelaus: king of Cappadocia, II. 42. 2.
Archelaus: his son, king of the Clite, VI. 41. 1.
Arduenna: forest (Ardenne), III. 42. 2.
Areopagus: II. 55. 2.
Argolicus: husband of Pompeia, VI. 18. 3.
Ariminum: town of Italy, III. 9. 1 n.
Ariobarzanes: king of Armenia, II. 4. 2.
Aristonicus: claimant to throne of Pergamum, IV. 55. 2.
Armenia, Armenii: affairs, II. 3. 4; 43. 1; 56; 58. 1; in empire of Rameses, 60. 4; receive king, 64. 1; under Gaius Cæsar, III. 48. 2; war, VI. 31-37; 44. 5.
Armenia Minor: in Polemo's kingdom, II. 56. 2 n.
Arminius (Hermann): chief of Cherusci, I. 3. 6 n.; 10. 3 n.; 55. 2; 57. 1; accused by Sestus, 55. 3; 58. 3; his wife captured by Germanicus, 57. 5; his son, 58. 9; rouses his countrymen, 59. 2; victory over Varus, 60. 6; pursued by Germanicus, 63; assault on Cæcina, 63-68; his father, 71. 1 n.; colloquy with Flavus, II. 9, 10; invites Roman deserters, 13. 2; battle of Idistaviso, 15-17; final battle, 21; war with Maroboduus, 44-46; death and fame, 88.
Arnus: river (Arno), I. 79. 1.
Arpus: chief of the Chatti, II. 7. 2.
Arretium: city of Etruria, I. 79. 1 n.
L. Arruntius: honors to Augustus, I. 8. 4; character, 13. 1; water-commissioner, 76. 3; 79. 1; refuses to aid Piso, III. 11. 2; supports Sulla, 31. 5; influence, VI. 5. 1; accused, 7. 1; detained in Rome, 27. 3; accused of adultery, 47. 2; death, 48. 2.
Arsaces: king of Armenia, VI. 31. 2; murdered, 33. 1.
Arsacidae: royal race of Parthia, II. 1-3.
Artabanus III.: king of Parthia, II. 3. 1; threatens Vonones, 4. 4; sends embassy, 58. 1; insults Tiberius and seizes Armenia, VI. 31. 2; disaffection of Parthian chiefs, 31. 3; struggle with Rome, 31-36; exile, 36. 4; restoration, 43. 44.
Artavasdes I.: king of Armenia, II. 3. 2.
Artavasdes II.: king of Armenia, II. 4. 1; 3 n.
Artavasdes III.: king of Armenia, II. 4. 2 n.; 3 n.
Artaxata: capital of Armenia, II. 56. 3; captured, VI. 33. 2.
Artaxias I.: king of Armenia, II. 3. 3; 56. 3 n.
Artaxias II. (Zeno): king of Armenia, II. 56. 3; death, VI. 31. 2.
Artemis: at Ephesus, III. 61. 1; IV. 55. 6; Leucophryne (at Magnesia), III. 62. 1; Persia (at Hierocasreae), ib. 4.; at Sardes, 63. 5; Linnatis, IV. 43. 1.
Artemita: Parthian town, VI. 41. 2.
L. Aruseius: accuser, VI. 7. 1; death, 40. 1.
Arx: III. 14. 6 n.
Asia: province, II. 43. 2 n.; twelve cities, 47; traversed by Germanicus, 54. 2; by Piso, III. 7. 1; appointment of M. Lepidus as proconsul, 32. 2; prosecution of C. Silanus, 66–68; massacre by Mithridates, IV. 14. 3; proconsul, 15. 3; 36. 4; shrine to Tiberius, Augusta, and the senate, 15. 4; 37. 1; 55 f.; home of Lydus, 55. 7; kings, 56. 1; excitement over the false Drusus, V. 10. 1.
Asia Minor: II. 1. 1 n.
Asinius Agrippa: cos. A.D. 25, IV. 34. 1; death, 61. 1.
C. Asinius Gallus: proposes honors to Augustus, I. 8. 4; offends Tiberius, 12. 2, 4; husband of Vipsania, 12. 6; character, 13. 2; proposes to consult the Sibylline books, 76. 2; opposes Haterius Agrippa, 77. 3; proposition in relation to Libo, II. 32. 4; speech on luxury, 33. 3; opposition to Tiberius, 35. 36; refuses to aid Piso, III. 11. 2; opposes Sosia, IV. 20. 2; proposition in relation to Serenus, 30. 2; in relation to Tiberius, 71. 3; death, VI. 23. 1; charge against him, 25. 2.
Asinius Pollio: historian, I. 1. 4 n.; father of Asinius Gallus, 8. 4 n.; independence, 12. 6; grandfather of Aserninus Marcellus, III. 11. 2 n.; of Asinius Saloninus, 75. 1; writings, IV. 34. 6.
C. Asinius Saloninus: death, III. 75. 1.
L. Asprenas: governor of Africa, I. 53. 9; questions Messalinus, III. 18. 5.
Ateius Capito: water-commissioner, I. 76. 3; 79. 1; servility, III. 70. 2; death, 75. 1; career, 75. 2–4.
M. Ateius: commissioner to Asia, II. 47. 5.
Athenae (Athens): visited by Germanicus, II. 53. 3; by Piso, 55. 1; sided with Antony, 55. 1; laws, III. 26. 4.
Atia: mother of Marcia, I. 5. 3 n.
Atidius Geminus: governor of Achaia, IV. 43. 5.
Atilius: builds amphitheatre in Fidenæ, IV. 62. 2; banished, 63. 2.
A. Atilius: vowed temple to Spes, II. 49. 2.
Atropatene: II. 3. 1 n.
Attica: V. 10. 4.
Atticus: see Curtius, Pomponius.
Attius: centurion, VI. 24. 2.
Attus Clausus: IV. 9. 3.
Atys: king of Lydia, IV. 55. 7.
Aufidienus Rufus: praefect of camp, I. 20. 1.
Augusta: see Livia.
Augustodunum (Autun): III. 43. 1; 45. 2; 46. 7.
Augustus: imperium, I. 1. 3; history of his time, I. 4; sole leader, 2. 1; adopted Marcellus and others, 3; waning health, 4. 1; rumored visit to Agrippa Postumus, 5. 2; death, 5. 5; complaints of Agrippa Postumus, 6. 3; bequests, 8. 1–3; funeral, 8. 4–7; character, 9, 10; reverence of Tiberius, 11. 2; 26. 4; 74. 5; 77. 4; IV. 37. 4; his account of the resources of the empire, I. 11. 5; estimate of prominent men, 13. 2; nomination of pretors, 14. 6; ludi Augustales, 15. 3; 54. 3; levy of troops, 31. 4 n.; favorable to Dru- sus, 33. 4 n.; visited Germany, 46. 3; banished Julus, 53. 1; Sodales Augustales, 54. 1 n.; conferred citizenship on Segestes, 58. 2; enforced law of maiestas, 72. 4; transferred care of treasury to pretors, 75. 4 n.; separated Achaia from Macedonia, 76. 4 n.; shared pleasures of populace, 76. 6; temple at Tarraco, 78. 1; established militare aerarium.
INDEX OF PROPER NAMES.

78. 2 n.; designated consuls, 81. 1 n.; homage of Parthians, II. 1. 1, 2, 2. 1; gave Armenia to Tigranes, 3. 4; to Artavasdes, 4. 1; trophy in Germany, 22. 1; gift to Hortalus, 37. 2, 3. 7; 38. 5; effigy at Bovillae, 41. 1; disposition towards Tiberius, 42. 3; offered consulship to Piso, 43. 3; inheritances, 48. 1 n.; religious policy, 49. 1; sanctity, 50; III. 66. 2; consecrated the spoils of Actium, II. 53. 2; gave Pontus to Polemo, 56. 2 n.; regulations for Egypt, 59. 3; partition of Thrace, 64. 3; made Pamphylia a province, 79. 1 n.; stepfather of Drusus, 82. 3 n.; tomb, III. 4. 1; honored Drusus, 5. 1; death of Gaius and Lucius, 6. 3; esteem for Piso, 16. 7; domestic trials, 24. 2; treatment of Silanus, 24. 5; lex Papia Poppea, 25. 1; restored law, 28. 3; asked exemption of Tiberius and Drusus from usual conditions of candidacy for questorship, 29. 2; journeys, 34. 12; bestowed name, 40. 1 n.; tribunician power, 56. 2; decree about Aphrodias, 62. 2; worship in Crete, 63. 6; effigy set up by Augusta in theatre of Marcellus, 64. 2; case of Volesus Messala, 68. 1; permissions to build, 72. 2; granted triumphs, 74. 7; partiality to Atelius Capito, 75. 2; great-grandchildren, IV. 8. 7; mitigated severity of old laws, 16. 4; favored Livy, 34. 4; treatment of lampoons, 34. 8; apotheosis, 37. 4; 38. 5; choice of husband for Julia, 39. 5; 40. 7; temple, 57. 1; VI. 45. 2; adoptions, IV. 57. 5; banished younger Julia, 71. 6; uncle of Domitius, 75. 2; marriage, V. 1. 3; made prefecture of city a permanent office, VI. 11. 3; collected Sibyline books, 12. 3.

L. Aurelius Cotta: accused, III. 66. 2.

M. Aurelius Cotta Messalinus: proposition in relation to Libo, II. 32. 2; in relation to provincial governors, IV. 20. 6; in relation to Agrippina, V. 3. 4; language about Gaius Cæsar, VI. 5. 1; his accuser punished, 7. 1.

M. Aurelius Cotta (perhaps son of last): consul, A.D. 20, III. 2. 5; proposition in relation to Piso, 17. 8.

Aurelius Pius: complaint of damages, I. 75. 3.


Aventinus mons: VI. 45. 1.

Aoviola: see Acilius.

Bactria: in empire of Rameses, II. 60. 4.

Baduhenna: grove, IV. 73. 7.

Balbus: see Cornelius, Laelius.

Bastarnae: war with Rhecuporis, II. 65. 5.

Batavi: island, II. 6. 4; troops, 8. 3; leader, II. 3.

Bathyllus: pantomime, I. 54. 3.

Belgae: taking oath, I. 34. 1; offering aid, 43. 3; rebellion, III. 40. 3.

Belgica: III. 44. 1 n.

Beneventum: colony, III. 2. 2 n.

Bibaculus: see Furius.

C. Bibulus: ædile, III. 52. 3.

Bithynia: province, II. 43. 2 n.; trial of Granius Marcellus, I. 74.

Bithynius mare: II. 60. 4.

Blæsus: see Iunius.

Blandus: see Rubellius.

Bovillae: shrine of Augustus, I. 54. 1 n.; II. 41. 1.

Britannia: shipwrecked soldiers carried to, II. 24. 5.

Bructeri: revolt, I. 51. 4; invaded, 60. 2, 4; near Aliso, II. 7. 5 n.

Brundisium: treaty, I. 10. 2 n.; landing of Agrippina, III. 1. 2; death of Martina, 7. 2; conspiracy of Curtius, IV. 27. 1.

Brutediuss Niger: ædile, III. 66. 2.

Brutus: see Iunius.

Byzantium: visited by Germanicus, II. 54. 2.

Cabiri: gods of Samothrace, II. 54. 3 n.

Cadra: hill, VI. 41. 1.
INDEX OF PROPER NAMES.

C. Caecilianus: senator, VI. 7. 1; see also Magius.

C. Caecilius Claudius Isidorus: slaves, II. 33. 2 n.

Caecilius Cornutus: suicide, IV. 28. 2; 30. 3.

Q. Caecilius Metellus Creticus: senator, governor of Syria, II. 4. 4; removed, 43. 3; his daughter betrothed to Nero, II. 43. 3; III. 29. 4 n.

Q. Caecilius Metellus Scipio: praised, IV. 34. 5.

L. Caecilius Metellus: pontifex major, III. 71. 4.

A. Caecina Severus: governor of Lower Germany, I. 31. 2; loses control of soldiers, 32. 4; leads troops to Civitas Ubiorum, 37. 3; massacre at Vetere, 48; expedition against the Marsi, 50. 5; second expedition, 56. 1, 7; marches to the Ems, 60. 2; leads advance, 61. 2; return march, 63-68; triumphal insignia voted, 72. 1; constructs fleet, II. 6. 1; proposition for an altar to Vengeance, III. 18. 3; in relation to governors' wives, 33. 1.

Caeces Vibenna: Etruscan leader, IV. 65. 1.

C. Caecilius, cons. A.D. 17, II. 41. 2.

Caelius Cursor: punished, III. 37. 1.

Caelius mons: fire, IV. 64. 1; proposal to call it Augustus, ib. 3; ancient name, 65. 1.

Caepio Crispinus: questor, I. 74. 1.

Caeser: see Iulius.

Caesia Silva: I. 50. 2.

Caesianus: see Apronius.

Caesius Cordus: proconsul of Crete, III. 38. 1; condemned, 70. 1.

C. Caetronius: legate, I. 44. 3.

Calabria: district of Italy, III. 1.

1; magistrates, 2. 1.

Cales: VI. 15. 2.

Caligula: origin of name, I. 69. 5; see Gaius.


Cn. Calpurnius Piso: character, I. 13. 3; questions Iberius, 74. 6; proposition in relation to mun-dation, 79. 5; his brother, II. 32. 4 n.; controversy with Gallus, 35; governor of Syria, 43. 3; journey thither, 55; assails the Athenians, 55. 1; conduct in Syria, 55. 4; disobeys and insults Germanicus, 57, 69; withdraws to Cos, 70. 4; ex-ults at death of Germanicus, 75. 2; discussion as to the best course to pursue, 76, 77; writes to Tibe-rius, 78. 1; attempts to recover his province, 78, 79; besieged in Celen-deris, 80, 81; popular indignation, III. 7. 1; return to Rome, 8, 9; trial and death, 10-19; governor of Hither Spain, 12. 2; 13. 2; colleague of Tiberius, 31. 1 n.; death of wife, VI. 26. 4.

Cn. Calpurnius Piso: his father, II. 43. 3.

L. Calpurnius Piso [Gnaeus]: his son, III. 16. 5; 17. 8; consul, A.D. 27, IV. 62. 1.

L. Calpurnius Piso: proposition in relation to Libo, II. 32. 4; controversy with Urgulania, 34; de-fends Cn. Piso, III. 11. 2; proposition in relation to Silanus, 68. 2; accused, IV. 21. 1.

L. Calpurnius Piso: governor of Hither Spain, IV. 45. 1.

L. Calpurnius Piso: pontifex and prefect of city; death, VI. 10. 3.

M. Calpurnius Piso: son of Gnaeus, II. 76. 2; III. 16. 5; 17. 1, 8; 18. 2.


Calusidius: soldier, I. 35. 6.


Calvisius Sabinus: accused, VI. 9. 5.

Camillus: see Furius.

Campania: magistrates, III. 2.

1; visited by Tiberius, 31. 2; 47. 4; 59. 4; IV. 57. 1; 67. 1; 74. 4; VI. 1. 1.
INDEX OF PROPER NAMES.

Campus Martius: I. 8. 6; III. 4. 1 n.; 23. 1 n.
Canninefates: German tribe, IV. 73. 2.
Canopus: city of Egypt, II. 60. 1.
Capena Porta: II. 83. 5 n.
Capito: see Ateius, Fonteius.
Capitolium: III. 14. 6 n.; an asylum, 36. 2; burned, VI. 12. 4.
Cappadocia: independent, I. II. 6 n.; made a province, II. 42; 43.
2 n.; 56. 4; in empire of Rameses, 60. 4; Archelaus, VI. 41. 1.
Caprae: island (Capri); residence of Tiberius, IV. 67. 1; VI. 1.
1; 2. 43; 10. 2; 20. 1.
Capua: colony, III. 2. 2 n.; temple of Jupiter, IV. 57. 1.
Caracalla: emperor; his name in Carmen Saliare, II. 83. 2 n.
Caria: cities, III. 62. 2 n.
Carmanii: related to Artabanus, VI. 36. 5.
Carrhae: battle-field, II. 2. 4 n.
Carsiudus Sacerdos: acquittal, IV. 13. 3; banishment, VI. 48. 6.
Carthago Nova: capital of Hitai Spain, I. 78. 1 n.
Caspia Via: pass, VI. 33. 4.
Caspian Sea: I. 1. 1 n.
Cassius: speech in relation to Sejanus, VI. 2. 2.
Cassius: mime, I. 73. 2.
Cassius Chaerea: centurion, I. 32. 5.
C. Cassius Longinus: death, I. 2. 1; 10. 2; death of wife, III. 76. 1; 5; eulogized by Cremutius Cordus, IV. 34.
L Cassius Longinus: marries Drusilla, VI. 15. 1; commissioner, 45. 3.
Cassius Severus: lampoons, I. 72. 4; character, IV. 21. 4.
Castor: temple, II. 83. 5 n.
Cato: see Porcius.
Iustus Catonius: centurion, I. 29. 2.
Catualda: prince of the Gothini, II. 62. 2; 63. 6.
Catullus: poems, IV. 34. 8.
Catus: see Firmus.
Celenderis: fortress in Cilicia, II. 80 1.
Celer: see Propertius.
Celsius: see Iulius.
Cenchreus: river, III. 61. 1.
Cercina: island, I. 53. 6; IV. 13. 4.
Ceres: temple, II. 49. 1.
C. Cestius: speech on right of asylum, III. 36. 2; accuser, VI. 7. 3; consul, A.D. 35; 31. 1.
Cethegus: see Cornelius.
Chaerea: see Cassius.
Chaldaeai: soothsayers, II. 27. 2.
III. 22. 2; VI. 20. 3.
Charicles: physician, VI. 50. 3.
Chariovalda: leader of Bata-
vians, II. 11. 3.
Chatti: invasion of, I. 55; 56; II. 7. 1; 25. 2; letter from their chief, 88. 1; triumph over, 41. 2.
Chauci: mutiny of troops among, I. 38. 1; join Germanicus, 60. 3; auxiliaries, II. 17. 7; escape of Germanicus, 24. 3.
Cherusci: war, I. 56-68; near Aliso, II. 7. 5 n; war, 8-24; trium-
umph over, 41. 2; war with Suevi, 44-46.
Cibyra: city of Asia, earthquake, II. 47. 1 n.; IV. 13. 1.
Cicero: see Tullius.
Cilicia: death of king Philopat-
or, II. 42. 7; province, 43. 2 n.; Vo-
nones sent thither, 58. 3; 68. 1; its chiefs summoned to join Piso, 78. 3; war with Piso, 80, 81; subdued by Quirinius, III. 48. 2; treasures of Vonones, VI. 31. 2.
Cilnius Maecenas: fond of pan-
tomimes, I. 54. 3; influence, III. 30.
4, 6, 7; prefect of city, VI. 11. 3.
Cinithii: African tribe, II. 52. 5.
Cinna: see Cornelius.
Circus Maximus: VI. 45. 1.
Cirta: town of Africa, III. 74. 2.
Clanis: river (Chiana), I. 79. 1.
Claudia: wife of Gaius, VI. 20.
1; death, 45. 5.
Claudia Pulchra: condemned, IV. 52; 66. 1.
Claudia Quinta: statue, IV. 64. 4.
Claudii: I. 28. 6 n.; family pride, I. 4. 3; II. 43. 7; imagine, III. 5.
Claudius: emperor, I. 1. 5; Sodalis Augustalis, 54. 2; restored Achaia and Macedonia to senate, 76. 4 n.; friend of Petronius, III. 49. 2 n.; weak-minded, II. 71. 3 n.; united Lycia with Pamphylia, 79. 1 n.; meets body of Germanicus, III. 2. 4; 3. 2; senatorial courts, 10. 3 n.; treated as of no account, 18. 4; reflections on his career, 18. 6; his son, 29. 5; refunded extortions, 31. 7 n.; granted citizenship, 40. 2 n.; favored Suillius, IV. 31. 6; intimacy with L. Vitellius, VI. 32. 7; imbecility, 46. 2.
Claudius Marcellus: promotion and death, I. 3. 1; VI. 51. 2; honors, II. 83. 2 n.
L. Claudius Marcellus: his father, II. 41. 5 n.; 50 1 n.
Claudius Marcellus Aeserninus: refuses to aid Piso, III. 11. 2.
Ti. Claudius Nero: father of Tiberius, I. 10. 4; V. 1. 2; VI. 51. 1.
Clausus: see Attus.
Clemens: see Iulius.
Clemens: personates Agrippa Postumus, II. 39. 40.
Clitae: nation of Asia Minor, VI. 41. 1.
Clusium: city of Etruria, I. 79.
Clutorius Priscus: trial, III. 49. 50.
Cocceius Nerva: accompanies Tiberius to Capri, IV. 58. 1; suicide, VI. 26. 1.
Coelalectae: people of Thrace, III. 38. 5.
Colchis: expedition of Jason, VI. 34. 3.
Colophon: oracle of Apollo, II. 54. 3.
Commagene: death of king Antiochus, II. 42. 7; annexed to Rome, 56. 5; road, 57. 2 n.
Concordia: gifts, II. 32. 4; deification, 49. 2 n.
Considius Aequus: punished, III. 37. 1.
Considius: praeb, V. 8. 1.
Considius Proculus: put to death, VI. 18. 1.
Corcyra: island (Corfu), III. 1 n.
Cordus: see Caesius, Cremutius.
Core: II 49. 1 n.
Corinthus: V. 10. 4.
Coriolanus: III. 27. 2 n.
Cornelia: vestal, IV. 16. 6.
Cornelius: centurion, I. 10. 1 n.
Cornelius: accuser, VI. 29. 6; 30. 1.
L. Cornelius Balbus: builds a theatre, III 72. 2.
Cornelius Cethegus Labeo: legatus, IV. 73. 4.
L. Cornelius Cinna: domination, I. 1. 3.
Cornelius Cossus: consul, A.D. 25, IV. 34. 1.
P. Cornelius Dolabella: adulation, III. 47. 4; 69. 1; governor of Africa, IV. 23. 2; defeat and death of Tacfarinas, 24. 2-25; refused triumphal insignia, 26. 1; delator, 66. 2.
Cornelius Lentulus: augur, III. 59. 1.
Cn. Cornelius Lentulus: with Drusus in Pannonia, I. 27. 1; proposition in relation to Libo, II. 32. 2; in relation to Silanus, III. 68. 3; accused, IV. 29. 1; death, 44. 1.
Cn. Cornelius Lentulus Gallicus: consul elect, IV. 42. 3; consul, A.D. 26, 46. 1; his accuser punished, VI. 30. 2; governor of Upper Germany, ib. 3; independence, ib. 4-7.
Ser. Cornelius Maluginensis: flamen dialis, III. 58. 1; 71. 3; death, IV. 16. 1; priesthood transmitted to his son, 16. 6.
INDEX OF PROPER NAMES.

Cornelius Merula: flamen dialis, III. 58. 2.
Cornelius Scipio: in Africa, III. 74. 2.
P. Cornelius Scipio: at Numantia, I. 23. 4 n.; Greek customs, II. 59. 2; accuser of L. Cotta, III. 66. 2.
Cornelius Sulla: expelled from senate, II. 48. 3.
L. Cornelius Sulla: complaint against, III. 31. 4.
L. Cornelius Sulla (Felix): domination, I. 1. 3; opposed by Athenians, II. 55. 1; ancestor of Lepida, III. 22. 1; dictator, 27. 4; favors the Magnetes, 62 1; favors Smyrna, IV. 56. 2; derided by Caligula, VI. 46. 7.
Faustus Cornelius Sulla: his son, III. 22. 1 n.
P. Cornelius Sulla: defended by Cicero, III. 31. 6 n.
Corvinus, Corvus: see Valerius Messalla.
Cos: island (Cos), II. 75. 2; right of asylum, IV. 14. 1.
Cosa: city of Etruria; insurrection of Clemens, II. 39. 3.
Cotta: see Aurelius.
Cotys: Thracian king, II 64-67; death, III. 38. 2; children, IV. 5. 5.
Cous: see Cos.
Crassus: see Licinius.
Cremutius Cordus: writings, I. 4 n.; accusation and death, IV. 34. 35.
Creta: proconsul, III. 38. 1; as place of banishment, IV. 21. 5.
Cretenses: laws, III. 26. 4; right of asylum, 63. 6.
Creticus Silanus: see Caecilius.
Crispinus: see Caepio.
Crispus: see Sallustius.
Cruptorix: Frisian, IV. 73. 7.
Ctesiphon: Parthian capital, VI. 42. 6.

M.' Curius Dentatus: Roman statesman, I. 79. 2 n.
Cursor: see Caelius.
T. Curtisius: excites insurrection, IV. 27. 1.
Curtius Atticus: accompanies Tiberius to Capri, IV. 58. 1; crushed by Sejanus, VI. 10. 2.
Curtius Lupus: questor, IV. 27. 2.
Cusus: river, II. 63. 7.
Cyclades: traversed by Piso, II. 55. 3; Drusus banished, V. 10. 1.
Cyclopes: killed by Apollo, II. 61. 2.
Cyme: city of Asia, II. 47. 4.
Cyprus: province, II. 43. 2 n.; III 62. 5.
Cyrene: accuses Caesius Cordus, III. 70. 1.
Cyrrus: city of Syria, II. 57. 2.
Cyrus (the Great): dedicated shrine, III. 62. 4; dominions, VI. 31. 2.
Cythus: island; banishment of Silanus, III. 69. 8.
Cyzicum: neglect of Augustus, IV. 36. 2.

Dahae: Asiatic nation, II. 3. 1.
Danubius: river, II. 63. 1; IV. 5. 5.
Dareus: king, III. 63. 5.
Davara: hill, VI. 41. 1.
Decius: prefect of camp, III. 20. 2.
Delmatia: insurrection, I. 25. 3 n.; governed by Drusus, II. 53. 1; military force, IV. 5. 5; war, VI. 37. 4.
Delmaticum mare: III. 9. 1.
Delphi: oracle, II. 54. 4.
Demosthenes: orator, II. 55. 1 n.
Demeter: II. 49. 1 n.
Denter: see Romulus.
Dentheliates ager: IV. 43. 2.
Diana: see Artemis.
Didymus: freedman, VI. 24. 2.
Dii: people of Thrace, III. 38. 5.
Dinis: Thracian, IV. 50. 2.
Dioctelian: scheme of empire, 3. 11 n.
Dionysus: II. 49. 1 n.
Dolabella: see Cornelius.
Domitian: emperor; construction of itmes, I. 50. 2 n.; abolished censorship, III. 30. 2 n.
Domitius Afer: accuser, IV. 52. 1; 66. 1; his eloquence, 52. 7.
Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus: marries Agrippina, IV. 75. 1; consul, A.D. 32, VI. 1. 1; commissioner, 45. 3; accused, 47. 2; 48. 1.
L. Domitius Ahenobarbus: his father; constructed causeway, I. 63. 6; married Antonia, IV. 44. 3; crossed the Elbe, ib.; death, IV. 44. 1.
Domitius Celer: advises Piso, II. 77. 1; proceeds to Syria, 78. 2; to Laodicia, 79. 3.
Domitius Corbulus: complains of Sulla, III. 31. 4.
Domitius Pollio: his daughter a vestal, II. 86.
Donusa: island; banishment of Serenus, IV. 30. 2.
Drusilla: daughter of Germanicus, I. 33. 2 n.; III. 2. 4 n.; marriage, VI. 15. 4.
Drusus: brother of Tiberius; imperator, I. 3. 1; 33. 3; death, 3. 3; II. 41. 5; his memory cherished by the soldiers, I. 28. 6; 41. 3; 43. 4; by the people, 33. 4; II. 82. 3; VI. 51. 2; his altar destroyed, II. 7. 3; penetrated to Elbe, 14. 6 n.; funeral, III. 5. 1; imposed tribute on the Frisians, IV. 72. 2.
Drusus: son of Tiberius; consul elect, I. 14. 5; sent to Pannonia, 24–30; praised by Tiberius, 52. 3; Sodalis Augustalis, 54. 2; consul, A.D. 17, 55. 1; presides at games, 76. 5; partisans, II. 43. 5; affection for Germanicus, ib. 7; sent to Illyricum, 44. 1; visited by Germanicus, 53. 1; successful management, 62. 1; ovation, 64. 1; his twin sons, 84. 1; his name in the Salian hymn, 83. 2 n.; meets the body of Germanicus, III. 2. 4; returns to Illyricum, 7. 1; meets Piso, 8. 1; enters the city, II. 1; receives vote of thanks, 18. 4; ovation, 19. 4; excused from voting first as consul elect, 22. 6; condemns Lepida, 23. 2; marriage of his daughter, 29. 4; consul, A.D. 21, 31. 1; acts as peace-maker, ib. 6; speech in senate, 34. II.; punishes Anna Rufilla, 36. 4; popularity, 37; sickness, 49. 1; receives tribunician power, 56; image voted, 57. 2; gives offence by not coming to Rome, 59. 3; brother of Salonius, 75. 1; opposes Sejanus, IV. 3. 2; 7. 2; kindness to sons of Germanicus, 4. 3; influence on Tiberius, 7. 1; death, 8. 1; honors to his memory, 9. 2; conflicting accounts of his death, 10; his sons, 15. 1; his wife, 40. 2; effect of his death, VI. 51. 5.
Drusus: son of Germanicus, I. 33. 2 n.; III. 2. 4 n.; assumes toga virilis, IV. 4. 1; in the senate, 8. 6; vows in his behalf, 17. 1; praefectus urbis, 36. 1; favors Sejanus, 60. 4; personated by an impostor, V. 10; death, VI. 23. 4; betrothed, 40. 4.
Drusus: see Livius.
C. Duilius: built temple of Janus, II. 49. 1.
Egnatius Rufus: put to death, I. 10. 3.
Elba: island, I. 3. 4 n.
Elephantine: island in the Nile, II. 61. 2.
Elymaei: Asiatic nation, VI. 44. 5.
Emona: colony in Pannonia, I. 20. 1 n.
Ennia: wife of Macro, VI. 45. 5.
M.' Ennius: praefect of camp, I. 38. 2.
Eos: mother of Memnon, II. 61. 1 n.
Ephesus: city of Asia, II. 47. 1 n.; III. 61. 1; temple of Artemis, 62. 1 n.; IV. 55. 6.
Epidaphne: suburb of Antioch, II. 83. 3.
INDEX OF PROPER NAMES.

423

Epirus: part of Achaia, II. 53. 1 n.
Erato: Armenian queen, II. 3. 5; 4. 3.
Erythrae: Sibylline prophecies, VI. 12. 4.
Eryx: mountain in Sicily, IV. 43. 6.
Esquilina porta: II. 32. 5.
Etruria: levy of troops, IV. 5. 5; decree, 55. 7; home of Caeles Vi- benna, 65. 1.
Euboea: visited by Germanicus, II. 54. 1; by Sabinus, V. 10. 4.
Eudemos: physician, IV. 3. 5; 11. 4.
Euphrates: river, bounds Syria, II. 1. 1 n.; approached by Artabanus, 58. 1; boundary, IV. 5. 4; VI. 31. 4; expedition of Vitellius, VI. 37.

Fabatus: see Rubrius.
Fabia gens: destruction, III. 6. 4 n.
Q. Fabius Maximus: anecdote, I. 26. 4 n.
Fabius Maximus: visits Agrippa Postumus, I 5. 2.
Fabius Paulus: consul, A.D. 34, VI. 28. 1.
C. Fabricius: integrity, II. 88. 2 n.
Faesulae: city of Etruria, I. 79. 1 n.
Falanius: accused, I. 73. 1.
Favonius: IV. 67. 3.
Pidenae: amphitheatre, IV. 62. 2.
Firmius Catus: informer, II. 27. 2; punished, IV. 31. 7.
Flaccus: see Pomponius, Vescularius.
Flaminia via: III. 9. 1.
Flavus: brother of Arminius, II. 9 and 10.
Flevo: lake (Zuyder Zee), II. 8. 1 n.
Flevum: fortress, IV. 72. 6.
Flora: temple, II. 49. 1.
Florentini: oppose turning the course of the Clanis, I. 79. 1.
Fonteius Agrippa: accuser, II. 30. 1; offers daughter as vestal, 86. 1.
Fonteius Capito: acquitted, IV. 36. 4.
Fors Fortuna: temple, II. 41. 1.
Fortuna Equestris: III. 71. 1.
Forum Iulium: (Fréjus), exile of Catulda, II. 63. 7; naval station, IV. 5. 1.
Forum Romanum: II. 64. 2 n.
Fregellanus: see Pontius.
Frisii: German nation, I. 60. 2; IV. 72-74.
Fronto: see Octavius, Vibius.
Fufius Geminus: consul, A.D. 29, V. 1. 1; censured, 2. 2; death of mother, VI. 10. 1.
L. Fulcinius Trio: informer, II. 28. 3; accuses Piso, III. 10. 1; 13. 2; admonished by Tiberius, 19. 1, consul, A.D. 31, V. 11. 1; accused, VI. 4. 3; death, 38. 2.
Fundani montes: IV. 59. 2.
M. Furius Bibaculus, poet, IV. 34. 8.
M. Furius Camillus: proconsul of Africa, II. 52. 5; renews war, III. 20. 1; succeeded by Apronius, 21. 1.
M. Furius Camillus: III. 27. 2 n.
M. Furius Camillus Scribonianus: his son; consul, A.D. 32, VI. 1. 1.
P. Furius Philus: triumph, II. 52. 8 n.
L. Furius Purpureo: triumph, II. 52. 8 n.
Furnius: IV. 52. 2. 7.

Gaius (Caligula): emperor, I. 1. 5; son of Germanicus, I. 33. 2 n.; 40. 2 n.; III. 2. 4 n.; 4. 3 n.; ex tortions, 31. 7 n.; murder, I. 32. 5; origin of his nickname, 41. 3; made Commagene independent, II. 56. 5 n.; put to death his cousin, 84. 1 n.; senatorial courts, III. 10. 3 n.; plan of setting up image, III. 49. 2 n.; laudation of Livia, V. 1. 6; conspiracy against, VI. 3. 4; scandalous stories about him 5. 1; 9. 3;
INDEX OF PROPER NAMES.

INDEX
INDEX in 55-71; island, see accused, 56. see 17. command held son relation people accused, deification

424

marriage, 20. 1; relation to L. Vitellius, 32. 7; to Macro, 45. 5; cruelty, 46. 7; succession, 50. 7.

Gaius Caesar: son of Agrippa, I. 3. 2; 53. 2; III. 19. 5 n.; sent to Armenia, II. 4. 2; 42. 3; death, 42. 4 n.; III. 6. 3 n.; 56. 2 n.; accompanied by Quirinius, III. 48. 2; pernicious influence of Lollius, ib. 3; courted by Sejanus, IV. 1. 3; marriage, 40. 5; ascendency, VI. 51. 2.

Galatia: province, II. 43. 2 n.; 56. 2 n.

Galba: see Sulpicius.

Gallia, Galli: Germanicus holds census, I. 31. 2; 33. 1; II. 6. 1; loyalty praised, I. 34. 5; offer aid, 71. 3; weary of furnishing horses, II. 5. 3; at Idistaviso, 16. 5; 17. 6; Narbonensis, II. 63. 7; rebellion of Saco- vir, III. 40-46; protected by fleet, IV. 5. 1.

Gallio: see Iunius.

Gallus: see Asinius, Caninius, Togonius.

Garamantes: people of Africa, III. 74. 2; IV. 23. 2; 26. 3.


Geminius: two consuls, A.D. 29, V. 1. 1. See Atidius, Rubellius, Fulius.

Gemoniae: flight of steps, III. 14. 6; V. 9. 3; VI. 25. 4.

Germania, Germani: object of war against them, I. 3. 6; in emperor's body-guard, 24. 3; mutiny, I. 31-49; invasion, A.D. 14, 50, 51; A.D. 15, 55-71; A.D. 16, II. 6-26; history of wars, by Pliny, I. 69. 3; in- ternal dissensions, II. 44-46; adopt Roman methods of warfare, 45. 3; war rekindled by Drusus, 62. 1; rumors of rebellion, III. 44. 1; defence against, IV. 5. 2; invaded by Domi- tius, 44. 3; Agrrippina advised to retreat to, 67. 6; small size of their cattle, 72. 3; auxiliary infantry, 73. 2.

Germanicus: command in Germany, I. 3. 5; jealousy of Tiberius, 7. 9; 52. 1; II. 5. 1; IV. 1. 1; 17. 2; receives proconsular command, I. 4. 4; suppresses mutiny, 31-49; Sodalis Augustalis, 54. 2; campaigns in Germany, 50, 51; 55-71; VI. 6-26; mission to the East, 43; tri- umph, 41. 2; consecrates temple of Spes, 49. 2; consul, A.D. 18, 53. 1; III. 31. 1; in the East, II. 53-72; VI. 31. 2; in Egypt, II. 59-61; ovation, 64. 1; death, 72; funeral at Antioch, 73; grief of the citizens, 82, 84; honors, 83; journey of Agrippina, with his ashes, to Rome, 75; III. 1-3; funeral in Rome, 4, 5; measures taken by his friends to avenge his death, 10-19; consulship, 31. 1; poem of Clu- torius Priscus, 49. 1; relation to Drusus, 56. 5; children, IV. 8. 5; his friends persecuted, 18, 68; adoption, 57. 5; marriage, V. 1. 4; effect of his death, VI. 51. 5.

Getae: triumph of Lentulus, IV. 44. 1.

Gothini: Celtic nation, II. 62. 2 n.

Gotones: German nation, II. 62. 2.

Gracci: I. 2. 1 n.; III. 27. 3.

Graeci: in retinue of Vones, II. 2. 6; receive Germanicus, 53. 4; indifferent to achievements of other nations, 88. 4; observance and abuse of right of asylum, III. 60-63; IV. 14; phrases used by Tiberius, III. 65. 3; IV. 52. 6; VI. 20. 3; freedom of speech, IV. 35. 1; deification of heroes, 38. 5; immigration from Lydia. 55. 7; in retinue of Tiberius, 58. 1; held Campania, 67. 4; fond of novelty, V. 10. 2; servility, VI. 18. 4; writings about phoenix, 28. 1.

Q. Granius: accuser, IV. 21. 3.

Granius Marcellus: accursed, I. 74.

Granius Marcianus: suicide, VI. 38. 4.

Gratian: emperor, III. 58. 4 n.

Gratianus: see Tarius.

Gyarus: island, banishment of Silanus, III. 68. 2; 69. 8; of Sca- reus, IV. 30. 2.
Hadrian: emperor, construction of wall, I. 50. 2 n.; pater patriae, 72. 2 n.
Hadriaticum mare: II. 53. 1.
Haemus: mountains, III. 38. 6;
IV. 51. 5.
Halicarnassus: city of Asia, IV.

55. 5.

Halus: Parthian town, VI. 41. 2.

Hannibal: II. 88. 3 n.; III. 34. 2 n.

Q. Haterius: offends Tiberius, I. 13. 4; father of Haterius Agrippa, 77. 3 n.; speaks against luxury, II. 33. 1; adulation, III. 57. 3; father of D. Haterius, III. 52. 1 n.; death, IV. 61. 1.

D. Haterius Agrippa: tribune, I. 77. 3; his mother, II. 50. 1 n.; candidate for praetorship, 51. 2; condemns Clutorius, III. 49. 4; 51. 1, 2; consul, a.d. 22, 52. 1; accuses Regulus and Trio, VI. 4.

Hebrus: river, III. 38. 6 n.

Heliopolis: city of Egypt, VI. 28. 4.

Helvius Rufus: earns civic crown, III. 21. 3.

Heniochi: flight of Vonones, II. 68. 1.

Hercules: grove, II. 12. 1; sacred herce in Egypt, II. 60. 3; grant to Ephesians, III. 61. 3; apotheosis, IV. 38. 5; partition of Peldonnesus among his descendants, 43. 2.

Hercynian Forest: II. 45. 4.

Hermunduri: German nation, II. 63. 7.

Hiberi: IV. 5. 4; invade Armenia, VI. 32-36; their habits and traditions, 34. 2.

Hier: Parthian satrap, VI. 42-44.

Hierocaesarea: city of Asia, II. 47. 4; III. 62. 4.

Hippolytus: slain, III. 61. 2 n.


Hispania: Lucius Caesar sent there, I. 3. 3; soldiers, 42. 5; offers aid, 71. 3; temple to Augustus, 78. 1; governed by Piso, II. 43. 3 n.; III. 12. 2 n.; 13. 2; disloyal, 44. 1; army, IV. 5. 3; governor, 13. 2; shrine to Tiberius, 37. 1; murder of L. Piso, 45. 1; home of Marius, VI. 19. 1; Arruntius governor, 27. 3.

Hispo Romanus: accuser, I. 74. 1, 4.

Homenadenses: people of Cilicia, III. 48. 2.

Honor: deification, II. 49. 2 n.

Hortalus: see Hortensius.

Q. Hortensius: the orator, 37. 2, 3, 7.

M. Hortensius Hortalus: poverty, II. 37, 38.

Hypaepa: city of Asia, IV. 55. 3.

Hyrkania: city of Asia, II. 47. 4.

Hyrcani: related to Artabanus, VI. 36. 5; his refuge, 43. 3.

Janus: temple, II. 49. 1.

Iaso: the Argonaut, VI. 34. 3.

Idistaviso: battle, II. 16, 17.

IIium: visited by Germanicus, II. 54. 3; claims to be mother of Rome, IV. 55. 4; Sibylline prophecies, VI. 12. 4.

Illyricum: Tiberius recalled from, I. 5. 5; Drusus governor, II. 44. 1; III. 7. 1; II. 1; 34. 13.

Indus: see Iulius.

Inguiomerus: uncle of Armi
tius, I. 60. 1; persuades Germans to attack Roman camp, 68; escape, II. 17. 8; his valor, 21. 2; joins Maroboduus, 45. 2; 46. 1.

Interamnates: oppose draining of Nar, I. 79. 2.

Ionium mare: II. 53. 1; V. 10. 4.

Isauricus: see Servilius.

Isidorus: see Caecilius.

Isis: worship, II. 85. 5 n.

Isthmus: V. 10. 4.

Italia: acquiescence in rule of Tiberius, I. 34. 5; offers aid, 71. 3; exposed to invasion from Pannonia, 47. 2; banishment of astrologers, II. 32. 5; of Egyptians and Jews, 85. 5; of actors, IV. 14. 4; business before the senate, II. 35. 3; rumors
of Clemens' insurrection, 40. 1; interdicted to Appuleia, 50. 5; risk of famine, 59. 4; residence of Marobodius, 63. 5; Social war, III. 27. 4; bad roads, 31. 7; lack of resources, 40. 5; 54. 6; all cults belonged to Rome, 71. 2; ravaged by Spartacus, 73. 3; need of defence, IV. 5. 5; Sertile war, 27. 1; banishment of Sillius, 31. 5; migration of Tyrrenus, 55. 7; wars, 56. 1; placed under Mæcenas, VI. 11. 3; colonies, 12. 4.

Iuba: king of Mauretania, IV. 5.

Iudaea: part of Syria, II. 1. 1 n.; asks relief, 42. 7.

Iudaei: banishment, II. 85. 5.

Iulia: daughter of Cæsar, III. 6.

Iulia: daughter of Augustus, married to Agrippa, I. 3. 1 n.; III. 19. 5 n.; mother of Postumus, I. 3. 4 n.; remark of Augustus, 6. 3 n.; survival, III. 4. 3 n.; death, I. 53; adultery, III. 24. 2; IV. 44. 5; marriage to Tiberius, VI. 51. 3.

Iulia: daughter of Iulia, III. 19. 5 n.; 24. 2; death, IV. 71. 6; remark of Augustus, I. 6. 3 n.

Iulia: daughter of Drusus, III. 29. 4; 56. 7 n.; her marriage, VI. 27. 1.

Iulia Augusta: see Livia.

Iulia (Livilla): daughter of Germanicus, I. 33. 2 n.; III. 24. 4 n.; birth, II. 54. 1; her marriage, VI. 15. 4.

Iulii: shrine at Boville, II. 41. 1; imagines, III. 5. 2; IV. 9. 3

Iulius Africanus: death, VI. 7. 5.

C. Iulius Caesar: dictator, I. 1. 3; funeral, 8. 6; establishes census in Gaul, 31. 2 n.; suppression of mutiny, 42. 5; Sodalis Augustalis, 54 1 n.; Roman province of Gaul, 58. 8 n.; pater patruæ, 72. 2 n.; párk he quæthul to the people, II. 41. 1; his death, I. 8. 7; II. 64. 2 n.; opposed by Cn. Ilio, 43. 3; honors, 83. 2 n; death of daughter, III. 6. 3; bestowed name, 40. 1 n.; favors Aphrodiasis, 62. 2; treatment of lampoons, IV. 34. 7, 8; favors Lacedaemonians, 43. 1; law against usury, VI. 16. 1.

Iulius Celsus: tribune, VI. 9. 6; death, 14. 2.

Iulius Clemens: centurion, I. 23. 5; 26. 1; 28. 4.

Iulius Florus: rebellion in Gaul, III. 40–42.

Iulius Indus: rebellion, III.

Iulius Marinus: death, VI. 10. 2.

Iulius Postumus: adultery, IV. 12. 6.

Iulius Sacrivor: rebellion in Gaul, III. 40–46.

Iulus: see Antonius.

Iunia: death, III. 76. 1.

Iunius: magician, II. 28. 3.

Iunius: senator, IV. 64. 3.

Iunius Blaesus: governor of Pannonia, I. 16–30; of Africa, III. 35; 58. 1; receives triumphal insignia, 72. 6; war with Tacfarinas, 73. 74; IV. 23. 2; favored by Tiberius, 26. 1; accused, V. 7. 2.

L. Iunius Brutus: I. 1. 1.

M. Iunius Brutus: death, I. 2. 1; 10. 2; II. 43. 3; death of sister, III. 76; eulogy of Cremonius Cordus, IV. 34. 35.

Iunius Gallio: officious servility, VI. 3. 1; banished, ib. 3.


Iulius Otho: tribune, VI. 47. 1.

Iunius Otho: prætor, III. 66. 2.

Iunius Rusticus: senator, V. 4. 1.

App. Iunius Silanus: consul, A.D. 28. IV. 68. 1; speech in senate, VI 2. 2; accused, 9. 5.

C. Iunius Silanus: proconsul of Asia; trial and conviction, III. 66–69; IV. 15. 4.


M. Iunius Silanus: his brother, III. 24. 5; proposes honors, III. 57.
INDEX OF PROPER NAMES.

2; his son, V. 10. 4; his daughter, VI. 20. 1.

M. Iunius Silanus: consul, A.D. 19, II. 59. 1.

Iuno: temple at Samos, IV. 14. 1.

Jupiter: trophy dedicated to him, II. 22. 1; gifts, 32. 4; flamen, 58. 1; wrath at Apollo for killing Cyclopes, III. 61. 2; temple at Stratonicea, 62. 3; at Salamis, ib. 5; father of Tantalus, IV. 56. 1; temple at Capua, 57. 1.

Labo: see Antistius, Cethegus, Pomponius, Titidius.

Lacedaemonii: rights of asylum, IV. 43. 1.

Laco: VI. 18. 3.

Laelius Balbus: accuser, VI. 47. 1; punished, 48. 6.

Lamia: see Aelius.

Langobardi: Suevic nation, II. 45. 1; 46. 3.

Lanuvium: birthplace of Quirinius, III. 48. 2.

Laodicea: city of Syria, II. 79. 3.

Laodicea: city of Asia, IV. 55. 3.

Latarius: see Latinus.

Latinae feriae: IV. 36. 1.

Latinus Latarius: informer, entraps Titius Sabinus, IV. 68, 69; punished, VI. 4. 1.

Latinius Pandusa: governor of Messenia, II. 66.

Latona: birth of Apollo and Diana, III. 61. 1.

Lentulus: see Cornelius.

Lepida: see Aeclanum.

Lepidus: see Aemilius.

Leptis: ravaged, III. 74. 2.

Lesbus: birth of Julia, II. 54. 1; exile of Gallio, VI. 3. 3.

Liber: temple, II. 49. 1; conquers and pardons Amazons, III. 61. 2; apotheosis, IV. 38. 5.

Libera: temple, II. 49. 1.

Libo: see Livius, Scribonius.

Libya: II. 60. 2, 4.

M. Licinius Crassus: triumvir, I. 1. 3; defeat, II. 1. 2 n; 2. 4 n.


L. Licinius Lucullus: defeat of Mithridates, IV. 36. 3; villa, VI. 50. 2.

Ligur: see Varius.

Lingones: allies, I. 36. 2 n.

Livia: wife of Augustus; her craft, I. 3. 3; death of Agrippa Postumus, 5; 6; heir of Augustus, 8. 1; receives by adoption name Julia Augusta, 8. 2; married Augustus, 10. 4; protects Haterius, 13. 7; adulation, 14. 1; enmity to Agrippina, 33. 6; Sodales Augustales, 54. n.; institutes Ludi Palatini, 73. 4 n.; protects Urgulania, II. 34. 3; advises Plancina, 43. 5; conduct on return of Agrippina, III. 3. 1; protects Plancina, 15. 3; 17. 8; receives thanks, 18. 4; companion of Augustus, 34. 12; health, 64. 1; 71. 1; sets up statue of Augustus, ib. 2; old age, IV. 8. 5; sits with Vestals in theatre, 16. 6; opposes Germanicus, 57. 5; supports Julia, 71. 7; death, V. 1. 1; check upon Tiberius, 3. 1; VI. 51. 6; believed to have protected Agrippina, V. 3. 2; her birthday observed, 5. 1.

Livia (Livilla): wife of Drusus, II. 43. 7; her twins, 84. 1; intrigue with Sejanus, IV. 3. 3; complicity in murder of Drusus, 10. 2; incited by Sejanus to accuse Agrippina, 12. 5; her hand sought by Sejanus, 39; betrays Nero, 60. 4; crimes, VI. 2. 1.

Livineius Regulus: supports Piso, III. 11. 2.

T. Livius: historian, I. 1. 1 n.; ib. 4 n.; IV. 34. 4.

M. Livius Drusus, B.C. 91; III. 27. 3.

M. Livius Drusus: father of the conspirator, II. 27. 1 n.

M. Livius Drusus Libo: conspiracy, II. 27; plot to entrap him, 28; trial and death, 29–32; condemnation, IV. 29. 4.

M. Lollius: defeat, I. 10. 3; censured by Tiberius, III. 48. 3.

Longinus: see Cassius.

Lucilius: centurion, I. 23. 4.
INDEX OF PROPER NAMES.

Lucilius Capito: procurator of Asia, IV. 15. 3.
Lucilius Longus: death, IV. 15. 2.
Lucius Caesar: I. 3. 2; 53. 2; death, 3. 3; II. 42. 4 n.; III. 6. 3 n.; 56. 2 n.; son of Agrippa, 19. 5 n.; betrothed to Lepida, 23. 1; rival of Tiberius, VI. 51. 2.
Lucius Verus: emperor; his name in Carmen Saliare, II. 83. 2 n.
Lucullus: see Licinius.
Lugdunensis: III. 44. 1 n.
Lugdunum: its garrison, III. 41. 2.
Lupia: river (Lippe), I. 60. 5; fort upon it, II. 7. 1.
Lupus: see Curtius.
Lycia: republic in Asia Minor, II. 43. 2 n.; 79. 1.
Lygium mare: II. 60. 4.
Lycurgus: laws, III. 26. 4.
Lydia: ruled by Hercules, III. 61. 3; cities, 62. 4 n.
Lyodus: eponym of Lydians, IV. 55. 7.
Lygdis: eunuch, IV. 8. 1; 10. 2; 11. 4.

Macedones Hyrcani: earthquake, II. 47. 4.
Macedonia, Macedones: complaints, I. 76. 4; joined with Mesia, 80. 1; its nobles, III. 38. 2; ruled Lydia, 61. 3; war, IV. 55. 8; governed by Sabinus, V. 10. 3; Ptolemy, VI. 28. 4; boundaries, 31. 2; cities in Mesopotamia, 41. 2.
Macer: see Pompeius.
Macrina: see Pompeia.
Macro: enemy of Arruntius, I. 13. 3 n.; praetorian prefect, VI. 15. 5; death of Drusus, 23. 5; hatred of Scaurus, 29. 5; attacked by Fulcinius Trio, 38. 2; influence, 45. 5; courts Gaius, 46. 6; hatred of Arruntius, 47. 4; conduct at deathbed of Tiberius, 50. 5 and 9.
Maecenas: see Cilnius.
Magius Caecilianus: accused, III. 37. 1.
Magnesia: battle, II. 1. 1 n.; city of Asia, 47. 4.
Magnetes: III. 62. 1; IV. 55. 3.
Maluginensis: see Cornelius.
Manlii: imagines at funeral of Junia, III. 76. 4.
Manlius: adulterer, II. 50. 5.
M. Manlius: traitor, II. 32. 2 n.; III. 17. 8 n.
Manto: daughter of Tiresias, II. 54. 3 n.
Marcellus: see Claudius, Gra- nius.
Marcella: wife of Agrippa, III. 19. 5 n.
Marcia: wife of Fabius, I. 5. 3.
Marcianus: see Granius.
L. Marcius Philippius: constructed buildings, III. 72. 2.
P. Marcii: astrologer, executed, II. 32. 5.
Marcomani: German nation, II. 46. 5; invaded, 62. 3; loss of power, 63. 4 n.
Marcus Aurelius: emperor, II. 63. 4 n.
Mariniius: see Iulius.
C. Marius: consuls, I. 9. 2; standard, 18. 3 n.
Marius Nepos: expelled from senate, II. 48. 3.
Maroboduus: king of Marcomani, I. 44. 6 n.; peace, II. 26. 3; war with Arminius, 44-46; overthrown, 62, 63.
Mars: trophy dedicated to, II. 22. 1; flamen, III. 58. 1 n.
Mars Ultor: gifts, II. 32. 4; temple, II. 64. 2; priests, 83. 2 n.; temple, III. 18. 3.
Marsi: German nation invaded by Germanicus, I. 59. 6; 56. 7; II. 25. 2.
Marsus: see Vibius.
Martina: poisoner, II. 74. 2; death, III. 7. 2.
INDEX OF PROPER NAMES.

Mamus: river (March), II. 63. 7.
Massilia: receives exiles, IV. 43.
7; 44. 5.
Mattiaci: German tribe, I. 56.
6 n.
Mattiam: German town, I. 56. 6.
Mauretania, Mauri: independent, I. 11. 6 n.; ruled by Juba, IV. 5.
3; aid Tacfarinas, II. 52. 3; IV. 23.
I; 24. 3.
Maximus: see Sanquinius,
Mazippa: leader of Mauri, II.
52. 3.
Medea: VI. 34. 3.
Media, Medi: II. 3. 1 n; boundary, 56. 1; in empire of Ra-
meses, 60. 4.
P. Memmius Regulus: consul, 
A.D. 31, V. II. 1; controversy with 
Trio, VI. 4. 3.
Memnon: statue, II. 61. 1.
Menelaus: II. 60. 2.
Merula: see Apidius, Cornelius.
Mesopotamia: invaded by Vi-
tellius, VI. 36. 1; 37. 4; by Tiri-
dates, 44. 5.
Messalla: see Valerius.
Messalinus: see Aurelius Cotta, Valerius.
Messenii: rights of asylum, IV.
43.
Metellus: see Caeclius.
Miletus, Milesii: priest, II. 54.
4; temple of Apollo, III. 62. 1 n; 
religion, 63. 5; IV. 55. 6; arbiters,
43. 5.
Minos: laws, III. 26. 4.
Minucius Thermus: accused, 
VI. 7.
Misenus: treaty, I. 10. 2 n.; naval station, IV. 5. 1; visited by 
Tiberius, VI. 50. 2.
Mithridates I.: of Parthia, II.
1. 1 n.
Mithridates VI.: of Pontus, II.
55. 1; III. 62. 1; 73. 3; orders 
massacre, IV. 14. 3; resisted by 
Cyzicus, 36. 3.
Mithridates: king of Armenia, 
VI. 32. 5; 33.
Mitylene: home of Theophanes, 
VI. 18. 4.

Moesia: province; united with 
Achaia and Macedonia, I. 76. 4 n.; 
80. 1; II. 66. 1; military force, IV.
5. 5; 47. 1; governed by Labeo, 
VI. 29. 1.
Montanus: see Votienus.
Mopsus: oracle of Apollo, II.
54. 3 n.
Mosteni: II. 47. 4.
Mosa: river (Meuse), II. 6. 5.
Moschus: see Vulcatius.
L. Mummius: favors the Mes-
senians, IV. 43. 4.
L. Munatius Plancus: ances-
tor of Plancina, II. 43. 4 n.
L. Munatius Plancus: assaulted, I. 39. 4; II. 43. 4 n.
Musulamii: nation of Tacfarin-
as, II. 52. 2; revolt, IV. 24. 2.
Mutina: battle, I. 10. 1 n.
Mylae: deeat of Sextus Pom-
peius, I. 2. 1 n.
Myrina: city of Asia, II. 47. 4.
Nabataei: people of Arabia, II.
57. 5.
Nar: river (Nerae), I. 79. 2; III.
9. 2.
Narnia: town of Italy, III. 9. 2.
Naso: see Valerius.
Natta: see Pinarius.
Nepos: see Marius.
Neptunus: temple at Tenos, III.
63. 4.
Nero: emperor, I. 1. 5; his 
mother, IV. 53. 3; grandfather, 63.
6 n.; pater patriae, 72. 2 n.; annexed Pontus, II. 56. 2 n.; grandson 
of Antonia, III. 3. 2 n.; senatorial 
courts, 10. 3 n.; his reign foretold, 
VI. 22. 6.
Nero: son of Germanicus, II. 43.
3; commended, III. 29; honors, IV.
4. 1; in the senate, 8. 5; thanks em-
peror and senate in behalf of cities 
of Asia, 15. 5; vows offered for 
him, 17. 1; plots of Sejanus, 59. 5; 
60; 67. 5; assailed by Tiberius, 70.
7; V. 3. 2; 4. 3.
Nero: see Claudius.
INDEX OF PROPER NAMES.

Nerva: see Cocceius, Silius.
Nicephorium: Parthian city, VI. 41. 2.
Nicopolis: city of Achaia, II. 53. 1; V. 10. 4.
Niger: see Brutteditus.
Nilus: river of Egypt, II. 60. 1; 61. 1.
Nola, death of Augustus, I. 5. 9; 9. 1; temple of Augustus, IV. 57. 1.
Nonianus: see Senilius.
Norbanus: see Iunius.
Noricum: province, I. 16. 1 n.; governed by procurator, 80. 2 n.; boundaries, II. 63. 1.
Numa: king; laws, III. 26. 5.
Numan'ina: wife of Plautius Silvanus, IV. 22. 4.
Numidæs: under Tacfarinas, II. 52. 5, 7; III. 21. 6; IV. 25. 2; defeated by Apronius, III. 21. 5; by Dolabella, IV. 24. 2; 25. 1.
Occia: vestal, II. 86. 1.
Octavia: sister of Augustus, II. 41. 5 n.; 50. 1 n.; III. 3. 2 n.; IV. 44. 3; 75. 2.
Octavius: tomb, IV. 44. 6.
Octavius Fronto: speaks against luxury, II. 33. 1.
Odrusæ: people of Thrace, II. 64. 3 n.; III. 38. 5.
Olenius: primipilis, IV. 72. 2.
M. Opsius: informer, IV. 68. 2; 71. 1.
Orgetorix: III. 42. 2 n.
Ornospades: Parthian satrap, VI. 37. 4.
Orodes: king of Parthia, II. 1. 1 n.
Orodes: son of Artabanus; struggle for throne of Armenia, VI. 33–35.
Oropus: inscription, III. 62. 4 n.
Ortygia: grove, III. 61. 1.
Osci: Italian people, IV. 14. 4.
Ostia: visited by Clemens, II. 40. 1.
Otho: see Iunius.
Paconianus: see Sextius.
M. Paconius: accuser, III. 67. 1.
Pacuvius: legatus, II. 79. 3.
Pamphylia: province in Asia Minor, II. 43. 2 n.; 79. 1.
Pandateria: island, I. 53. 1.
Pandusa: see Latinus.
Pannonia: mutiny, I. 16–30; service of Tiberius, 34. 5 n.; 47. 2; sends legion to Africa, III. 9. 1; military force, IV. 5. 5.
Pansa: see Vibius.
Sex. Papinius: death, VI. 49. 1.
M. Papius Mutilus: proposition in relation to Libo, II. 32. 4.
Parthia, Parthi: affairs, II. 1–4; relations with Armenia, 56. 1; power, 60. 5; III. 62. 2; war, VI. 31–37; 41–44.
C. Passienus: saying about Caligula, VI. 20. 2.
Patuleius: inheritance, II. 48. 1.
Paxaxa: wife of Labeo, VI. 29. 1.
C. Pedo Albinovanus: prefect of fleet, I. 60. 2; poem, II. 24. 6 n.
Peloponnesus: partition, IV. 43. 2.
Pelops: IV. 55. 7.
Pelusium: city of Egypt, II. 59. 4 n.
Percennius: leader of sedition, I. 16–29; 31. 5.
Pergamus: city of Asia, III. 63. 3; temple to Augustus, IV. 37. 4; 55. 6.
Perinthus: visited by Germanicus, II. 54. 2.
M. Perpenna: favors Hierocles, III. 62. 4.
Persae: in empire of Rameses, II. 60. 4; ruled Lydia, III. 61. 3; boundaries, VI. 31. 2.
Perusia: town in Italy (Peru-
gia), V. 1. 2.

Petilius Rufus: accuser, IV.

Petra: city of Arabia, II. 57. 5 n.
P. Petronius: III. 49. 2; com-
missioner, VI. 45. 3.

Pharasaemenes: king of Iberians,
VI. 32. 5; struggle with Orodès for
Armenia, 33-36.

Pharsalus: battle, II. 43. 3 n.;
IV. 44. 2.

Philadelphia: city of Asia, II.

47. 4.

Philip: of Macedon, II. 63. 3; fo-
ounded Philippopolis, III. 38. 6;
took Limnae from Lacedaemonians,
IV. 43. 1.

Philippopolis: city of Macedo-
nia, III. 38. 6.

Philippus: see Marcius.

Philopatér: king of Cilicians, II.

42. 7.

Phoenicia: part of Syria, II.
1. 1 n.

Phraataces: king of Parthia, II.
1. 1 n.

Phraates IV.: king of Parthia,
II. 1. 2.

Phraates: his son, VI. 31. 4.

Phraates: satrap, VI. 42. 5.

Phrixus: oracle, VI. 34. 4.

Picenum: region in Italy, III.

9. 1.

Pinarius Natta: accuser, IV.

34. 2.

Piræus: V. 10. 4.

Piso: see Calpurnius.

L. Pitianus: II. 32. 5.

Pius: see Antoninus, Aurelius.

Planasía: island (Elba), resi-
dence of Postumus, I. 3. 4; 5. 2;
approached by Clemens, II. 39. 2.

Plancia: wife of Piso, II. 43.
4; demeanor in Syria, 55. 5; courted
by Vonones, 58. 3; rejoices at death
of Germanicus, 75. 3; enters Rome,
III. 9. 2; trial, I. 3. 3; 15-17; death,
VI. 26. 4.

Plancus: see Munatius.

Q. Plautius: consul, A.D. 36,
VI. 40. 1.

Plautius Silvanus: kills his
wife, IV. 22.

C. Plinius: historian, I. 69. 3.

Poetovio: I. 16. 2 n.

Polemo: king of Pontus, II.

56. 2.

Pollio: see Asinius, Vedius.

Pompeia: daughter of Pompey,
III. 22. 1 n.

Pompeia Macrina: exile, VI.

18. 3.

Pompeio: city of Cilicia, II.

58. 3.

Cn. Pompeius Magnus: power,
I. 1. 3; ancestor of Libo, II. 27.
2; conquers Cilicia, 58. 3 n.; hus-
band of Julia, III. 6. 3 n.; ances-
tor of Lepida, 22. 1; third consul-
ship, 28. 1; theatre, IV. 7. 3; VI.
45. 2; eulogized by Livy, IV. 34.
4; intimate with Theophanes, VI.
18. 4.

Sex. Pompeius: his son; over-
powered, I. 2. 1; deceived, 10. 2;
peace, V. 1. 2.

Sex. Pompeius: consul, A.D. 14,
I. 7. 3; refuses to aid Piso, III. 11.
2; attacks M. Lepidus, 32. 2.

Pompeius Macer: prætor, I.

72. 4.

Pompeius: knight, ruined, VI.

14. 1.

Pomponia: wife of Agrippa, II.

43. 7 n.

Pomponius: friend of Sejanus,
VI. 8. 10.

L. Pomponius: consul, A.D. 17,
II. 41. 2.

Q. Pomponius: accuser, VI.

18. 2.

T. Pomponius Atticus: ances-
tor of Drusus, II. 43. 7; grand-
father of Vipsania, I. 12. 6 n.

L. Pomponius Flaccus: propo-
sition in relation to Libo, II. 32.
3; governor of Moesia, 66. 3; 67;
III. 39. 1 n.; death, VI. 27. 3.

Pomponius Labo: governor of
Moesia, IV. 47. 1; death, VI.

29. 1.

Pomponius Secundus: ac-
cused, V. 8.
INDEX OF PROPER NAMES.

Ponticum: os: II. 54. 2.
C. Pontius: consul, A.D. 37, VI.

Pontius Fregellanus: expelled from Senate, VI. 48. 6.

Pontus: kingdom, II. 43. 2 n.; 56. 2.
C. Poppaeus Sabinus: governor of Moesia, I. 80. 1; suppresses insurrection in Thrace, IV. 46-51; receives triumphal insignia, 46. 1; governor of Macedonia, V. 10. 3; death, VI. 39. 3.
Poppaea Sabina: his daughter, wife of Nero, I. 80. 1 n.
Porcius Cato: accuser, IV. 68. 2.
M. Porcius Cato: censor; speeches, II. 33. 2 n.; accuser of Ser. Galba, III. 66. 2; consul, IV. 56. 1.
M. Porcius Cato (Uticensis): III. 76. 1; praised, IV. 34. 7.
A. Postumius: dictator, II. 49. 1.
A. Postumius: flamen Martialis, III. 71. 4.
Postumus: see Iulius.
Prisca: see Mutilia.
C. Proculeius: friend of Augustus, IV. 40. 8.
Proculus: see Considius.
Propertius Celer: aided by Tiberius, I. 75. 5.
Propontis: II. 54. 2.
Ptolemaeus: king of Mauretania, IV. 23. 1; 24. 3; 26. 4.
Ptolemaeus Epiphanes: king of Egypt, II. 67. 4.
Ptolemaeus Philometor, and Physcon, his sons: II. 67. 4 n.
Ptolemaeus Euergetes: king of Egypt, VI. 28. 4.
Publicola: see Gellius.
L. & M. Publicii: built temple of Flora, II. 49. 1.
Pudicitia: deification, II. 49. 2 n.
Punic urbs (Carthage): IV. 56. 1.
Pylades: mime, I. 54. 3 n.
Pyramus: river of Cilicia, II. 68. 2.

Pyromachus: statue of Aesculapius, III. 63. 3 n.
Pyrrhus: king of Epirus, II. 63. 3; 88. 2.

Quadi: German nation, II. 63. 7.
Quadratus: see Seius.
Querquetulanus: old name of Cælian mount, IV. 65. 1.
Quintilianus: tribune, VI. 12. 1.
Quintilius Varus: defeat, I. 3; 24. 3 n.; 50. 2 n.; II. 25. 2 n.; 26. 3 n.; urged to arrest Arminius, 55. 3; death, I. 55. 4; 57. 5 n.; 59. 4 n.; battle-field, 60. 5; 61; II. 7. 3; army, 46. 2 n.; colleague of Tiberius, III. 31. 1 n.
Quintilius Varus: his son, accused, IV. 66. 1.
P. Sulpicius Quirinius: kinsman of Libo, II. 30. 4; husband of Lepida, III. 22, 23; career and death, 48.
Quirinus: flamen, III. 58. 1 n.; apotheosis, IV. 38. 5.

Raetia: province, I. 16. 1 n.; service of Tiberius, 34. 5 n.; veterans sent, 44. 6; governed by procurator, 80. 2 n.; cohorts, II. 17. 6.
Ravenna: residence of son of Arminius, I. 58. 9; of Maroboduus, II. 63. 5; naval station, IV. 5. 1; arrest of Vibius Serenus, 29. 3.
Reatini: oppose altering the course of the Nar, I. 79. 3.
Regillus lacus: battle, II. 49. 1 n.
Regulus: see Livineius, Memmius.
Remi: allies, I. 36. 2 n.
Remmius: slayer of Vonones, II. 68. 3.
Rhamses (Sesostris): II. 60. 4.
Rhenus: river (Rhine), I. 31. 2; 56. 1; bridge, 69. 1; course, II. 6. 5; boundary, 7. 5; 22. 1; arch of Germanicus, 83. 3; military force, IV. 5. 2.
Rhescuporis: king of Thrace, attacked, II. 64. 3-67; plans, III. 38. 2.
INDEX OF PROPER NAMES.

Rhodus: island, exile of Tiberius, I. 4. 4; IV. 15. 2; 57. 3; VI. 10. 2; 20. 31; republic, II. 43. 2 n.; visited by Germanicus, 55. 3.
Rhœmetalces I.: king of Thrace, death, II. 64. 3.
Rhœmetalces II.: king of Thrace, II. 67. 4; III. 38. 4; IV. 5. 5; 47. 1.
Roma: temple at Pergamum, IV. 37. 4; at Smyrna, 56. 1.
Romanius: see Hispo.
Romulus Denter: prefect of city, VI. 11. 1.
Romulus: absolute monarch, III. 26. 5; effigy at funeral of Drusus, IV. 9. 3.
Rubellius Blandus: proposition in relation to Lepida, III. 23. 2; to Clutorius, 51. 1; marries Julia, VI. 27. 1; commissioner, 45. 3.
Rubellius Plautus: his son, III. 23. 2 n.
Rubrius: accused, I. 73. 1.
Rubrius Fabatus: put under guard, VI. 14. 3.
Rufus: see Ausidienus, Petilius, Trebellianus.
Rusticus: see Junius.
P. Rutilius Rufus: accused, III. 66. 2; citizen of Zmyrna, IV. 43. 7.
Sabinus: see Calvisius, Poppaeus, Titius.
Sacerdos: see Carusius.
Sacrovir: see Iulius.
C. Sallustius Crispus (the historian): III. 30. 3.
C. Sallustius Crispus: his adoptive son; confidential adviser of Augustus and Tiberius, III. 30. 3–6; concerned in murder of Agrippa Postumus, I. 6. 6; arrests Clemens, II. 40. 2; death, III. 30. 1.
Salolinus: see Asinius.
Salvianus: see Calpurnius.
Samos: island, right of asylum, IV. 14. 1; Sibylline prophecies, VI. 12. 4.
Samothrace: sacred rites, II. 54. 2.
Sancia: condemned, VI. 18. 2.
Sanquinus: accuser, VI. 7. 1.
Sanquinus Maximus: VI. 4. 4.
Santones: Gallic nation, VI. 7. 5.
Sardinia: banishment of Jews, II. 85. 5.
Sardis: city of Asia, II. 47. 3; religion, III. 63. 5; claims temple of Tiberius, IV. 55. 7.
Sarmatae: assist Pharasmanes, VI. 33–35.
Satrius Secundus: accuser, IV. 34. 2; tool of Sejanus, VI. 8. 10; married to Albucilla, 47. 2.
Saturninus: see Appuleius.
Saturnus: temple, II. 41. 1.
Scantius: vestal virgin, IV. 16. 6.
Scaurus: see Aemilius.
Scipio: see Caecilius, Cornelius.
Scribonia: mother of Julia, I. 53. 1 n.; great-aunt of Libo, II. 27. 2.
Scribonianus: see Furius.
Scribonii: forbidden to use the name Drusus, II. 32. 2.
L. Scribonius Libo: consul, A.D. 16, II. 1. 1; supports his brother, 29. 2 n.
Scythia, Scythe: in empire of Rameses, II. 60. 4; war with Rhescuporis, 65. 5; flight of Vornones, 68. 1; of Artabanus, VI. 36. 5; 41. 2; 44. 1.
Secundus: see Pomponius, Satrius.
Segesta: city in Sicily; temple of Venus, IV. 43. 6.
Segestes: loyalty, I. 55. 57; speech, 58; kind treatment, 59.
Segimimus: brother of Segestes, I. 71. 1.
Segimundus: son of Segestes, I. 57. 2; 58. 7 n.
Seianus: see Aelius.
Seius Quadratus: death, VI. 7. 5.
L. Seius Strabo: father of Seianus; praetorian prefect, I. 7. 3; 24. 3; IV. 1. 3.
Seius Tubero: brother of Sejanus, II. 20. 2; accused, IV. 29. 1.
Seleucia: city of Syria, II. 69. 4; of Parthia, VI. 42.
Seleucidæ: royal family, II. 1. 1 n.
Sennones: Suevic nation, II. 45. 1.
C. Sempronius Gracchus: his son; accused, IV. 13. 3; prætor, VI 16. 5; accuser, 38. 4.
Cn. Sentius: assumes command in Syria, II. 74. 1; warns Piso, 79. 4; defeats him at Celedenir, 80, 81; arrests Martina, III. 7. 2.
Septimius Severus: arch, II. 32. 4 n.
Septimius: centurion, I. 32. 4.
Sequani: ravaged by Silius, III. 45. 1.
Serenus: see Vibius.
Seripho: banishment of Visilia, II. 85. 4; of Cassius Severus, IV. 21. 5.
Q. Sertorius: III. 73. 3.
Q. Servæus: governor of Comagene, II. 56. 5; accuses Piso, III. 13. 3; receives priesthood, 19. 1; condemned, VI. 7. 2.
Servilius: accuser, VI. 29. 6; 30. 1.
M. Servilius: heir of Æmilia Musa, II. 48. 1; witness against Lepida, III. 22. 4.
M. Servilius Nonianus: his son; consul, A.D. 35, VI. 31. 1.
P. Servilius Isauricus: favors Hierocæsarea, III. 62. 4.
P. Servilius Isauricus Vatia: his father, III. 62. 4 n.
Servius Tullius: king; laws, III. 26. 6.
Sesosis: king of Egypt, VI. 28. 4; see also Rhamses.
Severus: see Caecina, Cassius.
Sextia: wife of Scaurus, VI 29. 7.
Sextius Paconianus: ruined, VI. 3. 4; death, 39. 1.
Sicilia: defeat of Sextus Pompeius, I. 2. 1; visited by Scipio, II. 59. 2; searched for Sibyline prophecies, VI. 12. 4; arrest of Rubrius, 14. 4.
Silanus: see Caecilia, Iunius.
Sigimerus: father of Arminius, I. 55. 4 n.; 71. 1 n.
C. Silius: governor of Upper Germany, I. 31. 2; grant of triumphal insignia, 72. 1; constructs fleet, II. 6. 1; against the Chatti, 7. 1; 25. 2; sends troops against Iulius Florus, III. 42. 2; suppresses rebellion of Sacrovir, 43. 4; 45; 46; trial and death, IV. 18, 19.
P. Silius Nerva: consul, A.D. 28; IV. 68. 1.
Silvanus: see Plautius.
Sinnaces: Parthian noble; conspires against Artabanus, VI. 31. 3; 32. 3; 36. 3; 37. 5.
Sinuessa: colony, III. 2. 2 n.
Siricus: centurion, I. 23. 6.
Sisenna: see Statilius.
Smyrna: see Zyma.
Sol: altar, VI. 28. 7.
Soli: a city of Cilicia, II. 58. 3 n.
Solon: laws, III. 26. 4.
Sosia Galla: wife of Silius, accused, IV. 19; banished, 20. 2; friend of Agrippina, 19. 1; 52. 5.
Spartacus: leader of slaves, III. 73. 3.
Spartani: laws, III. 26. 4.
Speluncae: villa, IV. 59. 2.
Speres: temple, II. 49. 2.
Staius: tribune, IV. 27. 3.
Statianus: defeat, II. 2. 4 n.
Statilius Sisenna: consul, A.D. 16; II. 1. 1.
Statilius Taurus: buildings, III. 72; 2; prefect of the city, VI. 11. 5.
L. Stertinius: routs the Bruteri, I. 60. 4; captures Segimerus, 71. 1; against the Angirvini, II. 8. 4; 22. 3 restrains Flavus, 10. 2; leads cavalry, II. 2; attacks Cherusci, 17. 1.
Strabo: see Seius.
Stratonicea: city of Asia, III. 62. 2.
Suebi: threatening, I. 44. 6; reduced by Tiberius, II. 26. 3; war.
INDEX OF PROPER NAMES.

with Cheruscans, 44. 2–46; booty, 62 4; danger, 63. 5.

Sugambri: reduced by Tiberius, II. 26. 3; employed in Thrace, IV. 47. 5.

P. Suillius: punishment, IV. 31. 5.

Sulla: see Cornelius.

Ser. Sulpicius Galba: emperor, III. 55. 1; consul, A.D. 33, VI. 15. 1; prophecy of Tiberius, 20. 3.

C. Sulpicius Galba: his brother, consul, A.D. 22, III. 52. 1; death, VI. 40. 3.


Suria (Syria): soldiers, I. 42. 5; Roman province, II. 1. 1 n.; 43. 2 n.; asks relief, 42. 7; Piso appointed governor, 43. 3 n.; his arrival, 55. 4; Commagene annexed, 56. 5 n.; Vonones removed from, 58. 1; in empire of Rameses, 60. 4; Piso departs, 69. 3; Sentius assumes control, 74. 1; return of Piso, 78, 79; III. 16. 5; army, IV. 5. 4; Aelius Lamia appointed governor, but detained in Rome, VI. 27. 2; death of Phraates, 32. 4; Vitellius governor, 41. 1; return of Tigidates, 44. 7.

Syene: town in Egypt, II. 61. 2.

Tacfarinas: insurgent in Africa, II. 52; III. 9. 1 n.; 20–1; 32. 1; 73–4; IV. 23–26.

Tamfana: shrine, I. 51. 2.

Tantalus: IV. 56. 1.

Tarentum: treaty, I. 10. 2; colony, III. 2. 2 n.

Taurus Gratianus: condemned, VI. 38. 4.

Tarpeium saxum: VI. 19. 1.

Tarquinius Priscus: king of Rome, IV. 65. 1.

Tarquinius Superbus: king of Rome, banished, III. 27. 1; appointed city prefect, VI. 11. 1.

Tarracina: city of Latium, III. 2. 4.

Tarraco: temple of Augustus, I. 78. 1.

Tarsa: Thracian, IV. 50. 3.


Taunus: mountain in Germany, I. 56. 1.

Taurus: see Statilius.

Taurus: mountains, VI. 41. 1.

Telamon: father of Ajax, III. 62. 5.

Teleboi: held Capraeae, IV. 67. 4.

Temnos: city of Asia, II. 47. 4.

Tenos: city of Asia, III. 63. 4.

M. Terentius: bold defence, VI. 8. 1.

Terentius Varro: put to death, I. 10. 3.

Termes: city of Spain, IV. 45.

Teucer: of Salamis, III. 62. 5.

Teutoburgiensis saltus: I. 60.


Thapsus: battle, B.C. 46, I. 42.

Thebae: city of Egypt, II. 60. 3.

Theophanes: of Mytilene, VI. 18. 4.

Theophilus: II. 55. 2.

Thermaeus sinus: V. 10. 4.

Thermodon: river, II. 56. 2 n.

Thermus: see Minucius.

Theseus: IV. 56. 1.

Thessalia: birthplace of Jason, VI. 34. 3.

Thracea: cities, II. 54. 2; settlement by Augustus, 64. 3; intrigues of Rhescuporis, ib. 5; his deposition and death, 65–67; new settlement by Tiberius, 67. 4; revolts, III. 38. 3; IV. 46–51; military force, IV. 5. 5; victory of L. Piso, VI. 10. 4.

Thrasullus: soothsayer, VI. 20. 3; 21; 22. 6.


Thumelicum: son of Arminius, I. 57. 5 n.

Thusnelda: wife of Arminius, I. 57. 5 n.

Tiberis: river, overflow, I. 76. 1; 79; journey of Piso, III. 9. 2; of Tiberius, VI. 1. 2; bodies cast into, 19. 4.
Tiberius Claudius Nero: emperor; stepson of Augustus, imperator, I. 3. 1; adopted and designated successor, 3. 3; III. 59. 3; required to adopt Germanicus, I. 3. 5; popular estimate, 4. 3; summoned from Illyricum, 5. 5; death of Agrippa Postumus, 6; servility of citizens, 7. 3; attitude as to the succession, 3. 4; 8. 5; inheritance, 8. 1; edict on funeral of Augustus, 8. 6; opinion of Augustus, 10. 6; reverence for Augustus, 11. 2; 77. 4; III. 68. 1; offer of empire, hesitation, acceptance, I. 11-13; confers proconsular power on Germanicus, 14. 4; nomination and recommendation of prætors, 15. 2; Pannonian mutiny, 16-39; sends Drusus, 24. 1; policy as lieutenant of Augustus, 26. 4; embassy from troops, 29. 2; mutiny of German legions, 31-49; brother of Drusus, 33. 3; forbidding manners, 33. 5; loyalty of Germanicus, 34; presented standards to xx. legion, 42. 6; criticism at Rome, 46; his reasons for not going to the army, 47; built limes in Germany, 50. 2; reception of news of suppression of mutinies, 52; married to Julia, 53. 2; insolence of Sempronius, her paramour, ib. 4; he is put to death, ib. 7; Sodalis Augustalis, 54. 2; indifference to popular entertainments, 54. 4; 77. 3; IV. 62. 3; confers title of imperator on Germanicus, 58. 9; disparaged by Arminius, 59. 7; disapproval of Germanicus, 62. 3; of Agrippina, 69. 4; rejects title of pater patriae, 72. 2; enforces law of maiestas, 72. 4; 73; 74; attends trials, 75. 1; guarded generosity, ib. 3-5; action in relation to overflow of Tiber, 76. 3; to pantomimes, 77. 3; to tax on sales, 78. 2; to provincial governors, 80; to elections, 81; restores Tigranes, II. 3. 4; policy in relation to Orient, 5. 1; penetrated to Elbe, 14. 6 n.; saluted imperator, 18. 2; his army in Germany, 22. 1; recalls Germanicus, 26. 3; receives charges against Libo, 28. 2; attitude towards him, ib. 3; trial and death of Libo, 29-31; declaration about luxury, 33. 6; disturbed by declaration of L. Piso, 34. 2; case of Urgulania, ib. 3; silence on question of recess of senate, 35; declines proposition of Gallus on elections to praetorship, 36. 2; declines to aid Hortalus, 37. 38; conspiracy of Clemens, 39. 40; largess in name of Germanicus, 42. 1; treatment of Archelaus of Cappadocia, 42. 2; commissions Germanicus to settle affairs in East, 43; removes Silanus and appoints Piso governor of Syria, 43. 3; alleged secret instructions against Germanicus, ib. 5; sends Drusus to Illyricum, 44. 1; war against Maroboduus, 46. 2; refuses aid to Maroboduus, ib. 6; liberality, 47. 3; 48; trial of Appuleia, 50; satisfaction at seeing his sons' effort to carry the election of Haterius Agrippa as praetor, against the law, 51; praises Camillus, 52. 9; consul, A.D. 18, 53. 1; censures Germanicus for going to Egypt, 59. 3; receives Maroboduus, 63; arranges affairs of Thrace, 64-67; suspicion of Germanicus, 72. 2; alleged sympathy with Piso, 77. 6; receives news of death of Germanicus, 82. 8; checks extravagance of honors to himself, 83. 4; choice of a vestal, 86; fixes price of corn, 87; declines betrayal of Arminius, 88. 2; directs funeral of Germanicus, III. 2-5; edict, 6; receives young Piso, 8. 2; contempt of rumors, 10. 4; trial of Piso, 10-19; prosecution of Lepida, 22. 23; permits D. Silanus to return to Rome, 24. 6; appoints commissioners on lex Papia Poppea, 28. 6; asks privileges for Nero, 29. 1; consul, A.D. 21, 31. 1; retires to Campania, ib. 2; nominates proconsul of Africa, 32; 35. 1; activity in prosecution, 38. 1; neglects the Gallic rebellion, 41. 4; censures, 44. 2; explains his conduct, 47. 1; asks public funeral for Quirinius, 48. 3; censures conviction of Clutorius Priscus, 51. 2; let-
INDEX OF PROPER NAMES.

437
ter upon economic condition of Italy, 52. 4–54; praised for moderation, 56. 1; asks tribunician power for Drusus, ib.; image voted, 57. 2; moderation, 59. 2; refers embassies from provinces on question of asylum to senate, 60. 1; recalled to Rome by his mother's illness, 64. 1; affronted by her, ib. 2; opposes placing Fetiales in charge of ludi magni, ib. 4; contempt for servility of senate, 65. 3; prosecution of Silanus, 66–68; rejects proposal of Dolabella on appointment of provincial governors, 69; declines to permit the melting of his effigy to be construed as treason, 70. 2; decision on question of flamens Dialis, 71. 3; receives embassy from Tacfarinas, 73. 1; restores theatre of Pompey, 72. 4; VI. 45. 2; grants triumphal insignia and title of imperator to Blesus, 72. 6; 74. 6; magnanimity, 76. 2; turn of fortune, IV. 1–1: influence of Sejanus, I. 24. 3; 69. 7; IV. 1–3; 2. 4; 7. 2; review of his administration, 6; sickness of Drusus, 8. 2; speech in senate on death of Drusus, 8. 3; 9; suspicions, 10, 11; eulogy on Drusus, 12. 1; attention to business, 13. 1; punishes actors, 14. 4; bereavements, 15. 1; temple in Asia, ib. 4; advocates new law on flamens Dialis, 16; unfriendly to family of Germanicus, 17. 2; his indebtedness to family of Silius, 18. 2; trial of Silius, 19, 20; dissimulation, 19. 3; 71. 3; avarice, 20. 2; favor to M. Lepidus, ib. 4; grudge against Piso, 21; prompt action in case of Silanus, 22; neglect of African war, 23. 2; refuses honors to Dolabella, 26. 1; hostility to Sernus, 29. 3; mitigates his punishment, 30. 1; takes part of accusers, ib. 4; pardons Cominius, 31. 1; rare exercise of mercy, ib. 2; interposes in behalf of Catus, ib. 8; trial and death of Cremutius Cordus, 34, 35; punishes an over-zealous delator, 36. 1; declines temple in Spain, 37. 2; speech in senate on the subject, ib. 3; letter to Sejanus, refusing hand of Livilla, 40; influenced to leave Rome, 41. 2; lampoons of Votienus, 42; undertakes to restore temple of Venus on Mt. Eryx, 43. 6; altercation with Agrippina, 52–54; departs to Campania, 57; omens, 58. 2; preserved by Sejanus, 59; unfavorable to Nero, 60. 3; generosity to victims of disaster at Fidenza, 64. 1; retires to Capreae, 67; case of Titius Sabinus, 68–70; treatment of delators, 71. 1; dissimulation, 71. 4; conceals losses, 74. 1; receives citizens in Campania, ib. 4; gives the younger Agrippina in marriage, 75. 1; demeanor after his mother's death, V. 2; checked by her, 3. 1; assails Agrippina and Nero, ib. 2–5; approaches Rome, VI. 1; reply to proposal of Togonius Gallus, 2. 5; rebukes Gallio, 3. 1; accuses Paconianus, ib. 4; familiar language of Cotta Messalinus, 5. 1; strange letter to the senate, 6; urges a senator to turn accuser, 7. 3; spirited defence of M. Terentius, 8; accuses Vistilius, 9. 2; prosecution of women, 10; letter on Sibylline books, 12; severe repression of disorder, 13; marriage of his nieces, 15; asks for a bodyguard, 15. 5; relieves money market, 16, 17; confiscation, 19. 1; orders general execution, 19. 2; prediction concerning Galba, 20. 3; dealings with soothsayers, 21; permits Asinius Gallus to be buried, 23. 2; denounces Drusus, 24. 1; Agrippina, 25. 2; death of Nerva, 26. 2; letter on death of capable provincial governors, 27. 3; denounces Labeo, 29. 3; independent attitude of Gaetulicus, 30. 4; insulted by Artabanus, 31. 2; foments insurrection against him, 32–37; severity, 38. 1; ostentatious indifference to popular criticism, ib. 3; watches trials from near at hand, 39. 2; relieves losses by fire, 45. 1; his last consul, ib. 5; uncertainty of succession, 46; language of Arruntius, 48. 3; death, 50; career and character, 51.
INDEX OF PROPER NAMES.

**Ticinum**: town of Cisalpine Gaul (Pavia), III. 5. 2.

**Tigranes I.**: king of Armenia, II. 3. 2 n.
**Tigranes II.**: king of Armenia, II. 3. 4, 5.
**Tigranes III.**: king of Armenia, II. 4. 3 n.
**Tigranes IV.**: king of Armenia, II. 4. 2 n.; VI. 40. 2.

**Tigris**: river, VI. 37. 4.

**Tiresias**: seer, II. 54. 3 n.

**Tiridates**: king of Parthia, VI.

**Titidius Laeboc**: husband of Vistilia, II. 85. 3.

**Titius Sabinus**: accused, IV. 18. 1; trial and death, 68–70.

**Titus**: emperor; triumph, I. 72. 1 n.; conquest of Judæa, II. 42. 7 n.

**Tmolus**: city of Asia, II. 47. 4.

**Togonius Gallus**: VI. 2. 2.

**Torquata**: sister of Silanus, III.

**Tuscanus**: IV. 65. 2.

**Tyrrenus**: eponym of Tyrrhenians, IV. 55. 7.

**Ubi**: German tribe, camp, I. 31. 3; town, 36. 1; Civitas, 37. 3; 48. 1 n.; 71. 1; altar, 39. 1; 57. 2; colony, 59. 8 n.; moved across the Rhine, II. 26. 3 n.

**Ultio**: altar, III. 18. 3.

**Umbria**: levy of troops, IV. 5. 5.

**Urgulania**: friend of Livia, II.

**Usipetes**: German tribe, I. 51. 4.

**Vahalis**: river (Waal), II. 6. 5.

**M. Valerius Corvus**: consulships, I. 9. 2.

**M. Valerius Messalla Corvus**: curator aquarum, I. 76. 3 n.; father of Messalinus, III. 34. 2; honors Cassius, IV. 34. 6; city prefect, VI. 11. 4.

**Valerius Messalla** [Messalina]: his son, I. 8. 5; thanks to Tiberius, III. 18. 3; debate, 34. 2.

**M. Valerius Messalla**: his son, consul, a.d. 20, III. 2. 5.

**Valerius Naso**: IV. 53. 3.

**Valerius Volesus Messalla**: condemned by Augustus, III. 68. 1.

**Vanni**: king of the Quadi, II. 63. 7.

**Varilla**: see Appuleia.

**Varius Ligur**: IV. 42. 3; VI. 30. 1.

**Varro**: see Terentius, Visellius.

**Varus**: see Quintilius.

**Vedius**: I. 32. 1 n.

**Vedius Pollio**: luxury, I. 10. 4.

**Vei**: war, III. 6. 4 n.

**Velinus lacus**: I. 79. 3.

**P. Vellaeus**: commander in Thrace, III. 39. 1.

**Venusia**: colony, III. 2. 2 n.

**Venus**: temple at Aphrodisias, III. 62. 3; at Paphos, ib. 5; at Amathus, ib.; at Stratonicea, 63. 4; on Mt. Eryx, IV. 43. 6.

**Q. Veranius**: governor of Cappadocia, II. 56. 4; accuses Martina, 74. 2; accuses Piso, III. 10. 2; 13. 3; priesthood, 19. 1.
INDEX OF PROPER NAMES.

Vercingetorix: III. 40. 1 n.
Vescularius Flaccus: informer, II. 28. 1; put to death, VI. 10. 2.
Vespasian: emperor; his law, I. 13. 4 n.; election of consuls, 15. 1 n.; father of Titus, 72. 1 n.; pater patriae, ib. 2 n.; made Epirus a province, II. 53. 1 n.; annexed Comagene, 56. 5 n.; native of Reate, III. 55. 4 n.; checked luxury, 55. 5.
Vesuvius mons: IV. 67. 3.
Vetera: I. 45. 1; 48. 1 n.; 56. 7 n.
Vetus: see Antistius.
Vibenna: see Caelus.
Vibidius Virro: expelled from senate, II. 48. 3.
Vibilius: captures Catualda, II. 63. 7.
Vibius Fronto: captures Vandonis, II. 68. 3.
Vibius Marsus: in Syria, II. 74. 1; summons Piso, 79. 1; proposition in to Smyrna, IV. 56. 3; adultery, VI. 47. 2.
C. Vibius Serenus: accuses Libo, II. 30. 1; banished, IV. 13. 2; accused by his son, 28. 29; taken back to Amorgus, 30. 3.
Vibius Serenus: his son, IV. 28. 1; accuses Capito, 36. 4.
Vibulenus: ringleader of mutiny, I. 22. 1; executed, 29. 4.
Vibulenus Agrippa: suicide, VI. 40. 1.
Vindelicus: cohorts, II. 17. 6.
P. Vinicius: refuses to support Piso, III. 11. 2.
M. Vinicius: marriage, VI. 15. 1; commissioner, 45. 3.
Vipsania: wife of Tiberius, I. 12. 6; II. 43. 7 n.; death, III. 19. 4.
M. Vipsanius Agrippa: son-in-law of Augustus, I. 3. 1-3; moved the Ubii, 31. 3 n.; his daughter Vipsania, 12. 6; III. 19. 4; Agrippina, I. 41. 3; marriage to Julia, 53. 4; IV. 40. 9; grandfather of Haterius Agrippa, I. 77. 3 n.; married Pomponia, II. 43. 7 n.; married Marcella, 50. 1 n.; possessor of tribunician power, III. 56. 3; grandfather of Saloninus, 75. 1.
Vipstanus Gallus: prætor, A.D. 17, II. 51. 1.
C. Visellius Varro: governor of Lower Germany, III. 41. 3; opposes Florus, 42. 2; yields to Silius the command against Sacrovir, 43. 4.
Visitilia: prostitute, II. 83. 2.
Vistula: river, II. 62. 1 n.
Visurgis: river (Veser), II. 9-17.
Vitellia: witness for Clutorius, III. 49. 2.
A. Vitellius: emperor, I. 70. 1 n.; II. 48. 3 n.
L. Vitellius: consul, A.D. 34, VI. 28. 1; sent against the Parthians, 32. 5; 36-37; governor of Syria, 41. 1.
P. Vitellius: commands expedition, I. 70; takes census of Gaul, II. 6. 1; his brother, 48. 3 n.; in Syria, 74. 2; accuses Piso, III. 10. 2; 13. 3; priesthood, 19. 1; death, V. 8; his wife Acutia, VI. 47. 1.
Q. Vitellius: removed from senate, II. 48. 3.
Vitia: death, VI. 10. 1.
Volesus: see Valerius.
Vonones: king of Parthia, II. 1. 1; 2; expelled, and takes refuge in Armenia, 3. 2; king of Armenia, 4. 3; taken prisoner by Romans, ib. 4; removed to Cilicia, 58; death, 68; his treasures, VI. 31. 2.
Votienus Montanus: lampions, IV. 42. 1.
Vulsinii: birthplace of Sejanus, IV. 1. 3.
Zeno: king of Armenia, II. 56. 2.
Zmyrna: city of Asia, III. 63. 4; exile of Rutilius, IV. 43. 7; competes for and obtains temple of Tiberius, 55. 7; 56.
III. INDEX TO THE NOTES.

accusatores: rewards, II. 32. 1; IV. 20. 3.
acta: of emperor, I. 72. 2; of senate, V. 4. 1; duūna, III. 3. 2.
actor publicus: II. 30. 3; III. 67. 3.
adoption, altar: I. 14. 3.
aerarium: I. 75. 4; militare, 78. 2.
alae: I. 49. 6; II. 52. 6.
alii: I. 36. 2.
alter: of adoption, I. 14. 3; of camp, 39. 7.
annona: I. 2. 1; praefect: I. 7. 3.
aquila ( legionis): I. 18. 3.
aquilifer: I. 48. 2; II. 81. 1.
arms (of a legionary): III. 43. 2.
as: I. 17. 6.
astrology: II. 27. 2; IV. 58. 2; VI. 20. 3 ff.
asylum: III. 36. 1.
atrium: II. 73. 1.
auction: III. 31. 7.
Augustales: I. 10. 5; 15. 3; 54. 1; 78. 1; III. 64. 5.
Augustus, cult: I. 10. 5; 15. 3; 57. 2; 73. 2; in Spain, 78. 1.
aupices (on assuming office): IV. 36. 1.
auxiliaries: I. 49. 6; III. 42. 1.
auxilium: III. 27. 1.
bailstae: I. 56. 5.
basilica: III. 72. 1. 3.
beards: II. 39. 3.
bounties: I. 17. 5.
caliga: I. 41. 3.
calles: IV. 27. 2.
carmen Saliare: II. 83. 2.
castra: tribunal, I. 18. 4; altar, 39. 7; forum, 44. 4; principia, 61. 3; gates, 66. 2; streets, II. 13. 1; aestiva and hiberna, I. 16. 2; 39. 6; praetoria, IV. 2. 1.
catapultae: I. 56. 5.
cavalry: praetorian, I. 24. 3; of legions, IV. 73. 2.
cena novendialis: VI. 5. 1.
censor: II. 33. 6; under empire, III. 30. 2.
censorium funus: IV. 15. 3.
census: senatorial, I. 75. 5; II. 33. 5; 37. 1; of judges, 38. 8; of knights, 33. 5.
centesima (rerum venalium): I. 78. 2; dispensed with, II. 42. 6.
centurion: I. 17. 1; 20. 2; 23. 4; badge, 32. 2; rank, 61. 5; IV. 73. 6; appointment, II. 55. 4.
centurionatus: I. 44. 7.
Chaldaei: II. 27. 2.
clientes: IV. 68. 1; German, I. 57. 4; II. 45. 2; Gallic, III. 42. 2.
cipepus (medallion): II. 83. 4.
cognitio (of senate): II. 28. 4.
cognomen: II. 32. 2.
cohort: rank, I. 44. 7; of auxiliaries, 49. 6; II. 52. 6.
cohortes: urbane and civium Romanorum, I. 8. 3.
collegium (guild): I. 73. 2.
coloniae: I. 79. 1; IV. 5. 5.
comites (German): I. 57. 4; II. 45. 2; 63. 7.
comitia: transferred to senate, I. 15. 1; organized by tribes, 15. 1; consular, 81. 1.
comperendinatio: II. 30. 4.
conciliabulum: III. 40. 4.
INDEX TO THE NOTES.

confarreatio: IV. 16. 1, 5.
coniuratio: II. 30. 3.
consul: I. 55. 1; presiding, 73. 3; ordinarius, II. 29. 2; seat, IV. 8. 3.
conventus: of provinces, II. 35. 3.
cornu: I. 68. 3.
crates: I. 68. 2.
cuneus: in fighting, I. 51. 1; in the theatre, II. 83. 5.
curator: I. 68. 2.
curule chairs (in the theatre): II. 83. 2.
decemvirate: I. 1. 2.
decumana porta: I. 66. 2.
decursio: II. 7. 4.
delification of Augustus: I. 10. 8.
denarius: I. 17. 8.
deportatio: IV. 31. 5.
designatus consul: I. 14. 5.
devotiones: II. 69. 5.
Diana, cult of: III. 61. 1; 62. 1, 4.
diem dicere: IV. 19. 2.
divinatio: II. 30. 1.
division of empire: I. 11. 3; 12. 1.
dress: silk, II. 33. 1.
eagles of Varus: II. 25. 2.
edicts: I. 7. 5.
elections: see comitia.
Eleusinian triad: II. 49. 1.
emperor: judicial authority, III. 10. 3; VI. 10. 2; as pontifex maximus, III. 58. 4; misuse of his image, III. 36. 1.
epuiones: III. 64. 3.
equestrian order: see knights.
equites: legionum, IV. 73. 2; praetori, I. 24. 3.
evocatus: II. 68. 3.
exauctoratio: I. 36. 4.
exeuctions: II. 32. 5.
exile: IV. 42. 3.
family: council, II. 50. 5.
farce (Oscan): IV. 14. 4.
fasces: I. 59. 6; versii, III. 2. 2.
feriae Latinae: IV. 36. 1.
fetiales: III. 64. 4.
financial crisis (A.D. 33): VI. 16.
fiscus: I. 37. 3; IV. 15. 3.
flamen Dialis: III. 58. 1; 71. 3; IV. 16. 1.
flaminica Dialis: IV. 16. 5.
flamines: III. 58. 1.
forum: in camp, I. 44. 4; holitorium, II. 49. 1; of Augustus, IV. 15. 3.
funditores: II. 20. 4.
furloughs: I. 17. 6.
German guards: I. 24. 3.
gladiators: I. 22. 1.
gladius: II. 14. 3.
hasta (auction): III. 31. 7.
heirs: I. 8. 2.
histriones: I. 54. 3.
horti: II. 41. 1; VI. 1. 2.
imagines: II. 27. 2; 73. 1; III. 5. 2.
imperator: as praenomen, I. 3. 1; in republic, 9. 2; II. 18. 2; as title, I. 58. 9; III. 74. 6.
imperium: proconsulare, I. 13. 4; 14. 4, 5; 76. 4; lost by entering city, III. 11. 1.
incestus: II. 30. 3.
index: II. 28. 3; IV. 28. 2.
indicium deferre: II. 28. 3.
insulae: VI. 45. 1.
tercession of tribunes: III. 27. 3.
ius: imaginum, II. 27. 2; legationis, I. 39. 8; praetoris, II. 56. 5.
iustitium: I. 16. 2.
jurisprudence: rival schools, III. 75. 2.
knights: epithet, I. 73. 1; privileges, II. 33. 5; IV. 6. 4; 40. 5; annual procession, II. 83. 5; as iudices, 35. 2; illustres, VI. 18. 4; IV. 58. 1; turmae, II. 83. 5.
kritis: II. 59. 2.
laeti: I. 31. 3; 59. 8; II. 26. 3.
laurea (corona): II. 26. 5.
INDEX TO THE NOTES.

laws: agrarian and corn, IV. 32. 2.
legacies: II. 48. 1.
legatus: (Augusti) pro praetore, I.
18. 5; IV. 73. 1; legionis, I. 44.
3; of provinces, 76. 4; 80. 2; of
a proconsul, IV. 56. 3.
legion: size, II. 80. 2.
liberos: tollere, suscipere, II. 37.

libertus: III. 36. 1.
libratores: II. 20. 4.
lictors: with women, I. 14. 3; of
Germanicus, II. 53. 3.
limes: I. 50. 2.

lex: IV. 16. 4; Iulia de adulteriis,
II. 50. 2; 85. 3; Papia Poppaea,
51. 2; III. 25. 1; Roscia, II. 33.
5; Oppia, III. 33. 4; Iulia sump-
tuaria, 52. 3; Valeria de provo-
catione, 27. 1.

litus: I. 68. 3.
litora (breastwork): IV. 49. 2.
ludi: magni, III. 64. 3; Megalenses,
6. 5; Romani, 23. 1; Palatini,
I. 73. 4.

magi: II. 27. 2.
magistratus designatus: II. 36. 4.
maiestas: trials, I. 72. 3; II. 30. 3;
adultery, 50. 1; punishment, III.
50. 6; rewards of accusers, IV.
20. 3.
mancipatio: I. 73. 2.
mancipium: II. 2. 4.
maniple: I. 20. 2.
mappia: III. 74. 5.
mausoleum of Augustus: I. 8. 6;
III. 4. 1.
Megalenses: III. 6. 5.
military service: duration, I. 17, 3;
78. 2; pay, 17. 6, 8, 9.
mission: I. 17. 3; 36. 4.
money: I. 8. 3; 17. 8, 9.
months (of each season): desig-
nated, II. 23. 1.
mourning: II. 29. 2.
municipium: I. 20. 1; 79. 1; IV.
3. 4.

negotiaiores: III. 42. 1.
nomination (of praetors): I. 14. 6;
15. 2.

oath of allegiance (in verba iurare): 
I. 7. 3; to provincials, 34. 1.
obaerati: III. 42. 2.
operae theatrales: I. 16. 4.
ornamenta: I. 72. 1; II. 33. 1.
Oscan dialect: IV. 14. 4.
ovation: II. 64. 1.
pagi: I. 56. 5.
Palatium: I. 13. 7.
pallium: II. 59. 2.
pantomimes: I. 54. 3.
parricide: punishment, IV. 29. 2.
pater patriae: I. 72. 2.
patibula: I. 61. 6.
patria potestas: I. 26. 4; IV. 16. 3;
(suscipere liberos), II. 37. 2.
pay: of soldiers, I. 17. 6, 8, 9; of
accusers, IV. 20. 3.
pedarii senatores: III. 65. 2.
pedibus ire: III. 23. 2.
people: primitive conception, I. 53.
pet 
ptic indic. in -ere: I. 34. 3.

pecc. x: VII. 28.
physicians: IV. 3. 5; 63. 3.
pientas: II. 51. 2.
pilum: I. 64. 2; II. 14. 3.
plebeian: III. 48. 2.
pollution: I. 62. 3.
pontifex maximus: III. 58. 4.
porta triumphalis: I. 8. 4.
prefectus: annonae, I. 7. 3; cas-
trorum, 20. 1; 38. 2; 44. 3; prae-
torius, 7. 3; IV. 2. 1; urbis, 36. 1;

VI. 11.
praenomen: III. 17. 8.
praeses (provinciae): VI. 41. 1.
prefation: I. 3. 2; II. 14. 1.
prefect: election, I. 14. 6; powers,
72. 4; governing province, 74. 1;
II. 56. 5; tribunal, I. 75. 1; care
of treasury, 75. 4; extra ordinem,
II. 32. 1; designation, 36. 1; pre-
siding in courts, 79. 2.
prefatores acarri: I. 75. 4.
prefectura portis: I. 66. 2.
practorian cohorts: I. 7. 3; their
camp, IV. 2. 1.
prefector functionis: II. 33. 1.
primipilares: I. 20. 1; II. 11. 2.
primus ordo: I. 61. 5.
| primus pilus | I. 29. 2. |
| princeps | I. 1. 3; 9. 6; 75. 1; |
| iuventutis | 3. 2; II. 83. 5; |
| senatus | I. 74. 6. |
| principia | I. 61. 3. |
| principalis porta | I. 66. 2. |
| principatus | I. 1. 1. |
| privilegium | III. 27. 5. |
| proconsul | II. 47. 5; praetorius, I. 74. 1. |
| proconsular power | I. 13. 4; 14. 4, 5; 76. 4. |
| procurator | I. 80. 2; II. 42. 7; IV. 15. 3. |
| proscription (triumvirate) | I. 10. 1. |
| provinces | oppression, I. 2. 2; imperial and senatorial, II. 43. 2; Egypt, 59. 4. |
| provincia | primitive sense, IV. 27. 2. |
| provocatio | III. 27. 1. |
| publicani | IV. 6. 4. |
| punishment | more prisco, II. 32. 5; for adultery, 50. 2, 5; treason, III. 50. 6. |
| quaestio de veneficiis | II. 79. 2. |
| quaestiones | I. 72. 4; II. 79. 2. |
| questor | I. 74. 1; | | age, III. 29. 1. |
| quattuordecim ordines (in the theatre) | VI. 3. 1. |
| quindecimviri | I. 76. 2; magistri, VI. 12. 2. |
| recipera tores | I. 74. 7. |
| regimen morum | II. 33. 6. |
| relatio | I. 13. 4; (egressio), II. 33. 2; 37. 3. |
| relegatio | III. 17. 8. |
| religion | Roman, II. 49. 1; foreign, III. 71. 2. |
| renunciation of friendship | III. 24. 5. |
| repetundae, court | I. 2. 2; III. 33. 4. |
| robur (Tullianum) | IV. 29. 2. |
| sacerdotium | III. 19. 1. |
| Salli | II. 83. 2. |
| saxum Tarpeium | II. 32. 5; IV. 29. 2. |
| schools of jurisprudence | III. 75. 2. |
| scutum | II. 21. 1; of the Germans, 14. 4. |
| sedes curulis (in the theatre) | II. 83. 2. |
| senate | original character, VI. 15. 6; powers, I. 25. 3; III. 60. 1; judicial powers, I. 72. 4; II. 79. 2; III. 10. 3; VI. 10. 2; days of meeting, III. 35. 1; presiding officer, 17. 8; method of voting, 23. 2; under oath, IV. 21. 5; quorum, VI. 12. 2. |
| senators | holding office, I. 15. 2; census, II. 33. 5; restrictions, IV. 21. 3; VI. 2. 5; 14. 4; organizing government, II. 74. 1; special seats, 33. 5; III. 31. 4; IV. 8. 3; pedarii, III. 65. 2. |
| senatus consulta | stored, III. 51. 3. |
| sestertius | I. 8. 3. |
| Sibullini libri | I. 76. 2; VI. 12. |
| signum | I. 18. 3. |
| signifer | I. 48. 2; II. 81. 1. |
| societates equitum Romanorum | IV. 6. 4. |
| socii | I. 79. 3; III. 55. 3. |
| sodales Augustales | I. 54. 1; 73. 2. |
| sodales Titii | I. 54. 1. |
| speculatores | IV. 41. 3. |
| standards | I. 65. 7. |
| states | of Gaul, III. 44. 1. |
| stipendium | of Gaul, I. 31. 2. |
| subscribere | I. 74. 1. |
| suovetaurilia | VI. 37. 2. |
| Surena | VI. 42. 6. |
| tabellarii | IV. 41. 3. |
| table | place of honor, III. 14. 2. |
| templum (consecrated place) | I. 51. 2. |
| theatre | special seats, II. 33. 5; 83. 2; VI. 3. 1; of Pompey, III. 23. 1; 72. 4; of Marcellus, 64. 2; scene of popular demonstrations, VI. 13. 1. |
| toga | distinctive garment, I. 12. 5; 59. 6; II. 59. 2; praetexta, 14. 1; sordida, etc, 29. 1. |
| tormenta | I. 56. 5. |
| torques | II. 9. 5. |
| torture (quaestio) | II. 30. 3. |
| trabea | III. 2. 2. |
| traffic | low estimate, IV. 13. 4. |
| transvectio equitum | II. 83. 5. |
INDEX TO THE NOTES.

treasury: II. 41. 1.
tribes: beneficiary, I. 8. 3; of comitia, 15. 1; III. 4. 2; patrician, I. 54. 1.
tribunal: I. 18. 4; 75. 1; (catafalque), II. 83. 3.
tribunate: military, I. 1. 2.
tribunician power: I. 2. 1; 10. 7; 13. 4; III. 27. 3; 56. 2; proposed use in dates, 57. 2.
tribute: I. 11. 6; IV. 6. 4.
trumphal gate: I. 8. 4.
trumpalia insignia: I. 72. 1.
trumpalis vestis: I. 15. 4.
triumvirale supplicium: V. 9. 3.
triumvirate: I. 1. 3.
tropaeum: II. 18. 2.
tuba: I. 68. 3.
turma: II. 52. 2, 6; IV. 73. 2.
ultimus Romanorum: IV. 34. 1.
uniciarum faenus: VI. 16. 3.
usury: VI. 16.

vermaculae legiones: I. 31. 4.
versura: VI. 16. 3.
vesti virgins: guardians of wills, I. 8. 1; dignity, II. 34. 8; selection, 86. 1.
veste mutata: II. 29. 1.
vexillum: I. 20. 1; II. 52. 2; of cohorts, I. 34. 4; scarlet, 39. 4.
vexillarii: I. 17. 3; 38. 1.
via principalis: I. 61. 3.
vici: I. 56. 5.
vigintiviratus: III. 29. 1.
villa: III. 46. 7; 53. 5.
villages: III. 40. 4; of Germany, I. 56. 5.
vine-stick (of centurion): I. 23. 4; 32. 2.
vis publica: IV. 13. 2.
vota: for emperor's health, IV. 17. 1.
wills: I. 8. 1, 2; II. 48. 1; free expression of opinion in, VI. 38. 2.
worship: of the emperor, I. 10. 5; German, 59. 6.

year: how designated, III. 57. 2.