THE ANNALS OF TACITUS

FURNEAUX

VOL. I.

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THE

ANNALS OF TACITUS

EDITED

WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

BY

HENRY FURNEAUX, M.A.
FORMERLY FELLOW AND TUTOR OF CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE, OXFORD

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The first edition had also derived valuable assistance from two unpublished sources.

Mr. T. F. Dallin, M.A., late Public Orator in the University of Oxford, and formerly Fellow and Tutor of Queen's College, had originally undertaken an edition of this portion of the Annals for the Delegates of the University Press; and the materials collected by him, unfortunately far less than could have been desired[1], were entrusted to me after his death, to be used as I thought fit[2].

Most kind and valuable assistance was also rendered to me by the Venerable Archdeacon Edwin Palmer, D.D., then one of the Delegates of the Press, not only in the shape of numerous suggestions tending to improve the substance and form of a large part of the Introduction and notes examined by him, but also by permission given to study and use the materials collected for lectures given on these Books of the Annals during his tenure of the Corpus Professorship of Latin, which were most helpful on a number of points of scholarship throughout the volume. I deeply regret that his lamented death prevented my receiving any additional advice from him in the present revision.

On the other hand, the improvement of this edition has been very greatly assisted by the criticisms made on its predecessor. The reviewers of the work, while most indulgent to its shortcomings, have very much helped me in removing them; and due attention has been also paid to many most valuable suggestions and corrections privately received. Among those friends who have thus

[1] This would be fully accounted for by his untimely death, and by the pressure of other occupations in the years immediately preceding it.

[2] I have taken from them the chief part of the Excursus on the 'Lex Papia Poppaea,' and several notes or parts of notes, especially on some of the early chapters of Book iii, which are duly acknowledged where they occur.

made use of as is given above, or to be gathered from the whole of this volume, will seem meagre in the extreme; and even if only well-known writers be taken account of, I fear that the most competent critics will be mainly impressed by the omissions. But whatever hopes I had formed that the book would give more assistance than has been hitherto easily accessible to the general student of this portion of Tacitus have been far more than realized by the reception given to it, and by the demand for a new edition at an earlier date than I had expected. The defects still evident in it will not, I hope, be set down to negligence, but will be excused as those of an editor who has long since lost the experience which those engaged in teaching acquire of what is most likely to interest or perplex intelligent students.

Classical authors are mostly cited from the texts of the Teubner series; and it is hoped that the abbreviations used in referring to them, or to editors or other modern writers, will generally explain themselves. As regards Latin inscriptions, the 'Monumentum Ancyranum' (Mon. Anc.) is cited from Mommsen's edition above referred to · the 'Oratio Claudi' fro th Appen

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INTRODUCTION.

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CHAPTER I.

ON THE LIFE AND WORKS OF TACITUS; AND ON THE FIRST MEDICEAN MS.

THE personal history of Tacitus is known to us only from allusions to it in his own works, and from the letters of his friend, the younger Pliny; from which sources, scanty as they are, we yet learn something more of his biography than is known of that of many other great writers.

A few fixed dates help to determine others. He was betrothed in marriage during the consulship of his father-in-law, in 830, A.D. 77 [1]; he was praetor at the ludi saeculares celebrated by Domitian, in 841, A.D. 88 [2]. It is also stated that his 'dignitas' or career of office began with (as is generally assumed) the quaestorship, under Vespasian, and reached a second step, presumably that of a tribunate or aedileship, under Titus [3]. He would thus have filled these offices respectively not later

[1] See Agr. 9, 7. [2] See Ann. II. 11, 3. [3] See II. 1. 1, 4.

it the chief office of history to rescue virtue from oblivion, and that base words and deeds should have the fear of posthumous infamy[1].'

Even his own age, he feels assured, is not without noble characters deserving of such record. The operation of traceable causes, or even the revolution of a kind of cycle, can again bring good after evil, as fertile succeed to barren seasons[2]. An Agricola is as worthy of imitation as the heroes of antiquity, and, by being recorded for posterity, may receive the imperishable statue erected by those whose lives are formed on his[3].

We may compare with this the nearly similar moral purpose professed by Livy; to lead men to avoid the evil and choose the good, by exhibiting the intrinsic character and consequences of both. 'This it is that is so salutary and fruitful in historical study, that you see specimens of every type of character conspicuously displayed; and may hence take models for yourself and your country to imitate, or instances of what is vile in its beginning and issues, to avoid[4].'

Side by side with this runs another, but a closely connected purpose, that of being the means of teaching a political wisdom suitable to the times. He reminds the reader, that as men had of old to study the tempers of the aristocracy or the people, so, under a virtual monarchy, even the apparent trifles which he collects and puts on record will have their use, as men learn what is advantageous or pernicious more readily from the examples of others than from any forethought of their own[5].

This purpose, though apparently less exalted than the other, aims no less in result at elevating the character of public men. For the lesson which he desires to teach is that 'even under bad princes there can be good citizens[6],' and that the most admirable is generally also the most successful; neither the base courtier who, by any reaction, or even by the mere desire for a new instrument[7], is unmade in a moment by the breath that made him, nor the proud and impracticable 'irreconcileable,' like Helvidius Priscus, who ostentatiously flings away his life[8], but the dignified reserve and moderation, 'removed alike from perilous disrespect and loathsome servility,' which sustained the position of a Manius Lepidus under Tiberius[9], a Memmius Regulus under Nero[10], and an Agricola under Domitian[11].

[1] Ann. 3. 65, 1; see also Agr. 1, 1. His idea of virtue, as Von Ranke notes (Weltgesch.), is the Roman idea, consisting in courage, resolution, fidelity.

[2] 3. 55, 6; cp. 2. 88, 4.

[3] Agr. 46, 3.

[4] Livy, Praef. 10.

[5] Ann. 4. 33, 2.

[6] Agr. 42, 5.

[7] Ann. 4. 71, 1.

[8] Agr. l. l.

[9] Ann. 4. 20, 4.

[10] Ann. 14. 47, 1.

[11] Agr. 42–44. This idea is on the whole consistently maintained, but his

of reaching truth, by weighing in the scales of justice the indiscriminate praise or censure of earlier writers. He is more conscious of the difficulty of writing on the Flavian Caesars, to whom he was personally indebted[1], than on the period covered by the Annals, one in which, as he believed, 'the grounds of resentment or partiality were far removed from him[2].'

In one case, when he discusses and rejects a scandalous tale, he begs the reader to take it as a specimen[3], implying that he has rejected many other such; which a comparison with Dio or Suetonius will sufficiently confirm. A single instance may here deserve notice, from the attempts of commentators to force it into compatibility with his narrative. Suetonius tells a story, partly perhaps derived from Seneca[4] and the elder Pliny[5], that Tiberius, when already princeps, spent thirty-six hours in a continuous drinking bout with L. Piso and Pomponius Flaccus, both of whom were rewarded for their boon companionship—'alteri Syriam provinciam, alteri praefecturam urbis confestim detulit[6].' But according to the text of Tacitus in the MS., Piso, at his death in 785, A. D. 32, had been twenty years praefect, and had therefore held that office under Augustus[7]. This is got rid of by the supposition that twenty years is a round number, or that in some earlier MS. in which numerals were used, 'xx' and 'xv' have been confused. But the story limps elsewhere, for the appointment of Flaccus to Syria cannot be dated before 785, A. D. 32[8]. This again is met by referring 'confestim' to Piso alone; which, if open to no other objection, spoils the point of the story by destroying the plausible connexion of cause and effect, and by making Suetonius gravely connect this appointment with a debauch of some fifteen years before it, when the consulship[9] and the governorship of Moesia[10] had intervened. The suggestion is surely more probable that Tacitus was aware of this story, saw its inconsistency with facts and dates, and rejected it without even noticing it.

In spite, however, of his diligence, his firm conviction of his own impartiality, and his belief that he treads on firmer ground in describing times further off from his own, it has been the general verdict of modern criticism, that 'the Histories of Tacitus are more to be relied on than his Annals[11],' and the latter are even maintained to be 'almost wholly satire[12].' The very excellences of the book are also noted as its defects.

[1] H. 1. 1, 4. [2] Ann. 1. 1, 6.
[3] 4. 11. [4] Ep. 83, 14.
[5] N. H. 14. 22 (28), 145.
[6] Suet. Tib. 42. Seneca mentions only that Piso had a habit of drinking; Pliny gives the part relating to him of this story as a mere 'belief of some persons;' but it becomes an undoubted fact with Suetonius.
[7] See notes on 6. 11.
[8] See notes on 6. 27.
[9] 2. 41, 2. [10] 2. 66, 3.
[11] Merivale, Hist. ch. lvii. p. 467.
[12] Id. ch. lxiv. p. 343.

mitior quia toleraverat[1]:' 'acerrima proximorum odia[2]:' 'causae inimicitiae acriores quia iniquae[3]:' 'proprium humani generis odisse quem laeseris[4]'—these and a hundred such are the forms in which the stern and bitter experiences of the historian's life express themselves. There are no such arrows in the quiver of Augustan literature; they are hardly so barbed even in Juvenal. Again, we have the satiric tendency, prevalent especially in the Annals, to take extreme acts as typical of the man, and extreme men as typical of the age. Not, however, that such exaggerations are on one side only: the great literary artist knows too well the effect of a heightened contrast to neglect the opportunities held out to him. Even on such neutral ground as the subject of the 'Germania' this is thought to have affected the historical fidelity of Tacitus; and in the portraiture of Rome under the Caesars, the temptation was far more irresistible. Hence the effort to idealize a Germanicus, a Corbulo, or an Agricola, and others who might be mentioned; and the tendency to surround with glory the death-scene of the martyrs.

Between this sharply-drawn contrast of hideous vices and heroic virtues, the neutral multitude of ordinary men on the dead level of average mediocrity of character in all ranks of life, however deeply interesting to those who would truly trace the general tendencies of an age, fade as completely out of sight as the shadowy rank and file of the Homeric armies.

[1] Ann. 1. 20, 2. [2] H. 4. 70, 3. [3] Ann. 1. 33, 3. [4] Agr. 42, 4.

the more studiously seek to create variety, and stimulate the flagging interest of the reader, even by ever so short an episode[1]; by a departure from his usual order of narrative[2]; by multiplying, artificially and even fancifully, the expressions for constant occurrences[3]; by a hundred small variations in the structure or arrangement of sentences[4]; by straining more and more after novelties, or by occasionally reviving archaisms in vocabulary or phrase[5]; by anything to break the weary sameness of his chronicle of tyranny.

The old criticism, tracing the characteristics of the style of Tacitus to poetic colouring, and to the study of brevity and of variety[6], will be seen to be well founded, and to be capable of explanation from the circumstances of his life and nature of his subject; and to show the natural gifts, not unmixed with the natural defects, of the most finished pleader of an age which required above all that its orators should be terse, brilliant, and striking.

Historical style was all the more likely to be rhetorical, owing to the custom of oral recitation. From many instances in which the effect on the ear seems to be studied, and others in which oral emphasis would have removed an ambiguity, it is not improbable that Tacitus may have adopted this general practice.

To these should be added the most truly personal of all his traits of style, the elevation and dignity (σεμνότης) known to have characterized the orator[7], and which, in the relation not only of great matters, but also of what is trivial, or even revolting, appears never to be lost sight of by the historian.

The following instances are almost wholly restricted to the Annals, not only on account of the limits of the present work, but also because these are the most truly Tacitean of all the writings of Tacitus; many uses and expressions, rare or even unknown in his earlier writings, being in them frequent and even habitual[8].

The arrangement of Draeger, whose sections are cited throughout, is far more elaborate and scientific than that here given, which has been simplified for convenience of general reference. It will be evident that

[1] See above, p. 27, note 3.
[2] See l. l., note 1.
[3] See § 93. [4] See §§ 85–92.
[5] This increasing preference of unusual or even obsolete expressions is shown by Wölfflin (Phil. xxv. p. 95 foll.) to be the true key to the difference between the earlier and later writings.
[6] Bötticher (Proleg. lxvi, &c.), whom I have followed in arranging much of the subject under these heads. See §§ 72–92.
[7] Plin. Epp. 2. 11, 17.
[8] This has been very fully shown by Wölfflin (Phil. xxv. 95–127). See also below, §§ 22 b, 31, 36, 37, 40, 64, 69, 77, 89. The style and language of the 'Dialogus' are exhaustively treated by Gudeman, and more concisely by Peterson; those of the Germania and Agricola briefly in Introd. to those treatises; and material for similar treatment of the Histories is to be found in the notes of Heraeus.

erat 1. 59, 1. Dr. § 48. The ordinary usage whereby, in expressions such as cui nomen est, the name itself is attracted to the case of the pronoun, is restricted by Tacitus to adjectives (as 1. 31, 2; 2. 8, 1, &c.): the nominative (as 1. 45, 1, &c.), or, rarely, the genitive (see note on 4. 59, 2), being used of substantives. (Nipp. on 2. 16.) Cp. Madv. 246, Obs. 2. 3.

17. **The 'dativus commodi'** is extended to such usages as sibi ... procubuisse 1. 59, 4; sibi ... firmabat 1. 71, 5; ut mihi informis, sic tibi magnifica 12. 37, 2; perhaps non referre dedecori 15. 65, 2. Dr. § 49.

18. **The dative of the agent** or subjective dative is used, without restriction to the gerundive or to passive participles or adjectives in '-bilis' (Roby 1146), and without any notion of the interest of the agent (Madv. 250 a), in more than thirty places, e.g. sibi ... adspici 1. 17, 10; propinquis ... removeretur 2. 50, 4. Cp. 2. 57, 5; 3. 3, 3; 20, 3, &c. It is not easy always to distinguish this dative from such ablatives as are noted in § 27. Dr. § 51, Nipp. on 2. 50, Her. on H. 1. 11, 8, Gud. on Dial. 4, 8.

19. **The dative of a noun so closely connected with another that a genitive would be expected** (Roby 1154), frequent in poets, is also frequent in Livy, and still more in Tacitus; e.g. rector iuveni 1. 24, 3; paci firmator 2. 46, 6; and very many others. Dr. § 53.

20. **The dative of the thing as object**, often used with adjectives or participles, as promptus 1. 2, 1, &c.; intentus 1. 31, 2; facilis 2. 27, 2, &c.; appears to be an extension of the usage with persons. See Nipp. on 11. 21, Madv. 247.

21. **The dative after compound verbs**, where accus. with prep. would be usual, is also poetical, as pectori adcreverat 1. 29, 1 (where see note); penatibus induxerit 5. 1, 3, &c.

22. **Dative of work contemplated.** Roby 1156, 1382.

(*a*) **Gerund.** Such expressions as restaurando sufficeret 3. 72, 4; testificando vulgabat 13. 11, 2 (cp. 15. 16, 2); appear to be extensions of the classical phrases solvendo esse, scribendo adesse. Dr. § 206 A.

(*b*) **Gerundive.** It is characteristic of Tacitus to employ this usage with increasing, and latterly with great frequency: only three instances being found in the minor works, and thirteen in the Histories, while it abounds in the Annals more than in any other Latin author. It is used with more than twenty adjectives (see 1. 23, 5; 37, 1; 2, 57, 3,

fectio arto comitatu 4. 58, 1; testamentum multo rumore 3. 76, 2: see also notes on 14. 23, 3; 15. 29, 4; 54, 1. Sometimes the adj. is represented by a genit., as mariti animo 1. 57, 5; pacis artibus H. 1. 8, 2. Dr. § 61. See Nipp. on 3. 43; 76; Joh. Müller, Beitr. 4. 39 foll.

30. **The causal ablative** is used rarely in the Histories, often in the Annals, in cases where the use of a prep. or of a genit. with 'causa' or 'gratia' would be expected; both of subjective motives, as iactantia gloriaque 1. 8, 2; caritate aut reip. cura 1. 10, 6; conscientia 1. 57, 2 (cp. 1. 76, 6; 3. 44, 4); and also of objective causes, as dissensione ordinum 3. 27, 2; atrocitate 11. 28, 3; defectione 12. 10, 1; fervore 13. 16, 3; claritudine 13. 23, 1; cohortationibus 14. 30, 3; utilitate 15. 44, 8; adfluentia 16. 18, 4. See notes on 2. 75, 1; 3. 24, 5 (and Nipp. there), Ruperti on 14. 5, Dr. § 64, Roby 1228, Madv. 256, Obs. 2, Zumpt 454.

31. Some characteristic uses of **the ablative of attendant circumstances,** or **ablative absolute,** are to be noted.

(*a*) *The use of a participle in this case as predicate, with a sentence as subject* (Roby 1252). This usage, very rare before Livy, occurs never in the minor writings of Tacitus, only six times in the Histories, but repeatedly in the Annals. Among the participles which Tacitus appears to be the first so to use are adiecto 4. 70, 7; credito (ἅπ. εἰρ.) 3. 14, 4; distincto (ἅπ. εἰρ.) 11. 38, 2; intellecto 1. 49, 3; pensitato 3. 52, 4; 12. 17, 3 (only); praedicto (ἅπ. εἰρ.) 16. 33, 3; quaesito 2. 9, 1; 6. 15, 1 (only); repetito 3. 33, 1 (ἅπ. εἰρ.); scripto (ἅπ. εἰρ.) 13. 56, 4, &c. Dr. § 213.

(*b*) *The neuter adjectives similarly used,* as periculoso 1. 6, 6; libero 3. 60, 6, are probably to be taken, with Bötticher, as following the Greek usage with the (not always expressed) participle of εἰμί: thus iuxta periculoso = ὁμοίως ἐπικινδύνου (ὄντος). Substantives are also so used: see on 11. 12, 3.

(*c*) *An adjective or participle often stands concisely in this case by itself, when the subject has been recently expressed,* as cohibita 3. 33, 1; concedente 6. 16, 5; invalido 6. 47, 4; or even when a subject, whether definite or indefinite, can be supplied from the sense, as orantibus 1. 29, 2; subitis H. 1. 7, 4; requirentibus H. 1. 27, 3, &c. (see § 54); such instances are found also in Caes. and Livy, but are not always clearly distinguishable from datives. Dr. § 212 a, b, Nipp. on 1. 29; 5. 10.

(*d*) *The transitive use, in this case, of deponent participles,* as secutus 6. 17, 4; 11. 25, 1; ausus 12. 32, 2; adgressus 13, 43, 8; transgressus

Obs. 2), as nostri origine 2. 54, 3; sui incessu 4. 24, 2, &c. In this usage Tacitus is surpassed perhaps only by Apuleius. Nipp. on 12. 37, Dr. § 68 a.

(*b*) *With verbs, such a genitive is used, by Tacitus alone*, with monere 1. 67, 1 (as in classical prose with its compounds); with adipisci 3. 55, 1; and apisci 6. 45, 6 (on the analogy of potiri). The use with egere (4. 20, 4, &c.) and indigere (6. 46, 9, &c.) is more common. Dr. § 68 b.

(*c*) *The elliptical genitive*, so constant with verbs of judging or accusing, *is extended by Tacitus to some new examples*, as postulare 1. 74, 1, &c.; perhaps urguere (ἅπ. εἰρ.) 6. 29, 3. Dr. § 69.

(*d*) *With participles.* This usage is more common in Tacitus than in any of his predecessors, though perhaps no participle is first so used by him. A list of thirteen is given by Dr. (§ 70), many of which occur frequently, as cupiens 1. 75, 4, &c.; inpatiens 2. 64, 4, &c.; intolerans 1. 31, 4, &c.; retinens 2. 38, 9, &c.; sciens 1. 64, 6, &c.; and others.

(*e*) *With adjectives*, also characteristic of Tacitus as regards extreme boldness and frequency. Dr. § 71, Zumpt 437, Gudeman on Dial. 13, 22.

(α) Expressing direct object, like the participles above (*d*), where a participle with accus. might be substituted (Roby 1312): as with formidolosior 1. 62, 3; pavidus 4. 38, 1; praescius 6. 21, 5; providus, 4. 38, 1, &c.

(β) Expressing a remoter object, where the abl. with prep. would be usual (Roby 1318): so exitii certus 1. 27, 3; incerta ultionis 2. 75, 1; potentiae securus 3. 28, 3; and many others, and gerundial genit. as ambiguus imperandi 1. 7, 4, &c., noted as a characteristic usage of the Annals by Platner (see on 22 b).

(γ) Expressing the thing in point of which a term is applied to a person; an especially poetical and Tacitean usage (Roby 1320), but occasionally found in Sallust. A very frequent example is the (perhaps) locative animi (Roby 1168), as 1. 32, 5; 69, 2, &c. (often also in Verg. and Liv.); also the genitives with atrox (ἅπ. εἰρ.) 12. 32, 1; manifestus 2. 85, 3, &c.; melior 3. 74, 1; modicus 2. 73, 3; occultus 4. 7, 2; pervicax 4. 53, 1; praeclarus 4. 34, 4; praestantissimus 6. 6, 2; procax (ἅπ. εἰρ.) 13. 46, 5; segnis 14. 33, 4; spernendus 14. 40, 3; validus, 4. 21, 5; vetus 1. 20, 2; and others. Sometimes two genitives are concisely used where accusatives with inter would be expected, as with ambiguus 2. 24, 6; 40, 2; and trepidus 6. 21, 4. The anomalous genit. pers. with aequus in 6. 36, 5, may have some affinity with these.

changes from 'obliqua' to 'recta oratio,' see § 94. Pfitzner (Die Annalen kritisch beleuchtet, p. 178) shows rules by which this usage appears to be limited.

50. **The rhetorical use of the indicative for subjunctive** in the apodosis of conditional sentences, when the leading proposition is conceived as independent of the condition (see Madv. 348, Zumpt 519), is remarkable in Tacitus for its frequency.

(*a*) *In the perfect or historical present*, with suppression or contraction of the proper apodosis, as bellum ... mandat, ni deditionem properavissent 2. 22, 3 (as though 'et bellum iis illatum esset' had been added). Cp. 16. 28. 3; H. 1. 64, 4; Agr. 4, 1. Dr. § 199.

(*b*) *In the imperfect.*

(1) Of an incomplete action or tendency, to show vividly what was on the point of happening; the protasis almost invariably (an exception is noted in 1. 23, 3) following the apodosis, and being almost invariably introduced by 'ni,' as ferrum parabant, ni 1. 23, 6; deferebat ..., ni 35, 5; trudebantur ..., ni 63, 3; and very many others. Dr. § 194, Zumpt 519 b, Roby 1574. An ellipsis may be supposed here as in the case above.

(2) To express what might, would, or should have been, in forcible contrast to what actually is; as si ... aspernaretur, tamen indignum erat 1. 42, 5 (where see Nipp.). Roby 1535 c, Madv. 348 e. Here the protasis always precedes, except in H. 4. 19, 4.

(*c*) *In the pluperfect.* Either to express a state of things which had already existed for some time, and would have continued to exist; or, in a vein of rhetorical exaggeration, as if what would have happened, had happened; as impleverat 4. 9, 1; contremuerant 6. 9, 6; oppressa 6. 43, 1; exstimulaverant 15. 50, 6. Also, without any expressed protasis, to express what is no longer possible, as malueram 15. 2, 3 (where see Nipp.). Dr. §§ 28, 194, Madv. 348 c, Roby 1535 d, 1574, 4.

C. SUBJUNCTIVE OR CONJUNCTIVE.

51. **The Hypothetical subjunctive, with condition not formally expressed, or Potential subjunctive** (Madv. 350, Roby 1534, foll.), and some forms of the optative or jussive subjunct. (Zumpt 529, Roby 1584, foll.), are used with characteristic freedom in various tenses, and with various meanings.

(*a*) *Present*, as mereare ... recipias 1. 28, 7, &c.

(*b*) *Imperfect*, as discerneres 3. 1, 5; requireres 13. 3, 6, &c.

(*c*) *Aoristic perfect*, very frequently, in modest assertions, and in nega-

(3) By the omission of tanto or eo magis in the apodosis, as quanto incautius efferverat, poenitentia patiens 1. 74, 7; cp. 1. 2, 1; 4. 69, 4; 6. 19, 5; 26, 3. In 3. 8, 1, tam is similarly omitted. The rule of Nipp. (on 1. 68, see also Roby 1205), that in all such cases the clause so marked is to be taken absolutely, seems hardly to be established. Dr. § 181. Her. on H. 2. 99, 7.

With these usages may be compared the abbreviation of adversative sentences by using, after non modo, either sed without etiam, as 1. 60, 1, &c.; or etiam (or quoque) without sed, as 3. 19, 2; 4. 35, 1; or omitting sed after a negative clause, as in 4. 54, 4. This usage is found also in Livy. Dr. § 128, Nipp. on 4. 35, Gud. on Dial. 6, 19.

65. **The omission of conjunctions** (asyndeton) is very frequent, either in lively narrative, as inserunt . . . offerunt . . . intendunt 1. 28, 5; amplecti adlevare hortari 12. 51, 3 (cp. 41, 4; 64, 1; 70, 4, &c.); or in enumerations, as senatus magistratuum legum 1. 2, 1 (cp. 1. 3, 3; 35, 1; 60, 3, &c.); or in summing up, as legiones provincias classes, cuncta 1. 9, 6 (cp. 1. 68, 7; 12. 65, 4, &c.); or to point a climax, as manu voce vulnere 2. 17, 5; sanie odore contactu 4. 49, 4; tempus preces satias 6. 38, 1, &c.; or an antithesis, as lacrimas gaudium questus adulationem 1. 7, 2 (cp. 4. 49, 3; 60, 3; 6. 19, 3; 15. 27, 4, &c.). Such asyndeta are more or less common in rhetorical writings, as in the orations of Cicero, in Sallust, Livy, &c. See Ritt. on 11. 6, Nipp. on 4. 43; 12. 19, Her. on H. 2. 70, 15, and a full account in Dr. §§ 133–138.

66. Tacitus adopts from Livy, but employs oftener, **the concise Greek use of adverbs as attributive adjectives,** as circum 4. 55, 8, &c.; superne . . . comminus 2. 20, 3, &c. Dr. § 23, Madv. 301 c, Obs. 2.

67. **The frequent use of tamquam, quasi, and velut, in expressions of the alleged or imagined reason or purpose of an act,** or the grounds of a charge or belief, like that of ὡς with participles or prepositions (see L. and S. Lex. s.v. C. 1. 11), has been very fully examined by Wölfflin and others (see below). It would appear that the distinctions which some have attempted to draw between the force of these words can hardly be sustained; that the question of reality or pretence is on the whole left open, though the latter view is not unfrequently suggested by tamquam, and still oftener by quasi or velut; and that the chief distinction between the two latter is that velut is preferred in the earlier writings, quasi rarely used except in the Annals. On the use of tamquam, cp. 1. 12, 6; 2. 84, 3; 12. 39, 5; 13. 43, 7;

14. 41, 1, &c.; on that of quasi, 1. 35, 4; 6. 11, 5; 12. 47, 3; 52, 1; 13. 18, 3; 14. 65, 1, &c.; on that of velut, 6. 50, 4; 15. 53, 3; 16. 2, 1, &c. A similar use of ut may be noted in 1. 47, 5; 3. 74, 5; 12. 52, 1; 14. 8, 2. Nipp. on 3. 72; 6. 11, Dr. § 179, Wölfflin, Philol. xxiv. 115–123, Pfitzner 160–165.

68. Among various uses may be noted those of adeo non 3. 34, 3, &c.; adhuc 3. 26, 1, &c. (Dr. § 24): aeque quam 2. 52, 5, &c. (Dr. § 176); an (in indirect questions) 1. 5, 4; 2. 9, 1; 3. 12, 3; 15. 16, 2 (Dr. § 153); aut 1. 55, 2; 3. 34, 8; 13. 21, 7, &c. (Dr. § 129); ceterum 1. 10, 1, &c. (Dr. § 21); diu 4. 69, 4; donec 1. 68, 6; dum (causal) 2. 88, 4, &c. (Dr. § 168); et (in negative clauses) 1. 4, 1; 38, 4 (see Nipp.); 70, 5, &c. (Dr. § 107); et (with simul in temporal clauses) 1. 65, 5, &c. (Dr. § 110); et alii (= alii . . . alii) 1. 63, 7, &c. (Dr. § 117); et . . . quoque 4. 7, 4 (Dr. § 121); impune (as predicate) 1. 72, 3, &c. (Dr. § 33); non saltem 3. 5, 5 (Dr. § 24); perinde 2. 88, 4, &c. (Nipp.); perinde quam 2. 1, 2, &c. (Dr. § 175); perinde quam si 1. 73, 5, &c. (Id.); quatenus 3. 16, 5; quin 6. 22, 5; 12. 6, 2; 13. 14, 4; 14. 29, 1, &c. (Dr. § 186); quod 3. 54, 6 (Dr. § 141); quominus 1. 21, 4, &c. (Dr. § 187); quoque non 3. 54, 11 (Nipp. and Dr. § 122); si 1. 11, 5; 48, 1, &c. (Dr. §§ 191, 193); sive and seu 1. 6, 6; 2. 24, 6, &c. (Dr. § 129); ut (dep. on placitum, sino, subigo, &c.) 1. 36, 4; 43, 3; 2. 40, 5, &c. (Dr. § 142); ut (conditional) 4. 38, 1; ut (restrictive) 4. 62, 4; utcumque 2. 14, 4, &c. (Dr. § 24); vel (= aut) 14. 35, 5 (Dr. § 129). See also §§ 46 b, c, 49, 51 d, 52, 53.

STYLE.

I. *New Words or new Senses of Words.*

69. Even where he follows other writers, **Tacitus**, especially in the Annals, **constantly prefers unusual forms of diction**, e. g. claritudo and firmitudo to the forms in '-as;' cognomentum and levamentum to the forms in '-men;' medicamen, fragmen, tegumen to the forms in '-mentum' (see Wölfflin, Philol. 25, pp. 99, 100). The same tendency leads him to innovate on his own account, and the following words in the Annals, many of which are ἅπ. εἰρ., appear to have been invented by him:—

(1) Verbal Substantives.

(*a*) in *-tor*, *-sor*, and *-trix*, adcumulator 3. 30, 2; concertator 14. 29, 2; condemnator 4. 66, 1; cupitor 12. 7, 4, &c.: defector 1. 48, 1, &c.; detractor 11. 11, 6, &c.; exstimulator 3. 40, 1, &c.; patrator 14. 62, 3;

the instances are trivial (see the so-called hexameters in 3. 44, 4; 15. 9, 1; 73, 4; Agr. 10, 4); one only is noteworthy for its rhythm (auguriis patrum et prisca formidine sacrum G. 39, 2), and one other for its position, as forming a complete period, and as the opening sentence of the Annals. The hexameter with which Livy begins is, as far as it goes, much more rhythmical, and he has many more such verses or parts of verses than Tacitus. No more can be proved, than that the ear of neither of these historians was so sensitive in avoidance of such cadences, as that of Cicero (see de Orat. 3. 47, 182; Orat. 56, 189) or Quintilian (see 9. 4, 72).

III. *Influence of the Study of Brevity.*

80. **Ellipses, and similar abbreviated expressions.** By far the most important of these are found in syntactical usages already noticed, in a large proportion of which the desire of brevity of expression appears prominent; especially in the omission of pronouns (§ 8), of verbs (§§ 38, 39), of prepositions (see references on § 56), and other particles (§§ 64, 65); in the fondness for concise constructions with the infinitive (§§ 42, 43, 44, 46), with gerund and gerundive (§§ 22, 36, 37), with in and the accusative (§ 60 *b*), with nisi and ni (§ 50). A few other ellipses are noted by Dr. § 238, such as omissions of pars (4. 20, 3), annus (11. 11, 1), dies (4. 45, 4), lex (3. 25, 1), uxor (4. 11, 4), filia (12. 1, 3), &c.; many of which would be common in any approach to colloquial forms, as in comic poets and in the letters of Cicero, as well as in inscriptions. See Gud. Introd. cxviii, and the special treatise of G. Clemm 'De breviloquentiae Taciteae quibusdam generibus,' Leipzig, 1881.

81. **The frequent use of participial clauses** tends to conciseness (see §§ 31, 54, 55), and is characteristic of Tacitus; as is illustrated by the comparison made by Draeger (§ 238) between simple narrative passages of the same length, in Caes. B. G. 2. 1–2; Sall. Jug. 6–7; Liv. 21. 5; and Ann. 2. 11–12; in which, respectively, the participial clauses are 5, 10, 16, and 24. Instances of such participial and also of adjectival clauses are given by Nipp. on 3. 55; 4. 64.

82. **Parentheses.** Besides the explanatory accusative already noticed (§ 12 *a*), Tacitus frequently has a parenthetical word or expression in apposition in the nominative, equivalent to a complete relative clause; as vix credibile dictu 1. 35, 6; mirum dictu 2. 17, 4; incertum is thus used by Livy, &c.; dubium by Ovid, &c.; rarum by Tacitus alone, and chiefly in the Annals, 1. 39, 7; 56, 2; 6. 10, 3; 13. 2, 2; also H. 4. 12, 3. For more complete parenthetical sentences, see 4. 55, 6; 12.

...in occulto 1. 49, 2; palam...secreto 2. 72, 2, &c.; cp. 4. 1, 4; 6. 7, 4; 12. 7, 6; 13, 1, &c.

94. **The monotony of reported speeches in oratio obliqua is often varied** (as also not unfrequently in Liv.) **by an abrupt transition to oratio recta**; as 2. 77, 2; 3. 12, 4; 46. 3; 4. 40, 5; 11. 30, 5; H. 3. 2, 8. The transition has also the effect of a rhetorical climax (Dr. § 256). On smaller parenthetical suspensions of oratio obliqua, see § 49.

IV. *Influence of Imitation.*

95. **Graecisms.** Nearly all of those found in Tacitus appear to have been already more or less naturalized in Latin. Most of them have been already noticed (see §§ 11, 12 *d*, 13, 16, 18, 37 *d*, 54, 60 *b*, 63, 64, 66, 67. To these may be added the use of si with expressions of fear, &c., as 1. 11, 5; such a genitive as diversa omnium 1. 49, 1; the construction nisi forte ... plures curas, &c., 2. 33, 5; and the phrase ut quisque audentiae habuisset 15. 53, 3. The list of Greek words used by him (see Nipp. on 14. 15, 6) is not large, and consists wholly of terms more or less technical, and which have no strict Latin equivalent. Dr. §§ 67, 147, 191, 258.

96. **Latin archaisms.** The desire of novelty in diction appears to have led Tacitus sometimes to revive obsolete words and forms from old writers, in preference to employing those which were usual (Wölfflin, Philol. xxv. 106, &c.). Among such may be noticed dissertare 12. 11, 1 (Cato and Plaut.); mercimonium 15. 38, 2 (Plaut.); perduellis 14. 29, 2 (Enn. Plaut., &c.); truculentia 2. 24, 1 (Plaut.); also the accus. with fungor 3. 2, 2; and with potior 11. 10, 8. Dr. § 258.

97. **The debt of Tacitus to previous historians, and to the great classic poets**, is chiefly to be seen in very many of the syntactical usages already mentioned, and in the lists of poetical words and senses of words (see §§ 70, 72). Many other instances will be found noticed in the notes throughout: a few of the more striking are here selected from the fuller lists given by Dr. (§ 259) and Wölfflin (Philol. xxvi. 122–134), and in special treatises.

(1) Sallust (see also above, p. 40, note 4).	*Annals.*
Cat. 6. 1 urbem Romam habuere initio Troiani . .	1. 1, 1
Fr. inc. 92 D, 60 K, 37 G. genua patrum advolvuntur .	1. 13, 7
Jug. 51, 1 fors omnia regere	1. 49, 2

(3) Horace. *Annals.*

Ep. 1. 11, 6 odio maris atque viarum (cp. Od. 2. 6, 7) . 2. 14, 6
Od. 2. 16, 25 laetus in praesens 11. 15, 1
Od. 1. 37, 9 contaminato cum grege 15. 37, 8

(4) Vergil (see also §§ 70, 72, 74, 76, 77 and above, p. 40, note 2).

Aen. 4, 15 fixum immotumque 1. 47, 1
„ 6, 103 laborum . . . facies 1. 49, 1
„ 10, 308 rapit . . . aciem 1. 56, 1
„ 10, 850 vulnus adactum 1. 61, 6
„ 9, 137 exscindere gentem 2. 25, 4
„ 3, 176 tendoque . . . cum voce manus 2. 29, 2
„ 3, 651 omnia conlustrans 2. 45, 4
„ 2, 15 instar montis 2. 61, 1
„ 9, 763 ingerit hastas 2. 81, 2
„ 2, 75 quae sit fiducia capto 3. 11, 2
„ 1, 359 argenti pondus et auri 3. 53, 5
„ 9. 73 tum vero incumbunt 4. 24, 1
„ 1, 264 populosque . . . contundet 4. 46, 1
„ 1, 167 vivo . . . saxo 4. 55, 5
„ 4, 388 sermonem abrumpit 4. 60, 2
„ 10, 630 manet . . . gravis exitus 4. 74, 5
„ 2, 129 rumpit vocem 6. 20, 1
„ 6, 423 fusus humi 11. 37, 4
„ 10, 669 expendere poenas 12. 19, 4
„ 9, 397 fraude loci 12. 33, 2
„ 2, 374 rapiunt (=diripiunt) 13. 6, 1
„ 6. 55 funditque preces 14. 30, 1
„ 10, 532 belli commercia 14. 33, 6
„ 3, 55 fas omne abrumpit 15. 2, 3
„ 11, 335 rebus succurrite fessis 15. 50, 1
„ 2, 369 mortis imago 15. 70, 1
„ 8, 579 abrumpere vitam 16. 28, 6

(5) Ovid.

Trist. 2, 127 citraque necem tua constitit ira . . . 12. 22, 3

By the end of the second 'quinquennium,' at the close of 721, B.C. 33, Lepidus had been deposed, and war with Antonius was imminent. Hence, though Antonius appears to have styled himself 'triumvir' till his death[1], Caesar (at least in his retrospect) limits the formal term of that office to the ten years[2]; and then claims a power quasi-dictatorial, or a virtual concentration of the whole triumvirate in himself, not, apparently, by formal vote, but by general consent. 'Iuravit in mea verba tota Italia sponte sua, et me b[ello] quo vici ad Actium, ducem depoposcit[3].' 'Per consensum universorum [potitus rerum omn]ium' (ἐγκ[ρατ]ὴς γενόμενος πάντων τῶν πραγμάτων)[4].

Also, after a short second consulship in 721, B.C. 33, he enters on a continuous series of nine consulships, his third to his eleventh, 723–731, B.C. 31–23[5].

The following inscription of the year 725, B.C. 29, shows the titles which he then bore, but makes no mention of the tribunician power:—'Imp. Caesari, Divi Juli f., cos. quinct., cos. design. sext., imp. sept[6].'

We come now to the acts of 726, 727, B.C. 28, 27, the tendency of which is described from very different points of view. Caesar himself claims to have then restored the Republic: 'Rempublicam ex mea potestate in senat[us populique Romani a]rbitrium transtuli[7].' This statement is echoed by writers near the time[8], and a coin of this date describes him as 'libertatis P. R. vindex[9].' On the other hand, Dio alludes to this time as the date of a re-established monarchy[10], and Tacitus as the period when the ascendency of Caesar was secured[11]. The reconciliation is simple: the extraordinary dictatorial and constituent powers surviving from the triumvirate, after spending their force in these enactments[12], are surrendered, and all the arbitrary acts

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what appears to be a consular, as distinct from his already existing tribunician power of convoking and consulting the senate, the presidency at its debate, and precedence of others in bringing one subject before it at each sitting[1], as well as the consular insignia of twelve lictors, and a curule chair between those occupied by the consul of the year.

It is plain to see that he had no reason for desiring or accepting either the consulship itself, or any general or titular consular power[2], and that his position caused other privileges to attach themselves to it[3], not perhaps definitely based on powers expressly conferred, but conceived as having been generally inherent in the chief magistracy of Rome, when it embraced in itself the functions afterwards subdivided, as among censors, praetors, and aediles. The powers, as originally assumed by Augustus, might seem only a step beyond several republican precedents[4], and his action in B. C. 27 and 23, bore the appearance of surrender rather than aggrandizement; but in result the whole power of the sword was surrendered into his hands. He has supreme command over all troops, wheresoever stationed[5], with him rest all ordinances respecting their levy, payment, and dismissal, the appointment of officers and regulation of the military hierarchy: senatorial proconsuls had not power over the life of a soldier[6]; and even in their provinces he has the right to collect fiscal revenue[7].

He levies war, makes peace or treaty[8], and represents the state in relation to all foreign or dependent powers. Again, he is the high

[1] This would appear from Dio's words, in which, after χρηματίζειν περὶ ἑνός τινος, καθ' ἑκάστην βουλήν, he adds κἂν μὴ ὑπατεύῃ. This 'ius primae relationis' was no doubt consular, and subsequent emperors obtained right of precedence for as many as five 'relationes' at a sitting. Prof. Pelham appears rightly to identify this with the privilege 'relationem facere,' given in Lex de imp. Vesp. 4, which Mommsen had formerly (but not in Staatsr. ed. 3) explained of submitting motions in writing, without being present. This the princeps could no doubt do, and Tiberius often did so; his letter being apparently by a fiction treated as an 'oratio' (see 3. 57, 1, compared with 56, 1). It is to be noticed that when Caesar put the question, the magistrates, even the consuls, were so far 'privati' as to be asked their 'sententia' (3. 17, 8). It appears also that he could dispense with some legal formalities in summoning the senate (Lex. de imp. Vesp. 8).

[2] See above, p. 79. It may be remembered that a consular power, distinct from the actual consulship, was the form under which the triumvirs had ruled (see above, p. 76). and Augustus would hardly wish to revive this memory.

[3] Some of these are specified below, to which may be added that of 'nominating' candidates for magistracies, which appears in some sort to assume that the princeps was personally holding the comitia (see below, p. 94), which (in the case of elections to the greater magistracies) would be a consular function.

[4] See below, p. 99.

[5] Thus the proconsul of Africa reports on military matters to the emperor as his superior officer, not to the senate: see on 3. 32, 1.

[6] Dio, 53. 13, 7. For an exception, see on 3. 21, 1.

[7] See on 4. 6, 5; 15, 3, and below, p. 92, note 1.

[8] 'Foedusve cum quibus volet facere liceat' Lex de Imp. Vesp. 1. See below, p. 84.

force. But from the tribunician power of the Caesar all these weaknesses were removed. The tribunes of the year were in no sense his colleagues, and their voice was powerless against his[1]; the office was held for life; and the power of the sword was known to be in reserve. This office fully retained memory of its popular origin; for the decree of the senate conferring it was only preliminary to a ratificatory 'lex' or 'plebiscite,' which survived even the general abolition of the comitia[2]. A fragment still remains of the so-called 'lex de imperio Vespasiani[3],' which, while apparently conveying in form the tribunician power, specifies far more prerogatives than such as belong to the conception of that office, and must either be taken to show an almost indefinite extension of its idea, or to include other distinct powers vested in the princeps, perhaps all such as were considered to require a 'lex' to define and ratify them[4]. That this power would of itself give full right to convoke and consult the senate, is matter of course[5], and the special privileges mentioned above[6] as belonging to the princeps in doing so, if they are not rightly viewed as part of his 'imperium,' must be taken to belong to his tribunician power. It is at any rate in virtue of that power that he had absolute control of its proceedings when convoked, and we find it his habit either to guide their decision by speaking first or to reserve himself to the end[7], so as either by formal veto[8] or less formal modification[9] to amend the proposals of others. No less complete and no less indefinite in its extension must have been his tribunician power of controlling the action of other magistrates, and it appears that the 'ius auxilii, ad tuendam plebem, and general coercive power even originally extended a mile beyond the pomerium[10], and must ultimately have been unrestricted by any limit of distance[11]. If we look at this unlimited constitutional power of initiation, revision, coercion, and the formidable elasticity with which it might be made to apply on almost any and all occasions,

[1] E.g. in 1. 77, 3, it is mentioned that a tribune uses his 'intercessio,' but that it was valid only because Tiberius permitted it. See also p. 91, note 1. It is probable that the tribunician power of Caesar was defined as a 'potestas maior' to that of the tribunes of the year.

[2] This is shown by several references to the 'Acta Arvalium.' Staatsr. ii. 875, 2. The words of Dio (53. 32, 6) seem to show that such a 'lex' was first passed in B.C. 23.

[3] C. I. L. vi. 930; Wilm. 917; Orell. i. p. 567; Staatsr. ii. 877; Rushforth, 70.

[4] Staatsr. ii. 881. Prof. Pelham (l. l. p. 45, foll.) argues against Mommsen that the 'imperium' itself, as well as the 'tribunicia potestas,' was ratified and defined by the 'lex.'

[5] It is expressly stated (1. 7, 5) to have been so used by Tiberius, before his formal acceptance of the principate.

[6] See p. 82. [7] See 1. 74, 6.

[8] As 3. 70, 2; 13. 43, 7, &c.: cp. 1. 13, 4; 14. 48, 3, &c. Tiberius is described as rescinding decrees already passed (Suet. Tib. 33).

[9] As 3. 18, 1, &c.

[10] Dio, 51. 19, 6, speaking of the year 724, B.C. 30.

[11] Tiberius, when associated in this power, is said to have exercised it at Rhodes. Suet. Tib. 11.

who held the 'imperium' of the state, and the authority of the senate to 'give laws' in its name[1]. Many such imperial 'leges datae' are mentioned, and fragments of some are preserved[2]; many of them giving colonial or municipal rights[3], or ordaining statutes for such communities[4]. Again, the citizenship, formerly given, as a rule, by plebiscite, but often also through authority committed to commanders, as Marius, Pompeius, &c.[5], is now formally given by the princeps, both to individuals[6], usually as the reward of service in the auxiliary forces[7], and also to whole communities[8]. The legal force of these edicts and rescripts, though strictly limited to the life of the princeps, was in most cases permanent through confirmation of his 'acta' after his death.

Again, by his indirect and direct judicial power, he became practically the sole fountain of justice. Besides framing the lists of 'iudices selecti[9],' and regulating their duties[10], Augustus had, in 726, B.C. 28, 'and often afterwards,' selected the 'praetor urbanus,' 'extra sortem[11].' The princeps frequently sat as assessor at the praetor's side[12], and even in absence appears to have been treated as present by the fiction of a 'calculus Minervae' deposited in his name[13]. Tiberius constantly presides in person at the senatorial high court of justice[14], influencing it by his manner[15] no less than his vote; and exercises his power of intercession, whether in refusing to admit the case[16], or in modifying the sentence, either at the time[17], or before its formal enrolment[18]. The power of pardon, vested in some form and to some extent in every magistrate[19], and substantially reserved by the old constitution for the people[20], has now, so far as it exists, passed directly or indirectly to Caesar[21], as in some sense their representative.

[1] Cic. Verr. ii. 2. 49, 121 'Quas leges sociis amicisque dat is qui habet imperium a populo Romano, auctoritatem legum dandarum a senatu, hae debent et populi Romani et senatus existimari.'

[2] E.g. 'Aes Salpensanum,' 'Aes Malacitanum,' belonging to the time of Domitian. See Henzen, p. 524.

[3] E.g. 14. 27, 2.

[4] See Plin. Ep. ad Traj. 79.

[5] See Cic. Balb. 8, 19; 20, 46.

[6] See 1. 58, 2; 3. 40, 2; 6. 37, 4, &c.

[7] See the 'diplomata militaria' or 'tabulae honestae missionis,' C. I. L. iii. p. 843, &c., and Wilm. 904, &c.

[8] E.g. H. 1. 8, 3.

[9] 'Adlectus inter selectos ab Imp. Caes. Aug.' Henzen, 6158.

[10] Suet. Aug. 32.

[11] Dio, 53. 2, 3.

[12] 1. 75, 1.

[13] Dio, 51. 19, 7, on the year 724, B.C. 30. See Staatsr. ii. 958.

[14] See 3. 12, 1, &c.

[15] See 4. 34, 2, &c.

[16] See 3. 70, 2, &c.

[17] As 3. 18, 1, &c. [18] See 3. 51, 4.

[19] See Plin. Epp. ad Trai. 31; 32; 56, 57.

[20] By 'leges Valeriae de provocatione' Liv. 2. 8; 3. 55; 10. 9.

[21] See Staatsr. ii. 884, and an essay by Mr. A. H. Greenidge in Class. Rev. viii. 429–437. There does not appear to have been in the imperial constitution a formal or regular sovereign power of pardon, but as regards the revision or rescission of sentences, it is clear that the princeps had direct power over those of his own court or those of his vicegerents, and that the senate had not, according to Tacitus (see 3. 51, 4), any power of revising its

Claudius[1]; which passed, at a later time, into a permanent body of salaried jurists[2].

This body is distinct from the more definite political committee of twenty senators, regularly appointed in virtue of magistracy or by lot[3], for discussion of questions to be afterwards submitted to the full house[4]; though these persons might also occasionally act as judicial assessors[5]. These again must be distinguished from the confidential advisers of the princeps, as Sallustius Crispus, Seneca, &c., and from the cabinet council of 'proceres' summoned on emergencies[6].

Notwithstanding these powers, the early 'princeps' has no such monarchy as that of Diocletian or Constantine; nor, on the other hand, does the principate follow the democratic lines traced by the dictator Caesar, whose memory Augustan literature seems to have been instructed rather to obliterate than to glorify[7].

The popular assemblies, suspended by the triumviri, restored, but gradually controlled by Augustus[8], are practically abolished at his death[9]. From this time, whatever share they may have retained in the forms of legislation[10], their most important function, that of electing the magistrates of the state, survives at most in the plebiscite, following a 'senatus-consultum,' by which tribunician power is conferred on the princeps or his associate[11]; or, in other elections, in a mere formal 'renuntiatio' of the choice made by the senate[12]. The importance of this change is only paralleled by the ease with which it appears to have been effected.

While the people thus cease to have any direct share in government, and find their only representation in the democratic side of imperialism, the Caesars have made their peace with the aristocracy, and in outward form share a dual government with it. There are two sets of magistrates; on the one hand, the old republican and senatorial hierarchy of consuls, praetors, &c.; on the other, the praefects and other delegates of the princeps: the former, as of old, elected to office, grouped in 'collegia,' partitioning duties by lot, with annual tenure: the latter

[1] Dio, 60. 4, 3. [2] Staatsr. ii. 989.
[3] Dio, 53. 21, 4.
[4] Suet. Aug. 35. [5] Dio, l. l.
[6] See 15. 25, 2, and note, and the mock representation of such a 'concilium' as summoned by Domitian in Juv. Sat. 4, where it consists of the praef. praetorio, praef. urbi, and seven leading senators.
[7] The silence of Horace, and reserve of Vergil, respecting him, have been often remarked.
[8] Suet. Aug. 40, 56: see Staatsr. ii. 916.
[9] 1. 15, 1. The shortlived restoration by Gaius (Suet. Cal. 16) hardly needs mention.
[10] 'Senatus consulta' and 'leges' are still formally distinct (see 4. 16, 4, &c.), but the former often take the place of the latter (see 12. 7, 3, and note): the mode of enactment of the few 'leges' cited as belonging to the time of Tiberius, such as the 'lex Iunia Norbana' and 'lex Visellia,' is unknown. For a few later 'leges' see D. of Ant. s.v. 'lex,' p. 34.
[11] See above, p. 84.
[12] Dio, 58. 20, 4; Suet. Dom. 10.

procurators abroad began by being far less than they ultimately became [1].

Thus the two classes of magistrates coexisted; and a similar duality pervades the whole government. We have the two classes of provincial governments; the senatorial proconsuls, appointed by lot, with annual tenure; and Caesar's legati and procurators, specially designated, and continuing during his pleasure. There are two judicial systems; on one side the consular-senatorial high court, the tribunals of the praetor and iudices, and of the centumviri; on the other, the personal court of the princeps and those of his delegates. There are two treasuries, each of which receives and expends public money [2]; even two coinages, as the princeps coins gold and silver, and the senate copper [3].

In some departments, indeed, of the thus divided government the senate has, in outward show, more even than its old constitutional power [4]. In form, since the abolition of the comitia, it elects the magistrates of the state, who, through such election, themselves become senators; and its decrees gradually take the place of formal laws [5]. In form, again, even the choice of a princeps rests with it. In several other departments, its formal powers, if not increased, are yet retained [6]. The domestic history of this period is still mainly a record of its debates and decisions; nor is the right to express opinion limited strictly to the question before the house [7]. Formally, again, it is still the fountain of honour; triumphs [8] and triumphal insignia [9], days of public rejoicing [10] and other compliments to the ruling family [11], public funerals [12] and other memorials to the dead [13], are awarded by its decree. By its decrees, again, vices [14], disorder [15], unlawful religions [16], are repeatedly rebuked or dealt with.

Still more remarkable is the institution and development at this time of the senatorial high court of criminal judicature [17], whose proceedings occupy so large a space in the history of this period. It may not im-

[1] On the praef. urbis, see 6. 11; on the praef. praetorio, 4. 2; on the original functions of procurators, 4. 15, 3; on a later assignment of jurisdiction to them, 12. 60, 1.

[2] The fiscus is probably not recognized as a public treasury before the time of Claudius: see vol. ii. Introd. p. 28.

[3] See Staatsr. ii. 1025, &c.

[4] On the whole subject of the senate under the emperors, only a general reference can here be given to Staatsr. iii. 1252 foll.

[5] See on 4. 16, 4.

[6] See the distinction of departments laid down in Nero's opening speech (13. 4, 3), and the subjects mentioned in 13. 49, 2.

[7] See 2. 33, 2; 38, 3; 3. 34, 1, &c.

[8] 1. 55, 1; 3. 11, 1.

[9] 1. 72, 1; 2. 52, 9, &c.

[10] 2. 32, 3; 3. 47, 3, &c.

[11] 1. 14, 1; 3. 57, 2; 64, 3, &c.

[12] 3. 48, 1; 4. 15, 3; 6. 11, 7, &c.

[13] 2. 83, 2; 4. 9, 2, &c.

[14] 2. 33, 1; 85, 1, &c.

[15] 1. 77, 5; 4. 14. 4; 6. 13, 3, &c.

[16] 2. 32, 5; 85, 5, &c.

[17] See Staatsr. ii. 118-125.

find, that even on purely military questions, though their unasked interference is resented[1], they are represented as sharing a responsibility[2].

To maintain such double government in true equilibrium would be impossible, even if honestly attempted; but the hollowness of this apparent duality is clearly seen, not only in that the power of the sword is wholly excepted from it, but also in the securities taken by the princeps to ensure a subservient senate.

Admission to this body, as well as promotion to its higher ranks, was ordinarily gained through magistracy; and the abolition of the comitia would have left the senate self-elective, were not the choice of candidates influenced in two distinct modes by Caesar.

(1) Any influential citizen in the old Republic might informally commend a candidate, by introducing him to the tribes, and canvassing for him. Augustus originally supported his friends in this manner[3]; but in and after 761, A.D. 8, a formal written 'commendatio' is substituted[4]. Henceforth in each election we have 'candidati Caesaris[5],' in respect of whom the comitia, and afterwards the senate, have a mere *congé d'élire*[6]; and this right of 'commendatio' is strictly guaranteed in the 'lex' conferring the principate at each succession The proportion of such candidates is definite, and not large; in the quaestorship apparently only two[8] out of twenty[9], in the praetorship four out of twelve[10]; with some unknown proportion of tribunes and aediles[11].

(2) The presiding magistrate at the old comitia could always refuse to receive the name of, and reject votes tendered for, an unqualified candidate[12]. Out of this grew a right, claimed by Caesar as chief magistrate, to 'nominate' candidates, as well as to 'commend[13].' Such 'nominatio,' made by publishing a list of candidates, implied no more than that they were qualified to receive votes, and might contain any number of names; but it was the interest, and probably a common practice, of the princeps,

such reports become rare except where request is made for a decree of triumphal honours. See Staatsr. ii. 957.'

[1] 6. 3, 1.

[2] 1. 25, 3; 26, 1. The words are probably insincere. Tiberius also represents the senate as partly responsible for the choice of Cn. Piso as legatus of Syria (3. 12, 2).

[3] Suet. Aug. 56.

[4] Dio, 55. 34, 3. A return to the practice of the dictator (Suet. Jul. 41): see Staatsr. ii. 921.

[5] Vell. 2. 124, 4. Cp. Ann. 1. 15, 2, &c.

[6] 'Sine repulsa et ambitu designandos' Ann. 1. 1.

[7] The lex de Imp. Vesp. 12, fixes no number. There was also right of commendation to priesthoods: see on 3. 19, 1.

[8] 'Quaestores Caesaris' and 'quaestores candidati Caesaris' are generally identified, Staatsr. ii. 529.

[9] 11. 22, 9. The doubling of the number by the dictator Caesar (Dio, 43. 47, 2) was probably not permanent.

[10] 1. 15, 2. The number 12 is sometimes exceeded. See on 2. 32, 1.

[11] As to tribunes and aediles, it is only known that some were 'candidati Caesaris.' See Staatsr. ii. 926.

[12] E. g. Liv. 7. 22; 9. 46. The phrase is 'accipere nomen' or 'rationem habere alicuius.' See also Vell. 2. 92, 3.

[13] See Dio, 53, 21, 7; 58. 20, 8.

tioned as left to them, we find, as an additional recognition of their dignity, that even the commanders of the legions, and the governors of the greater Caesarian provinces, in whose choice the senate has no share, are yet always chosen from its ranks[1]. The subsequent gradual decay of its power is due to its own increasing incapacity, as well as to the encroachments of the emperors[2].

Similar prudent moderation marks the position and demeanour of the early Caesars in other respects; notwithstanding that Oriental ideas of monarchy could not fail to modify the professed idea of the Augustan constitution, whereby the princeps was but the first citizen of Rome[3]. The sacrosanctity not only of his person, but of his effigy[4], the reverence paid to it and to his name, could not long remain dissociated from ideas of royalty. The vast patronage at his disposal would of itself surround him with the atmosphere of a court and its crowd of petitioners for favour[5]. His daily levee was thronged by magistrates and senators of highest rank, as those of other Roman nobles by their humble clients; while the assemblage on greater occasions approached a national gathering[6]. The 'cohors amicorum,' though an old Republican institution, acquires a new significance, and has its hierarchy of grades, grounded partly on the rank or official position, but chiefly on the actual personal intimacy of the friend[7]. The interchange of presents on gala days[8], the invitation to occasional banquets[9], the selection of a person as a companion in travel[10], were valued as marks of special favour; the formal renunciation of friendship was tantamount to a sentence of banishment[11]. Yet, on the other hand, the early princeps disclaims the public title of 'dominus[12];' nor has he throne or diadem, but the familiar

[1] Senators were altogether excluded from the provinces (increasing in importance after Augustan times) held by procurators, and from the still more important government of Egypt.

[2] See Vol. ii, Introd. 35, Hirschfeld, 283 foll. We can thus understand Nero's threat (Suet. Ner. 37) to abolish the senate and govern the empire wholly through knights and freedmen.

[3] For a full account of the court of the princeps and its ceremonial, see Friedlaender, Sitteng. i. ch. 2, Staatsr. ii. 833 foll. The subject belongs chiefly to a later period. It may here be mentioned that Tiberius prohibited the daily kiss, apparently introduced from the East by Augustus, and limited the gifts ('strenae'). See Suet. Tib. 34.

[4] See 3. 36, 1, and note.

[5] See the reasons for retirement, pressed on Tiberius by Seianus (4. 41, 4).

[6] See Dio, 56. 26, 3, &c.

[7] On the distinction 'primae et secundae admissionis' and the republican precedents, see Friedl. l. l. p. 119, who also gives a full list of the friends of the Caesar, from the time of Augustus, p. 182 foll.

[8] Especially on the 1st of January. See Dio, 54. 35, 2, &c.

[9] 'Solennes cenae' (Suet. Tib. 34).

[10] The 'comitatus' usually included senators and knights, and others of neither rank, who are rather 'grati' than 'amici.' See note on 4. 58, 1; also Suet. Tib. 46.

[11] See 3. 24, 5. The banishment of Ovid was more formal, but apparently by mere command, without judicial process.

[12] 2. 87, 2 (where see note). On the use of this title in ordinary life, see Friedl. i. p. 393 foll.

of precedents in the 'lex' of his successor[1], or by the milder ἀτιμία of refusing deification[2]. Among other formidable 'secret principles of the constitution' revealed in 821, A.D. 68, was also this, that the senate could even unmake and outlaw a living princeps, through the old formula, invoked by Tiberius against his own natural heirs[3], of declaring him a public enemy[4].

Without doubt the early principes owed much of the stability of their rule to their subtle manipulation of republican ideas. Not even 'the extinction of the bolder spirits by proscription and battle[5], and the growth of 'a generation bent on slavery[6],' helped them more than the homage paid at least in the letter to constitutional forms, the respect for which, even in the character of fictions and survivals, is so marked a trait of the Roman mind; especially at a time when demoralisation and its remedies were alike felt to be burdensome[7], and men could neither bear complete bondage nor complete liberty[8]. If Julius Caesar might have pleaded that he had but gone a step further on the path of Sulla; Augustus, with far more prudence, made a show of imitating the great autocrat of the aristocracy only in his wish to abdicate; while ruling under more skilful disguise, and with more complete precedents. Men might recollect, and were, no doubt, industriously reminded, that even his more irregular powers were severally such as their fathers had acquiesced in: that there had always been a constitutional right to commend and to reject candidates for a magistracy[9]: that the senate had been always in theory no more than an advising body: that a 'cohors praetoria' was as old as the days of Scipio Africanus[10]: that Gracchus had contemplated, and partly realised, a continuity of 'tribunician power:' that Marius and Sulla, and still more Pompeius, and yet more recently Cassius[11], had held an 'imperium maius,' embracing more than one province: that Pompeius again, most dangerous innovator of all, had been admiral of the state, with power to send his fleets where he would[12]; and had even been consul at home, while holding 'proconsulare imperium' abroad, administered by legati in his name[13]. It was by

[1] Thus the names of Gaius and Nero, Galba, Otho, and Vitellius, are omitted from the Lex de Imp. Vesp. The 'rescissio actorum' rested rather with the successor. See Suet. Cl. 11, Staatsr. ii. 1129.

[2] Tiberius, though his name was not omitted like those mentioned above, was not deified, nor were his 'acta' included in the annual oath of maintenance. See Dio, 59. 9, 1.

[3] Suet. Cal. 7.

[4] Suet. Ner. 49, Staatsr. ii. 1133.

[5] 1. 2, 1.

[6] 3. 65. 3.

[7] 'Nec vitia nostra nec remedia pati possumus' Liv. Praef. 9.

[8] Imperaturus es hominibus qui nec totam servitutem pati possunt nec totam libertatem' H. 1. 16, 11.

[9] See above, p. 94.

[10] Festus, s. v.

[11] See Cic. Phil. 11. 12, 30.

[12] 'Omnes terras Cn. Pompeio atque omnia maria esse permissa' Cic. Leg. Agr. 2. 17, 46.

[13] See Staatsr. ii. 870, 3.

munificence[1]. On the other hand, the amount of state and style of life[2] imposed even on the poorest would make many anxious to lay down their rank[3], and many outsiders of moderate means well-satisfied not to enter it[4]. On the whole, however, such a position was the great object of ambition, and admission to its ranks or a rise in them was sought by fair means or foul. The base side of senatorial character is abundantly brought before us by Tacitus; on the other hand, it is but fair to recollect that from this class come the series of provincial governors, of whom few are unequal to their place. and many show high qualities of the soldier and statesman, while even so low a nature as that of L. Vitellius rises above itself under the responsibilities of power[5]. At home again even the pliant Ateius Capito shares with his nobler rival Antistius Labeo the glory of founding the system of jurisprudence which forms the greatest legacy bequeathed by Rome to the world[6].

The second or equestrian order had also undergone many changes under Augustus[7]; who, besides reconstituting the judicial body into four decuriae each about 1000 strong, of whom the first three were essentially equestrian[8], had also reorganized and frequently revised the list of 'equites equo publico,' who, as a more select body within the mass, are alone properly called 'equites Romani.' Their solemn processions were revived[9], and the expectant heirs of the empire, Gaius and Lucius, became their heads, under the title of 'principes iuventutis[10].' The 'ius anulorum,' still, as would appear, not permitted beyond this select body[11], was further subjected in the ninth year of Tiberius to stringent regulations respecting birth as well as census[12]. Within this body again we find from the time of Augustus a still more select equestrian aristocracy

[1] Messalinus Cotta (see on 2. 32, 2) was long remembered for his munificence (Juv. 5, 109; 7. 95); which is illustrated by an inscription (C. I. L. xix. 2298), recording repeated gifts of 400,000 H.S. to a freedman, and other bounty to his family. See Friedl. i. 220.

[2] In the time of Tiberius, a house rented at 6000 H.S. would be almost too mean for a senator. Vell. 2. 10, 1.

[3] 1. 75, 5.

[4] Cp. the sentiment of Horace, Sat. 1. 6, 100–109.

[5] 6. 32, 6.

[6] See 3. 75.

[7] On the position of this body under the early empire see Staatsr. iii. 489 foll., and Prof. Wilkins in D. of Ant. i. 757.

[8] See Pl. N. H. 33. 1 (7), 30. It would appear that Augustus did not really reconstitute the 'tribuni aerarii,' to whom, as representatives of the plebs, his fourth 'decuria' practically corresponded; but formed his first three 'decuriae' of senators and knights mixed; and that, when the senate itself became a judicial body, senators probably ceased to sit on the 'decuriae iudicum,' which thus come to be called 'decuriae equitum' (3. 20, 2; 14. 20, 7; Suet. Tib. 41). See Marquardt, Hist. Eq. Rom. p. 50, note. Subsequently, the fourth 'decuria,' originally plebeian (Suet. Aug. 32), became equestrian, and a fifth was added by Gaius. See Staatsr. iii. 525 foll.

[9] See on 2. 83, 5.

[10] 1. 3, 2.

[11] Plin. l. l.

[12] Plin. l. l. 32. The regulation was futile, as freedmen and the sons of such constantly attained this rank; see 13. 27, 2, &c.

and open spaces, must have compressed into closer and closer quarters the vast crowd occupying the chambers in the 'insulae' or blocks of buildings, towering often seventy feet high[1], where the 'plebs' found such lodgings as they could afford, and, in the labyrinthine streets of 'vetus Roma' before the fire of Nero[2], lived in probably even greater discomfort than in the time of Juvenal[3]. The plebs, however, had its many grades of position within its ranks. Many must have been only barely below the equestrian census[4], and many others, if not, like the senators and equites, great capitalists, must have earned in various ways large incomes, in the thousand callings and trades of Rome. To this class also belonged vast numbers, among freeborn or freedmen, of what are now called the liberal professions. The schoolmaster, as Orbilius[5] or Verrius Flaccus[6]; the rank and file of advocates[7], who managed cases beneath the dignity of the great senatorial pleaders; many, if not most of the teachers of rhetoric[8]; lawyers even of such reputation as Masurius Sabinus[9], were still plebeians. Such again, probably not so often freeborn Romans as freedmen or foreigners, were the architects, sculptors, painters, and other artists, the musicians and players[10], the physicians[11], and practitioners of the forbidden arts of astrology[12] and magic. Another large class would include the inferior officials in the public service, scribes, apparitors, attendants on magistrates, and many other walks of middle-class life which cannot here be specified.

Below all these lay a great mass of poverty, ranging from those who had more or less scanty or precarious earnings down to the beggars who, as now, infested the public places. For all this poorer section, one so large as to call itself as a whole the 'plebs urbana[13],' such provision as would answer to a modern poor law was made by the monthly corn dole and other occasional subsidies[14]. Also large numbers of the poorer and

[1] Augustus had fixed this limit (Strab. 5. 3, 7. p. 235), which would be far below the height of many houses in the old city of Edinburgh. Probably this restriction was not always observed: see note on 15. 43, 1.

[2] 15. 38, 4; Liv. 5. 55.

[3] Juv. 3. 193-225.

[4] Hor. Ep. 1. 1, 58.

[5] Id. Ep. 2. 1, 70.

[6] A freedman, whose reputation as a teacher induced Augustus to employ him to teach his sons, and who became a famous grammarian. Suet. de Ill. Gr. 17.

[7] 'Cogitaret plebem quae toga enitesceret' 11. 7, 7. In the time of Juvenal (7, 106, sqq.) they were an ill-paid order.

[8] Blandus, in the time of Augustus, was the first knight who ever adopted this profession. See note on 6. 27, 1.

[9] He was made a knight by Tiberius, but not till he was fifty years old. On plebeian lawyers, cp. Juv. 8. 49.

[10] The singer Tigellius was a Sardinian (Hor. Sat. 1. 3, 3); most of the 'histriones' were freedmen. See notes on 1. 54, 3. &c.

[11] Antonius Musa, a freedman, was made a knight (Dio, 53. 30, 3). On domestic physicians, see on 4. 63, 3.

[12] As Thrasyllus (6. 20, 3).

[13] Mommsen notes (Staatsr. iii. 461, 2) that in Mon. Anc. 'plebs quae frumentum accipiebat,' 'plebs urbana,' and 'plebs Romana' are synonymous.

[14] It is generally supposed that these distributions rested on the basis of the

Their only interest is in their bread and their amusements[1], and in both they seem to have their grievances. To keep famine at bay is indeed felt by the princeps to be his most arduous task[2], and to require efforts far exceeding those of Augustus[3]. Still, the cry for bread, finding expression at the great popular gatherings of the games, is fierce and even menacing[4]; in the general poverty even a small tax seems burdensome[5]; and, beyond doing his utmost for the food supply, Tiberius keeps them at a distance. The legacies of Augustus are paid grudgingly[6], 'congiaria' are infrequent[7]; and, though the people have the cheap daily lounge of their public baths, thanks to Maecenas and Agrippa, and their 'circenses' and new 'ludi Augustales[8];' yet the presence of the princeps at their games, if vouchsafed at all, is no longer genial[9], and the sanguinary excitement of gladiatorial shows so rare, that crowds flock to one given by private speculation in the neighbourhood[10]. Their moods are schooled[11] and rebuked[12] by edicts, their murmurs treated as vapour[13], their compliments declined[14]. One genuine enthusiasm, that for Germanicus and his house[15], seems left to them; otherwise those for whom none care, care for none; and find it their one sound instinct to side with fortune and to hate the fallen[16]; worthy parents of those who, half a century later, looked on civil war in the streets as only a more exciting gladiatorial combat[17].

ITALY.

Few changes of importance in the administration or condition of Italy belong to this period[18]. Augustus was but recognising facts already accomplished, in fixing the western frontier of Italy at the line of the Varus (Var)[19] and of the small province of the maritime Alps[20]: a small semi-independent state being reserved in the district of the Cottian Alps round Segusium (Susa) near Turin[21]. On the east, Istria was included, the Arsia (Arsa) being fixed as the boundary towards Illyricum[22].

[1] Juv. 10, 80.
[2] 3. 54, 8; 4. 6, 6.
[3] 6. 13. 2.
[4] Ann. 1. 1.
[5] 1. 78, 2.
[6] Dio, 57. 14, 2.
[7] See 2. 42, 1; 3. 29, 3.
[8] 1. 15, 3; 54, 3.
[9] 1. 54, 3; 76, 6.
[10] 4. 62, 3; Suet. Tib. 47.
[11] 1. 8, 6; 3. 6, 1; 4. 67, 1.
[12] 6. 13, 3.
[13] 1. 15, 2, &c.
[14] As the title of 'pater patriae' 1. 72, 2; 2. 87, 2.
[15] See 1. 33; 2. 41; 82; 3. 1–6; 11; 5. 3–5.
[16] Juv. 10, 73. In 15. 46, 1, the rabble are described as 'novarum rerum cupiens pavidusque.'
[17] H. 3. 83, 1.
[18] The restoration and extension of the great Italian roads is mentioned below, p. 110. For a general summary see Rushforth, pp. 33–42.
[19] Plin. N. H. 3. 5, 44; Luc. 1, 404.
[20] Ann. 15. 32, 1; H. 2. 12, 5.
[21] The native prince, Cottius, ranked as 'praefectus.' Insc. Orell. 626. Under Nero it became a province. Suet. Ner. 18.
[22] Plin. N. H. 3. 5, 44.

perilous distinctions of Rome for the simple duties of an aedile at Ulubrae[1]. As a fact, the tide still set from Italy, as from the rest of the world, to Rome: nor do sober critics in any age take the ideal pictures of retired life as altogether serious. However the contrasts drawn by Roman writers are so far substantiated, that Vespasian not only learnt, in a municipal home, the habits which trained him to be the reformer of imperial extravagance; but was also enabled, by a stream of new men of similar origin, to recruit the effete Roman aristocracy with an infusion of healthier blood[2].

THE PROVINCES.

The great work of Augustus in the enlargement and settlement of the empire can be here but very slightly glanced at. There appears to be substantial truth in his boast that he had advanced the limits of every province which had independent nations on its frontier[3]; and if we were to compare the dominion as he left it with that existing at the date of Actium, we should see to how great an extent the coherent 'Imperium Romanum' of our maps was his creation. The conquest of Gaul had indeed already pushed the frontier to the ocean, but this was flanked on either side by an imperfectly subdued Spain and a wholly free Germany; a vast independent tract surrounded and isolated Italy itself, Macedonia, and the subdued portion of Illyricum; in the east the provinces of Asia, Bithynia, Cilicia, have a similar isolated and patchwork character. Nor in the earlier part of his sole rule, and the years preceding it, were the dangers of even foreign aggression in various parts by any means visionary. Germans from beyond the Rhine ravaged Gaul[4]; a Dacian horde swept over Illyricum as far as Apollonia, and the Bastarnae over large parts of Thrace[5]; Parthia had taken advantage of the dissensions of the triumvirs to hold Syria, Palestine, and Asia Minor for two years at its mercy[6]; in Egypt, Roman territory was invaded by the troops of the Nubian queen Candace[7]; in Africa the Garamantes and others had to be kept at further distance[8].

Of all the problems presenting themselves, the most important was that of the central European frontier, and it cannot be matter of surprise

[1] Juv. 10, 102.

[2] Suet. Vesp. 2; Ann. 3. 55, 4.

[3] 'Omnium provinciarum populi Romani, quibus finitimae fuerunt gentes quae non parerent imperio nostro, fines auxi' Mon. Anc v. 9, where see Mommsen.

[4] The 'clades Lolliana' (see on 1. 10, 3) is the most important of these incursions. See Momms. Hist. v. 23, E. T. i. 25.

[5] Momms. l. l. 11, E. T. 1. 13.

[6] In 713–14, B.C. 41–40: see vol. ii. Introd. 97.

[7] In 730 or 731, B.C. 24 or 23: see Momms. l. l. 594, E. T. ii. 275.

[8] Successes were gained against these by L. Cornelius Balbus (735, B.C. 19) and others. See Momms. l. l. 630, E. T. ii. 315.

Libyan (or Berber) peoples[1], as distinct from the abode of the Aethiopian and Gaetulian races.

The most permanently important change dating from Augustus in the administration of the provincial empire is the division of it between himself and the senate[2]. Out of the distinct governments, about thirty in number[3], subsisting at his death, only the following, and these not at all times, remain in the hands of the senate: 1. Sicily; 2. Sardinia and Corsica[4]; 3. Hispania Baetica; 4. Gallia Narbonensis; 5. Macedonia; 6. Achaia[5]; 7. Asia; 8. Bithynia (with part of Western Pontus); 9. Cyprus; 10. Crete and Cyrenaica[6]; 11. Africa (with New Africa or Numidia). It has been mentioned above[7] that the governors of these provinces were appointed usually by lot, with annual tenure; Asia and Africa being reserved for consulars, the others, as a rule, given to 'praetorii;' but that both classes of governors are properly styled proconsuls[8], and have, as in old times, each his attendant quaestor; and also, in praetorian provinces one, in consular three 'legati[9];' who are styled 'legati propraetore[10],' though sometimes even consulars[11]. The proconsul received a salary from the treasury[12] and had also the lictors and other insignia of his rank, except the military dress and sword, withdrawn to denote that he had no longer power to execute a soldier[13]. Some further check was placed on him by the presence of a Caesarian officer, the 'procurator fisci,' whose functions, originally strictly limited[14], received such extension as to encroach considerably on those of both quaestor and proconsul[15].

Some illustration of the mode of appointment to and tenure of these proconsulates may be drawn from such lists as can be compiled of the

[1] On these see Mommsen, Hist. v. ch. 13. The most ancient account of them is in Hdt. 4. 145 foll. In the time of Claudius this part of the empire was completed to the Straits of Gibraltar by the annexation of Mauretania: see vol. ii. Introd. 30.

[2] See chap. vi. p. 77, &c.

[3] The combinations or subdivisions of provinces at various times make the number variable. At the death of Trajan, when the empire stood at its highest point, there appear to have been forty-five provincial governments. See Marquardt, i. p. 489.

[4] These were counted as senatorial in the original division, but, as a fact, were under Caesarian governors from A.D. 6 to 66. See on 2. 85, 5; 13. 30, 1; Marquardt, Staatsv. i. 248.

[5] Macedonia and Achaia were transferred to Caesar from 768 to 797, A.D. 15-44. See 1. 76, 4; Dio, 60. 24, 1.

[6] See 3. 38, 1; 70, 1.

[7] See ch. vi. pp. 92, 93.

[8] See note on 1. 74, 1.

[9] See on 4. 56, 3.

[10] Staatsr. ii. 246. The quaestor has also the title 'pro praetore.'

[11] As Vitellius, Suet. Vit. 5.

[12] 'Salarium proconsulare' (Agr. 42, 3); cp. Dio, 52. 23, 1.

[13] Dio, 53. 13, 6. The exceptional position of the proconsul of Africa, in this respect, is noted below. See 3. 21, 1.

[14] 4. 15, 3; Dio, 57. 23, 5.

[15] The great increase in the number and importance of these officers begins to date from Claudius: see 12. 60; Suet. Cl. 12.

4. L. Apronius, C. f. C. n., cos. suff. 761, A.D. 8; procos. for three years, 771–774, A.D. 18–21 [1].
5. Q. Junius Blaesus, cos. suff. 763, A.D. 10; procos. extra sortem, in 774 and 775, A.D. 21, 22 [2].
6. P. Cornelius Dolabella, cos. 763, A.D. 10; procos. 777, A.D. 24 [3].
7. C. Vibius Marsus, cos. suff. 770, A.D. 17; procos. three years, probably 780–782, A.D. 27–29 [4].
8. M. Silanus, cos. 772, A.D. 19 [5]; procos. apparently for six years, 785–790, A.D. 32-37 [6].

Augustus had re-established the rule enforced by Pompeius, prescribing an interval of five years between the tenure of magistracy and the 'sortitio provinciae [7].' It is however plain from the above lists that the interval in the case of consular provinces was now usually much longer. This would be the natural consequence of the increased number of consulars resulting from the frequent appointment, especially after 742, B.C. 12 [8], of 'consules suffecti;' which would tend to produce an increasing stagnation in the succession to proconsulships. This again was remedied in various ways. Some consulars were disqualified [9], others set aside by the senate [10] or by Caesar [11], others declined the 'sortitio [12].' The lists also show that the order of seniority was not always adhered to; being probably modified by the preference enjoined by the 'Lex Papia Poppaea [13],' and probably also by a postponement of the turn of any who, when their time came, were absent from Rome.

A few words may be added on the extent and resources of these two provinces, the great prizes left to the senatorial award.

Asia on the north was bounded by the line of the Rhyndacus, on the south by that of the Calbis; the two lines enclosing a kind of triangle, having its apex near Philomelium, and comprising, with nearly all Phrygia, Mysia, Lydia, and Caria, the Aeolian, Ionian, and Dorian Greek cities, with most of the adjacent islands, inclusive of the Cyclades [14]. The chief city and residence of the governor was Ephesus; but several others are entitled *μητροπόλεις*, two have the rank of coloniae, at least nineteen that of 'civitates liberae [15]'; and it is stated to have contained in all five hundred urban communities, of whose constant rivalries we have a glimpse

[1] See on 3. 21, 1.
[2] 3. 35, 2; 58, 1. [3] 4. 23, 2.
[4] Eckhel, iv. 148; Mionnet, vi. 589. See note on 2. 74, 1.
[5] 2. 59, 1.
[6] H. 4 48, 2; Marquardt, i. p. 468; C. I. L. xiv. 3665; Henzen, Scavi, p. 11.
[7] Dio. 53. 14, 2.
[8] See C. I. L. i. p. 546.
[9] As Ser. Cornelius Maluginensis, 3. 71, 3. [10] See 3. 32, 2.
[11] As C. Galba, 6. 40, 3.
[12] As Agricola, Agr. 42, 1.
[13] See 2. 51, 2; Appendix to B. iii.
[14] On these boundaries, see Waddington, Fastes des Provinces Asiatiques; and Marquardt, Staatsv. i. p. 334.
[15] Marquardt, i. p. 347.

in the contentions for right of sanctuary and respecting the temple to Tiberius[1].' Only a passing reference can here be made to the exceptional knowledge possessed by Tacitus of this province[2], to its prominence in the business before the senate[3], and to the evidence of its great resources and high civilisation at all times[4], as well as of its gradual recovery from the ravages of war and extortion[5]; and the general qualities which, in spite of imperial vigilance, made it in the time of Nero, hardly less than in that of Cicero[6], a snare to governors.

Africa was bounded on the east by 'Philaenorum arae[7],' at the eastern recess of the Great Syrtis, near Muhktar; while on the west, during the independence of Mauretania, the boundary between them was fixed at Saldae[8], identified with Bûdjâya (Bougie). It had thus a coast line extending some fifteen degrees of longitude, and comprising the greater part of modern Tripoli, the whole of Tunis, and a considerable portion of Algeria. In the time of Pliny it contained thirty 'civitates liberae,' fifteen 'oppida civium Romanorum,' and six coloniae[9]; the most famous towns in these two latter classes respectively being Utica and Carthage[10].

Our record of African events at this time mentions only the predatory warfare of Tacfarinas[11]; but there is abundant other evidence that Africa was in many respects the most important senatorial government, and therefore with reason the most jealously watched by Caesar. Next to Egypt it was the most important source of the corn supply of Italy[12]; and, probably on this account, the proconsul was assisted or controlled not by one, but by two or more 'procuratores fisci[13].' Again, here alone the senatorial proconsul has regular command of a legion[14], and the chance of winning military renown; an exceptional position which Gaius

[1] See 3. 60–63; 4. 55–56.

[2] On his proconsulate, see above, p. 4.

[3] E.g. 2. 47; 66, &c.; 4. 13; 14; 15; 36; and above, n. 1.

[4] E.g. Cic. Leg. Man. c. 6; Ep. ad Q. F. 1, 1. Its famous orators are alluded to in Ann. 3. 67, 2.

[5] Their gratitude finds expression in the prominent worship of Emperors, as of Augustus at Pergamûm, Tiberius at Smyrna. The recovery was not shared by the islands, which are chiefly known as

[6] Strabo, p. 831. On the formation of the provinces of Mauretania, this became the western limit of Mauretania Sitifensis; which reached eastward to the Ampsagas, which is thus the western limit of Africa in Plin. N. H. 5. 4, 29.

[9] Plin. N. H. 5. 4, 29. He numbers on the whole 516 communities, mostly Phoenician towns or Libyan tribes. See Mommsen, l. l. 646, E. T. ii. 331.

[10] Plin. l. l. § 24.

[11] 2. 52; 3. 20; 32; 73; 4. 23. See

4. Noricum; 5. Judaea (when not under native princes)[1]. The procurator of Judaea was certainly in some cases responsible to the legatus of Syria[2], and perhaps all such governors were at first subordinated to their nearest 'legati.' An exception to all these classes is the position of Egypt, which although recognised in terms as part of the Roman Empire[3], and equal in population and military force to a Caesarian province of the highest rank[4], was held by the emperor not as part of his dyarchy with the senate, but as part of his own domain and as representative of its kings, with an equestrian praefectus as vicegerent[5]; senators being not only excluded from all office in it, but even forbidden to enter it[6].

The governors appointed by Caesar held office during pleasure and for no fixed term[7], though a period of from three to five years seems usual[8]. Tiberius is especially noted for continuing them in office during periods of indefinite length[9]; as may be illustrated from such lists as can be made of the governors of important provinces during this period.

In Syria we find only the following[10]:—

1. Q. Caecilius Metellus Creticus Silanus, cos. 760, A.D. 7; legatus Syriae from at least 763–4, A.D. 10–11[11], to 770, A.D. 17[12].
2. Cn. Calpurnius Piso, cos. 747, B.C. 7; legatus 770–772, A.D. 17–19[13].
3. L. Aelius Lamia, cos. 756, A.D. 3; leg. Syr. for many years ending in 785, A.D. 32[14], and possibly even the next regular successor to Piso[15].

L P Fl y

54, 5
exceptional.
509, T
Aegyptum
Anc.

In Lower Germany we have only record of three legati :—

1. A. Severus Caecina, legatus probably from about 767–772, A.D. 14–19[1].
2. C. Visellius Varro, cos. suff. 765, A.D. 12; mentioned as legatus in 774, A.D. 21[2].
3. L. Apronius, cos. suff. 761, A.D. 8; legatus in 781, A.D. 28[3]; and appearing still to be so in 787, A.D. 34[4].

The long tenure of appointments under Tiberius is further illustrated by the fact that in Upper Germany C. Silius (cos. 766, A.D. 13) was legatus from 767 to 774, A.D. 14–21[5]; and C. Lentulus Gaetulicus (cos. 779, A.D. 26) from 782 to 792, A.D. 29–39[6]; while L. Arruntius was nominally legatus of Spain for at least ten years[7]; and Poppaeus Sabinus had charge of important provinces for no less than twenty-four years[8]. The procuratores also were constantly retained in office[9]. Among the higher class of such, it is known that Valerius Gratus[10] and Pontius Pilatus[11] were respectively eleven and ten years procurators of Judaea; 768–779, and 779–789, A.D. 15–26, and 26–36.

The legati and procurators had fixed salaries from the treasury[12]; and the former were assisted by their 'legati legionum' as vicegerents[13], while in financial matters the procurator corresponded to the proconsul's quaestor[14].

These vast provinces cannot be here described; by far the most important were the 'Germaniae' and Syria[15]. In each of the two former, the legatus and his four legions lived as in a camp, confronted by warlike tribes, and also liable to furnish troops for a not impossible Gaulish rising[16], and were well aware of the fatal truth that the existence of the empire and dynasty depended on their fidelity[17]. In Syria, the garrison of similar strength, if actually enervated by peace, had yet the whole prestige of Rome in the East depending on it; while the tact and firmness of its ruler would alike be exercised in controlling the mixed crowd, Greek, Phoenician, and Jewish, made subject to him, especially in his vast capital, Antioch: which, in population surpassed only by Rome and

[1] 1. 31, 2, &c.; 3. 33, 1.
[2] 3. 41, 3.
[3] 4. 73, 1
[4] 6. 30, 3.
[5] 4. 18, 1.
[6] 6. 30, 3; Dio, 59. 22, 5.
[7] 6. 27, 3.
[8] 6. 39. 3.
[9] See 4. 6, 5.
[10] Jos. Ant. 18. 2, 2.
[11] Id. 18. 4, 2.
[12] Dio, 52. 23, 1. For the various amounts, see Marquardt, i. p. 416.
[13] The 'legati iuridici' in these provinces seem of later date (Marquardt, i. p. 551), but there may probably have been now some such officers in great provinces such as Syria.
[14] Marquardt, i. p. 556.
[15] Britain would afterwards fully rank with either of these.
[16] See 3. 40, &c.; also the great rising of Vindex in 821, A.D. 68.
[17] Cp. 'sua in manu sitam rem Romanam,' 1. 31, 5.

Alexandria, and in area and magnificence rivalled by neither[1], would, by its seductions, as well as those of its famous suburb of Daphne[2], be fatal to many a soldier's discipline[3]. Next to these, Egypt, with its vast granaries, strange fanaticisms[4], and the motley crowd of Alexandria, probably greater, and certainly far more turbulent than that of Antioch[5], with its vast granaries, and terrible power of menacing Rome itself with famine; must have been the chief object of solicitude to Caesar.

The amount of provincial revenue was probably not reduced, but the mode of assessment reorganized[6]; and, in general terms, it is admitted even by Tacitus, that the provinces were better off under the principate than under the Republic[7], and were treated with marked justice and moderation during at least the early years of Tiberius[8]; and that the Caesarian provinces were so far more economically governed than the senatorial, that a change from one to the other was a virtual abatement of tribute[9]. In both classes of provinces, extortion was severely checked[10] instead of being criminally connived at; and governors were warned to shear, not flay, their sheep[11], whose prosperity had become the common interest of ruled and ruler.

Nevertheless, it is easy to exaggerate the beneficial results and to overlook the still existing evils[12]. Conviction of the guilty did not necessarily imply restitution to the pillaged[13]; and the punishment must have been often inadequate[14], and have failed to deter others. In the last years of Augustus, the atrocities of Volesus Messalla in

[1] See Mommsen, l. l. 456, E. T. ii. 126, foll. It was the only city of antiquity whose streets were lighted at night.

[2] Ann. 2. 83, 3. For a description, see Gibbon, ch. 23.

[3] See the description of the Syrian legions in Corbulo's time (13. 35, 1-3).

[4] See H. 1. 11, 1, &c.; Mommsen, l. l. 579, E. T. ii. 260, foll. The population of the whole country is estimated at about seven millions.

[5] See Mommsen, l. l. 581, foll., E. T. ii. 262, foll. This vast mass of Greeks, Jews, &c., was as alien to the Egyptians proper as the English in India to the natives. It is noticed by Friedländer (Sittengeschichte, ii. p. 124) that Alexandria is far more celebrated than Antioch in the literature of the first and second century A.D. See his description of it (Id. p. 133, foll.). For the probability that it furnished to Rome a model of civic administration, see above, p. 106, n. 14.

[6] By means of the great provincial census (ἀπογραφή) commenced in 727, B.C. 27, and probably revised every five years. See note on 6. 41, 1, and Prof. Wilkins in D. of Ant. i. p. 403.

[7] See 1. 2, 2.

[8] 4. 6, 7.

[9] 1. 76, 4. The longer tenure of office by Caesarian legati, even if excessive under Tiberius (1. 80, 2) must have generally worked better than the annual change of proconsuls in senatorial provinces.

[10] This is shown by the numerous convictions mentioned below. It is noted that provincials themselves are encouraged to appear as accusers (3. 67, 2; 70, 1; 4. 15, 3, &c.); and if influential, are even courted by governors (15. 21, 2).

[11] Suet. Tib. 32; Dio, 57. 10, 5.

[12] Juvenal's advice to a provincial governor (8, 87-139) gives a sufficiently dark picture of the cruelty and extortion still practised in his time.

[13] See 4. 20, 1. Cp. 'tu victrix provincia ploras' Juv. 1, 50.

[14] As that of Marius Priscus, Juv. 1, 49.

best they could. Thrace is more than once disturbed by internal conflict [1], similar accounts are given from Cilicia [2], Mauretanian bands join Tacfarinas [3], the Nabataean prince carries on small hostilities on his own account with Judaea [4], and the whole Roman policy in the East turns on the dynastic troubles of Armenia [5]; so that from one quarter or another there were rarely wanting causes of anxiety to emperors most of all anxious for the maintenance of existing settlements [6].

Many of these kingdoms were subsequently incorporated into the empire [7]; but the conquest of Britain is the principal departure, prior to Trajan, from the cautious advice of Augustus [8]. The campaigns of Germanicus did but avenge the fate of Varus, and secure the frontier by spreading terror beyond: though visions may have passed before his own mind of a frontier on the Elbe [9], which he never really reached [10], and which fades more and more out of Roman knowledge [11].

THE MILITARY AND NAVAL FORCES.

The vast army which had come under the command of Augustus, through the addition of the legions of Lepidus to his own and the subsequent union of as much as he retained of this combined force with the legions of Antonius, was reduced by him after Actium to a standing army apparently not exceeding eighteen legions; of which twelve, numbered consecutively, had been always his own, and six, also bearing numbers below twelve, had belonged to his colleagues [12]. Eight

[1] See 2. 64, foll.; 3. 38, foll.; 4. 46, foll.

[2] See 2. 42, 7; 6. 41, 1.

[3] See 2. 52, 3; 4. 23, 1.

[4] See Mommsen, Hist. v. 478, E. T. ii. 150.

[5] See vol. ii. Introd. ch. 4.

[6] 'Ne conposita turbarentur' 2. 65, 1.

[7] See Suet. Cl. 25; Ner. 18; Vesp. 8, vol. ii. Introd. 30, 90.

[8] Ann. 1. 11, 7. [9] 2. 22, 1.

[10] See on 4. 44, 3. [11] G. 41, 2.

[12] Mommsen's view (R. G. D. A. pp. 68–75) that the legions originally thus reduced and numbered (partly, as he thinks, with a desire to conceal the real number), were augmented by eight at the time of the Illyrian rising in 759, A.D. 6, has found general acceptance, and is defended by him against some objections to his earlier statement of it. For a more recent criticism of it, readers are referred to an essay by Mr. Hardy in Journ. of Phil. xxiii. 29–44. It is admitted that four legions were enrolled at once to meet the Illyrian rebellion, but it is argued that twenty-two existed before that date, and that perhaps the original reduction never went below that number. All the legions numbered above 12, and also several within that number, are absent from all inscriptions or other records before 759, A.D. 6; but if we accept the statement that before the Illyrian outbreak twelve legions had been collected for the attack on Maroboduus (see 2. 46, 2, and note), it seems difficult to suppose that only six were left for Syria, Egypt, Africa, and Spain, though these garrisons may have been temporarily below their normal strength, and thus may not have exceeded perhaps eight legions. The accounts of the extreme gravity of the rebellion justify the supposition of a large increase made in the army to cope with it, and the extreme difficulty found in raising two more legions after the disaster of Varus is perhaps best explained by the severity of the conscription during the years immediately preceding.

Legion.	*Where quartered.*
XIII. Gemina	Upper Germany.
XIV. Gemina Martia Victrix	Upper Germany.
XV. Apollinaris	Pannonia.
XVI. Gallica	Upper Germany.
XX. Valeria Victrix	Lower Germany.
XXI. Rapax	Lower Germany.
XXII. Deiotariana	Egypt.

Provincial Summary.

Syria (4).
III. Gallica.
VI. Ferrata.
X. Fretensis.
XII. Fulminata.

Egypt (2).
III. Cyrenaica.
XXII. Deiotariana.

Africa (1).
III. Augusta.

By the year 882, A.D. 69, we find the number of legions increased to thirty-one, in consequence of the occupation of Britain and other subsequent events; but it is subsequently reduced to thirty. The local disposition is also altered by that time in many cases[1].

The legion consisted, as at other times, of ten cohorts, divided into thirty maniples and sixty centuries[2]; but we have no certain information of its numerical strength. The estimate of 6100 foot and 726 horse given by Vegetius[3], would certainly not agree with that of this time in respect of the 'equites legionis,' who appear now to have only numbered 120[4], nor is there any evidence that the first cohort was now, as in the time of Vegetius, twice the strength of the others[5]. If a medium estimate of about eighty men to the century be taken[6], the total strength of the legion, including its officers, its cavalry, and those in charge of the 'ballistae' and other engines forming its train of artillery[7], would amount to rather more than 5000.

The old names 'hastati,' 'principes,' and 'pilani,' survive[8]; and, though no longer designating any difference of equipment, denote precedence in honorary rank. Each cohort contained two centuries, or one maniple, of each of these; and the cohorts also rank in honour according to their number. This hierarchy of rank serves to place the sixty centurions in a constantly ascending series; the maniple, rather than the century, being the unit of the legion, and being under the command of the first of its two centurions. The lowest centurion would thus be the subordinate centurion of the 'hastati' of the tenth cohort, styled 'decumus hastatus posterioris centuriae,' or 'decumus hastatus posterior;'

[1] For the legions of still later date, as related to these, see Dio, 55. 23, 24.
[2] Gell. 16. 4 (quoting Cincius).
[3] Veg. 2, 6.
[4] Jos. B. J. 3. 6, 2. They were probably on the footing of auxiliaries in respect of not being citizens. See Nipp. on 4. 73.
[5] Veg. 2, 6. See note on 3. 21, 2.
[6] Hygin. § 1, 2.
[7] Cp. 'Quintae decumae legionis ballista' H. 3. 23, 2; Jos. Bell. Jud. 5. 6, 3; Marquardt, ii. p. 526.
[8] The older term 'triarii' seems obsolete, and the term for the 'ordo' and its centurion is not 'pilanus' but 'pilus.' See Marquardt, ii. p. 373, n. 2. 'Pilanus' is found in Varro and Ovid.

and the highest, the commander of the maniple of 'pilani' in the first cohort, who would be fully styled 'primae cohortis pilus prior,' or more commonly 'centurio primipilus' or 'primopilus[1].' In passing through all these gradations, the centurion changed his century at each successive step[2], and in this highest position had custody of the legionary eagle, with large accompanying emoluments[3]; ranked next to the 'tribuni'; and was admitted with them to the council of the general[4]. The centurions appear to have still appointed their subordinate officers[5], but to have been themselves now directly appointed by the emperor, often as a personal favour[6], and, apparently, without previous service[7].

Augustus had perpetuated the custom introduced by the dictator Caesar[8], of placing the whole legion under the command of a 'legatus.' These 'legati legionum[9]' are senators of praetorian rank, or in a position to expect such rank[10], and, as has been seen, ranked also as provincial vicegerents under the 'legatus Augusti[11].'

The position of the legionary 'tribuni militum' now becomes somewhat anomalous; inasmuch as they are no longer, as formerly, commanders in turn of the legion[12], and several of their other duties[13] must have been transferred to the 'praefectus castrorum[14].' Nor do they appear to have commanded the legionary cohorts, which, so far as they had a separate command, may probably have been placed each under its first centurion[15]. Such of their duties as are still traceable can hardly be generally characterized[16]; and this rank becomes hardly so much one of military promotion, as a 'tirocinium' for young men of the highest families[17], and a stepping-stone to the quaestorship and senate[18].

Auxiliary Citizen Troops.

1. 'Vexillarii,' or 'veterani sub vexillo retenti.' Augustus had ordained that the legionary soldier should be dismissed with gratuities after a term

[1] The intermediate order of rank of the centurions between the highest and lowest, and the meaning of the expression 'primi ordines' (see 1. 29, 2), is a question of considerable difficulty; see the discussion of it by Mr. Purser, l. l. p. 799.

[2] Veg. 2, 21.

[3] 'Locupletem aquilam' Juv. 14, 197.

[4] Polyb. 6. 24, 2.

[5] As 'optiones' Veget. 2, 7. &c.

[6] Cp. 'vitem posce libello' Juv. 14, 193. See also Marquardt, ii. p. 377.

[7] Ἐκ τῶν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἑκατοντοαρχησάντων Dio, 52. 25, 7.

[8] Caes. B. G. 1. 52, 1; 2. 20, 3; 5. 1, 1, &c.

[9] See Ann. 1. 44, 3; 4. 73, 4; 14. 32, 6, &c.

[10] 2. 36, 1; 14. 28, 1; note on 12. 49, 3.

[11] See above, p. 118.

[12] Polyb. 6. 34; 1. We find a tribune in command, where the legatus legionis had fled. Cp. H. 2. 85, 3, with 3. 9, 4.

[13] See Marquardt, ii. p. 458.

[14] See 1. 20, 1.

[15] See Marquardt, ii. p. 371. At a later date there is some evidence of command of cohorts by tribunes (Veg. 2. 12).

[16] See 1. 37, 1; 44, 4; also Marquardt, ii. p. 460; Mr. Purser, l. l. p. 797.

[17] E. g. Suet. Tib. 9. It had often been so under the Republic: see Purser, l. l.

[18] See above, ch. vi. p. 95.

as that of the legions[1]. Commanded by separate officers[2], such forces, when attached to the legion, were under the supreme command of its 'legatus,' and compensated for its weakness in cavalry[3], besides supplementing it with light-armed troops of various descriptions[4], and with others armed and disciplined like the legions themselves[5]. Other such forces were more locally distributed[6], and furnished protection where no legionary troops were stationed[7]. It is shown by inscriptions that they were in early times mostly employed in their own native provinces[8]. Other more irregular or temporary forces are spoken of as 'tumultuariae catervae[9],' and the 'iuventus' or militia, kept up in some provinces at their own cost, are occasionally employed with imperial troops, though not considered to belong to them[10]. The forces of vassal princes were also placed under requisition when needed[11].

Special forces of Italy.

A.—Military.

1. Praetorian cohorts. These are stated to have been nine in number in the time of Tiberius[12]; each cohort being apparently 1000 strong[13], including a force of cavalry[14]; and all having their headquarters in the camp just outside the 'agger[15].' These cohorts were increased to twelve probably by Claudius[16], to sixteen by Vitellius[17], reduced again to nine by Vespasian[18], and subsequently fixed at ten[19].

[1] 4. 5, 5. 'Cohortes' and 'alae' were sometimes 'quingenariae,' sometimes 'miliariae,' in round numbers 500 and 1000 strong.

[2] Usually 'praefecti,' sometimes 'tribuni.' See Inscrr.

[3] Smaller forces of cavalry were also attached to such auxiliary cohorts as are called 'equitatae': see Purser, l. l. 790.

[4] 1. 51, 7; 2. 16, 5, &c. Cp. the expression 'ferentarius miles,' and the contrast of their arms with those of the legions in 12. 36, 6.

[5] 3. 43, 2, &c.

[6] 'Apud idonea provinciarum' 4. 5, 5.

[7] A considerable force of this description was stationed in some provinces, as Mauretania, Raetia, Noricum, Thrace, Judaea, Galatia, and a few soldiers served as police in even senatorial provinces (4. 15, 3); see Purser, l.l. 796.

[8] The chief exceptions are where a country required more cohorts than it could furnish, as the 'Germaniae,' or furnished more than it needed, or those in which the presence of native troops might be dangerous, as Britain (cp. Agr. 31, 1).

[9] 1. 56, 1; 15. 3, 3.

[10] See an article by Mommsen 'die Römischen Provincialmilizen' (Herm. xxii. 547–558), and an abstract of it in Class. Rev. ii. 158. It is shown that no such force existed in senatorial provinces, but that they are found in most of the Caesarian. Tacitus speaks of them in Cappadocia (12. 49, 2), Noricum (H. 3. 5, 51), Raetia (H. 1. 68, 2), the Maritime Alps (H. 2. 12, 5), among the Helvetii (H. 1. 67, 2), and in Gaul generally (H. 5. 26, 4). The large force raised by Vindex against Nero (vol. ii. p. 637) must have mainly consisted of such.

[11] See 4. 24, 3; 47, 1; 13. 7, 1; 38, 6; H. 5. 1, 3, &c.

[12] 4. 5, 4.

[13] H. 2. 93, 3.

[14] 1. 24, 3; 12. 56, 3. Apparently a 'turma' of horse went with each 'centuria.' Marquardt, ii. p. 477.

[15] 4. 2, 2.

[16] See vol. ii. Introd. 36, n. 2.

[17] H. 2. 93, 3.

[18] Dipl. C. I. L. iii. p. 853; Wilm. 2866.

[19] Inscr. Henzen 6862.

CONSOLIDATION OF THE EMPIRE.

Augustus is said to have bequeathed at his death not a mere aggregate of territories, but an organized whole [1], and one which seemed to himself to have reached its proper limit [2]. The administration, especially of the provinces and armies, was centralized in a way previously unknown, and the improvement of roads [3] and institution of couriers [4] gave new rapidity to inter-communication: and, not to speak of his periodical financial statements [5], his summary of the whole position of the empire, published after his death [6], must have given to the senate a new insight into its organization. If, beyond this, neither he nor his successor had devised any plans for bringing the whole mass into a condition of homogeneous unity, it is none the less evident that tendencies in this direction were constantly operating. The practical recognition of common interests between rulers and ruled; the security of traffic; the vast requirements of the city of Rome, both as regards necessaries of life [7] and luxuries [8]; the local centres of traffic afforded especially by camps and colonies [9]; must have tended, even more than the centralized government, to level the barriers of nations. Two languages again were more and more taking the place of a Babel of tongues: the prevalence of Greek in the East may be estimated from the extent of its use among even a race so tenacious of nationality as the Hebrews [10]; while, in the West, Latin, already prevalent in Gaul, making the vernacular forgotten in many parts of Spain [11], and generally spoken also in Pannonia [12], was not wholly lost even by Rome's bitterest enemies [13]; and, as the general official language of the empire, had some hold even in the East [14].

Again, though Tiberius probably imitated the reserve of Augustus in bestowing the 'civitas [15];' yet even this great equalization of privilege must

[1] 'Cuncta inter se conexa' 1. 9, 6.

[2] See 1. 11, 9.

[3] For his reconstruction of the roads of Italy, see above, p. 110. In the provinces especial mention may be made of the great road connecting Spain and Italy, see Mommsen, Hist. v. 67, E.T. 1. 74.

[4] Suet. Aug. 49. On the rapidity of communication, see note on 1. 16, 1.

[5] This custom was dropped by Tiberius, and revived by Gaius. Suet. Cal. 16.

[6] 1. 11, 7.

[7] E.g. the corn trade.

[8] 3. 53, 5, &c. See Friedl. vol. iii. ch. 1.

[9] Augustus enumerates ten provinces in which he had planted military colonies (Mon. Anc. v. 35), and Mommsen (ad loc.) enumerates in these and in Illyricum (apparently reckoned with Italy) some nineteen such foundations, many of which became very important. After him, no more were founded till the time of Claudius (see vol. ii. Introd. p. 34).

[10] It is implied in Acts 22. 2 that Greek would have been intelligible, though less so than Syro-Chaldaic, to most of the crowd at Jerusalem.

[11] Strabo, 3. 2, 15, p. 151.

[12] Vell. 2. 110, 5.

[13] As Arminius. See 2. 10, 3.

[14] Besides the trilingual inscription on the cross, and Latin words in N. T., the mixture in the names of Jewish persons is noticed, as 'Simon the Cyrenian, the father of Alexander and Rufus' (Mark 15. 21). See Merivale, ch. xxxix. p. 377.

[15] Suet. Aug. 40. We find it however given by Augustus not only to individuals

have been steadily extending itself. By the manumission of slaves, which, in spite of checks imposed upon it, must have been constant, any Roman could call into existence those who at a stroke of the wand succeeded to most[1], and whose sons would succeed to all, civic privileges. Many a Roman pauper by transplantation to a colony became there the parent of a prosperous civic family. Many an auxiliary soldier, already habituated to Roman customs by service under the standards, received the civitas on his discharge[2], and his sons might serve and rise in the ranks of the legions and thus lay the foundation of a career of honour.

Lastly, in spite of the vast diversity of tolerated religions, some traces of common religious ideas begin to develop themselves. The restoration of religion had formed a great part of the policy of Augustus, and his aspirations are devoutly seconded by the poets of his court[3]. Besides the rebuilding or restoration of almost every temple in the city[4], he had endeavoured to bring home religion to the mass of the people by a kind of parochial system, in the worship of the 'Lares compitales' at the 300 chapels[5] instituted in the various vici, under the ministration of their freedmen priests ('Augustales'), and superintendence of the 'vicomagistri[6].' With these the worship of his own 'Genius' was associated[7], by which constant usage, as well as by the 'ludi compitalicii[8],' the political order was connected with the sacred ideas of domestic security; not only in Rome and Italy, but in many parts of the empire[9]. To this was added afterwards throughout the empire the later cult of the 'Divus Augustus[10]' and his deified successors; as also in some cases, that of the living Caesar, associated with the imperial city[11]: the whole forming a kind of apotheosis of order and peace, which appears to have been for the present the nearest approach to an universal religion.

Otherwise there was more interchange than fusion of manifold religions. Temples to Jupiter Capitolinus are found in provinces[12]; and, in turn, whatever was attractive in provincial religions struck root in Rome; and supplied, what the colder forms of the state ritual failed to supply, some food for the fervour of religious enthusiasm and for speculative theology. Many foreign religions obtained special licence, and even the

(e.g. 1. 58, 2), but to communities (Suet. Aug. 47); of which Utica is an instance. Dio, 49. 16, 1. On the great contrast in the practice of Claudius see vol. ii. Introd. pp. 33, 39.

[1] See Persius, Sat. 5, 78.

[2] See the 'diplomata' above referred to, p. 128.

[3] As in Vergil and Horace frequently.

[4] Livy, 4. 20, 5; Mon. Anc. iv. 1–26.

[5] Verg. Aen. 8, 716.

[6] See Marquardt, iii. p. 204.

[7] Ovid, Fast. 5, 145; Hor. Od. 4. 5, 34.

[8] Suet. Aug. 31.

[9] Sacrifice for the health of Augustus was offered daily in the Jewish temple. Philo. leg. ad C. c. 36, 588.

[10] See 1. 10, 8; 54, 1; 78, 1.

[11] For the practice of Augustus in his lifetime, see on 1. 10, 5; 78, 1; for that of Tiberius see 4. 15; 37; 55, and notes.

[12] Pausan. 2, 4.

illicit might enjoy practical impunity, till circumstances pointed attention to them; as in the suppression of Isiac rites by Agrippa[1]; or the stern vengeance taken by Tiberius on the priests of this cult for a flagrant moral scandal[2]; or the deportation of Jews arising out of a gross pecuniary fraud[3]; the penalty being apparently in neither case such as sensibly to abate the prevalence of such worships[4].

Nor could any coercion keep out the forbidden mysteries of astrology and magic[5]; the former of which had the direct countenance of Tiberius, though his protection of Thrasyllus[6] did not interfere with the chastisement of the meaner herd[7]. The influence of all foreign superstitions on a less strong mind may be seen in the case of Germanicus; in the restless search after foreign oracles, worships, miracles[8], which seems to have so far guided his movements in the East; and in the belief shared by his friends as well as himself, that the magician was as capable of causing his death as the poisoner[9].

Meanwhile, the only religion capable of taking the place both of the effete ideas of old Roman worship, and of the gross fanaticisms of foreign superstition, was known as yet only to a few poor Jews, and hardly reaches to the outer world till the time of Claudius[10].

CHAPTER VIII.

ON THE ESTIMATE IN TACITUS OF THE CHARACTER AND PERSONAL GOVERNMENT OF TIBERIUS.

SUMMARY OF CONTENTS.

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NOTE.—Several of the works on this subject are mentioned by Nipp. (Introd. p. 34 note); but the most complete sketch of the literature of the question known to me is contained in the treatise of Professor Iginio Gentile, 'L'imperatore Tiberio secondo la

[1] In 733, B.C. 21. Dio, 54. 6, 6.
[2] Jos. Ant. 18. 3, 4; Ann. 2. 85, 5.
[3] Jos. l. l., Ann. l. l.
[4] On the measures taken by Claudius with regard to the Jews, see vol. ii. Introd. pp. 29, &c.
[5] See 2. 27, 2, &c. 'Genus hominum ... quod in civitate nostra et vetabitur semper et retinebitur' H. 1. 22, 2.
[6] 6. 20, 3. [7] 2. 32, 5.
[8] See 2. 54; 61.
[9] 2. 69, 5.
[10] On the first persecution of Christians by Nero see Appendix to B. 15.

place of Agrippa, by receiving for five years the tribunician power; a position which Augustus felt he could safely trust to one of such an 'unambitious temperament[1].'

It was now that he formed his strange resolution of retirement to Rhodes, and with great difficulty obtained the necessary permission[2]. The conduct of his wife is assigned as the most potent reason[3]; an influential second motive can be traced in the rise to manhood of the young Caesars: and his retirement of seven years is characterized by studious, not to say pedantic pursuits[4], and initiation by Thrasyllus into the dangerous mysteries of astrology, which took so firm a hold upon his mind[5]. After the banishment of Julia in 752, B.C. 2, he had desired, but had not been permitted, to return. The protection of his tribunician power expired, and the rest of his absence was a scarcely disguised exile[6]; in which he was made to feel once for all that a private position to one in such a rank was impossible, by being exposed to insult and even to peril of life, during the progress of Gaius Caesar to the East under the sinister influence of M. Lollius[7]. In 755, A.D. 2, the year of the death of Lucius Caesar, he obtained leave to return to Rome; but lived in complete retirement till the death of Gaius in 757, A.D. 4, caused a complete change in his position.

Now, at the age of forty-six, he was adopted into the family of the Caesars[8], his tribunician power was renewed for another five years[9], and he was displayed as the heir before the greatest armies of the state[10]. If we are to believe Velleius, he was welcomed by the legions with raptures of enthusiasm, and his achievements in the next seven years place him in the front rank of Roman generals[11]. The aim of these military operations was to complete the conquest of the great province in further Germany, and to secure a frontier on the Elbe. In the two campaigns of 757 and 758, A.D. 4 and 5, the resistance in North Germany appeared to have been broken; a third campaign was intended, by a concentrated attack with twelve legions on Bohemia, to crush Maroboduus, who had organized what might be called an empire of South Germany[12]; when the blaze of rebellion in Pannonia and Delmatia in 759, A.D. 6, taxed all the

[1] 3. 56, 4.
[2] Suet. Tib. 10. Historians are evidently right in making this period of effacement and peril the chief crisis affecting his character previous to his rule.
[3] 1. 53, 2. [4] Suet. Tib. 11
[5] 6. 20, 3. [6] Suet. Tib. 11–12.
[7] 3. 48, 3; Suet. Tib. 13.
[8] Suet. Tib. 15. His adoption took place June 26 (Kal. Amit.) or 27 (Vell. 2. 103, 2), 757, A.D. 4. The renewal of trib. pot. may probably have dated from July 1. See Staatsr. ii. p. 797, 3.
[9] See note on 1. 10, 7.
[10] 1. 3. 3.
[11] Vell. 2. 104, &c.
[12] The chief authority for these campaigns is Velleius, who served in them. On their strategy, see the remarks of Professor Beesly.

in case of a sudden vacancy; but who, after a sacrifice of the best years of his life for the ruling house, might expect to be summarily set aside for a youth, if circumstances hereafter made it feasible. Such in the earlier years was Agrippa, and such was in later times the position of Tiberius. Each was victim in turn to the matrimonial arrangements which Augustus always carried out with more than a Roman's disregard of natural affection, often with a cynical contempt even for common decency [1]. Each had endeavoured to escape from an intolerable position by retirement from Rome [2]. Agrippa, had he lived long enough, would probably again have had to retire before his own sons, adopted into the family of the Caesars over his head. Tiberius, even at the death of Gaius, had Germanicus been ten years older or Augustus ten years younger, would probably have been again postponed to the grandson of Octavia, whose children by Agrippina would still more nearly represent the true blood of Augustus [3].

We may well believe that a sense of public [4] duty co-operated with the solicitations of Livia, in procuring the adoption of her son, which she so often recalled to him in after times as the crowning service of her life [5]. Still, with the tenacity that marked all his policy, Augustus seemed even then to leave a chance open for future family schemes, not only by himself adopting at the same time the worthless Agrippa Postumus [6], but also by compelling Tiberius, as the price of his own adoption, to adopt Germanicus [7], and thus to prejudice the position of his son by blood, Drusus, who was a year or two younger. Even the prospect of a possible civil war could not turn the old man from a scheme which might one day bring back the inheritance of the Caesars to his own direct descendants. Hence the undisguised coldness of Tiberius and Livia towards Germanicus and his house, and the suspicions, not the less real because baseless, that the young man might turn his popularity to disloyal use; hence the idea that even Agrippa, though formally banished in per-

[1] To secure one political ally he had himself set aside the daughter of Servilius for Clodia (Suet. Aug. 62); to win another, he married Scribonia (App. B.C. 5. 53), whom he divorced, on the day of her daughter's birth (Dio, 48. 34, 3), for the scandalous marriage with Livia (Ann. 1. 10, 4). For like reasons he sacrificed Octavia to Antonius, and compelled Agrippa possibly to divorce Pomponia for Marcella, certainly Marcella for Julia, who was given, for mere dynastic reasons, to three successive husbands. The cruel divorce of Tiberius from Vipsania is mentioned above.

[2] On the retirement of Agrippa at the rise of Marcellus, see 14. 53, 3, and note; Vell. 2. 93, 2; Dio, 53. 32, 1.

[3] See ch. ix. This marriage took place about A.D. 5, but was no doubt previously arranged.

[4] Suet. (Tib. 21) states that Augustus declared on oath, 'se reipublicae causa adoptare eum.' The sinister motive imputed to him by his detractors (see 1. 10, 6) is rejected even by Suetonius.

[5] 4. 57, 4.

[6] Suet. Tib. 15.

[7] 1. 3, 5; Suet. l. l.

petuity, was still formidable while he lived, and might any day return to favour [1].

Augustus again, while addressing Tiberius by letter in a fulsome strain of palpable exaggeration [2], is said to have often jested to his courtiers about the poor Roman people, who were to be 'so deliberately masticated;' often to have broken off lively conversation at his approach [3], and even in a public rescript to have 'taunted him with his personal peculiarities under colour of apology [4].' The epigrammatists who did not spare Tiberius even as a prince [5], assuredly did not spare him all this time [6]; and even a posthumous stroke was dealt in the will which made him principal heir, by a pointed allusion to those who should have filled his place [7].

Such circumstances, acting on such a temperament, produced much such a character as we should expect. We are to think of the man Tiberius as one naturally austere, reserved, and distant [8]; the best of whose life had been spent in camps or in retirement; whose position at court had been generally more or less overshadowed by rivals; and whose domestic life had been wrecked for political objects in which he had no primary interest; while he had been schooled for years in repression and disguise, with fatalists always at his elbow to tell him that his day of revenge would come [9]. He had lived in the coldest shade of neglect, as well as in the full sunshine of flattery, and could rate the homage of senate and people at its proper worth [10]. Of all views of his character, none is more amply borne out by facts than that which states that his resolution was as weak as his penetration was keen [11]; so that, the more clearly he could read men's minds, the more he was at a loss to deal with them. It is in this mixture of strength and weakness [12], as well as in the union of his natural self-distrust [13], reserve, and austerity, with the souring experiences of a lifetime, that we find the leading traits of character of the future ruler.

II. 'Occultum ac subdolum fingendis virtutibus, donec Germanicus ac Drusus superfuere.'

This period, the first eight years of this principate, treated by Tacitus

[1] 1. 5, 2. [2] See Suet. Tib. 21.
[3] Id. [4] 1. 10, 7.
[5] 1. 72, 5; Suet. Tib. 59. [6] Ib.
[7] Suet. Tib. 23 'Quoniam atrox fortuna Gaium et Lucium filios mihi eripuit.'
[8] 'Tristissimum, ut constat, hominum' Plin. N. H. 28. 2 (5), 23.
[9] 'Circa deos ac religiones neglegentior, quippe addictus mathematicae, plenusque persuasionis. cuncta fato agi' Suet. Tib. 69. See on 6. 21.
[10] The coldness towards old acquaintances, with which Seneca charges him (de Ben. 5. 25, 2), may often have had just ground.
[11] 1. 80, 3.
[12] Professor Beesly has well noted the indications of such a temperament in his physiognomy, as in the well-known Vatican statue (Mus. Chiarom. 494).
[13] See on 1. 11, 1, &c., and especially 4. 38, 4, where his diffidence is variously explained, as due to modesty, self-depreciation, or meanspiritedness.

in the first three Books, and reviewed at the beginning of the Fourth, is at once that on which his information is most full, and his estimate most questionable: the whole time being thus summarily dismissed, not as that in which the purpose was most sincere, but in which the disguise was best sustained.

The fact of generally just and moderate government is admitted and indisputable. We are told of constant consultation of the senate, even on matters not strictly belonging to their cognizance [1]; and its chief members are encouraged to discuss, and rebuked for servility [2]; that the office of the magistrates of the republic is respected [3]; the laws, with one exception [4], uprightly administered; that in the bestowal of dignities the worthiest were selected; that Tiberius set an example of frugality, both in the moderate size and number of his Italian estates, amid the vast villas of the nobles [5], and in unostentatious management and retinue; as well as an example of moderation in conducting disputes with other citizens as between equals in the law-courts. It is further admitted that these characteristics at home were accompanied by clemency and vigilance abroad: that no new burdens were laid on the provinces; the old ones adjusted with care and remitted on occasion; personal violence and confiscation scrupulously avoided; cruelty and extortion in governors duly punished; fiscal procuratorships conferred on men of character, even without personal knowledge; and their tenure indefinitely extended, as if to diminish temptation to peculation, by giving men time to grow rich without it.

Many even of what seemed to Tacitus defects of policy, would be merits to an impartial critic; who, for instance, would hardly be induced to believe that Germanicus, whose chief recorded achievements are those of mere ravage and massacre [6], or ostentatious and futile obsequies to the remains of those who fell with Varus [7], or at best barren victories in the field [8], balanced by disastrous retreats [9], and entailing untold requisitions on Gaul [10], was recalled from an all but completed conquest [11].

The general foreign policy of such a ruler naturally finds little favour with an historian who looked back with fondness to the military glories of the old Republic [12], and was writing when the star of conquest was again in the ascendent, when the eagles had advanced to the Carpathians and the Pruth, and beyond the Euphrates and Tigris, the fleet to the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean. His disdain is natural for the old 'narrow

[1] See 4. 6, 2, and note on 1. 52, 2.
[2] E.g. 3. 47, 4; 59, 2.
[3] On their function at this time, see ch. vi. p. 90, foll.
[4] See below, p. 141.
[5] See 3. 53, 5.
[6] 1. 51; 56.
[7] 1. 61.
[8] 2. 16, &c.
[9] 1. 63–71; 2. 23.
[10] See 2. 5, 3.
[11] 2. 26, 2. For a general view of his campaigns, see App. ii. to Book ii.
[12] 4. 32, 2.

limits of empire[1],' for the 'timid or envious' advice of Augustus[2], and for a prince who 'cared not to extend the frontier,' and under whom 'peace was slightly if at all disturbed[3].' Yet this policy, while prudent and consistent, was not undignified. The civil war of Arminius and Maroboduus[4] fully attests the wisdom of leaving Germany to its internal conflicts[5]. The anxiety to preserve order[6], and to settle difficulties without recourse to arms[7], will commend itself no less than the just partition of Thrace under its own princes[8]; the acquisition of Cappadocia with advantage both to its own inhabitants and to the Roman people[9]; and the maintenance of prestige in the East without open breach with Parthia; while Armenia is secured to the Roman interest through a prince of Roman sympathies, yet not too Roman for his subjects[10].

Again, the severe punishment of governors for extortion will be generally held deserving of more praise than is awarded by the historian, who, even when candidly admitting a case of proved guilt in this respect, appears to lay no stress upon it[11]. Nor can we share his apparent regret that largess was not lavished on the needy descendant of the Hortensii[12]; the more so as it is admitted that Tiberius cared not, at least at this time, to enrich himself[13], or to be sparing of bounty to persons[14] or communities[15] on just occasion.

Again, when all his resources were strained to feed the people[16], we should hardly blame the economy, even if we are allowed to imagine no better motive, from which their mere amusements were curtailed[17].

To say that he was austere and generally feared[18], is to say that his disposition was such as nature and circumstances had made it; nor is his carelessness of popularity unaccompanied with the rational desire of solid approval[19].

The evidence on which the whole of this period is pronounced to be one of mere sustained hypocrisy, is best challenged by taking the leading instances alleged.

The first instance is at the outset, when a show is made of declining the principate which every step had been taken to secure. Undoubtedly the reluctance was so far insincere, that his Rhodian retirement must have taught him, that for one so placed, the only safety was to rule; but

[1] 4. 4, 6. [2] 1. 11, 7.
[3] 4. 32, 3. [4] 2. 44; 65.
[5] 2. 26, 3. Many other such conflicts are mentioned in the note there.
[6] 'Ne conposita turbarentur' 2. 65, 1.
[7] 2. 64, 2. [8] 2. 67, 4.
[9] By its revenue the 'centesima' was reduced (2. 42, 6); yet the burdens of its people were lessened (2. 56, 4).
[10] Artaxias was the people's choice, and free from the defects of Vonones. See 2. 56, 2.
[11] E.g. 1. 74, 7; 3. 38, 1; 70, 1; 4. 19, 5, &c.
[12] 2. 37–38. [13] 2. 48; 3. 18, 2.
[14] See note on 1. 75, 4.
[15] 2. 47, 3; 4. 13, 1.
[16] 2. 87, 1; 4. 6, 6.
[17] 1. 54, 3; 4, 62, 3. [18] 4. 7, 1.
[19] 'Oderint, dum probent' Suet. Tib. 59.

a view is consistent with the belief that the full extent to which such rivalry might be pushed was not foreseen. Nor need a word here be said on any insinuation of the complicity of Tiberius in a death ascribed by the superstitious to witchcraft, and by those who dispensed with evidence to poisoning[1]: still less on the imagination apparently for a moment entertained by Tacitus that the really fatal charge against Piso, that of levying civil war in the province, was somehow the outcome of a deep-laid plot of Tiberius to destroy him[2].

We pass to the state trials, especially those for 'maiestas,' the one point excepted in the summary[3] from the generally just administration of laws during this period.

Tacitus is himself our best authority as to the offences originally and subsequently made indictable under this term[4]; which appears to have been gradually defined, with increasing width, by the 'leges' 'Appuleia' (654, B.C. 100), 'Varia' (663, B.C. 91), 'Cornelia' (during the rule of Sulla), and 'Iulia' (enacted by Augustus)[5]; and which, even in the time of Cicero, has a formidably elastic meaning, which would hardly require pressing to make it cover the most trifling acts alleged to imply disrespect[6] or the slightest approach to offensive words[7]. This latter application is, however, at least extremely limited[8] until the time of Tiberius, under whom it is extended not only to libels written and published but even to spoken words[9], an extension involving all the terrors of espionage in private life; and the strict limitation to libels on the prince and his family[10] is disregarded in practice[11]. It should be remembered also that Roman law was not without other means of dealing with either treasonable acts or scandalous libels, and that the law of 'maiestas,' probably from its more sweeping character, was one which it had been apparently thought prudent to hold in reserve. We should gather that it had been for the most part dormant under Augustus, as the praetor asks Tiberius in the year following his accession, whether he is to entertain charges under it[12].

[1] This charge evidently broke down, but was still believed. See 3. 14, 2, 4.

[2] See on 1. 13, 3.

[3] 4. 6, 3.

[4] 1. 72, 3, where see notes, and Mr. Whittuck in D. of Ant., s. v.

[5] A law prescribing the penalty of exile was passed by the dictator Caesar (Cic. Phil. 1. 9, 23), and Antonius professed to be carrying out his 'acta' by giving the right of 'provocatio' under it (Ibid. 9, 21). For extensions due to Augustus, see 1. 72, 4; 3. 24, 3. He also probably defined more stringently its applicability to personal offences against the emperor as the foremost of those 'quibus populus potestatem dedit' (see below).

[6] For such charges see 1. 73, 2; 74, 4; 3. 36, 1, and notes, and Suet. Tib. 58, Sen. de Ben. 3. 26.

[7] 'Maiestatem minuere est de dignitate, aut amplitudine, aut potestate populi aut eorum quibus populus potestatem dedit, aliquid derogare' De Inv. 2. 17.

[8] See on 1. 72, 4.

[9] We find such a charge (though not a conviction) as early as the second year of his rule (1. 74, 3). For later cases see 4. 21, 3; 42, 2; 6. 7, 4, &c.

[10] See 4. 34, 3.

[11] E.g. 3. 49, 1; 4. 34, 1.

[12] See 1. 72, 4, and note.

numerical list of such trials becomes considerable, when viewed in relation to a period of profound tranquillity and acquiescence; when, with insignificant exceptions, the air is stirred by no conspiracies [1], and the nobles are servile, even to the disdain of their ruler [2]. We are far removed, both from such an open outbreak in the senate as that which had forced Augustus to withdraw the 'Lex Iulia maritalis [3],' and even from the independent attitude of the Stoic aristocrats under Nero; and the opposition has shrunk into epigrams [4], the babble of 'dinner parties and places of resort [5],' 'idle murmurs [6],' 'whispers or suspicious silence [7];' in a word, into what no despotism has ever been able to repress, and what no strong government need ever consider dangerous.

Nor are the charges in themselves so noteworthy as the accompanying growth of an organized system of delation, destined to acquire such fatal prominence for nearly a century afterwards. In Rome, at all times, the absence of a public prosecutor threw the duty of accusation on individuals [8]; and the desire to conduct an impeachment was always strong among Roman orators; all the more so under the Empire, from the closing of other roads to distinction, and the increasing prevalence of rhetorical schools, in which the brilliant strokes of a fashionable accuser are held up to the admiration of the rising generation [9]. Even for men of rank and wealth [10], still more for the needy and obscure [11], such a career had thus manifold attractions. But Roman moral sentiment drew a strong distinction between those who had a right to accuse or were deputed to do so, and those who voluntered for the duty and made it their professional calling [12]; confining to the latter class the odious name of 'delator [13].'

[1] Libo Drusus, if Tacitus is to be believed, was no real conspirator (2. 30, 2). The only instance of more importance is the attempt of Clemens to personate Agrippa, which is stated to have been influentially supported (2. 40, 6). Even in the later years there is no substantial evidence of any plot against him except that of Seianus, yet it is only by such evidence that, as in the case of Elizabeth in England, exceptional repressive severity would be justified. We have, on the whole, more evidence of plots against the life of Augustus, yet in spite of the 'saevitia' of his early character, the list of persons put to death or forced to suicide (see 1. 10, 3) or even banished in his forty-four years of autocracy is as far as we know very small.

[2] 3. 65, 3.

[3] See Dio, 54. 16.

[4] 1. 72, 5. Some of these were no doubt very gross (see Suet. Tib. 59), yet Julius Caesar had borne with worse from Catullus.

[5] 'In conviviis et circulis' 3. 54, 1.

[6] 'Inani rumore' 1. 15, 2.

[7] 3. 11, 3.

[8] This was of course the case with many other charges than those of 'maiestas,' especially those of 'repetundae,' &c., which Roman governors so often deservedly incurred.

[9] Many famous delators are criticized, from a merely rhetorical point of view, by M. Seneca and Quintilian.

[10] 'Primores senatus' (6. 7, 4), such as Mamercus Scaurus (3. 66, 2, &c).

[11] As Junius Otho (3. 66, 4). By a long established pernicious custom they were to be paid out of the property of the accused, and naturally fastened upon the richest victims. They received at least one-fourth, and often enormous sums: see on 4. 20, 3.

[12] Pliny says (Epp. 3. 7, 3) in censure of Silius Italicus 'credebatur sponte accusasse.'

[13] The word is wholly post-Augustan.

twenty in six[1], we have also an increase in the espionage of informers and in the severity of sentences.

Many distinctions must however be drawn. Serious charges were brought, and some of them really proved, against Silius[2], Serenus[3], Lucilius Capito[4]; and the gratitude of the cities of Asia[5] must be set against the murmurs of Roman nobles. All would now respect the indignant protest of Tiberius against leniency to Suillius, convicted of selling justice; and the later history of the man is admitted to have shown that compassion was undeserved[6]. Nor will any regret the punishment of informers for false or vexatious charges[7]. Three again are acquitted[8], another saved by indefinite adjournment[9], another pardoned amidst genuine applause[10], in another case the gravest part of the charge is allowed to drop[11], in another expulsion from the senate is the only penalty[12], in another the sentence is unknown[13].

Granting however that the numerical list shrinks thus considerably on investigation, many cases will still remain showing an increased sensitiveness to libels and vindictiveness in punishing them. Charges of this kind, if not, in the former case, actually entering into the indictment, help to bring about the downfall of Silius[14] and L. Piso[15]; it is for these that Votienus is condemned to exile[16], and that Cassius Severus, an old offender[17], has his punishment increased[18]. By a further stretch, the law is made to reach Cremutius Cordus for a work which, according to one account, was of old standing and had even been recited before Augustus[19], and for a mere passage in which the eulogy was awarded to Cassius which had once been spoken over him by Brutus[20]. We are assured that the whole circumstances of the trial left the accused no prospect of escaping condemnation but by suicide.

Sometimes again conviction is alleged to have been enforced where proof was wanting; as in the trial of old Serenus on charges of conspiracy preferred by his son; charges which were certainly dismissed as absurd in respect to some of the persons implicated in them, and on which the evidence is stated to have altogether broken down[21]. Yet Tiberius is represented as insisting upon a condemnatory vote, though

[1] Trials for ordinary criminal offences, such as some of those in c. 22; 42; 52, are omitted, but the list is not confined to such as are strictly cases of maiestas. We may add from Dio (57. 22, 5) the name of Aelius Saturninus, thrown from the Tarpeian rock for libellous words in 776, A.D. 23.

[2] 4. 19, 5.

[3] 4. 13, 2.

[4] 4. 15, 3.

[5] 4. 15, 4.

[6] 4. 31, 6.

[7] 4. 31, 7. The most formidable are said to have escaped (c. 36, 5).

[8] 4. 13, 3; 36, 4.

[9] 4. 66, 3.

[10] 4. 31, 1.

[11] 4. 21, 4.

[12] 4. 42, 3.

[13] 4. 52, 6.

[14] 4. 18, 2.

[15] 4. 21, 2.

[16] 4. 42, 3.

[17] See 1. 72, 4.

[18] 4. 21, 5.

[19] Suet. Tib. 61.

[20] 4. 34, 1; Suet. l. l.

[21] 4. 29, 1.

interposing to modify the proposed penalty of death or stricter banishment[1], satisfied apparently with the conviction itself.

Lastly, at the close of this period, in the case of Titius Sabinus we are informed of disgraceful expedients to procure evidence[2], of a hurried vote and immediate execution without trial, on the very opening festival of the new year, in obedience to a missive from the prince[3]. There may have been more in the case than is reported[4], but the ominous beginning of the terrible letters from Capreae must be noted here.

Informers again appear to be more openly encouraged, sometimes protected from just retribution in case of falsehood[5], and secured of their reward, even where condemnation was anticipated by suicide[6]. Confiscations also now begin to appear, and so far bear out the imputation that an appetite for them has arisen[7].

Yet the candour of Tacitus shows much of the better and greater side of the character still remaining in the dignified address on the death of Drusus[8], energy in public business[9], prompt investigation of a crime[10], strict repression of a popular scandal[11], resolute disdain of extravagant honours[12], munificence on occasion of a public disaster[13]. Much again of mere gratuitous insinuation may yet be cast aside: such as that he was jealous of honour paid to young Nero and Drusus[14]; attended to public business only to disarm suspicion[15]; refused a temple from mere mean-spiritedness[16]; suppressed mention of military disasters because he dared trust no one to levy war[17]; and the like. The memoirs of the younger Agrippina are once at least[18], and probably more than once[19], laid under contribution, with other matter which must be received with much reserve[20].

Still, after all deductions made, there seems to be evidence that, besides the increased sensitiveness to attack, already noticed, a change is growing upon him, a consciousness of failing powers[21], in which even the offer to resign may have been half-sincere[22], a growing dread of conspiracies and of those in whose interest they might be supposed to take place; whereby the house of Germanicus, still in favour at the beginning of this period[23], are on the brink of destruction at its close[24]. How far their conduct justified, or could be made to appear to justify, such estrangement, can be never known[25]. We can see that their position

[1] 4. 30, 1. [2] 4. 68; 69. [3] c. 70.
[4] See on c. 70, 1. [5] 4. 31, 8; 36, 5.
[6] 4. 30, 3. [7] 4. 20, 2.
[8] 4. 8. [9] 4. 13, 1.
[10] 4. 22, 2. [11] 4. 14, 4.
[12] 4. 37; 38. [13] 4. 64, 1.
[14] 4. 17, 2. [15] 4. 55, 1.
[16] 4. 38, 4. [17] 4. 74, 1.
[18] 4. 53, 3. [19] E.g. c. 52; 54; 60.
[20] See on 4. 39; 40. [21] 4. 8, 5.
[22] 4. 9, 1.
[23] 4. 8, 6. Nero was quaestor, probably about A.D. 25, but held no subsequent magistracy; see ch. ix. note 11.
[24] 4. 70, 7.
[25] Tacitus constantly assumes the falsehood, the apologists of Tiberius as constantly assume the truth of such charges

was sufficiently secure at the outset to have made it their best policy calmly to bide their time for a succession which every year of experience and public life would have the more assured to Nero: we can also see that Seianus had an obvious motive for insidious attacks on them; and may even have forced them to intrigue in self-defence: and that, with or without such incentives, the fiery and domineering nature of Agrippina[1] may have made her play only too readily into his hands.

These causes at any rate tended to promote the ascendency of the only real minister whom Tiberius ever had. It is by playing on these weaknesses that Seianus is represented to have induced him to take the great step which marks the close of this period; that of permanently withdrawing from Rome[2], and fixing his headquarters in the natural island-fortress of Capreae[3]. Accepting, on general authority, the counsel of this adviser as the primary motive for such seclusion, Tacitus adds, with perhaps more than due stress, others which we may place in the second rank[4]. The dictation still exercised by Augusta, even at the age of eighty-five, is intolerable to an almost septuagenarian son, and amounts to a virtual claim to share the power which she had won for him. His habits of life are said to have driven him to fly the restraint of society: even his personal appearance to have led him to shun the eyes of men. The tall gaunt form, awkward even in its erectness[5], has contracted an ungainly stoop; the countenance, so refined and distinguished in his busts and coins, is said to have become a loathsome spectacle. Whatever may be the explanation or excuse, the fact itself remains that for the last ten years of his rule he withdraws from all publicity, from all personal intercourse with the senate and almost all with its magistrates, and that the accessibility and civic life hitherto associated with a Roman princeps pass into the seclusion of an Eastern sultan.

The period which begins with the concentration of a body-guard seems aptly to end with almost a self-imprisonment: and we appear to see a picture, neither inconsistent nor indistinct, of a phase intermediate between his best and worst; one of an old age of increasing timidity, suspicion, and isolation, aggravated by a counsellor whose interest it was

as are noticed in 4. 67, 6. Some light seems to be thrown upon them by the fact that the letters of indictment against Agrippina and Nero (5. 3, 3), which we should certainly take to be public documents, preserved in the 'acta senatus,' are expressly stated to have contained no such charge (see below, p. 149). As regards the former, even the posthumous invective, (6. 25, 2), no doubt similarly preserved, while bringing an entirely new charge, appears still to be silent on this head. On what evidence, true or false, and at what time the senate was induced to declare Nero and Drusus 'hostes publici' (Suet. Tib. 54; Cal. 7), is wholly unknown.

[1] 'Aequi inpatiens, dominandi avida' 6. 25, 3. See especially the description in 4. 52–54.

[2] 4. 41; 57.

[3] 4. 67.

[4] 4. 57, 3, 4.

[5] Suet. Tib. 68.

to aggravate, and tending to bear the fruit naturally borne by such qualities, when, to the misfortune of mankind, they are armed with power.

IV and V. '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.'

These two periods, comprising together eight years and a quarter, 782–790, A.D. 29–37, may be taken together, and must in great part be studied without the aid of Tacitus.

The Fifth Book opens with the death of Augusta, who, after having been charged, by hints more or less explicit, with every death in the house of the Caesars, is now represented no longer as the 'terrible stepmother,' but as the sole remaining protection of the family supposed to have been most obnoxious to her [1]. In another place such discrepancies are loosely accommodated by saying that she ostentatiously supported in adversity those whom she had secretly undermined in their prosperity [2]. The verdict of historical criticism has generally acquitted her of these imputations, and regarded her, throughout the long and unbroken period of her ascendency, as a softening and moderating influence on her husband and her son. And indeed, whatever her personal feeling towards the house of Germanicus, we may suppose her sufficiently imbued with the policy of Augustus [3], to see that her son had far more to gain than to lose by surrounding himself with family support; and that it would not be desirable for him at the age of seventy to be left with no heir but his grandson Tiberius Gemellus, a boy of ten years old [4].

Her overpowering influence, even to the close of life, is pictured in the description of Tiberius and Seianus 'breaking loose, as if freed from bit and bridle [5],' and hastily despatching to the senate the charges already drawn up, but kept back by her intercession, against Agrippina and Nero. The former is accused of arrogant language, the latter of profligacy, a charge which the general vicious propensities of this family render only too probable, but which we must suppose to have been seized as a handle of attack in default of other charges. It is expressly asserted that no act of treason was alleged against either, and we infer that no evidence of such could have been forthcoming [6]. The characteristic irresolution of the rescript left the senate perplexed, and even a second more peremptory mandate still reserved the sentence to be passed [7]. With precautions against rescue which attest their popularity [8],

[1] 5. 3, 1.
[2] 4. 71, 7.
[3] See 1. 3.
[4] See ch. ix. note 35.
[5] 5. 3, 2.
[6] 5. 3, 3.
[7] 5. 5, 2.
[8] Suet. Tib. 64.

cases of pardon[1] and acquittal[2]; some escape by giving information[3]; others by adjournment[4]; or by being merely ignored[5]; others receive less sentences than death[6]; in others the sentence is not stated[7]; and in all this crash prudent men, like M'. Lepidus[8], L. Piso[9], Aelius Lamia[10], Poppaeus Sabinus[11], can still hold their own in honour.

We have, indeed, a weary list of victims, of whom about forty names are specified; who were either put to death or committed suicide before the last extremity. Among them are Agrippina[12] and her second son[13], and her old enemy Plancina[14]; Tigranes, ex-king of Armenia[15]; the distinguished senators Asinius Gallus[16] and L. Arruntius[17]; and others, noble and ignoble, foreigners as well as native citizens. To these an addition must be made for such names as may have been noted in the lost part of Tacitus[18]; also for the recorded execution at once of an unnamed number, detained in prison as accomplices in the conspiracy of Seianus[19]. On this occasion, the 'immensa strages' of Tacitus may probably be reduced to the 'twenty in one day' of Suetonius[20]: but when all allowance is made, probably not less than 80 lives in all may have perished in the six years' reign of terror; for most of which the responsibility must rest on the prince[21], though at the extreme end Macro appears to have acted in his master's name[22].

Distinctions must be again drawn, as before. Much noble and probably much innocent blood was shed; but much that was noble was probably not innocent, and much was neither noble nor innocent, but that of the creatures of Seianus, who had staked their chances on his success. None need pity Latinius Latiaris[23], Vescularius Flaccus[24], Julius Marinus[25], Fulcinius Trio[26], or any others of the like description; nor is anything recorded even of so prominent a man as Asinius Gallus, or of many others, which should make them deserving of special sympathy: the suicide of Cocceius Nerva[27], probably also of Arruntius[28], is

[1] 6. 5, 2.
[2] 6. 9, 1, 6; Arruntius must also have been accused and acquitted (6. 7, 1).
[3] 6. 3, 5; 7, 5.
[4] 6. 9, 7.
[5] 6. 14, 4.
[6] 6. 3. 3; 18, 2–3.
[7] 6. 7, 5; 47, 1.
[8] 6. 27, 4.
[9] 6. 10, 3.
[10] 6. 27, 2.
[11] 6. 39, 3.
[12] 6. 25, 1.
[13] 6. 23, 4.
[14] 6. 26, 4.
[15] 6. 40, 2.
[16] 6. 23, 1.
[17] 6. 48, 2.
[18] E. g Ollius (13. 45, 1), Carnulus and Paconius (Suet. Tib. 61), Fufius Geminus (Dio, 58. 4, 5), Syriacus (Id. 58. 3, 7), Curtius Atticus (Ann. 6. 10, 2), Bruttedius Niger (Juv. 10. 82).
[19] 6. 19, 3.
[20] Suet. Tib. 61.
[21] Very few are privately tried before Tiberius (see 6. 10, 2, perhaps also 18, 3), the rest before the senate; but the general mention of letters of indictment from the emperor (cp. 6. 3, 4; 7, 3; 9, 2, &c. and the significance of their absence in 6. 47, 4), or of letters from the consuls to him and his replies to them (6. 39, 2), lead us to conclude that they acted under direct instructions, which, however worded (cp. 'facta patribus potestate statuendi' 6. 7, 1), must have been in their judgment peremptory.
[22] 6. 47, 4.
[23] 6. 4, 1.
[24] 6. 10, 2,
[25] 1. 1.
[26] 6. 38, 2.
[27] 6. 26, 1.
[28] 6. 48, 2.

their own gratuitous act. But there are circumstances of horrible cruelty in the execution of the young children of Seianus[1], and of the aged mother of Fufius Geminus[2], and in the causes assigned for the destruction of the descendants of Theophanes[3]: and even if these were all, such cases are hardly palliated by being few[4].

It is difficult to discuss the tales of abominable profligacy, which occupy four chapters of Suetonius, and not much more than twice as many lines in Tacitus[5]. The absence of indication of any special source from which they were derived, or of any variance among the authorities in respect of them, would suggest that they were found in the writers whom he chiefly follows[6]. This would lead us to lay less stress on the argument that our earlier extant writers, as Philo and Josephus, Seneca and the elder Pliny, show no knowledge of these stories, the more so as their incidental notices of Tiberius would not have necessitated the mention of what they might have known[7]. But to suppose such tales to be part of the general and probably contemporary tradition is in no way to exempt them from criticism, and they are very strongly criticised.

The age was certainly one of great and increasing profligacy, but the prince himself is represented by hostile authors as shocking even the standard of those times by his enormities, by extreme apologists as almost alone free from the universal taint, and it is more difficult to find grounds for a middle view than to accept either without reserve. Tacitus asserts that latterly less and less concealment was practised[8], and that victims were sought out from families of position[9], Suetonius has raked together names and details somewhat harder to fabricate than vague general charges[10]; but the secluded life which would give scope for such outrages no less facilitated unlimited invention of scandal; archives of state trials may often have preserved records of mere unproved or even disproved libels, afterwards accepted as facts[11],

[1] 5. 9. [2] 6. 10, 1.
[3] 6. 18, 5.
[4] The extreme apologists appear to take for granted that in all such cases the statement of facts is untrustworthy.
[5] The same brevity is seen in his account of the enormities of Nero, and appears due to an unwillingness to dwell on such subjects.
[6] On these see above ch. iii. p. 13, foll. It would be still open to suppose that these authors had themselves drawn from such a source as the memoirs of Agrippina.
[7] Beyond mere absence of mention, perhaps the only passage to be noted is that in which Pliny, speaking of Tiberius as witnessing a drinking feat, speaks of him as 'in senecta iam severo atque etiam saevo alias' (14. 22, 28, 144), but apparently only in contrast to his alleged fondness for wine in youth. We cannot lay much stress on the fact that he speaks of Capreae (3. 6, 12, 82) as 'Tiberi arce nobiles' (not 'infames'), or that he mentions other qualities, calling him 'minime comis imperator' (35. 4, 10, 28) and 'tristissimus, ut constat, hominum' (28. 2, 5, 23).
[8] 6. 51, 6.
[9] 6. 1, 5.
[10] Suet. Tib. 42-45.
[11] See 6. 38, 3; Dio, 57. 23, 2, and the remarks of Merivale ch. xliv. p. 172.

and the little corroborative evidence cited is inconclusive[1]. On the other side, attention is pointed to the description of the train which attends him into his retirement[2], and to the survival of another version of his life there in the satirist's description of him at the time of the fall of Seianus as surrounded by no worse than a crew of astrologers[3]. In this weakness of evidence, it is natural that great stress should be laid on the strong intrinsic improbability that a self-control apparently well sustained to the age of seventy should then altogether give way, and that a life of such sensuality should last without medical aid to nearly seventy-eight. Upon the whole, therefore, the most just as well as the safest verdict appears to be that of acquittal, or at least 'not proven[4].'

There are still flashes of vigour, as in the blow which struck down Seianus; and the display of energy in the East into which the taunts of the Parthian king had goaded him[5]. Again, if he was keen to fill the 'fiscus[6],' he could still be munificent in the use of it, either to restore financial confidence[7], or, as before, to relieve the sufferers by a fire[8]. He still organizes the corn-supply of Rome[9]; even interests himself in such minor matters as the authenticity of the Sibylline canon[10].

In general, however, the administration is described as sinking into neglect and disorder; ambassadors and suitors were unable to get a hearing[11]; the 'decuriae equitum' are no longer filled up[12]; Asinius Gallus is kept three years awaiting his trial[13]; the financial statements hitherto published periodically, as by Augustus, cease to appear[14]; the legacies of his mother remain unpaid[15]; the best men hang back from public service[16]; some are kept for years from going to the province which

[1] The names of infamy associated, if not certainly with Tiberius, at least with the time and place of his retreat (6. 1, 4; Suet. Vit. 3), seem also to be found in Rome (Suet. Cal. 16); the vile mosaics &c., stated to have been found in the villas at Capreae (Merivale, l. l. p. 293 note), may be of uncertain date; the procuratorship 'a voluptatibus,' described as instituted at this time (Suet. Tib. 42), and known to us from inscriptions, is taken to be an office connected with games and festivals (cp. Hirschf. Unters. 185, 1, and the use of 'voluptates' in 4. 62, 3), but, if so, must have been then little needed.

[2] 4. 58, 1.

[3] Juv. 10, 93.

[4] See the remarks of Merivale (l. l.), who while declining to affirm or deny the fidelity of the picture, notes that even were it true, 'the age and the class must bear their share of the common guilt.'

[5] 6. 31. [6] 6. 19, 1. [7] 6. 17, 4.

[8] 6. 45, 1. [9] 6. 13, 2. [10] 6. 12.

[11] The dilatoriness in the whole affair of Herodes Agrippa leads Josephus (Ant. 18. 6, 5) to say with emphasis that Tiberius was *μελλητὴς εἰ καί τις ἄλλος βασιλέων ἢ τυράννων.*

[12] Suet. Tib. 41. Gaius had to make up a deficiency (Dio, 59. 9, 5).

[13] See 6. 23, 3. Suet. (61) and Dio (58. 3) assign such a delay to intentional cruelty.

[14] Cp. Suet. Cal. 16; Dio, 59. 9, 4.

[15] See 5. 1, 6 and note.

[16] 6. 27, 3. This is hardly to be explained by their diminished power of extortion. Merivale, c. xlvi. p. 333.

the emperor had himself nominally entrusted to them[1]; others are left year after year at their posts with apparent indifference to their merits[2], whether they were judicious, as Poppaeus Sabinus[3], feeble, as Apronius[4], cruel and oppressive, as Pontius Pilate[5], or contumacious and dangerous, as Gaetulicus[6]. Even the senatorial provinces, as Asia and Africa, seem to feel the effects of the general irregularity[7]; and even the security of the frontier is said to be no longer fully maintained[8].

Some apparent taint of insanity seems to come in, completing and partly explaining the whole: perhaps traceable sometimes in the clear evidence of public documents; as in the attempt, in his published autobiography, to explain the condemnation of Seianus by a falsehood of childish transparency[9]; or in the famous words preserved of his letter to the senate, publishing to the world his agony of soul[10]. Again, at one time reproach seems to lacerate him[11], at another he parades it[12]; he hovers round and round Rome and never enters it[13]; shifts his place restlessly in the last stage of decrepitude[14]. It is of little moment to decide between various reports of his end, or to know exactly how the last few sands ran out of a life that to any good purpose had been extinct for years.

As a set off against the judgment of Tacitus has been often sought in the contemporary panegyric of Tiberius by Velleius[15], a few remarks upon it appear here necessary. This writer's means of information are indeed unquestionable[16]; but his burst of courtly rhetoric, over even the slightest service of his hero, takes away credit from his record of more substantial achievements, even when described by him as an eye-witness.

[1] Arruntius was thus kept ten years or more from Hispania Tarraconensis, Aelius Lamia many years from Syria, and yet allowed afterwards to be 'praefectus urbi' (6. 27, 2–3). These great provinces must have been left all this time to subordinate officers.

[2] On the reason given for this see below, p. 157. The custom must have been so far evil that it blocked the legitimate avenues to distinction.

[3] 6. 39, 3. [4] See 4. 74, 1, and note.

[5] Jos. Ant. 18, 3 and 4. The recall of Pilate is there stated to have been made, not by Tiberius, but by L. Vitellius as legatus of Syria.

[6] 6. 30, 7. Cp. Dio, 59. 22, 5.

[7] See above, ch. vii. pp. 113, 114.

[8] 'Armeniam a Parthis occupari, Moesiam a Dacis Sarmatisque, Gallias a Germanis vastari neglexit' (Suet. Tib. 41). The first statement is clearly untrue, the others we have no means of checking, but it is known that the Frisii (see 4. 74, 1) retained their independence till the time of Claudius (11. 19, 2).

[9] See above, p. 151, n. 7.

[10] Ann. 6. 6, 1. [11] 4. 42, 2.

[12] 6. 24, 3; 38, 3. Cp. Dio, 58. 23, 1.

[13] 6. 1, 1; 15, 6; 39, 2.

[14] 6. 50, 2. Merivale (l. l. p. 300) would assign the general execution mentioned in 6. 19, 2 to a fit of madness. Those who accept the accounts of his abnormal profligacy would also generally explain them thus.

[15] This history was published in 783, A.D. 30, and dedicated to M. Vinicius, consul of that year.

[16] He had served many years under Tiberius, and was one of his first list of praetors. See on 1. 15, 2.

When, for instance, we are given to suppose that Tiberius at the age of nineteen had almost saved Rome from famine as quaestor[1]; and at twenty-five had virtually subjected Armenia and terrified Parthia[2]; we are forced to ask how much similar exaggeration may lurk in the history of the German and Illyrian campaigns. Sometimes, too, this rhetoric is confronted by stubborn realities. Against the alleged all but complete subjugation of Germany[3] must be set the fact, that the single defeat and annihilation of a force of some 30,000 men rolled back the tide of conquest from Germany, not temporarily, but for ever. The account of the passionate enthusiasm, with which the legions are said to have welcomed Tiberius on his return[4], must be read in the light of our knowledge that his name ten years later had assuredly no magic, either for veteran or recruit, among the armies that had known him best. Even Julius Caesar had to face the mutiny of a legion; but popular generals have not often been met by the wholesale defection of their armies[5].

In the notice by Velleius of this principate, we have no right to expect details from a sketch of sixteen years contained in eight chapters; yet his suppressions at times are most significant. Four years had passed since Tiberius had permanently left Rome[6]; yet his retirement is not even glanced at. On all the state trials of these years, we have only a line in reproach of the crimes of Libo Drusus, Silius, and Piso[7]; and a hint of the shame and sorrow supposed to have been felt at the conduct of Agrippina and Nero[8]. We seem forced to conclude that on these subjects the silence of Velleius is more eloquent than the epigrams of Tacitus[9]. Are we prepared, again, to take his verdict on Seianus as well as on his master? to see in him the Laelius to this Scipio, the Agrippa or Statilius Taurus to this Augustus[10]? The impression left upon us becomes on the whole that of a fairly skilful apology, saved from palpable falsehood by ignoring what it is difficult to defend, and laying stress upon what is undeniably praiseworthy.

On other authors less need here be said. No critic will expect to find truth of value in the few scattered allusions of Valerius Maximus[11]. Philo,

[1] Vell. 2. 94, 1. [2] l. l. § 2.
[3] Id. 2. 97, 4; 106, 1; 108, 1.
[4] Id. 2. 104, 4.
[5] That Germanicus had but to give the word, and the legions would have saluted him as their emperor and marched on Rome, is as expressly asserted by Velleius (2. 125, 2) as by Tacitus (1. 35, 3).
[6] See 4. 57, 1.
[7] Vell. 2. 130, 3: from the order of mention, it seems that L. Piso (see 4. 21, 1) is meant. [8] Vell. 2. 130, 4.
[9] The cautious obscurity with which the death of Agrippa Postumus is touched upon (2. 112, 7) is also noteworthy. The sending of Germanicus to the East is only touched in a single line, and nothing is said of his doings there or of the circumstances of his death. [10] Id. 2. 127.
[11] Valerius nowhere names Tiberius, but occasionally alludes to him, especially in the dedication. Another passage speaks of the punishment of a nameless parricide, who is evidently Seianus (9. 11, 4).

it must be borne in mind, has a purpose to serve, in setting off a special grievance by a contrast of general beneficence of imperial government[1]. Seneca speaks most emphatically of the 'accusandi frequens et paene publica rabies' which under this prince caused more loss of civic lives than any civil war[2]. The chief definite statement of Josephus, that the long tenure of office by provincial governors was the result of a deliberate intention to make them less eager pillagers[3], reads like the mere excuse of Tiberius or his friends for the irresolution and dilatoriness of which we have such abundant other evidence; and might have seemed questionable to Josephus himself if he had thought of the ten years of Pilate.

If we cannot check Tacitus by these, we may in turn check by him the keener appetite for scandal of Suetonius, many of whose tales he must have known but disdained to notice[4], and some of whose generalisations he has given us the means of reducing to single instances[5].

Also his more careful discrimination checks the loose credulity of Dio, whose bewildered judgment seems at last to take refuge in a desperate attempt to reconcile conflicting testimony by fusion; in the statement that Tiberius 'had many virtues and many vices, and exercised each as if they had been his only qualities[6].'

The appeal from Tacitus appears thus to lie to Tacitus alone; to his candour and sense of truth, to his admissions of fact; against his insinuations and interpretations of motives, against his evident prejudices. That he was no friend to the founders of the principate has been already shown[7]; and, with all allowance for the sincerity of his disclaimer[8], special grounds of animosity against Tiberius appear discernible. He had seen in his own day 'the extremity of slavery, when even the interchange of speech and hearing was destroyed by espionage[9].' He tracks back this systematic delation to its source, and, as it were, charges this prince with its full-developed iniquity; seeing in these trials for treason far more than the bare facts which he relates, and imagining Carus and Massa, and the rest of the vile brood of his own time, as already appearing within view[10]. It would be natural that the memory of the tyrant under

[1] Leg. ad Gaium, 2.

[2] De Ben. 3. 26, 1. He goes on to describe it in terms quite as strong as those of Tacitus in 6. 7, 4. The evidence of Seneca, as far as it goes, is, except for his silence on the subject of profligacy (see p. 153), not more favourable than that of Tacitus: see below, p. 158, n. 6, and notes on 1. 75. 6: 2. 27, 1; 48, 3; 4. 12, 1; 34, 1, and G. Dirichlet, Der Philosoph Seneca als Quelle für die Beurtheilung der ersten Römischen Kaiser,' Progr. Königsberg, 1890.

[3] Ant. 18. 6, 5. See note on 1. 80, 2.

[4] For a probable instance, see above, ch. iv. p. 33.

[5] Compare e.g. Suet. Tib. 61 with 4. 70, 2; 5. 9, 3, and Suet. 32 with 3. 21, 4.

[6] Dio, 58. 28, 5.

[7] See above, ch. iv. p. 35.

[8] 1. 1, 6.

[9] Agr. 2, 3.

[10] See 1. 74, 1; 2. 27, 1, and above, p. 141.

whom the historian had lived should enter into the portrait of that predecessor in whose private memoirs he was said to find his chief mine of political wisdom [1], and whom, notwithstanding many differences, he most nearly resembled.

His own age, again, suggested not only a resemblance but a contrast; between the first encouragement of delation and its first firm repression; between a timid or cautious foreign policy and a career of conquest; possibly even between a prince beyond all others parsimonious in building [2], and the grand architectural achievements of Trajan. Other contrasts were ready to hand within the work itself, helping him to set off the qualities of Tiberius by the idealised virtues of Germanicus [3], or even by the character of the hasty and passionate but not ungenerous Drusus [4].

Still, when all this is allowed for, much remains, and the extreme apologists who appear to construct out of their own inner consciousness an ideal. Tiberius, merciful almost to weakness, and the forbearing victim of almost incessant conspiracies, are compelled to ignore or arbitrarily rule out of court much substantial evidence [5]. The stages and periods of change noted by Tacitus can be on the whole made out [6], though we should consider the explanation put into the mouth of Arruntius, that the character of Tiberius 'had been thrown off its balance by the force of despotism [7],' to be nearer the truth than the theory adopted by the historian as his own, that of a true character asserting itself by slow degrees against the disguise of hypocrisy [8].

We have on the whole the character of a prince whose friends might well have written 'infelix vitae diuturnitate [9]' upon his epitaph. Had he died in the lifetime of Augustus, general opinion would have pronounced him 'imperii capax.' At the end of eight years' rule he would have left a name among the best princes of the second rank. Even at seventy his

[1] See above, p. 20, n. 2.

[2] 6. 45, 2. [3] See 1. 33, 5, etc.

[4] See 2. 43, 7; 3. 37, 3, etc. The influence of such a study of contrast has been already alluded to. See ch. iv. p. 37.

[5] For instance, the records of the senate, if falsified at all, must have been falsified in the interest of the prince (see ch. iii. p. 181), and the speeches or letters of the emperor to that body must be substantially authentic.

[6] The general fact of deterioration is attested by earlier writers. Seneca, in comparing previous good periods with the early rule of Nero, says (de Cl. 1. 1, 6), 'nemo iam divum Augustum, nec Tiberii Caesaris prima tempora loquitur.' Pliny, with significant reserve, speaks of Tiberius (34. 8, 19, 62) as 'imperiosus sui inter initia principatus.' Dio (57. 18, 10) has followed a source making the death of Germanicus a turning point. Perhaps the most probable view is that of Prof. Allen (Introd. § 9), who thinks the great crisis in the character of Tiberius was due to the series of events from A. D. 29, the revelation of the alleged conspiracy of Agrippina and his sons, of the treachery of Seianus, and of the murder of Drusus.

[7] 'Vi dominationis convulsus et mutatus' 6. 48, 4. [8] 6. 51, 5.

[9] In contrast to Titus, who is styled 'felix brevitate regendi' by Ausonius (Ordo Imperat.); an estimate agreeing with that of Dio (66. 18, 5).

memory would have escaped the worst stains cast upon it. Yet, had he lived up throughout to the level of his best time; his want of originality and self-reliance, his pedantic adherence to the rules, without grasping the great ideas of his predecessor[1], would have made it no more than a period of good administration without advance[2]; and a rule which in duration is equalled by none till Antoninus Pius, and exceeded by none till Constantine, would probably have been barren of historical interest. To waive all comparison with the great names of Roman Imperialism, even a much weaker ruler, Claudius, has left his mark more on the history of the empire. Nor is a change of character, even late in life, in his case difficult to explain. At the best, his virtues were those of the subject or subordinate ruler rather than of the autocrat; and the principate found him timid, irresolute, and self-distrustful, when he had no superior to rely upon. Hence the necessity always, in estimating his conduct, to allow for the influence of some stronger will, such as the imperiousness of his mother, or the craft of Seianus; and hence, when all these were removed, the neglect even of routine duties for want of a trusted adviser at his side. Hence again the sense of isolation[3] redoubling his fears, and making him see a fresh enemy at every turn, who must be struck down to make life safe to him.

He is, indeed, probably entitled to all the credit that has been claimed for him, as throughout a just and liberal ruler of the provinces[4]; the evidence for which is by no means confined to the early period of his principate. The temple founded in Asia in 776, A.D. 23[5], the similar request from Hispania Baetica in 778, A.D. 25[6], appear genuine expres-

[1] Cp. 'Consilium id D. Augustus vocabat, Tiberius praeceptum' Agr. 13, 3. As an instance of this deference in a small matter, see 1. 77, 4.

[2] It has been noticed (see Edinb. Rev. Jan. 1894, p. 87) how little this most stay-at-home of emperors did for the city in which so many of his years were passed. He gives it next to no public buildings (6. 45, 2), no such aqueducts as that begun by Gaius and completed by Claudius (see 11. 13, 3, and note), no improvement of the slums of 'vetus Roma,' nor even an enforcement of some existing rules (see on 15. 43, 1). Again, though the 'annona' is claimed as his constant care (3. 54, 8), it is left for Claudius to improve the harbourage of Ostia (vol. ii. Introd. p. 25). We notice also an absence of any comprehensive legislation even where there seemed to be need of it. The abuses of the lex Papia Poppaea seem to have received but slight and temporary amendment (3. 28, 6), the 'faenebre malum' is dealt with by obviating a temporary crisis and then letting it drop (6. 17, 4–5).

[3] Suet. states (Tib. 55) that of his old friends and his original council of twenty, but two or three were left; but that he had destroyed most of them himself.

[4] Here again we notice the absence of large and comprehensive measures affecting the provinces, such as had been often set on foot by Augustus or such as the extension of the higher civic privileges to Gaul by Claudius (11. 23–25). Also the foundation of provincial colonies ceases entirely from the death of Augustus until its revival by Claudius (vol. ii. Introd. 34). Nor, whatever may have been his intentions (4. 4, 4), did Tiberius ever as princeps set foot in any province.

[5] 4. 15, 4.

[6] 4. 37, 1.

sions of gratitude for punishment of official oppression[1]; and it is probably only because the latter application was refused, that more were not forthcoming[2]. Coinage[3] and statue[4] alike attest the feeling of Asia for his liberality after its ruinous earthquake; inscriptions in the provinces[5] and even in Rome[6] give him epithets by no means constantly applied to princes in such documents.

But, after all, the heart of the empire was still the senate of Rome in its relation to the prince[7]: and if those who should have been the most valued instruments of his administration are seen shrinking terror-stricken from the public service, and absorbed in the effort to save themselves; it is impossible that the general effect could have been other than disastrous.

If our other evidence were more questionable than it is, the decline of literature would go far to confirm it. Not but that even the Augustan age is nearly stripped of literary genius, as the great spirits born and trained under the Republic pass away; and the few survivors at the succession of Tiberius attest by their position the change of times. The great historian of Rome had, as it seems, abruptly closed his work, and retired to his native Padua; the only great living poet was pining in exile on the Euxine. But from even the survival of such names it is indeed a descent, to a generation in which Velleius and Valerius Maximus, the fables of Phaedrus, and the rhetorical writings of M. Seneca, make up all the literature before us[8]; and in which there is little evidence of greater works lost. Thus it was not only the disaffected Roman nobility that felt a leaden rule upon them: far higher elements of national life are stagnating under peril and suspicion; and the result is a barrenness of intellectual activity, compared to which even the time of Nero or Domitian is an age of fertility.

[1] This is asserted in the first case, and probable in the second. See notes.

[2] For the record of two other such dedications to him, both in senatorial provinces, see note on 4. 38. 4.

[3] 'Civitatibus Asiae restitutis' Eckhel, vi. p. 192; Cohen, i. p. 189.

[4] See notes on 2. 47. 1.

[5] E.g. 'Princeps et conservator' (Baetica). See Orelli, 616, 617, and C. I. L. ii. 2038 (where its genuineness is vindicated against Henzen).

[6] 'Optimi ac iustissimi principis' C. I L. vi. 1, 93; 'principi optimo' Henzen 5393.

[7] It must be evident that a periodical revision and 'lectio' of the senate would be desirable and even necessary. Augustus three times held such a 'lectio' (Mon. Anc. ii. 1), and it was revived by Claudius (cp. 11. 25, 5; 12. 4, 4); but Tiberius, though acting in a few individual cases (2. 48, 2; 4. 42, 3), seems to have shrunk from this responsibility.

[8] The Geography of Strabo should be considered an Augustan work, though it received additions during the early years of Tiberius. A technical treatise, such as Celsus de Medicina, need not here be taken account of, if rightly assigned to this time.

CHAPTER IX.

GENEALOGY OF THE FAMILY OF AUGUSTUS AND OF THAT OF THE CLAUDIAN CAESARS, WITH NOTES.

OWING to constant intermarriages between members of the imperial family, the relationships between many of the persons whose names occur in these tables are extremely intricate, even without considering the further complication introduced by adoptions. Thus the children of Germanicus are on their mother's side direct descendants of Augustus, and on their father's side direct descendants of Octavia, as well as descendants of the Claudian house. The emperor Nero, besides partaking of all these relationships through his mother, was also directly descended from Octavia on his father's side. All the descendants of Drusus, brother of Tiberius, trace a similar descent through Antonia; the children of Drusus, son of Tiberius, become members of that family through Livilla; and the children of Claudius by Messalina are again through her father and mother doubly descendants of Octavia. Tiberius and the two Drusi, his brother and son, are thus the only members of the Claudian stock who stand in no blood-relationship to Augustus; and Stem B might have been almost wholly included under A.

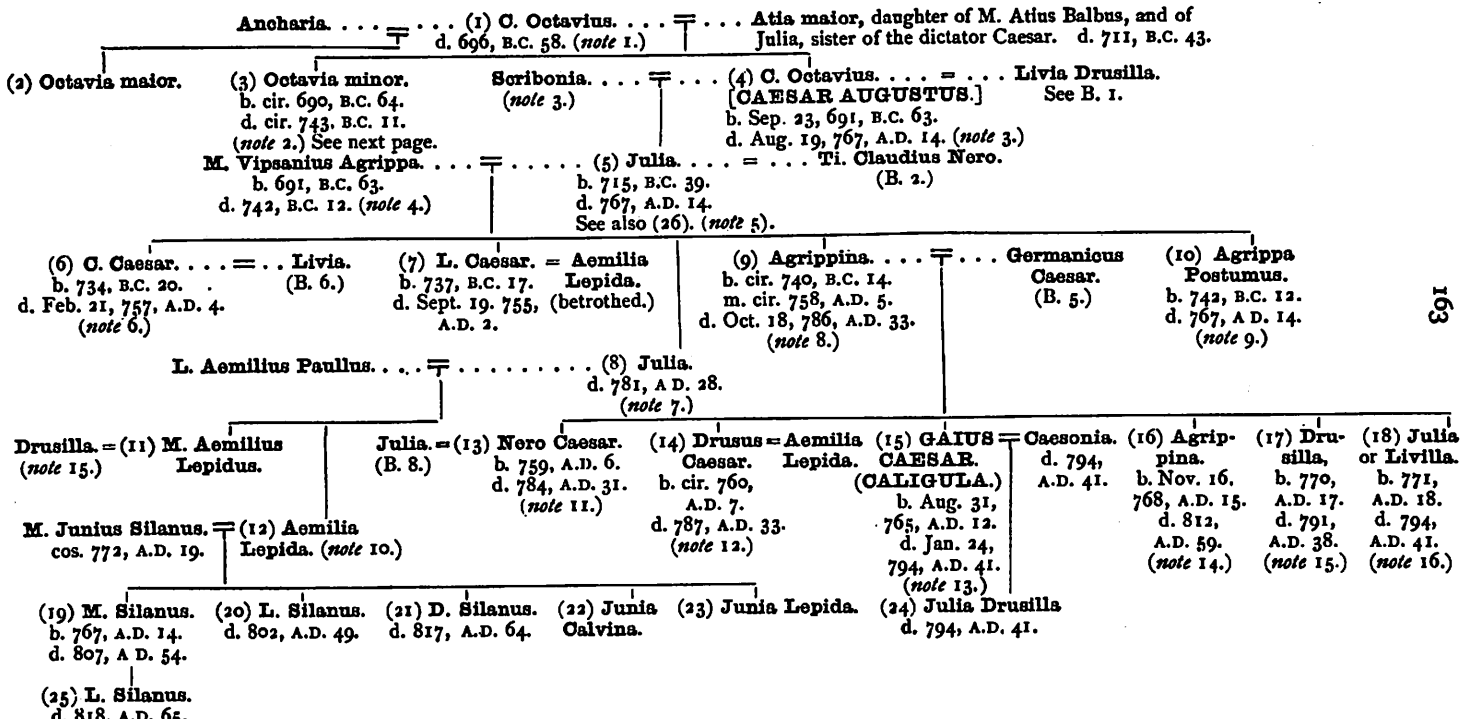
It is hoped that the arrangement here adopted will indicate intelligibly all the relationships of consanguinity. Of the adoptions, the most important to bear in mind are those of Octavius by the will of Julius Caesar, of Tiberius by Augustus, of Germanicus by Tiberius, and of Nero by Claudius.

It is impossible here to speak of the multitude of representations existing in art of most of the principal persons here mentioned; specimens of which most students must have had more or less opportunity of inspecting for themselves. For the benefit of those to whom books are more accessible than museums, it is sufficient here to refer to the numerous excellent illustrations and careful judgment on the many questions of identity or of apparent truth of portraiture in J. J. Bernoulli's *Römische Iconographie*, part ii. vol. i.; and to the older but very beautiful plates in the *Iconographie Romaine* of Visconti and Mongez. A still larger number of extremely interesting illustrations belonging to the

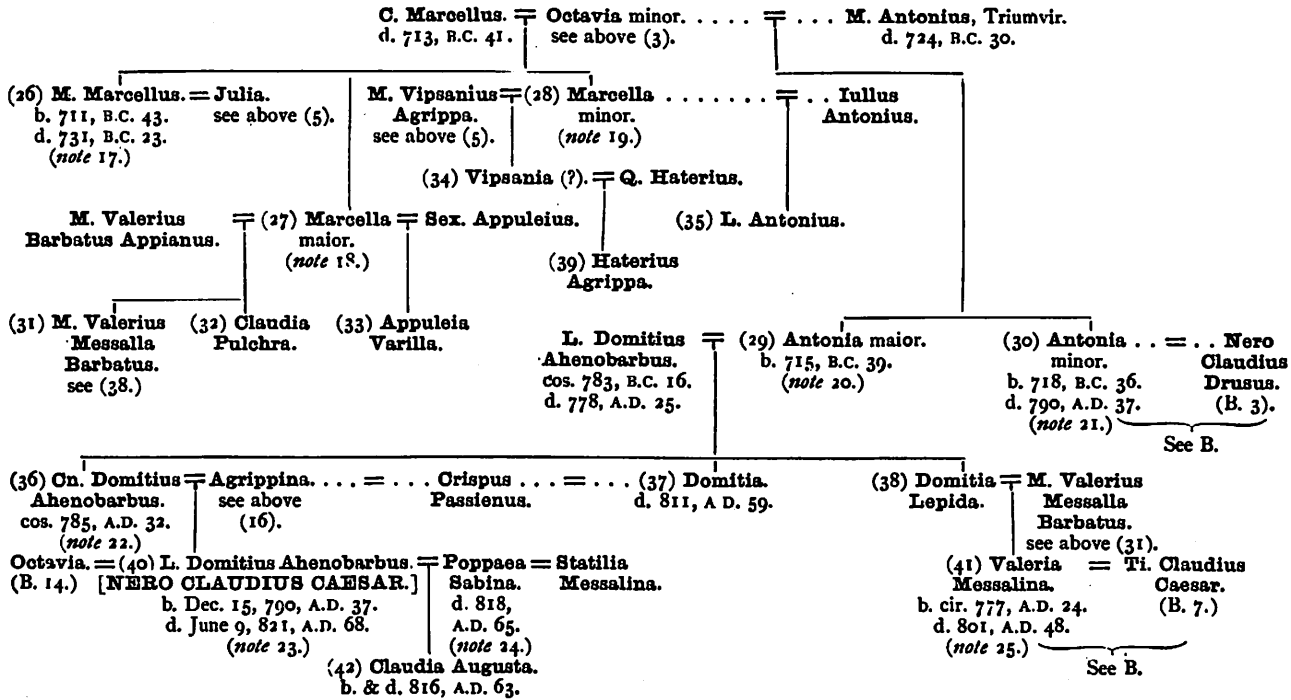
imperial family of this period is given in Mr. Baring Gould's *Tragedy of the Caesars* (Lond. 1892, see some criticisms in *Quart. Rev.* Oct. 1894, p. 515, and *Class. Rev.* vii. 54, foll.), numerous engravings from coins in Cohen's *Médailles Impériales* (2nd ed. Paris, 1879), and portraits from gems &c. belonging to Augustan times in the editions of Horace by Dean Milman (1849) and Mr. C. W. King and Professor Munro (1869).

STEM A.

Direct and collateral descendants of Augustus.

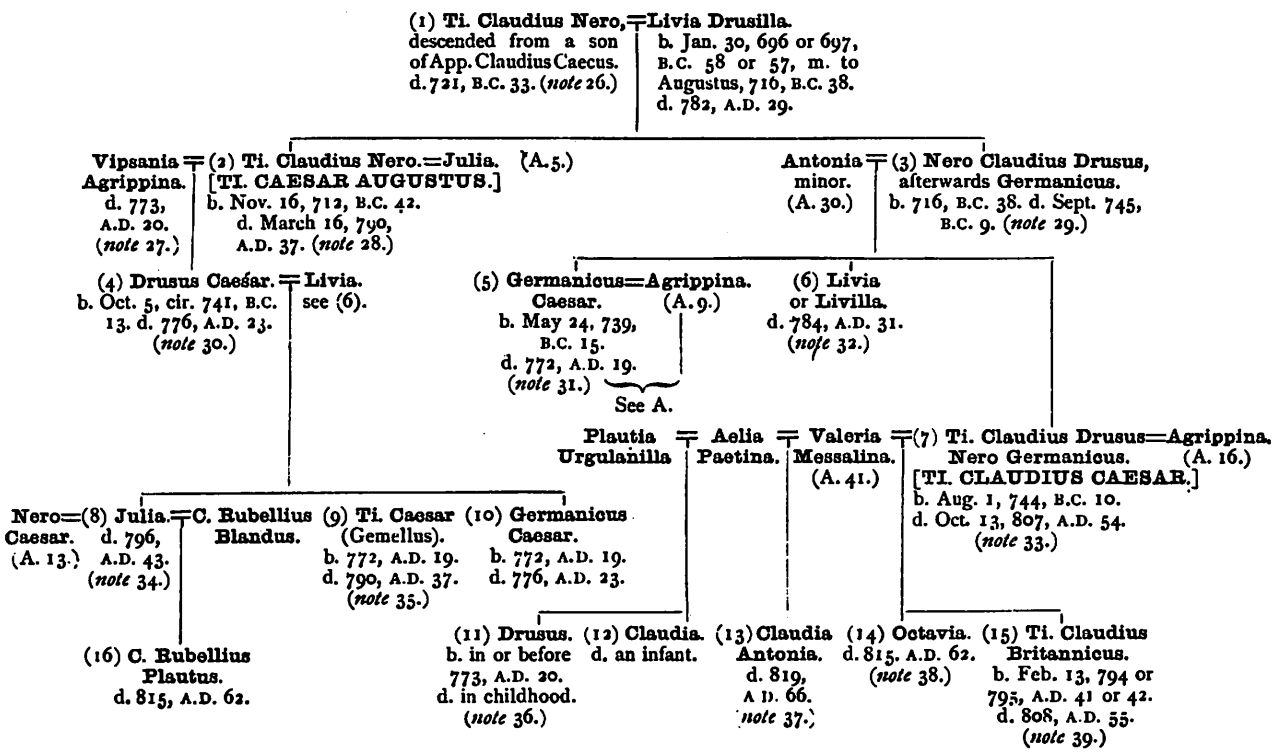


STEM A (*continued*).



Stem B.

Family of the Claudian Caesars.



NOTES.

STEM A.

1. A (1). THE family history of the Octavii, with further account of the father and mother of Augustus, is given by Suetonius (Aug. 1–4). The distinctions of his father are enumerated in an inscription (Orell. 592), which states that he was twice trib. mil., also quaestor, plebeian aedile, iudex quaestionum, praetor, and proconsul of Macedonia, where he became entitled to the name of imperator. The date of his praetorship was 693, B.C. 61; and he was prevented from becoming a candidate for the consulship in 696, B.C. 58, by his death at the very beginning of that, or at the end of the previous year.

2. A (3). The frequency of betrothal, and even nominal marriage, during mere childhood, among Romans at this time (see Friedlaender, Sitteng. i. p. 504, foll.), makes it possible to reconcile some such a date as that given for Octavia's birth with her betrothal or marriage to C. Marcellus in 700, B.C. 54; in which year it was also contemplated to give her in marriage to Cn. Pompeius (Suet. Jul. 27). Marcellus, who was a leading opponent of Julius Caesar, but subsequently reconciled to him, had just died when Octavia, with contempt for all usual decorum (see Dio, 48. 31, 3), was hastily married to M. Antonius in 713, B.C. 41, by one of the articles of the compact at Brundusium. On the honours paid to her at her death, see Dio, 54. 35, 4, on its date Suet. Aug. 61.

3. A (4). Octavius assumed the name of C. Julius Caesar Octavianus in consequence of his adoption by the dictator's will: hence Cicero styles him 'C. Caesar' in official language (Phil. 5, c. 16–19), and sometimes in private letters 'Octavianus' (ad Att. 16. 18, 1; 11, 6, etc.). On the subsequent history of his names and titles, see vi. p. 75, foll. He had been first betrothed to a daughter of P. Servilius Isauricus; afterwards, on his first reconciliation with Antonius, to a step-daughter of the latter, Clodia or Claudia, daughter of Fulvia by P. Clodius. His marriage with Scribonia was contracted in 714, B.C. 40, to conciliate Sex. Pompeius, whose father-in-law, L. Scribonius Libo, was her brother. She was much older than Octavianus, had been twice previously married,

and had children by P. Cornelius Scipio; one of whom, Cornelia, wife of Aemilius Paullus, has been immortalised by Propertius (El. 4, 11). He divorced Scribonia the next year, 715, B.C. 39, when her daughter Julia was just born; and early in 716, B.C. 38, took place the marriage with Livia, which, though contracted under scandalous circumstances, resulted at least in a lasting attachment. Scribonia is styled in inscriptions 'Scribonia Caesaris' (Orell. 612, Henzen 5362). She lived to share voluntarily the exile of her daughter in 752, B.C. 2 (Vell. 2. 100, 5).

4. Agrippa inscribes himself on the Pantheon, 'M. Agrippa L. F.,' omitting, as he usually did, his ignoble gentile name. He obtained three consulships, of which two were consecutive (see 1. 3, 1), and the honour, said to be unprecedented, of the 'corona classica' (Vell. 2. 81, 2). He was also the first ever admitted to share the tribunician power of the princeps (see 3. 56, 3). He was first married, probably in 718, B.C. 36, to Pomponia, daughter of T. Pomponius Atticus the friend of Cicero, by whom he had Vipsania Agrippina, married to Ti. Claudius Nero (see B, note 2). Pomponia, if still alive, must have been divorced when he married Marcella in 726, B.C. 28 (Dio, 53. 1, 2), who in her turn was given up in 733, B.C. 21, to enable him to marry Julia (Dio, 54. 6, 5).

5. A (5). Julia was married at the age of fourteen to Marcellus, in 729, B.C. 25, and four years later to Agrippa, who was of the same age as her father. On other projected marriages for her, see note on 4. 40, 8; on her subsequent marriage in 743, B.C. 11, to Tiberius Nero, her exile in 752, B. C. 2, and her death in 767, A.D. 14, see 1. 53; Suet. Aug. 65, 66; Tib. 50.

6. A (6). On Gaius Caesar and Lucius Caesar, see 1. 3, etc. Their honours and titles are gathered from Mon. Anc. (ii. 46, etc.), and from several inscriptions (Orell. 633–644). Gaius was pontifex, augur, consul (754, A.D. 1), princeps iuventutis, and imperator, apparently for the capture of Artagira (Henzen, p. 60). Lucius was augur, cos. design. and princeps iuventutis. The betrothal of Lepida to him is mentioned in 3. 23, 1. A long inscription is preserved recording the honours paid to the memory of both princes by the magistrates and citizens of the 'colonia Iulia Pisana' (Pisae in Etruria), of which they were patrons (Orell. 642, 643). The dates of their deaths are from Insc. Orell. 644.

7. A (8). On the younger Julia, her exile and her death, see 3. 24, 5; 4. 71, 6; Suet. Aug. 64, 65. Her husband was son of the censor Paullus and Cornelia, and thus grandson of Scribonia (see note 3). Her son, M. Lepidus, a man of most profligate character, was put to death by Gaius, who had previously given him Drusilla in marriage, and meditated designating him as his successor. See note on 14. 2, 4; Dio, 59. 22, 6.

8. A (9). The date of Agrippina's death is given in 6. 25, 5. The dates of her birth and marriage, and those of the birth of her children, are given as determined by Mommsen (Hermes, xiii. 245–365). Her mortuary inscription is preserved (C. I. L. vi. 886, Rushforth 54).

9. A (10). Agrippa Postumus was adopted by Augustus at the same time with Tiberius in 757, A.D. 4; and is styled 'Agrippa Caesar' in inscriptions (C. I. L. x. 405, Henzen 5378), and on a medal struck at Corinth, which gives also his effigy (Cohen, i. p. 187). He was removed to Surrentum (Suet. Aug. 65) about 760, A.D. 7, and thence to Planasia. On his death, see 1. 6.

10. A (12). It is generally supposed that the Silanus to whom Aemilia Lepida was married was the consul of 772, A.D. 19, on whom see note on 2. 59, 1. Pliny records (N. H. 7. 13, 11, 51) that their eldest son, M. Silanus (on whom see note on 13. 1, 1), was born in the last year of Augustus, who had thus lived to see his great-great-grandson. For L. Silanus (20), see notes on 12. 3, 2; for D. Silanus (21), see on 12. 58, 1; for Junia Calvina (22), see on 12. 4, 1; for Junia Lepida (23), see on 16. 8, 2. L. Silanus (25) (on whom see 15. 52, 3; 16. 7, 2), who, like his uncle (21), bore the name of Torquatus (on which see 3. 69, 9), appears to have been the last of this family, and, except the emperor Nero, the last surviving male descendant of Augustus.

11. A (13). Nero Caesar was born probably in the middle of 759, A.D. 6 (see Henzen, p. 60), and was betrothed in childhood to a daughter of Creticus Silanus (2. 43, 3), and married to Julia in 773, A.D. 20, on his entry into public life (3. 29, 4). Tacitus describes his character (4. 15; 59), the plots against him (4. 60; 67), and the formal charges brought against him (5. 3). On these he was banished to Pontia, and subsequently pronounced a public enemy (Suet. Cal. 7) and put to death or compelled to suicide (Suet. Tib. 54), shortly before the fall of Seianus. His titles were those of flamen Augustalis, sodalis Augustalis, sodalis Titius, frater arvalis, fetialis, quaestor. C. I. L. vi. 913, Lehmann, Claudius, 95–109.

12. A (14). Drusus Caesar was born probably in the latter part of 760, A.D. 7 (see Henzen, p. 60). His entry into public life is mentioned in 4. 4, 1; his character in 4. 60, 5. He was also denounced as a public enemy (Suet. Cal. 7), and imprisoned in the Palatium, where he died (6. 23, 4). His marriage with Aemilia Lepida was mentioned in the lost part of Book v. (see on 6. 40, 4), his previous betrothal to a sister of Otho in Suet. Oth. 1. His titles are given as follows, praefectus urbi (see 4. 36, 1), sodalis (or flamen) Augustalis (Insc. Orell. 667), and pontifex; Henzen 5386; C. I. L. iii. 1, 380, Lehm. 110–119.

13. A (15). Gaius Caesar, generally known by his nickname 'Caligula'

(see 1. 41, 3), on the condemnation of his mother and brothers, passed under the tutelage of Antonia, and afterwards lived with Tiberius at Capreae: see 6. 20, 1; Suet. Cal. 10. He is styled at this time 'C. Caesar 'Germanicus,' with the titles of pontifex and quaestor (Henzen, Insc. 5396), to which offices he was elected in 784 and 786, A.D. 31 and 33 (Dio, 58. 8, 1; 23, 1). As princeps he retains the name of Germanicus, after that of Augustus (Insc. Orell. 702). After his first marriage with Junia Claudilla, daughter of M. Silanus (6. 20, 1; Suet. Cal. 12), he had as wives Livia Orestilla and Lollia Paulina, before Caesonia (Suet. Cal. 25). The assassination of Gaius was followed immediately by that of Caesonia and her child (Suet. Cal. 59).

14. A (16). Agrippina was born at 'Oppidum Ubiorum' (12. 27, 1), and her birthday is preserved: see on 14. 12, 1. The year has been thought to be A.D. 14 (see note on 1. 44, 2), but is here given as fixed by Mommsen (see note 8) from other dates (cp. note on 1. 69, 1). On her marriage to Cn. Domitius (36) in 781, A.D. 28, see 4. 75, 1. On her banishment by Gaius in 792, A.D. 39, and recall by Claudius in 794, A.D. 41, see Dio, 59. 22, 8; 60. 4, 1; for her second husband Crispus Passienus, see on 6. 20, 2; on her marriage to her uncle Claudius, in 802, A.D. 49, and subsequent history, see 12. 5, etc. In earlier inscriptions she is styled 'Agrippina' (or 'Iulia Agrippina'), 'Germanici Caesaris filia' (Orell. 671, 673); but after 803, A.D. 50 (see 12. 26, 2), she is styled on coins and inscriptions 'Agrippina Augusta,' or 'Iulia Augusta Agrippina.' C. I. L. vi. 921, Henzen, 5387.

15. A (17). The dates of birth of Agrippina and Julia agree with the statement of Suet. (Cal. 7), that the three sisters were born in the space of three years ('continuo triennio'). Drusilla was born in Germany (Suet. Cal. 8; cp. 2. 41, 2 note). Her marriage to L. Cassius took place in 786, A.D. 33 (6. 15, 4). She was afterwards married to M. Lepidus (Dio, 59. 11, 1). See A (11). In inscriptions during her life she is styled 'Iulia Drusilla Germanici f.' (Insc. Orell. 672), but afterwards 'Diva Drusilla' (Orell. 674; Henzen 5389), in consequence of the divine honours decreed by order of Gaius at her death in 791, A.D. 38. Suet. Cal. 24; Dio, 59. 11.

16. A (18). Julia is so called by Tacitus, by Dio, and on a coin (Eckhel, vi. p. 231); but this name is borne by all the three sisters (see notes 14, 15); and Suetonius distinguishes her as Livilla (Cal. 7). Each name is supported by inscriptions, as 'Iuliae Germanici Caesar. filiae,' and 'Livilla Germanici f.' (Insc. Orell. 676, 677). Tacitus gives the year of her birth and the place Lesbos) 2. 54, 1; and the year of her marriage to L. Vinicius (786, A.D. 33), 6. 15, 1. She shared the banish-

ment and recall of Agrippina (note 14), but was soon after again banished and put to death at the instigation of Messalina, Dio, 60. 8, 5. Suetonius (Cal. 7) mentions the death in childhood of three other children of Germanicus and Agrippina, born apparently in the years 761–764, A.D. 8–11; and inscriptions are found recording the place of their cremation. One of them appears to have been called Tiberius, another Gaius (Insc. Orell. 668, 669, 670). It is also stated by M. Seneca (Controv. 4) that Quintilius Varus (see on 4. 66, 1) was a son-in-law of Germanicus; but it is not known how this was the case. On the probable birth of another child, see note on 1. 44, 2.

17. A (26). A marriage had been projected in 715, B.C. 39, between Marcellus and the daughter of Sex. Pompeius. His marriage with Julia daughter of Augustus took place in 729, B.C. 25 (Dio, 53. 27, 5), in which year Plutarch states (Ant. 87) that Augustus also adopted him; but this statement appears to require confirmation. He had been admitted to the senate with praetorian rank; but his first and only actual magistracy was the curule aedileship, held in his twentieth year, which was also the year of his death. See 1. 3, 1; Propert. 3. 18, 13–20; Verg. Aen. 6. 861–884.

18. A (27). It is known that there were two 'Marcellae' (Suet. Aug. 63; Insc. Henzen 5373, 5374) and that one of them, generally taken to be Marcella minor, was married to Agrippa (see note 5) and to Iullus Antonius (see note on 4. 44, 5). That the other was married to M. Valerius Barbatus Appianus and to Sex. Appuleius, is a supposition to explain the relationships mentioned in 4. 52, 1; 2. 50, 1; where see notes. Nothing appears to be known of the date of birth or death of either sister.

19. A (28). Suetonius states (Aug. 63) that Agrippa had children by Marcella. That one of these was a daughter, probably another Vipsania, and was married to Q. Haterius, is an inference from the name of Haterius Agrippa, and from the mention made (2. 51, 2) of his relationship to Germanicus.

20. A (29). Tacitus twice (4. 44, 3; 12. 64, 4) speaks of the wife of Domitius as 'Antonia minor;' but Suetonius (Cal. 1; Cl. 1; Ner. 5) appears to be right in assigning this marriage to Antonia maior, and in making Antonia minor the wife of Drusus. 'The marriage with Domitius (on whom see 4. 44, 3; Suet. Ner. 4) is said to have been projected as early as 717, B.C. 37 (Dio, 48. 54, 4); at which time it would appear from dates furnished by Plutarch (Ant. 33, 930; 35, 931) that the elder Antonia was but an infant, and the younger yet unborn.

21. A (30). The statement of Dio (59. 3, 4), that Gaius on his accession

gave his grandmother Antonia the title of 'Augusta,' is confirmed by an Arval Table of Jan. 31, A.D. 38, recording a sacrifice on her birthday (C. I. L. vi. 2028 c). She soon afterwards died or was put to death, and the title, said to have been declined by her in her lifetime, was renewed by Claudius (Suet. Cl. 11), and appears on his inscriptions (Orell. 649, 650, etc.). We hear of a temple erected to her, probably by Claudius (Pl. N. H. 35. 10, 36, 94); and a basilica at Rome appears to have borne the name of both sisters, 'Basilica Antoniarum duarum' (Henzen 7263).

22. A (36). On Cn. Domitius, first husband of the younger Agrippina, see 4. 75, 1. On Domitia, 13. 19, 4; 21, 5; on Domitia Lepida, 11. 37, 4; 12. 64, 4; on her second husband, App. Junius Silanus, 4. 68, 1. The family history of the Domitii Ahenobarbi is given more fully in Suet. Ner. 1–5.

23. A (40). For the original name of Nero, see on 12. 3, 2. After his adoption in 803, A.D. 50 (12. 25, 1), he becomes 'Ti. Claudius Nero Caesar' (Henzen 5405), or 'Nero Claudius Caesar Drusus Germanicus;' and bears titles of membership in the four priestly colleges, and those of cos. design. and princeps iuventutis (Orell. 650, 726); and had also 'proconsulare imperium extra urbem' (12. 41, 2). As princeps he is usually styled 'Nero Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus' (Orell. 728), and often assumes the 'praenomen imperatoris,' disused since the time of Augustus (Mommsen, Staatsr. ii. p. 769), besides the 'nomen imperatoris,' received eleven times or more (Orell. 732, cp. Henzen 5189). On his marriage to Octavia, see 12. 58, 1; on that to Poppaea, 14. 60, 1; on that to Statilia Messalina, Suet. Ner. 35, and note on 15. 68, 5.

24. On the title of Augusta given to Poppaea, see 15. 23, 1; on her death and funeral, 16. 6; on her deification, 16. 21, 2.

25. A (41). Messalina is thought to have been only thirteen or fourteen at the time of her marriage and twenty-three or twenty-four at her death (see vol. ii. Introd. 42, and note on 11. 38, 4). The title of 'Augusta, not permitted (Dio, 60. 12, 5), is given to her on some provincial coins, and on some inscriptions (Henzen 5402). The relationship of her father to Claudius, mentioned by Suetonius (Cl. 26), is explained above (note 18).

STEM B.

26. B (1). On the family history of the Claudii Nerones, and of the Livii Drusi, see Suet. Tib. 1–4, where it is shown that the father of Livia was also descended from another son of App. Claudius Caecus, and was adopted by a Livius Drusus, probably the famous tribune of 663, B.C. 91 (see note on 5. 1, 1). Two inscriptions (C. I. L. ix. 3660, 3661,

see also Henzen 5365) appear to give the name of her father, 'Livius Drusus Claudianus' (see Vell. 2. 75, 3); and that of her mother as Alfidia. Ti. Nero was quaestor, pontifex, praetor (Suet. Tib. 4), and gave up his wife to Octavianus in 716, B.C. 38, before the birth of Drusus. He died when his eldest son was nine years old (Ibid. 6). Livia became by adoption in 767, A.D. 14, 'Iulia Augusta, Divi Aug. f.' (Insc. Orell. 615, etc.) Though not deified at her death (see 5. 2, 1), she became so after the accession of Claudius (Dio, 60. 5, 2), and shared a temple with Augustus in the Palatium (Insc. Orell. 2446). Even in her husband's lifetime she was entitled 'Livia Augusti dea' in an inscription in Sicily (Orell. 614), and at other times received abroad other titles not formally allowed (see notes on 1. 14, 1); and her birthday was kept after her death (see 6. 5, 1).

27. On the parentage of Vipsania (who is called simply 'Agrippina' in Suet. Tib. 7; Insc. Orell. 658), see note 4. She was betrothed to Tiberius Nero in infancy ('vix annicula' Nep. Att. 19), but the date of their marriage is not known. On the distress of Tiberius at being forced to divorce her and to marry Julia, see ch. viii. p. 133; on her subsequent marriage to C. Asinius Gallus Saloninus see 1. 12, 6; and on her death, 3. 19, 4. She had several children by her second marriage, for whom see on 3. 75, 1; 4. 1, 1; 34, 1; 6. 23, 3.

28. B (2). Tiberius down to the time of his adoption bears the name 'Ti. Claudius Ti. f. Nero,' his titles being those of his two consulates, with those of pontifex and imperator, and, after 748, B.C. 6, the years of tribunician power: see Insc. Henzen 5375. After his adoption he becomes 'Tiberius Caesar, Augusti f., Divi nepos' (Insc. Orell. 683), but usually drops the gentile name Julius. During his principate, the name Augustus, though not allowed by him in ordinary use (Suet. Tib. 26; Dio, 57. 2), always appears on coins and inscriptions. The 'praenomen imperatoris' was not adopted, though found sometimes in provincial inscriptions (see C. I. L. viii. 2, Index, p. 1038). The years of his tribunician power continue to be reckoned, inclusive of those which he shared with Augustus; and the number of times on which he was saluted imperator (see on 2. 18, 2) are added. Hence his mortuary inscription (Orell. 691) runs thus: 'Ossa Ti. Caesaris, Divi Aug. F., Aug., Pont. Max., Trib. Pot. xxxiix., Imp. viii., Cos. v.'

29. B (3). Neither Drusus nor his second son was ever adopted into the family of the Caesars. In life, Drusus was entitled augur, consul (745, B.C. 9), and imperator: after his death the surname 'Germanicus' was conferred on him and his family (Suet. Cl. 1; cp. Henzen 5375). His eldest son was thus entitled to bear the name, before his own

achievements in Germany, and on his adoption into the family of the Caesars in 757, A.D. 4, his brother assumed it (Suet. Cl. 2) as representative of his father's house.

30. B (4). Drusus Caesar bears the titles of augur, pontifex, quaestor, sodalis Augustalis (see 1. 54, 2), flamen Augustalis (see on 2. 83, 2), Cos. ii (768, 774, A.D. 15, 21), trib. pot. ii (see on 3. 56, 1), xv vir sacris faciundis, Orelli 211, 652. For the grounds on which the date of his birth is assigned, see note on 3. 56, 7; for the honours awarded at his death, see notes on 4. 9, 2.

31. B (5). Germanicus is known only by his adoptive name, as 'Germanicus Caesar;' once apparently (see Henzen, p. 60) as 'Germanicus Iulius Caesar.' There is no record of his praenomen, or of any original cognomen. The date of his birth is given as established by Mommsen (see above, note 8). In life, he bears the titles quaestor (760, A.D. 7, Suet. Cal. 1), augur, flamen Augustalis (see on 2. 83, 2), Cos. ii (765, 771, A.D. 12, 18), Imp. ii (see on 1. 58, 8), sometimes (C. I. L. v. 4308, x. 513), perhaps wrongly, pontifex. See Orelli 655, 660, etc. On the further honours decreed at his death, see 2. 83, and notes.

32. B (6). The name is always given as 'Livia' by Tacitus and in inscriptions (e. g. Orell. 653, 1724, 2846, etc.), but by Suet. (Cl. 1), and Dio (57. 22, 2, etc.) as 'Livilla.' Her first marriage to C. Caesar is mentioned in 4. 40, 5; her complicity in the murder of Drusus in 4. 3, 3, etc.; her death in Dio, 58. 11, 7. On the question whether she was ever betrothed to Seianus, see note on 4. 40, 11.

33. B (7). The original names of Claudius are given in Suet. Cl. 2, and in several inscriptions. His titles, prior to his principate, are those of augur, sodalis Augustalis (1. 54, 2), sodalis Titius, consul (suff. 790, A.D. 37, Suet. Cl. 7): he had also previously received 'ornamenta consularia' (Suet. Cl. 5): see Henzen 5399, etc. As princeps, he is the first who assumed the name of 'Caesar' as an imperial cognomen, without ever having been adopted into the family; but, unlike his predecessors, he always retains his gentile name, and is generally known by it; his full name being 'Ti. Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus.' It may be noted that he accepted the 'nomen imperatoris' no less than twenty-seven times (Insc. on the Aqua Claudia, Porta Maggiore, Rome, Orelli 54). He was betrothed in youth to Aemilia Lepida (A. 12), and to Medullina (Orell. 716), besides contracting the four marriages here given; on all of which, and on his children by the first three, see Suet. Cl. 26, 27.

34. B (8). On the first marriage of Julia, see 3. 29, 4; on the second, 6. 27, 1; on her son Rubellius Plautus, 14. 22, 2, etc.; on

her death, at the instigation of Messalina, 13. 32, 5; 43, 3; Dio, 60. 18, 4: on her alleged betrothal to Seianus, see note on 4. 40, 11; 6. 27, 1.

35. B (9, 10). On the date of birth and names of the twin sons of Drusus, see note on 2. 84, 1. Tiberius Gemellus was named in his grandfather's will joint-heir with Gaius (Suet. Tib. 76), who adopted him and caused him to be entitled princeps iuventutis (Suet. Cal. 15), but soon afterwards put him to death (Id. 23): see on 6. 46, 1.

36. B (11). On the projected marriage between the daughter of Seianus and young Drusus, see note on 3. 29, 5; on his death, Suet. Cl. 27. His sister Claudia was exposed when a few months old, on suspicion of illegitimacy (Suet. l. l.).

37. B (13). Claudia Antonia (Insc. Orell. 679, 680), the 'Antonia' of Tacitus and Suetonius, is thought to have been born about 780, A.D. 27, and was married to Cn. Pompeius Magnus and Faustus Sulla (Cl. 27). Suet. states (Ner. 35) that on her refusal to marry Nero, she was put to death by him on an improbable charge of complicity in Piso's conspiracy (see 15. 53, 4).

38. B (14). The date of birth of Octavia is not known (see note on 14. 64, 1), but representations in art (see Visconti, Pl. 29) would show her to have been older than her brother. She had been betrothed to L. Silanus (A. 20) before her marriage to Nero (12. 13, 2). On her divorce and death, see 14. 60–64.

39. B (15). On the discrepancy of a year in the dates assigned to the birth of Britannicus, see notes on 12. 25, 3; 13. 15, 1. In 13. 17, 3, he is called 'the last blood of the Claudii,' as the last male representative of that noble house, to which Nero belonged only by adoption.

P. CORNELII TACITI

ANNALIUM AB EXCESSU DIVI AUGUSTI

LIBER I

SUMMARY OF CONTENTS.

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5. Last illness and death of Augustus (August, 19), Tiberius assumes the position of successor. 6. Agrippa Postumus put to death. 7. Servility of the senate and people; caution of Tiberius. 8. The will of Augustus; debate in the senate on his funeral. 9, 10. Favourable and unfavourable judgments of his character and policy. Temple and divine honours decreed to him. 11, 12, 13. Apparent reluctance of Tiberius to accept the principate; offence taken by him at observations of Asinius Gallus, L. Arruntius, Q. Haterius, and Mamercus Scaurus. 14. Honours to Livia Augusta and to Germanicus. 15. Election of praetors; transference of comitia to senate; institution of 'ludi Augustales.'

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P. CORNELII TACITI

ANNALIUM AB EXCESSU DIVI AUGUSTI

LIBER I.

1. URBEM Romam a principio reges habuere; libertatem et
2 consulatum L. Brutus instituit. dictaturae ad tempus sume- 5
bantur; neque decemviralis potestas ultra biennium, neque
3 tribunorum militum consulare ius diu valuit. non Cinnae, non
Sullae longa dominatio: et Pompei Crassique potentia cito in

CRITICAL NOTES. In these the Medicean text is given without any distinguishing letter. Of the others, B. = Beroaldus, R. = Rhenanus, L. = Lipsius.
Annalium ins. R.

1. On the praenomen of the author and title of the work, see Introd. i. pp. 2, 6.

4. **Urbem Romam**, &c. The thought implied in these sentences is that the periods of Roman history coincide with permanent changes in the form of government, in which only temporary changes intervene between the expulsion of the kings and the principate of Augustus; and that the works of previous writers have left no earlier period open to himself than that which he chooses. On the hexameter line formed by these words, see Introd. v. § 79. They show a reminiscence of Sall. Cat. 6, 1.

habuere, 'governed,' as used of provinces, 4. 5, 2; 12. 54, 3.

libertas, used generally of republican institutions, as c. 33, 4, &c.; so also by Livy, as 2. 1, 7; 3. 38, 2, &c.

5. **ad tempus**, 'for the occasion' (πρὸς καιρόν); so 'dux tumultuarius et ad tempus lectus' Liv. 28. 42, 5; cp. 4. 19, 1, and 'in tempus' (c. 37, 1, &c.).

6. **ultra biennium**. Tacitus may only mean that it did not last out a third year, or probably follows the received account given by Livy and others, according to which the 'potestas' ('iusta potestas') of the decemvirs lasted but two years, 303, 304, B.C. 451, 450; their farther rule being mere usurpation. Military tribunes with consular power were substituted for consuls during most of the years from 310 to 387, B.C. 444–367 (Liv. 4. 7, to 6. 42); but are not a fixed institution, as consuls or dictators frequently intervene. The 'despotism' ('dominatio') of Cinna lasted during his four successive consulships, 667–670, B.C. 87–84; that of Sulla during his dictatorship, 672–675, B.C. 82–79.

8. **potentia**, 'political ascendency.' The term distinguishes the coalition of influence, often called 'the first triumvirate,' formed in 694, B.C. 60, at which time Pollio's history of the civil war began (Hor. Od. 2. 1, 1), from the union of the leaders of three armies ('arma'), which brought about the second, or true 'triumvirate.'

Caesarem, Lepidi atque Antonii arma in Augustum cessere,
qui cuncta discordiis civilibus fessa nomine principis sub imperium accepit. sed veteris populi Romani prospera vel adversa 4
claris scriptoribus memorata sunt; temporibusque Augusti di-
5 cendis non defuere decora ingenia, donec gliscente adulatione
deterrerentur. Tiberii Gaique et Claudii ac Neronis res floren- 5
tibus ipsis ob metum falsae, postquam occiderant, recentibus
odiis compositae sunt. inde consilium mihi pauca de Augusto 6
et extrema tradere, mox Tiberii principatum et cetera, sine ira
10 et studio, quorum causas procul habeo.

2. Postquam Bruto et Cassio caesis nulla iam publica arma, Pompeius apud Siciliam oppressus, exutoque Lepido, interfecto

1. **cessere**, 'passed into the hands of,' used with 'in imperium,' by Livy; by Tacitus also with accusative of a person, as 6. 43, 1, &c., or of a personification, as 2. 23, 3.

2. **imperium.** This word, like the others, has also its definite meaning, 'took the whole state under military command, with the title of prince.' On this power and title, and the limitation with which 'cuncta' is to be understood, see Introd. vi. p. 77 foll.

3. **veteris populi**, &c. The expression is varied in 4. 32, 1, to 'veteres populi Romani res.' In H. 1. 1, 1 'dum res populi Romani memorabantur' is used to imply an antithesis, perhaps not wholly absent in the other places, between national history and mere 'res principum.'

4. **claris scriptoribus.** On this dative, see Introd. v. § 18; and on the gerundive dative with 'defuere,' ibid. § 22 b; H. 3. 54, 3. This use of 'dicere,' though mainly poetical, is found in Sall. (Jug. 95, 2) and Liv. (7. 29, 1, &c.).

5. **decora ingenia**, e.g. Pollio, Livy, Q. Labienus, Cremutius Cordus, and others. Some writers of later history, as M. Seneca and Aufidius Bassus, included the time of Augustus in their work. See Introd. iii. p. 15.

6. **deterrerentur.** On the use of the subj. of facts with 'donec,' see Introd. v. § 53. The reason here assigned may have been that which induced Livy to conclude his history in 745, B.C. 9.

que . . . et . . . ac. Such variation of conjunctions is often adopted for elegance (see Introd. v. § 89), but here, as Nipp. suggests, is intended to combine in pairs the two Julian and two Claudian Caesars, as in H. 2. 76, 4.

7. **falsae**, 'falsified,' as 'falsae tabulae' (Suet. Aug. 19), &c.

8. **compositae.** 'Componere res' is a condensed expression, like 'componere Iliaca tempora' Vell. 1. 3, 2, &c. On the chief historical works which Tacitus may have used, see Introd. iii. pp. 13–18.

9. **cetera**, i.e. to the death of Nero, or end of A.D. 68, after which the 'Histories,' already published, begin.

10. **quorum causas**, i.e. 'iniuria' or 'beneficium.' The whole passage in H. 1. 1 should be compared with this. On the apparent belief of Tacitus in his own impartiality, see Introd. iv. p. 32 foll.

11. **caesis**, used, like 'interfecto' below, with some rhetorical license, of self-inflicted deaths.

publica arma, 'army of the Republic.' It is implied that the forces of the triumvirs, as well as those of Pompeius, were mere 'privata arma,' and that Brutus and Cassius represented the State. Augustus, in Mon. Anc. i. 10, represents them as exiles by judicial sentence, and outlaws in arms against their country.

12. **Pompeius**, &c. Sex. Pompeius was 'crushed' ('oppressus,' used thus of decisive defeat, 3. 41, 3, &c.) by Agrippa off Naulochus, near Pelorum, Sep. 3, 718, B.C. 36. His death took place in Asia in the following year. Lepidus was at the same time 'stripped of power' ('exuto'); his army of twenty legions being induced to desert him, and no office left to him but that of 'Pontifex maximus,' which he was allowed to retain in seclusion at Circeii till his death in 741, B.C. 13.

Antonio ne Iulianis quidem partibus nisi Caesar dux reliquus, posito triumviri nomine 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, 5 cum ferocissimi per acies aut proscriptione cecidissent, ceteri nobilium, quanto quis servitio promptior, opibus et honoribus extollerentur ac novis ex rebus aucti tuta et praesentia quam 2 vetera et periculosa mallent. neque provinciae illum rerum statum abnuebant, suspecto senatus populique imperio ob cer- 10

8. at: ac B.

1. **Iulianis**, 'Caesarian.' This term, applied to the troops of Julius Caesar (Suet. Jul. 75), as is also 'Caesariani' (Bell. Afr. 13, 1), is here applied after his death to the party of the triumvirs; as that of the senate or 'optimates' is still, after the death of its leader, styled 'Pompeianae partes' (c. 10, 1). Sex. Pompeius is regarded here as external to both these parties.

2. **posito triumviri nomine**, &c. On this whole passage, see Introd. vi. pp. 77, 78. It is evident (see Mommsen, Staatsr. ii. 873, 1) that Tacitus must be here speaking of the tribunician power at an earlier date than that of 731, B.C. 23. See Introd. l. l. p. 78, n. 3.

se ferens, 'displaying himself,' as 12. 37, 6, &c. His consulships and, from 731, B.C. 23, his tribunician power, appear in his list of titles; while the 'proconsulare imperium' and 'principate' do not. See Introd. vi. pp. 78, 81, 83, n. 5.

ad tuendam plebem. This, the original conception of the office of tribune, may well have been put forward by Augustus to conceal the very special and extensive character of the powers assumed by him under that title. See 3. 56; Introd. vi. p. 83 foll.; Mommsen, Staatsr. ii. 878 foll. It is also possible that the original conception of his 'ius tribunicium' had included no more than this.

3. **donis.** A gift is specified, out of the spoils of war, of 1000 H. S. each to 125,000 veterans settled in colonies, in 725, B.C. 29 (Mon. Anc. iii. 17): cp. also Dio, 51. 17, 7; and, on his more usual bounties to soldiers, Suet. Aug. 49.

4. **annona.** This refers not to the regular corn dole, which he limited rather than extended (Dio, 55, 10, 1), but to his careful organization of the supply from Egypt and elsewhere, and to special distributions, gratuitous or at a price below cost, in times of scarcity (Suet. Aug. 41). He records twelve such 'frumentationes,' given at his own cost in one year (731, B.C. 23), as well as several 'congiaria' in money at various times. Mon. Anc. iii. 7–21.

otii, 'rest,' after revolution: cp. Verg. Ecl. 1, 6.

insurgere paulatim. On the gradual extension and encroachment of the powers of Augustus, see Introd. vi. pp. 86 foll. The expression 'legum et magistratuum munia in se trahens' is repeated 11. 5, 1.

6. **ferocissimi**, 'the boldest spirits'; often used in a good sense, as is also 'ferocia' (c. 12, 6): on the use of 'per,' see Introd. v. § 62.

7. **servitio.** The dative is often thus used by Tacitus with 'promptus,' as c. 48, 3; 4. 46, 4, &c., rarely by other authors, as Liv. 25. 16, 12. See Introd. v. § 20; and, on his frequent abbreviation of comparative sentences, ibid. § 64: 'opes' and 'honores' are often coupled, as in 4. 34, 6; 6. 8, 8, &c.

8. **tuta**, &c. The stress is on the antithesis of 'tuta' and 'periculosa': 'preferred the present institutions with their security, to the old with their perils.'

9. **neque . . . abnuebant.** This important admission appears to understate the fact. See Introd. vii. p. 119. On the honours given by provinces to Augustus, see Suet. Aug. 59; Dio, 51. 20, 7, &c., and on those to Tiberius, 4. 15, 4; 37, 1.

10. **certamina potentium.** Those of rivals, such as Marius and Sulla, Pompeius and Caesar; whose civil wars affected even the provinces.

tamina potentium et avaritiam magistratuum, invalido legum auxilio, quae vi, ambitu, postremo pecunia turbabantur.

3. Ceterum Augustus subsidia dominationi Claudium Marcellum sororis filium admodum adulescentem pontificatu et
5 curuli aedilitate, M. Agrippam ignobilem loco, bonum militia et victoriae socium, geminatis consulatibus extulit, mox defuncto Marcello generum sumpsit; Tiberium Neronem et Claudium Drusum privignos imperatoriis nominibus auxit, integra etiam tum domo sua. nam genitos Agrippa Gaium ac Lucium in 2
10 familiam Caesarum induxerat, necdum posita puerili praetexta principes iuventutis appellari, destinari consules specie recusantis

9. dum (cp. c. 77, 1, &c.): tum Wolf. 11. destinare: text Acidalius.

1. **legum**, the laws 'de pecuniis repetundis.'

2. **ambitu**, 'intrigue,' or 'solicitation'; cp. c. 7, 10; 75, 1 (where it is explained by 'potentium preces'), &c. It is thus here distinguished from bribery, for which it is often a synonymous word.

postremo. This emphasizes the more probable alternative, as 'sive . . . , seu . . . , ad postremum vel odio' H. 1. 39, 2.

3. **Ceterum.** On various uses of this word in Tacitus, see Gerber and Greef, Lex. It marks here merely a transition to another part of the same subject, as in 2. 5, 1; 42, 1; 61, 1, &c.

subsidia dominationi. The dative is used with subsidium by Cic. (Att. 1. 10, 4; de Or. 1. 60, 255). On the apposition, see Introd. v § 12 a.

Marcellum. On the relationships and other biographical details respecting all the persons mentioned in this chapter, see the pedigrees and notes in Introd. ix.

4. **pontificatu.** Membership in the great priestly colleges was often given to very young men of high rank: cp. 3. 29, 3; note on 12. 41, 2; Staatsr. ii. 1111, n. 2.

6. **geminatis**, 'piled one upon another,' i. e. 'consecutive.' This was the case with his second and third consulships, 726, 727, B.C. 28, 27; his first consulship in 717, B.C. 37, having no peculiar significance. Under the principate, a second consulship is rare, a third very rare, and continuous consulships unknown, except in the case of the princeps himself, or persons extremely near to him.

8. **imperatoriis nominibus.** On this title, and its distinction from the 'praenomen imperatoris,' see 1. 58, 9; Introd. vi. p. 76; Staatsr. ii. 1155, 4. The date at which it was given to them is uncertain, the inscription usually cited (C. I. L. ix. 2443; Henzen 5375), being subsequent to the death of Drusus.

integra, 'furnished with heirs,' cp. 'plena domus' 4. 3, 1, 'vacui penates' 6. 51, 4.

10. **induxerat.** This adoption took place in 737, B.C. 17; when Gaius was in the third year of his age, and Lucius just born, Dio, 54. 18, 1.

necdum, &c. It appears from Mon. Anc. (see next note) that these honours were decreed not before, but at the time of the assumption of the 'toga virilis.'

11. **appellari . . . destinari . . . cupiverat.** The sense is equivalent to 'appellati . . . destinati . . . id quod cupiverat.' Augustus represents the facts as follows: 'Gaium et Lucium Caesares honoris mei causa senatus populusque Romanus annum quintum et decimum agentis consulis designavit, ut eum magistratum inirent post quinquennium. Et ex eo die quo deducti sunt in forum, ut interessent consiliis publicis, decrevit senatus. Equites autem Romani universi principem iuventutis utrumque eorum parmis et hastis argenteis donatum appellaverunt' Mon. Anc. ii. 46—iii. 6. The title of 'princeps iuventutis' is analogous to that of 'princeps senatus,' and appears to be new at this time, the old priority in the 'centuriae equitum equo publico' being that of 'seviri' (Staatsr. ii. 826). On the significance of the title as designating an heir to the principate, see Introd. vi. p. 98. The 'show of refusal' appears to have been that Augustus thought it prudent to modify the offer of an immediate consulship for the youths,

3 flagrantissime cupiverat. ut Agrippa vita concessit, Lucium Caesarem euntem ad Hispaniensis exercitus, Gaium remeantem Armenia et vulnere invalidum mors fato propera vel novercae Liviae dolus abstulit, Drusoque pridem extincto Nero solus e privignis erat, illuc cuncta vergere: filius, collega imperii, consors tribuniciae potestatis adsumitur omnisque per exercitus ostentatur, non obscuris, ut antea, matris artibus, sed palam hortatu.
4 nam senem Augustum devinxerat adeo, uti nepotem unicum, Agrippam Postumum, in insulam Planasiam proiecerit, rudem sane bonarum artium et robore corporis stolide ferocem, nullius
5 tamen flagitii conpertum. at hercule Germanicum Druso ortum octo apud Rhenum legionibus inposuit adscirique per adoptionem a Tiberio iussit, quamquam esset in domo Tiberii filius
6 iuvenis, sed quo pluribus munimentis insisteret. bellum ea tempestate nullum nisi adversus Germanos supererat, abolendae

9. proieceret: proiceret B, text Ritt. 14. monimentis: text L.

by interposing a 'quinquennium.' See Dio, 55. 9, 2.

1. **vita concessit.** On the variety of expressions denoting death in Tacitus, see Introd. v. § 91, and reff. there. The use both of this expression (3. 30, 1; 6. 39, 3, &c.) and of 'concedere' by itself in this sense (4. 38, 3; 13. 30, 4), are peculiar to Tacitus.

3. **Armenia.** On this ablative, see Introd. v. § 24: so 'abscedere Armenia' in 13. 7, 2; 15. 6, 1.

fato, often used of natural as opposed to violent death. Cp. Introd. iv. 31, n. 3.

5. **illuc cuncta vergere**, 'all centred in him.' 'Illuc' is used of persons, as in H. 3. 38, 6.

collega imperii, as having 'aequum ius in omnibus provinciis exercitibusque' (Vell. 2. 121, 3: cp. Suet. Tib. 21). On the association of persons with the princeps in this 'imperium,' see c. 14, 4; Introd. vi. p. 98; Staatsr. ii. 1151.

consors trib. pot.: see Introd. l. l.; Staatsr. ii. 1160. Tacitus must here refer to the renewal of this power to Tiberius, who had already held it when he was not regarded as heir. See on 3. 56, 3; for the dates, see on c. 10, 7.

6. **omnis**: really only in two, but these the most important armies, those of Germany and Illyricum.

7. **palam**, adjectival: cp. 11. 22, 1; 16. 5, 3.

9. **Planasiam**, Pianosa, near Elba.

proiecerit. Ritter compares other similar uses of the perf. subj. after a preceding pluperf. in 2. 81, 1; 3. 21, 2; 4. 51, 3. Thus Livy has 'tantum . . . opes creverant . . . ut . . . ausi sint' (1. 3, 4). The event is regarded simply as past, rather than as related to other past events (Roby 1516). See also Draeger, Synt. und Stil, § 182.

10. **sane**, concessive, as c. 10, 2; 3. 5, 4, &c. The words 'robore . . . ferocem' are a close reminiscence of Liv. 7. 5, 6 (see Introd. v. § 97), where, as here, 'ferox' means 'confident.' Cp. also 'adversus singulos ferox' (Liv. 1. 25, 7). Livy also uses 'conpertus' with genit. of crime, 7. 4, 4; 22. 57, 2, &c.

11. **hercule**, a formula of strong contrast (c. 17, 7; 26, 3; 3. 54, 6; 12. 43, 4), here seeming to imply that Livia's influence had failed in this case. Germanicus had served under Tiberius in Germany in 764, A.D. 11; and attained the command there after his consulship in 766, A.D. 13. Suet. Cal. 8.

12. **adsciri.** This word appears only used by Tacitus (H. 4. 24, 2; 80, 1; and dub. lect. Agr. 19, 2), and by Vergil (Aen. 12. 38). Tacitus oftener employs (see Nipp.) the usual word 'adsciscere.'

13. **esset.** On the subj. with 'quamquam,' see Introd. v. § 50. Tacitus also uses, though less frequently, the regular construction with the indic. See Nipp.

15. **abolendae infamiae.** On the ge-

magis infamiae ob amissum cum Quintilio Varo exercitum quam cupidine proferendi imperii aut dignum ob praemium. domi res 7
tranquillae, eadem magistratuum vocabula; iuniores post Actiacam victoriam, etiam senes plerique inter bella civium nati:
5 quotus quisque reliquus qui rem publicam vidisset?

4. 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 2
10 aegro et corpore fatigabatur, aderatque finis et spes novae, pauci bona libertatis in cassum disserere, plures bellum pavescere, alii cupere. pars multo maxima inminentis dominos variis rumoribus 3
differebant: trucem Agrippam et ignominia accensum non aetate neque rerum experientia tantae moli parem, Tiberium Neronem

rundive genitive, see Introd. v. § 37. On the defeat of Varus in 762, A.D. 9, see Vell. 2. 117–119; Dio, 56, 18–24.

3. **vocabula**, 'titles,' as 'summi fastigii vocabulum' 3. 56, 2. On the functions of the old magistrates at this time, see Introd. vi. p. 90 foll. The censorship alone was formally dropped.

5. **rem publicam**, 'the Republic,' the real constitution of the 'senatus populusque Romanus,' which he considers that those born since Actium, or even during the civil wars, had never really seen. So in 4. 19, 3, it is implied that Rome had come to have no 'res publica' and no real consuls. Galba is made to say (H. 1. 16, 1) that the 'res publica' would be revived if Rome could do without a 'rector,' and in H. 1. 50, 4, an 'imperium' such as that of Julius or Augustus Caesar (cp. 1. 1, 3) is contrasted both with the 'res publica' and with a mere rule of disorder. A Greek would thus say that there was no πολιτεία and no true πολῖται under a τύραννος. 'Vidisset' appears to be a potential subjunctive.

6. **prisci et integri**, more closely coupled than if 'neque' had been used. For similar uses of 'et' in negative clauses, see c. 70, 5, and Draeger, Synt. und Stil, § 107. 'Moris' would naturally mean 'constitutional usage' rather than 'morality'; but the latter is suggested by the addition of 'integri,' and may probably be the meaning of 'mos' in 3. 28, 2; 16. 5, 1.

7. **exuta aequalitate**. This phrase is used in 3. 26, 3, of those who seek pre-eminence, as here of those who accept a position of inferiority. The application of the word to political equality (ἰσοτιμία) appears to be peculiar to Tacitus: see 3. 74, 6; H. 2. 38, 2.

8. **seque et**. This combination of conjunctions is found in some ten other places in Tacitus and in Sall. and Liv. (Dr. § 123). On the use below of 'et' for 'etiam,' see Id. § 108. 'Aderat finis' is repeated in 2. 71, 1.

11. **in cassum**, 'idly,' as mere declamation.

disserere often takes the accusative in Tacitus (2. 27, 1; 6. 34, 5, &c.), as also in Sall. (Cat. 5, 9), and Liv. (41. 6, 4), without the restriction, usual in Cicero, to the accus. of pronouns, or of adjectives expressing amount, as 'pauca,' 'multa,' &c. See Nipp.

bellum, i.e. such a military insurrection as was in fact imminent. For the accus. cp. c. 59, 7; 14. 30, 2, &c.

13. **differebant**. This is explained as equivalent to 'varios rumores differebant de principibus' (Gerb. and Greef, Lex.); but the verb, when used with accus. pers., as in old poets and Propertius, appears to modify its ordinary sense of 'divulgare,' as found with acc. rei (3. 12, 7; 4. 25, 5, &c.), to one more akin to the force of 'distrahi fama' (3. 10, 5). Cp. the analogous uses of 'diffamare aliquem' (c. 72, 4, &c.) and 'aliquid' (14. 22, 5).

14. **experientia**. This sense of 'knowledge gained by practice,' is almost wholly Vergilian (G. 1. 4, &c.) and Tacitean (as c. 46, 2, &c.).

maturum annis, spectatum bello, set vetere atque insita Claudiae familiae superbia, multaque indicia saevitiae, quamquam preman-
4 tur, erumpere. hunc et prima ab infantia eductum in domo regnatrice; congestos iuveni consulatus, triumphos; ne iis quidem annis, quibus Rhodi specie secessus exul egerit, aliud quam iram 5
5 et simulationem et secretas lubidines meditatum. accedere matrem muliebri inpotentia: serviendum feminae duobusque insuper adulescentibus, qui rem publicam interim premant, quandoque distrahant.

5. exulem: text Muretus; aliquid: aliud Nipp.

moli parem: so 'par negotiis,' 3. 30, 5; 6. 39, 3, &c. 'Moles' of weight of empire, c. 11, 2.

Neronem. This name, though still used here and in c. 5, 6, was dropped on his adoption. See Introd. ix. note 28; and, on his age and services, ibid. viii. pp. 134, 135.

2. **superbia.** This characteristic of the Claudii is repeatedly insisted on by Livy (e.g. 2. 56), whom Suet. has followed (Tib. 2). For the arguments by which it is maintained that the traditional policy of this family has been misconceived, see Mommsen, Hist., E. T. vol. i. Appendix.

3. **et.** This would naturally be followed by another 'et' or 'neque,' but the construction, besides the change of subject in 'congestos,' &c., is varied by the introduction of a climax with 'ne . . . quidem.' 'Regnatrix' is ἅπ. εἰρ., used invidiously of the 'domus principis.' On the fondness of Tacitus for such verbal substantives, see Introd. v. § 69.

prima ab infantia, &c. On the events of the early life of Tiberius, see Introd. viii. pp. 133, &c. He had only held two consulships, at the age of 29 and 35; and his triumphal honours are maintained by himself and his partisans (see 3. 47, 5, and note there) to have been far below what he could have claimed. Tacitus, it should be observed, is not here speaking in his own person.

5. **exul**: so most edd. giving 'agere' the force of 'degere,' as in 2. 42, 2; 3. 48, 2, &c. Cp. 'ubi specie studiorum nomen exilii tegeretur' 3. 44, 5. 'Exulem' would appear to imply that he had put on the character of an exile, which seems inconsistent with the suggestion contained in 'specie secessus.' It might perhaps be contended that he was not in fact an exile, and that 'exulem egerit' would only mean that, without being, or himself pretending to be such, he appeared to the world to be an exile; as in the similar passage 'obnoxium et trepidum egit' (Suet. Tib. 12). On his retirement to Rhodes, see Introd. viii. 134.

aliud quam. The MS. text, though retained by Baiter, Ritt., and Allen, has hardly been successfully defended. In Cic. de Inv. 1. 54, 104 'nec alicui umquam usu evenerit,' there is no further difficulty than the substitution of 'alicui' for the more natural 'cuiquam'; but here the addition of 'aliud' seems needed. An alternative suggestion is that of 'aliud quid' (Draeger), but this appears rather to mean 'something else'; a meaning which 'aliquid' (see Verg. Aen. 2, 48; 9, 186) might also bear. See Nipp.

iram, 'resentment' against all who slighted him; see 2. 42, 4. The 'lubidines' here only charged against him by popular rumour, are assumed later as a fact; see 4. 57, 4.

7. **inpotentia**, 'imperiousness': cp. Sen. Cons. ad Helv. 14, 2. This, if taken to be the general characteristic of Livia, would seem very wide of truth; but aptly expresses her uncontrolled and exacting demands upon her son. Cp. 4. 57, 4, and the contrast 'mater inpotens, uxor facilis' (5. 1, 5), where see note.

duobus, Germanicus and Drusus Caesar.

8. **interim**, opposed to 'mox' 14. 41, 2, as here to 'quandoque.' In post-Augustan Latin it is often nearly equivalent to 'nonnumquam.' 'Quandoque' has the indefinite sense of 'at some time' in 4. 28, 3; 6. 20, 3; also in Liv. and Cic. Ep.

premant . . . distrahant. The first, by monopolizing the prizes of the state, the latter, by disputing the succession.

5. Haec atque talia agitantibus gravescere valetudo Augusti, et quidam scelus uxoris suspectabant. quippe rumor incesserat, 2 paucos ante menses Augustum, electis consciis et comite uno Fabio Maximo, Planasiam vectum ad visendum Agrippam; 5 multas illic utrimque lacrimas et signa caritatis spemque ex eo 3 fore ut iuvenis penatibus avi redderetur: quod Maximum uxori Marciae aperuisse, illam Liviae. gnarum id Caesari; neque 4 multo post extincto Maximo, dubium an quaesita morte, auditos in funere eius Marciae gemitus semet incusantis, quod causa 10 exitii marito fuisset. utcumque se ea res habuit, vixdum in- 5 gressus Illyricum Tiberius properis matris litteris accitur; neque satis conpertum est, spirantem adhuc Augustum apud urbem

7. c. (corr. G.) nauum: text L.

1. **Haec atque talia.** This, or 'haec ac talia,' is a common formula in Tacitus, as 2. 38, 7; 4. 60, 1; 6. 22, 1; and many other instances given by Nipp.

agitantibus. On this concise use of the abl. abs. see Introd. v. § 31 c.

gravescere valetudo. This phrase is repeated 6. 46, 9. The previous use of the verb, except in Pl. N. H. (11. 41, 96, 236), is wholly poetical.

2. **scelus,** used specifically of poisoning, as in 4. 10, 2; 6. 33, 1. On the tale of poisoned figs, see Dio, 56. 30, 2.

suspectabant. This verb is often used in this sense by Tacitus, as 11. 16, 5, &c., and first so used by him.

quippe, suggesting a motive for the alleged crime. The story is alluded to by Pliny, N. H. 7. 45, 46, 150. Plutarch, who tells the story with much difference of circumstances (περὶ ἀδολεσχίας c. 11), knows nothing of the voyage to Planasia.

3. **consciis . . . comite.** The 'comes' actually attends him, the 'conscii' may only have been aware of the plan.

4. **Fabio Maximo.** His full name, Paullus Fabius Q. f. Maximus, is given in the 'Acta Arvalium' (C. I. L. vi. 1, 2023 a), from which it appears that he was still alive on May 14 of this year. He is chiefly known as the friend of Ovid, who addresses epistles to him (ex P. 1. 2, &c.), had hoped for much from his intercession, and deplores his death (ibid. 4. 6, 9–14). Several further particulars about him are collected by Nipp.

7. **Marciae.** She is also mentioned by Ovid (Fast. 6. 801, &c.), and was cousin of Augustus (C. I. G. 2629); being daughter of the marriage of his mother's sister, Atia minor, to the Philippus mentioned 3. 72, 2, son of the Philippus whom Atia maior secondly married (Borghesi, v. 139): see Nipp.

gnarum, often used passively by Tacitus (c. 51, 4; 63, 3. &c.), and so rarely elsewhere (Apul. Mag. 12. 281, 9) that the use may be called peculiar to him. On the less rare similar use of 'ignarus,' see 2. 13, 1, &c.

8. **dubium.** On such parentheses, see Introd. v. § 82, and note on 14. 64, 1.

quaesita: so used of what is studied or unnatural, 3. 57, 1; 5. 3, 3; 6. 50, 1; here of suicide. The fact is given as doubtful ('dubium an' = 'perhaps'), but as taken for granted by Marcia.

10. **utcumque,** &c. Tacitus thus dismisses for what it is worth both the charge of poisoning and the tale which supports it. The latter is accepted without question by Dio (56. 30. 1): but that Augustus in his extreme infirmity could take such a voyage at all is improbable, as Pianosa must be some forty miles from the nearest mainland, and much further from any probable port of embarkation; and it is still more unlikely that Livia, who was in constant attendance on him, should have been ignorant of it.

vixdum ingressus, &c. The circumstances of the last journey of Augustus in company with him are given in Suet. Aug. 97, 98.

12. **spirantem,** &c. That Tiberius found him alive is accepted without question by Vell. (2. 123, 3), and by Suet. (Aug. 98; Tib. 31). Dio (56. 31, 1) thinks the other view better attested.

apud, for 'in': see Introd. v. § 57.

6 Nolam an exanimem reppererit. acribus namque custodiis domum et vias saepserat Livia, laetique interdum nuntii vulgabantur, donec provisis quae tempus monebat simul excessisse Augustum et rerum potiri Neronem fama eadem tulit.

6. Primum facinus novi principatus fuit Postumi Agrippae 5 caedes, quem ignarum inermumque quamvis firmatus animo 2 centurio aegre confecit. nihil de ea re Tiberius apud senatum disseruit: patris iussa simulabat, quibus praescripsisset tribuno custodiae adposito, ne cunctaretur Agrippam morte adficere, 3 quandoque ipse supremum diem explevisset. multa sine dubio 10 saevaque Augustus de moribus adulescentis questus, ut exilium eius senatus consulto sanciretur perfecerat: ceterum in nullius umquam suorum necem duravit, neque mortem nepoti pro se- 4 curitate privigni inlatam credibile erat. propius vero Tiberium

1. **acribus ... custodiis.** For similar precautions, see 12. 68, 1: 'acer' is often used for 'diligent,' as 2. 43, 3; 3. 48, 2, &c. 'Namque' is thus in anastrophe in 2. 43, 5, and other authors (see Gud. on Dial. 19, 6).

3. **excessisse**: so used especially of one deified, as c. 33, 1, and 'excessus' c. 7, 2; 14, 4, &c.: cp. 'post obitum vel potius excessum Romuli' Cic. Rep. 2. 30, 53.

4. **rerum potiri.** The will of Augustus was not yet known, nor the successor formally chosen by the senate; but Tiberius was already practically master of the Roman world. Hence the next chapter speaks of the 'novus principatus.'

5. **Primum facinus,** &c. See the similar expressions in 13. 1, 1; H. 2. 64, 2.

6. **quamvis firmatus animo,** 'notwithstanding his resolve.' The expression appears to be taken from 'firmatus animi' (Sall. H. 3. 17 D, 15 K, 52 G). Tacitus also seems to follow Sallust in using the rarer form 'inermus.'

7. **centurio.** Suet. (Tib. 23) loosely confuses the tribune through whom the order passed with the centurion who executed it. These officers probably belonged to the praetorian guard, from which apparently detachments or officers were sent at other times to put persons to death: see c. 53, 7–9; 14. 58, 4; 16. 9, 3; 15, 1.

aegre: his strength is noted, c. 3, 4.

8. **praescripsisset.** The subjunctive gives the representation of Tiberius.

9. **custodiae adposito,** 'set over the guard,' or 'set over him for a guard'; the latter is the explanation generally given here and in H. 1. 43, 1 ('custodiae additus'): the former best agrees with 2. 68, 3 'priori custodiae regis adpositus;' the latter with the 'adpositi custodes' of 4. 60, 1. On the dative of purpose in Tacitus, see Introd. v. § 23.

10. **quandoque**, not used as in c. 4, 5, but = 'quandocunque,' as 4. 38, 3, &c.

11. **saeva questus.** He is said to have spoken of him and the two Juliae as 'tres vomicas ac tria carcinomata sua' Suet. Aug. 65.

12. **senatus consulto.** The kinds of sentence by which persons might be banished are compared in 3. 24, 6, and Ov. Trist. 2, 131, &c. 1. By decree of the senate. 2. By sentence of the law-court. 3. By edict of the 'princeps,' as in Ovid's own 'relegatio.' 4. By mere 'renuntiatio amicitiae principis.' This would cease with the life of the prince (3. 24, 5), the others, or at least the two first, were permanent: cp. 'cavit etiam S. C. ut eodem loci in perpetuum contineretur' Suet. Aug. 65. See Staatsr. ii. 1124, n. 1.

13. **duravit,** 'hardened himself,' as 14. 1, 6, &c.: cp. 'cuius manus in hoc supplicium durassent' Petr. 105; 'non durat ultra poenam abdicationis' Quint. 9. 2, 88; 'durare ad sanguinem' Id. Decl. 279. This sense is oftener found in the transitive form, as 3. 15, 4, and passive, as H. 4. 59, 2.

14. **erat** gives the belief at the time, as 'credebantur' c. 53, 5; 'constabat' 4.

ac Liviam, illum metu, hanc novercalibus odiis, suspecti et invisi iuvenis caedem festinavisse. nuntianti centurioni, ut mos militiae, factum esse quod imperasset, neque imperasse sese et rationem facti reddendam apud senatum respondit. quod post- 5 6
5 quam Sallustius Crispus particeps secretorum (is ad tribunum miserat codicillos) comperit, metuens ne reus subderetur, iuxta periculoso ficta seu vera promeret, monuit Liviam ne arcana domus, ne consilia amicorum, ministeria militum vulgarentur, neve Tiberius vim principatus resolveret cuncta ad senatum
10 vocando: eam condicionem esse imperandi, ut non aliter ratio constet quam si uni reddatur.

7. At Romae ruere in servitium consules, patres, eques. quanto quis inlustrior, tanto magis falsi ac festinantes, vultuque 2 composito, ne laeti excessu principis neu tristiores primordio,
15 lacrimas gaudium, questus adulationem miscebant. Sex. Pom- 3

14. tristior: text margin, and B. 15. adulatione: adulationes L, text Heinsius.

74, 5: 'est' would give the writer's opinion.

2. **festinavisse.** The transitive use is mainly poetical, but adopted by Sall. and thence by Tac., as 4. 28, 2; 14. 33, 6.

nuntianti, &c. This is one of the places (see Introd. iv. p. 26) where the verbal resemblance of Suet. (Tib. 22) to Tacitus is strongest.

5. **Sallustius Crispus** is employed again on secret service, 2. 40, 3. For a general account of him, and of his character and services, see 3. 30. 'Particeps secretorum' appears to mean 'admitted to privacy' (cp. 3. 8, 4; 4. 7, 4; 13. 18, 3; H. 1. 10, 4, &c.), and thus describes his position in similar terms to those of Seneca, who styles him (de Cl. 1. 10) 'interioris admissionis amicus.' On the 'comites Augusti,' or 'cohors amicorum,' see Introd. vi. p. 96; Staatsr. ii. 835; Friedlaender, Sitteng. i. 179.

6. **reus subderetur.** This expression, in c. 39, 4; 15. 44, 3, and other uses of 'subdere,' as 3. 67, 3; 4. 59. 5; 6. 36, 1, &c., all signify a fraudulent substitution or false suggestion.

iuxta periculoso, 'as it was equally perilous.' On 'iuxta,' see Introd. v. § 61, and on the abl. abs., ibid. § 31 b.

7. **seu,** omitted in the first place, as in 2. 17, 8; 3. 18, 6, &c., and in poets.

10. **eam condicionem,** 'it is of the essence of ruling, that accounts will not come right if audited by others than the ruler.' This may mean either that the ruler must give account of his actions to no one; or that his subordinates, above all his military subordinates, to whom Tiberius here professes to have given no orders, must be responsible to him alone: it is implied either way that much must be done by or for an autocrat which will not bear investigation. On 'condicio,' cp. 'condicio vivendi' Hor. Sat. 2. 8, 65. The metaphor 'ratio constat' seems to be suggested by 'rationem reddendam:' in Pl. Min., e. g. in Epp. 1. 5, 17; 1. 9, 1; 2. 4, 4, &c., 'ratio constat' comes to mean 'it is good,' or 'reasonable.'

12. **consules, patres, eques.** On the asyndeta, see Introd. v. § 65; on the singular for plural, as in 'eques,' and, below, 'miles,' see ibid. § 2. The collective sing. 'eques' is used of the equestrian order in 4. 74, 5, &c., also in Hor. (Epp. 2. 1, 185), Martial, and Suet.

13. **falsi,** 'hypocritical,' as 3 3, 1; 13. 13, 4, &c. The use seems taken from Sall., who has 'ambitio multos mortales falsos fieri subegit' Cat. 10, 5.

14. **composito,** so of studied effects in word or look, 2. 34, 6; 3. 44, 4, &c.

ne laeti, sc. 'essent.' See Introd. v. § 39 b, and Nipp. here.

8. **Sex. Pompeius et Sex. Appuleius.** These consuls are stated by Dio (56. 29, 5) to have been related to Caesar;

peius et Sex. Appuleius consules primi in verba Tiberii Caesaris
iuravere, apudque eos Seius Strabo et C. Turranius, ille prae-
toriarum cohortium praefectus, hic annonae; mox senatus miles-
4 que et populus. Nam Tiberius cuncta per consules incipiebat,
5 tamquam vetere re publica et ambiguus imperandi: ne edictum 5
quidem, quo patres in curiam vocabat, nisi tribuniciae potestatis
6 praescriptione posuit sub Augusto acceptae. verba edicti fuere
pauca et sensu permodesto: de honoribus parentis consulturum,
neque abscedere a corpore, idque unum ex publicis muneribus

1. Apuleius: text B; cp. 2. 50, 1, and Inscrr.
2. selu strabo: text margin, and B.

which explains their continuance in office throughout the year. Pompeius, who is mentioned 3. 11, 2; 32, 2, and as a friend of Ovid (ex P. 4. 1, 4, 8), may have shared in the relationship indicated in 2. 27, 2. That of Appuleius may be gathered from 2. 50, 1.

1. **primi . . . iuravere.** This oath ('sacramentum in nomen Tiberii' c. 8, 5) taken by the whole people, and by the provinces (c. 34, 1), is a recognition of Caesar's supreme 'imperium' throughout the empire. See Introd. vi. p. 81; Staatsr. ii. p. 792. It must be distinguished from the oath taken to maintain the acta (see c. 72, 2). The consuls, as the chief senatorial magistrates, appear here, after themselves swearing allegiance, to administer the oath to the two chief non-senatorial officers (on whom see Introd. vi. 86). All other magistrates or praefecti appear to take it only as members of the senate or equestrian order. It is thus possible that the absence of separate mention of the 'praefectus urbis,' who was always a senator, may no more prove that office to have been in abeyance than the regular senatorial magistracies (see on 6. 11, 6). The 'praefectus vigilum' is also unmentioned.

2. **Seius Strabo,** the father of Seianus (c. 24, 3; 4. 1, 3), afterwards praefectus of Egypt (Dio, 57. 19, 6). His praenomen was Lucius (C. I. L. vi. 9535).

C. Turranius, probably the first holder of the office, which was of recent institution (Staatsr. ii. 1041). He was still holding it thirty-four years later (11. 31, 1), though Seneca makes him already ninety in the time of Gaius (Brev. Vit. 20, 2).

3. **senatus milesque et populus.** These are coupled as making up the whole civil population, 11. 30, 5, 'populus' being equivalent to 'plebs' (cp. 'militi patribusque et plebi' 14. 11, 1); and the 'equites' being for some not obvious reason included with it.

4. **per consules, &c.** On the administration during the vacancy of the principate, see Introd. vi. p. 98. On the position of Tiberius at this time, see ibid. viii. p. 139.

5. **ambiguus imperandi,** 'as if he had not made up his mind to rule:' cp. 'ambiguus consilii' (H. 2. 83, 2, &c.). On this genitive, see Introd. v. § 33 e. β. Dr. notes that its use with 'ambiguus' is new in Tacitus, but analogous to that with 'dubius' and 'incertus' in Livy.

7. **praescriptione,** 'under the title of.' Nipp. notes that the edict would run thus: 'Ti. Caesar trib. pot. xvi. dicit.' It would thus seem as if he had not power to convoke the senate as 'collega imperii.'

posuit. This verb is used for 'proponere' only here and 4. 27, 1. On other such uses of simple verbs for compound, see Introd. v. § 40.

9. **neque abscedere.** These words are added to excuse his absence from Rome. The body of the princeps might be regarded as in charge of the state, and the attendance on it might thus be taken (as in Nipp.) to be a 'publicum munus,' though these words apply better to this summoning of the senate. The edict was issued at Nola; whence the body was borne by local magistrates at each stage to Bovillae, and thence to Rome by knights on the day before the senate met (Suet. Aug. 100; Dio, 56. 31, 2). The respect paid by Tiberius was similar to that shown by Augustus himself to the remains of Drusus (3. 5, 2).

usurpare. sed defuncto Augusto signum praetoriis cohortibus 7
ut imperator dederat; excubiae, arma, cetera aulae; miles in
forum, miles in curiam comitabatur. litteras ad exercitus tam- 8
quam adepto principatu misit, nusquam cunctabundus nisi cum
5 in senatu loqueretur. causa praecipua ex formidine, ne Ger- 9
manicus, in cuius manu tot legiones, immensa sociorum auxilia,
mirus apud populum favor, habere imperium quam exspectare
mallet. dabat et famae, ut vocatus electusque potius a re pub- 10
lica videretur quam per uxorium ambitum et senili adoptione
10 inrepsisse. postea cognitum est ad introspiciendas etiam pro- 11
cerum voluntates inductam dubitationem: nam verba vultus in
crimen detorquens recondebat.

8. Nihil primo senatus die agi passus *est* nisi de supremis
Augusti, cuius testamentum inlatum per virgines Vestae Tibe-

11. indutam I. F. Gron. and others. 13. est ins. Nipp.

1. **signum** = 'tesseram,' as 13. 2, 5, &c. At the death of Gaius this was given by the consuls (Jos. Ant. 19. 2, 3); but the action of Tiberius is fully explained by his being 'collega imperii.'

2. **excubiae.** A cohort of praetorians kept guard at the house of the princeps and attended him elsewhere (H. 1. 24, 2; 29, 2), but dressed only in the toga (ibid. 38, 5): cp. Staatsr. ii. 807.

cetera aulae, 'the other accompaniments of a court.' 'Aula' is generally used by Tacitus of the 'cohors' or courtiers, as 2. 43, 5; H. 1. 13, 10.

3. **in curiam:** it is not meant that they entered the senate house, as Tiberius at a late date requested that a few officers might do (6. 15, 5): see Staatsr. iii. 909.

4. **adepto,** here alone passive in Tacitus: so in Cic., Sall., &c.

cum . . . loqueretur. On this subjunctive, see Introd. v. § 52.

5. **praecipua.** He had also similar fear of the Pannonian legions; and others bring in here the plots, supposed to be already in progress, of Libo (2. 27) and Clemens (2. 39). Suet. Tib. 25.

7. **apud populum favor:** see 2. 41; 82; 4. 57, 5.

8. **dabat et famae,** 'it was his concession to public opinion.' The full expression 'das aliquid famae?' is found in Hor. Sat. 2. 2, 94. The accusative, here and in 13. 49, 5, thus omitted with 'dare,' is not unfrequently absent from 'tribuere:' the object here is supplied from 'ut . . . videretur,' as in 2. 53, 3; 58, 1, &c.: 'fama' is used for public opinion in 4. 40, 1, &c.

9. **senili,** overstated, as Augustus was only sixty-five at the time of the adoption. The share of Livia in it is dwelt upon in c. 3. 3, and 4. 57, 4. Dio (57. 3, 3) strangely puts this explanation as matter of his own hearsay (ἤδη ἤκουσα ὅτι κ.τ.λ.).

11. **voluntates,** i. e. the disposition of each individual.

inductam, 'was put on,' like a mask. Thus 'inducere plumas' Hor. A. P. 2. The metaphor in 4. 70, 5 is different.

12. **detorquens,** 'misinterpreting.' So 'calumniando detorquendoque' Liv. 42. 42, 5.

recondebat, 'would store in memory;' so used of Tiberius, c. 69, 7. Cp. 'in animo revolvente iras' 4. 21, 2; also 4. 29, 5; 71, 5. Thus Domitian is said 'reponere odium' Agr. 39, 4.

13. **Nihil . . . passus.** The loss of 'est' from the MS. is not easy to explain, but perhaps Nipp. is right in thinking its absence with a transitive deponent so exceptional as to justify the insertion.

supremis. This appears to mean 'obsequies' in 4. 44, 6; but more commonly 'death,' as in 3. 49, 1; 6. 50, 3; 12. 66, 2, &c.

14. **per virgines Vestae.** Wills, treaties, and other documents, and sums of money, were deposited for safety with the Vestals (Suet. Jul. 83; Plut. Ant. 942; Dio, 48. 37, 1), or in other temples (Juv.

2 rium et Liviam heredes habuit. Livia in familiam Iuliam nomenque Augustum adsumebatur; in spem secundam nepotes pronepotesque, tertio gradu primores civitatis scripserat, plerosque
3 invisos sibi, sed iactantia gloriaque ad posteros. legata non ultra civilem modum, nisi quod populo et plebi quadringentiens 5 triciens quinquiens, praetoriarum cohortium militibus singula

2. Augustae (corr. from Augustū or Augusta): text Iac. Gron. 5. ccccxxxv: sestertium ins. Ritt.

8, 143; 14, 260, &c.). This will is given, with some variations and additions, by Suet. (Aug. 101), and Dio, or Xiphil. (56. 32), whose accounts should be compared throughout with Tacitus. Suet. states that it had been deposited with the Vestals sixteen months previously. Charisius (1. 80, P; 104 Keil) quotes from it, as still extant in the fourth century, 'gausapes, lodices purpureas et colorias meas.'

1. **heredes**, in the proportion of two-thirds to Tiberius, one-third to Livia (Suet. l. l). Dio adds that a decree was passed to exempt her from the disabilities of the law (Lex Voconia, cp. Dio, 56. 10, 2). On the relation of heirship by will to succession in the principate, see Introd. vi. p. 97; Staatsr. ii. 999, n. 1.

2. **Augustum**, possibly the original text of Med. (see crit. note): 'adsumebatur' could hardly be used with 'Augustae,' as no such name previously existed. 'Augustum' is an adj., as in 'mensis Augustus,' &c. Cp. 'nomen Sempronium' (c. 53, 8), 'Furium' (2. 52, 7), 'Africanum cognomen' (Liv. 30. 45, 6). She is always called Augusta by Tacitus henceforth. On the titles borne by her, see Introd. ix. note 26, and on subsequent 'Augustae,' Momms. Staatsr. ii. p. 788. The title 'Augustus' was conferred on Tiberius with the principate itself, but not generally used by him. See Introd. ix. note 28.

in spem secundam, sc. 'scripserat.' An elegance of expression for 'heredes secundos,' 'heirs in default.' Suet. gives the proportion as one-third to Drusus, two-thirds to Germanicus and his three sons. Agrippa Postumus and Julia are disinherited.

3. **primores civitatis**, 'propinquos amicosque complures' (Suet.). This position would be an empty compliment, and is therefore set down to mere ostentation.

4. **sed**, 'yet he named them:' cp. 'sed quo,' &c., c. 3, 5.

gloria, often of 'love of fame,' see Nipp. on c. 43. Such expressions as 'fama,' 'memoria,' &c., 'ad posteros,' are frequent in Livy, as 2. 10, 11, &c.: see Nipp.

legata. Dio states that many relatives, also strangers, knights as well as senators, even foreign kings, were among the legatees. Suet. adds that in the will Augustus estimated the residue to the heirs at not more than 150 million H. S.; and stated that he had himself received in twenty years legacies amounting to 1,400 (or perhaps 4,000) million H. S., which, besides two 'patrimonia' and other inheritances, had been spent on the public service. Directions and provision were made for prompt payment, but some delay ensued (Suet. Tib. 57; Dio, 57. 14, 1).

5. **civilem**, that of an ordinary citizen: so 'civilia' c. 12. 6; 'civile ingenium' c. 33. 5, &c.

populo et plebi. Suet. states these bequests thus, 'populo R. quadringenties, tribubus tricies quinquies sestertium.' This could hardly be taken otherwise than as meaning that the former sum was to be paid into the 'aerarium' (cp. this special use of 'populus' 6. 17, 4; also 'pecunia publica' 4. 15, 3; 'publicari' 6. 19, 1); and the latter sum distributed, 100,000 H. S. to the poorer members of each tribe: cp. Staatsr. iii. 444, n. 4. We have a similar payment to the treasury, coupled with a distribution, in 13. 31, 2. But it is hardly likely that the 'plebs' were equally distributed over the rustic as well as urban tribes; while a total of only 3½ million H. S. would presuppose either a very small share or few sharers. If we accept from Dio (57. 14, 2) that the share amounted to 260 H. S., and suppose the recipients to have been even fewer than the 250,000 to 320,000 who shared the various 'congiaria' of Augustus (Mon. Anc. iii. 7–21), we are forced to suppose that the whole sum, 'populo et plebi,' must have been distributed. In that case we should have to set aside the distinction drawn by Suetonius as an error, and to suppose that 'populo et plebi' are used,

nummum milia, *urbanis quingenos*, legionariis aut cohortibus civium Romanorum trecenos nummos viritim dedit. tum con- 4
sultatum de honoribus; ex quis *qui* maxime insignes visi, ut porta triumphali duceretur funus, Gallus Asinius, ut legum la-
5 tarum tituli, victarum ab eo gentium vocabula anteferrentur, L. Arruntius censuere. addebat Messalla Valerius renovandum 5
per annos sacramentum in nomen Tiberii; interrogatusque a Tiberio num se mandante eam sententiam prompsisset, sponte dixisse respondit, neque in iis quae ad rem publicam pertinerent
10 consilio nisi suo usurum, vel cum periculo offensionis: ea sola

1. urbanis quingenos ins. Sauppe. 3. qui ins. Bezzenberger, hi visi Heraeus, visi om. Nipp. 6. Messala: so 3. 34; 68; 6. 11; 11. 6; 13. 34; H. 3. 11: Messalla 4. 34; H. 3. 9; 18; 25; 28; 4. 42.

as in the 'populo plebique' of old formulae, &c. (cp. Cic. Verr. 5. 14, 36; pro Mur. 1, 1; Liv. 29. 27, 2, and other references in Staatsr. iii. 6, 4), and that the whole sum was to be distributed among the 'plebs Romana' or 'plebs urbana' (see Introd. vii. p. 104, n. 13), i.e. the body of citizens who usually shared in imperial gifts.

1. **urbanis quingenos**, inserted from the statement in Suet. and Dio. It has been thought that the force did not yet exist, but we have no record of their institution between this and the mention of them in 4. 5, 5.

cohortibus civium R. On these cohorts see Introd. vii. p. 125. They are omitted by Suet. The expression of Dio (πολιτικῷ πλήθει) would include them. 'Aut' can have the force of 'et vicissim,' as in 2. 47, 4, &c.

3. **ex quis qui maxime insignes visi.** Most critics have felt that this passage can hardly be sound as it stands in the MS.; but the omission of 'visi' is met by the difficulty of accounting for its presence. The suggestion that 'qui' may have dropped out after 'quis,' is free from objection, and allows a demonstrative to be supplied from it as the object of 'censuere.' There is still a confusion of constructions, through the attempt to combine in one sentence the proposals made and the names of the proposers. A similar desire to condense has produced the same effect elsewhere, as in 2. 64, 4 ('ipsorumque regum ingenia,' &c.), and 11. 29, 2 ('dein metu,' &c.). For a full discussion of this passage, see Joh. Müller, Beiträge, sect. 3, pp. 1–5.

4. **porta triumphali.** This gate, probably closed except at triumphs, is supposed to have stood between the 'Porta Flumentana' and 'Carmentalis.' See Burn (p. 46), Dyer (D. of Geog. 'Roma,' p. 752), Middleton, i. p. 127.

5. **tituli**, 'inscriptions,' e.g. 'de adulteriis,' 'de maritandis ordinibus,' &c.

vocabula, 'names:' cp. c. 3, 7; used of proper names, 2. 6, 5, &c. On Gallus Asinius and L. Arruntius, see more fully c. 12; 13.

6. **addebat.** On the habit 'egrediendi relationem,' see 2. 38, 3. On this day the deliberations were more strictly limited to the question than usual: see above, § 1.

Messalla Valerius, son of Messalla Corvinus, and brother of Cotta Messalinus (2 32, 2, &c.). He was consul in 751, B.C. 3 (Suet. Galb. 4); as was his son in 773, A.D. 20 (3. 2, 5), and his grandson in 811, A.D. 58 (13. 34, 1). He is also known as having won 'triumphalia' in Pannonia (Vell. 2. 112), as a friend of Tibullus (2. 5. 17), and of Ovid (ex P. 1. 7; 2. 2), a speaker (3. 34, 2), and writer (Suet. Aug. 74); but of servile character (here, and 3. 18, 3). Further references to him are given by Nipp.

renovandum, &c. This annual renewal of the 'sacramentum' had become a regular custom on the first of January by 822, A.D. 69 (H. 1. 55, 1). We also hear of such renewals on the anniversary of accession (Pl. ad Trai. 52). See Staatsr. ii. p. 793.

10. **offensionis.** Dr. notices that this form is used invariably in the Annals, as 'offensa' invariably in the other works.

ea sola species, &c., i.e. this show of independence was the only form of flattery not stale.

6 species adulandi supererat. conclamant patres corpus ad rogum umeris senatorum ferendum. remisit Caesar adroganti moderatione, populumque edicto monuit ne, ut quondam nimiis studiis funus divi Iulii turbassent, ita Augustum in foro potius quam in 7 campo Martis, sede destinata, cremari vellent. die funeris milites 5 velut praesidio stetere, multum inridentibus qui ipsi viderant quique a parentibus acceperant diem illum crudi adhuc servitii et libertatis inprospere repetitae, cum occisus dictator Caesar aliis pessimum, aliis pulcherrimum facinus videretur: nunc senem principem, longa potentia, provisis etiam heredum in rem pub- 10 licam opibus, auxilio scilicet militari tuendum, ut sepultura eius quieta foret.

9. Multus hinc ipso de Augusto sermo, plerisque vana mirantibus, quod idem dies accepti quondam imperii princeps et vitae supremus, quod Nolae in domo et cubiculo in quo pater eius 15

8. inprospera repetita: text L.

2. **remisit**, 'Caesar, with haughty condescension, excused them,' i.e. from the 'duty,' as they had themselves apparently termed it ('ferendum'). His arrogance may have consisted in the use of 'remitto' or some such word, implying a right to command the service which is thus waived. 'Remittere' has the force of excusing from a duty, as 'remissa cura' (3. 55, 1), 'remisisse reipublicae novissimum casum' (H. 2. 48, 4), 'remitto .. ne .. dorsum demulceatis' (Liv. 9. 16, 16). It does not here convey a prohibition; and the body was borne by senators according to Suet. (Aug. 100); which honour had been previously paid to Sulla (App. B. C. 1. 106), and was here the natural climax to the previous bearing by 'decuriones' and by knights. See on c. 7, 6.

3. **edicto**. This also would be by virtue of his tribunician power (see c. 7, 5). Similar edicts are mentioned 3. 6, 1; 4. 67, 1.

4. **funus divi Iulii**. The chief authorities for the famous scene at that funeral are Suet. Jul. 84; Plut. Caes. 68; Dio, 44. 36–50.

in Campo Martis. The pile was near the 'mausoleum' built by Augustus in 726, B.C. 28 (Suet. Aug. 100); the lower portion of which still remains. It is called 'tumulus Augusti,' 'Caesarum,' or 'Iuliorum': see 3. 4, 1; 9, 2; 16. 6, 2.

6. **velut**: see Introd. v. § 67.

7. **acceperant**: so of tradition, 2. 59, 2; G. 27, 3 (where see note). &c.

crudi adhuc servitii, 'when slavery had not ripened:' cp. 'cruda marito' Hor. Od. 3. 11, 12. Mr. Dallin would take it to mean 'when slavery was not yet incorporated into their system,' the metaphor being that of an undigested meal (cp. Juv. 1, 143; 'cruda studia' Petron. 4, &c.). Mr. Frost takes the metaphor to be that of an unhealed wound.

8. **occisus Caesar**. On this use of the participle, see Introd. v. § 55 b.

10. **in rem publicam**, 'resources against the commonwealth.' Cp. c. 10, 4; 3. 24, 2. The allusion here is to the will lately read.

13. **plerisque**, 'the majority,' as opposed to the 'prudentes.' Usually in Tacitus it means 'permulti,' and Nipp. would so take it always: cp. 3. 1, 2: 'vana,' mere accidents.

14. **idem dies**, August 19, the anniversary of his first election to the consulship; which was his first actual magistracy, though he already had an 'imperium' (cp. c. 10, 1): the date of which (as in C. I. L. xii. 4333, Orell. 2489), or some greater subsequent epoch, is usually observed as an anniversary: see Staatsr. ii. 747. The coincidence here is sufficient for those who sought such.

15. **pater**: see Introd. ix. note 1.

Octavius vitam finivisset. numerus etiam consulatuum cele- 2
brabatur, quo Valerium Corvum et C. Marium simul aequaverat,
continuata per septem et triginta annos tribunicia potestas,
nomen imperatoris semel atque viciens partum aliaque honorum
5 multiplicata aut nova. at apud prudentes vita eius varie ex- 3
tollebatur arguebaturve. hi pietate erga parentem et necessitu- 4
dine rei publicae, in qua nullus tunc legibus locus, ad arma civilia
actum, quae neque parari possent neque haberi per bonas artes.
multa Antonio, dum interfectores patris ulciscerentur, multa Le-
10 pido concessisse. postquam hic socordia senuerit, ille per libi- 5
dines pessum datus sit, non aliud discordantis patriae remedium
fuisse quam *ut* ab uno regeretur. non regno tamen neque dic- 6
tatura, sed principis nomine constitutam rem publicam; mari
Oceano aut amnibus longinquis saeptum imperium; legiones,
15 provincias, classes, cuncta inter se conexa; ius apud cives, mo-

9. tunc: dum Mur., cum Haase, tunc cum Ritt., tunc . . . ut ulciscerentur Pfitzner. ulciscerentur: text L. 12. ut ins. Ferretti.

1. **numerus.** His thirteen consulships equalled the sum of those of Marius, who alone had been seven times, and Valerius Corvus, best known of the only two recorded to have been six times consul.

3. **septem et triginta,** a round number, reckoning from June 27, 731, B.C. 23. On the first beginning, and subsequent reckoning of the years of this power, see Introd. vi. pp. 76, 79

4. **nomen imperatoris**: see c. 3, 1; Introd. vi. p. 76; Staatsr. ii. 781. The first occasion appears to have been Mutina; the last, subsequent to the date of an inscription of this very year (Introd. l. l. p. 80).

alia honorum. On the genitive, see Introd. v. § 32 b. 'Multiplicata' may refer to the repeatedly bestowed title of 'pater patriae,' and the periodically renewed 'imperium,' &c.; 'nova' to the new forms taken by these and other powers, to the title of 'Augustus,' &c. See Introd. vi pp. 76–80, Mon. Anc. ii. 15–41, vi. 16–21, &c.

6. **hi.** This has no proper construction, a verb of speaking being supplied from 'extollebatur arguebaturve.' On the omission of such verbs by Tacitus, see Introd. v. 38 n. The view in this chapter may be compared to that given by Dio in the funeral oration supposed to be spoken by Tiberius (56. 35–41).

parentem, used like 'patris' below, of his adoptive father.

8. **haberi**: cp. c. 1, 1; 'civil war, which can neither be levied nor conducted by honourable methods.' 'Bonae artes' is used similarly, c. 28, 5.

9. **dum,** generally explained here as = 'provided that;' though it might also be taken in a temporal sense.

10. **concessisse.** The meaning is that the crimes of the triumvirate were those of his colleagues, tolerated by himself only to secure his great object: cp. 'Caesar percussoribus patris contentus fuit' Florus, 4. 6. Suetonius (Aug. 27) states that, though more reluctant to begin a proscription, he carried it out more vindictively than his colleagues.

12. **non regno,** &c.: see Introd. vi. p. 78. The emperor is styled *βασιλεύς* in the New Testament and elsewhere in Greek Oriental writing: Staatsr. ii. 764, n. 3.

13. **mari Oceano.** On these adjectival substantives, see Introd. v. § 3.

14. **longinquis.** The Rhine, Danube, Halys, and Euphrates. On this description of the frontier, see Introd. vii. p. 111. Stress here is laid on 'longinquis,' to show the distance of any danger.

legiones, &c.: see on 4. 5; and Introd. vii. p. 121 foll.

15. **ius apud,** 'justice in dealing with.'

modestiam, 'moderation,' as 3. 12, 10, &c. On the change in the condition

destiam apud socios; urbem ipsam magnifico ornatu; pauca admodum vi tractata quo ceteris quies esset.

10. Dicebatur contra: pietatem erga parentem et tempora rei publicae obtentui sumpta: ceterum cupidine dominandi concitos per largitionem veteranos, paratum ab adulescente privato 5 exercitum, corruptas consulis legiones, simulatam Pompeianarum gratiam partium; mox ubi decreto patrum fasces et ius praetoris invaserit, caesis Hirtio et Pansa, sive hostis illos, seu Pansam venenum vulneri adfusum, sui milites Hirtium et machinator doli Caesar abstulerat, utriusque copias occupavisse; extortum 10 invito senatu consulatum, armaque quae in Antonium acceperit contra rem publicam versa; proscriptionem civium, divisiones 2 agrorum ne ipsis quidem qui fecere laudatas. sane Cassii et

of the provinces, see c. 2, 2, and Introd. vii. p. 119.

1. **magnifico ornatu**, abl. of quality. Some of the buildings of Augustus are noted in Mon. Anc. iv. and vi.; also in Strab. 5. 3, 8, p. 235. He is said (Suet. Aug. 28) to have boasted that he had found Rome a city of brick, and left it one of marble. For an account of his chief works, see Dyer, Hist. of the City of Rome, sect. iii.

pauca. This refers to the suppression of such conspiracies as are mentioned in the next chapter.

3. **Dicebatur contra.** Lips. remarks that the leaning of Tacitus to this view is shown by its fuller statement.

4. **obtentui**, 'for a pretext.' On this dative, see Introd. v. § 23.

ceterum = 'revera autem.' This sense is especially Tacitean, and (except H. 4. 3, 5) found only in the Annals; as c. 14, 3; 44, 6; 14. 58, 3; 15. 52, 3. A similar sense is found in Sall. Jug. 76, 1, and in Livy.

5. **veteranos.** Those settled by the dictator at Calatia and Casilinum, induced, about October 710, B.C. 44, by a bribe of 500 denarii 'each,' to join Octavianus (Cic. Att. 16. 8, 1). Others joined afterwards (Vell. 2. 61, 1).

privato. Cp. Mon. Anc. i. 1 'annos undeviginti natus exercitum privato consilio et privata impensa comparavi.' Appian (B. C. 3. 40) rates it at an ill-organized force of about 10,000.

6. **consulis**, i.e. 'Antonii.' The legiones 'Martia' and 'Quarta,' summoned by him from Macedonia, deserted to Octavian at the end of November. Cic. Phil. 3. 3, 6; App. B. C. 2. 45.

Pompeianarum: see on 'Iulianae partes' c. 2, 1. Dräger (§ 223) notes this arrangement of the four words as a play of rhetoric very unusual in Tacitus (cp. 3. 30, 7, and Gud. on Dial. 12, 8) or Cicero, but more frequent in Livy.

7. **ius praetoris.** The imperium and rank of propraetor, decreed by proposal of Cicero, Jan. 1, 711, B.C. 43; see Cic. Phil. 5. 16, 45. He received the fasces on the 7th, which was thus his first 'dies imperii.' See on c. 9, 1.

8. **invaserit.** This, like 'acceperit' below, belongs naturally to the 'oratio obliqua.' On the interposition of indicative clauses, as 'abstulerat' and 'fecere,' see Introd. v. § 49, and Nipp. here. For the sing. 'abstulerat' see on 12. 12, 3.

caesis. Hirtius was killed Apr. 27; Pansa died of his wounds at nearly the same time. This insinuation against Caesar is alluded to in a letter of uncertain date (pseudo-Brutus ad Cic. 1, 6), and given more fully in Suet. Aug. 11.

11. **senatu**; best taken as a form of the dative, as in 3. 47, 1: cp. 'luxu' 3. 30 4; 'decursu' 3. 33, 3, &c. It rested with the senate, or rather with the senator who held comitia as 'interrex,' to allow him to stand for the consulship without being duly qualified (Introd. vi. 94).

12. **divisiones agrorum**, assignments of lands to soldiers in 713, B.C. 41, alluded to by Vergil (Ecl. 1 and 9).

13. **sane**, concessive, as 3. 5. 4; 6. 14, 4; 48, 4, &c.: the parenthetical clause 'quamquam . . . remittere' qualifies even

Brutorum exitus paternis inimicitiis datos, quamquam fas sit privata odia publicis utilitatibus remittere: sed Pompeium imagine pacis, sed Lepidum specie amicitiae deceptos; post Antonium, Tarentino Brundisinoque foedere et nuptiis sororis inlectum, 5 subdolae adfinitatis poenas morte exsolvisse. pacem sine dubio 3 post haec, verum cruentam: Lollianas Varianasque clades, interfectos Romae Varrones, Egnatios, Iullos. nec domesticis absti- 4 nebatur: abducta Neroni uxor et consulti per ludibrium ponti-

7. iulios: Iulos L., Iullos Andresen: see 3. 18, 1; 4. 44, 5.

this concession, and 'paternis inimicitiis' is invidiously substituted for the 'pietate erga parentem' of c. 9, 4: 'remittere,' 'to sacrifice,' as 'memoriam simultatium patriae remitteret' Liv. 9. 38, 12. Augustus maintains that he did not use force against the assassins till they had been legally exiled (by the 'lex Pedia,' Vell. 2. 69, 5). Mon. Anc. i. 10.

2. **sed . . . sed.** On such rhetorical repetitions, see c. 38, 3, &c., and Introd. v. § 73. It is implied that there was no palliation in these cases.

imagine pacis: so 'imagine cognitionis' 3. 17, 6. The allusion is to the stipulations towards Sex. Pompeius agreed upon at the treaty of Misenum in 715, B.C. 39 (Dio, 48. 36, 4), which were not fulfilled.

3. **specie amicitiae.** This refers to the general treatment of Lepidus as triumvir, rather than to the immediate occasion of his being robbed of his army (see c. 2, 1).

post. Nipp. shows that this must be taken only with 'poenas . . . exsolvisse,' the treaties referred to being prior to the overthrow of Pompeius and Lepidus. That of Brundusium was made in 714, B.C. 40; that of Tarentum in 717, B.C. 37. Nipp. also explains the inversion here of their chronological order, as meant to lay stress on the marriage with Octavia ('subdola affinitas'), which was one of the provisions of the earlier treaty.

5. **sine dubio**, concessive, as in c. 6, 3, &c.

6. **Lollianas.** The defeat of Lollius by some German tribes in 738, B.C. 16 (Dio, 54. 20, 5), though 'maioris infamiae quam detrimenti' (Suet. Aug. 23), involved the loss of an eagle, and caused Augustus to go as far as Gaul (Vell. 2. 97, 1): on the 'clades Variana,' see c. 3, 6, &c.

7. **Varrones, &c.** These, like 'Lollianas' and 'Varianas,' are rhetorical plurals; 'executions at Rome of a Varro, an Egnatius, an Iullus.' L. Licinius Muraena (Hor. Od. 2. 10), afterwards by adoption Terentius Varro Muraena, suffered death with Fannius Caepio for conspiracy against the life of Augustus in 731 or 732, B.C. 23 or 22 (Dio, 54. 3; Vell. 2. 91). He was brother to Proculeius and Terentia (Dio, l. l.). Egnatius Rufus, a popular aedile and praetor in two successive years, failing afterwards to reach the consulship, formed a plot with others against the life of Augustus, and was put to death in prison in 735, B.C. 19. Velleius loads him with abuse (2. 91, 3). Iullus Antonius, son of the triumvir by Fulvia, was advanced by Augustus to the highest rank, and married to Marcella, daughter of Octavia; see Introd. ix. note 18. He was forced to suicide in 752, B.C. 2, for adultery with Julia (Vell. 2. 100, 4); which was held to amount to treason (see 3. 24, 3). The form 'Iullus' (taken as an unprecedented praenomen) is supported by Mommsen (Hermes xxiv. 155) from inscriptions (as C. I. L. vi. 12010) and the MSS of Dio (51. 1:, 7, &c.), and is probably the true reading here corrupted into 'Iulios' (which could not be thus used by itself as a distinctive name), and is also to be read in Hor. Od. 4. 2, 2; the trisyllabic Iulus' being apparently a creation (perhaps from a mistaken Greek etymology) of Vergil. 'Iulius' is formed from 'Iullus' as 'milia' from 'mille,' Messalina from 'Messalla,' &c.

8. **abducta, &c.** Some such verb as 'memorabatur' has to be supplied from the negative clause. On the marriage of Livia, see 5. 1, 3. The answer of the pontiffs to this 'mockery of consultation' is given by Dio, 48. 44, 2.

fices an concepto necdum edito partu rite nuberet; Q. † Tedii et
Vedii Pollionis luxus; postremo Livia gravis in rem publicam
5 mater, gravis domui Caesarum noverca. nihil deorum honoribus
relictum, cum se templis et effigie numinum per flamines et
6 sacerdotes coli vellet. ne Tiberium quidem caritate aut rei 5
publicae cura successorem adscitum, sed quoniam adrogantiam
saevitiamque eius introspexerit, comparatione deterrima sibi
7 gloriam quaesivisse. etenim Augustus paucis ante annis, cum
Tiberio tribuniciam potestatem a patribus rursum postularet,
quamquam honora oratione, quaedam de habitu cultuque et 10

1. nuberetque tedii: text Victorius, [que tedii et] Nipp.

1. **Q. † Tedii.** The choice is between a name otherwise unknown, and a variety of conjectures, as 'Q. Pedii' (Wolf, from Suet. Jul. 83, &c.), 'C. Matii' (Freinsh., from 12. 60, 6), neither of whom is noted for luxury; or 'Q. Alledii' (Roth from Juv. 5, 118), whose date is unknown. Hirschfeld's 'Q. Vitellii' is supported by 2. 48, 3, but we do not know that he was of such exceptional prominence under Augustus as to be classed with Vedius Pollio.

2. **Vedii Pollionis**, a knight of low birth and vast wealth (cp. Dio, 54. 23, 1), noted for throwing live slaves to his lampreys, even in presence of Augustus (Pl. N. H. 9. 23, 39, 77; Sen. de Ira, 3. 40); who showed his indignation at the time, and on inheriting his villa at Pausilipum destroyed it for its associations (Ov. Fast. 6, 639, &c.). It is made a reflection on him, that such a man was ever his friend.

gravis. She is 'gravis mater,' as having forced her son into the succession; 'noverca,' as having, in popular belief, caused the deaths of his competitors, Gaius and Lucius; see c. 3, 3, &c. 'In rem publicam' may be taken as in c. 8, 7, or as in c. 76, 5. Cp. Cic. Balb. 9, 24 'est in populum Romanum grave.'

4. **templis et effigie numinum.** These appear to be better taken as abl. instrum. than resolved, as Nipp. proposes, into two constructions by taking the former as abl. of place (as 3. 61, 1, &c.), the latter as abl. modi. 'Effigies numinum' = 'quales numinum esse solent,' 'statues with divine atributes,' as the thunderbolt, &c.

5. **vellet**, used invidiously of mere permission. According to Suet. Aug. 52, and Dio, 51. 20, 8, temples to Augustus in his lifetime were not allowed by him in Rome, and, in the provinces, only in association with the worship of Roma (see on c. 78, 1; Rushforth, p. 44). Dio wrongly adds that he allowed no such worship in Italy, where it is plain from inscriptions, that at least a local worship and 'flamines' of Augustus existed during his lifetime in various towns: see Orelli and Henzen, Insc. 642, 643, 3874, 5814, 5994, 7079; Staatsr. ii. 757, 1; Hermes xvii. 642; Rushforth, p. 51. But the 'flaminium Augusti,' dating from the time of the apotheosis (see below), as one of the greater priesthoods at Rome, is rightly distinguished by Nipp. from these. See Introd. vii. p. 130.

ne Tiberium, &c. Even Suetonius rejects this imputation (Tib. 21); nor does Tacitus elsewhere refer to any other cause than the influence of Livia (4. 57, 5).

7. **deterrima**, concisely for 'cum deterrimo homine': cp. 3. 72, 2, &c.

8. **paucis ante annis**, i.e. at the date of the last renewal. His second tenure of this power, dating probably from July 1, 757, A.D. 4 (see Introd. viii. p. 134), is supposed by Dio (55. 13, 2) to have been for ten years, and a renewal is dated in 766, A.D. 13 (56. 28, 1); but probably Suet. is right in making the term five years (Tib. 16), whereby the renewal would fall in 762, A.D. 9. As it had not expired at the death of Augustus (see c. 7, 5), the last renewal was probably for life.

10. **honora**: cp. 3. 5, 1; 4. 68, 4; one of the poetical words of Tacitus (Introd. v. § 70). The negative 'inhonorus' had been used in prose by Pl. mai.

habitu, 'deportment.' He walked 'cervice rigida et obstipa, adducto fere vultu, plerumque tacitus' Suet. Tib. 68.

institutis eius iecerat, quae velut excusando exprobraret. cete- 8
rum sepultura more perfecta templum et caelestes religiones
decernuntur.

11. Versae inde ad Tiberium preces. et ille varia edisserebat
5 de magnitudine imperii, sua modestia. solam divi Augusti 2
mentem tantae molis capacem: se in partem curarum ab illo
vocatum experiendo didicisse quam arduum, quám subiectum
fortunae regendi cuncta onus. proinde in civitate tot inlustribus 3
viris subnixa non ad unum omnia deferrent: plures facilius
10 munia rei publicae sociatis laboribus exsecuturos. plus in 4
oratione tali dignitatis quam fidei erat; Tiberioque etiam in
rebus quas non occuleret, seu natura sive adsuetudine, suspensa
semper et obscura verba: tunc vero nitenti, ut sensus suos

4. uariae disserebat: varie disserebat B., Halm, text Linker.

cultu, 'style of dress' (joined with 'habitu' 2. 59, 3); so in 2. 75. 3; 6. 32, 4, and Livy.

1. **institutis**, 'manners': cp. 'instituta Parthorum' 6. 32, 4.

iecerat, 'had dropped expressions'; so 4. 68, 4; 6. 4, 3, &c., Sall., Liv.

velut: cp. c. 8, 7, &c. The 'taunt under colour of excuse' is said to have been 'naturae vitia esse, non animi' Suet. Tib. 68. For the gerundial modal abl. cp. Gud. on Dial. 11, 6.

2. **sepultura more perfecta.** The ceremonies are fully described by Suet. and Dio; the latter gives a long 'laudatio' purporting to be spoken by Tiberius, but probably a mere composition.

templum. This was built by Augusta and Tiberius (Dio, 56. 46, 3) at the side of the Palatine, near the Forum. For notices of it see Dyer (D. of Geog. 'Roma,' p. 805); for its probable identification with existing remains, see Middleton, i. 273 foll.

caelestes religiones. The date of this apotheosis is fixed as 15 Kal. Octob. (Sept. 17) by the kalendar of Amiternum, Orell. Inscr. ii. p. 398. The same decree probably created Germanicus and Augusta 'flamen' and 'flaminica Augustalis': see notes on c. 14, 3; 2. 83, 2. On the creation of the college of 'sodales Augustales,' see c. 54, 1.

4. **Versae inde**, &c. On the conduct of Tiberius during this scene, see Introd. viii. p. 139. Velleius, probably an eyewitness, describes it from his own point of view (2. 124). Suet. (Tib. 24) shows some verbal resemblance, but more important differences.

varia edisserebat; so Bait. and Ritt.: similar errors in division of words in the MS., are 'in editiorae nisus' (c. 70, 6), 'in adiacentiae rupturum' (c. 79, 3), &c. (cp. H. 4. 81, 4): 'edissere' is used in H. 3. 52, 2. 'Varie disserebat' is supported by 3. 59, 1, and read by most editors.

5. **modestia**, 'diffidence.' This quality in him is contrasted in 3. 56, 4, with the 'magnitudo' of Augustus, as here with that of the empire; and is elsewhere spoken of by himself as his 'pudor' (c. 12, 3), or 'moderatio' (2. 36, 2). Dio (57. 2, 4) reports him as also pleading his age, and defective eyesight.

7. **quam arduum.** On the omission of 'esset,' see Introd. v. § 39 b.

9. **non** is used instead of 'ne' to emphasize 'ad unum,' the context implying the antithesis 'sed ad plures.' Nipp. illustrates, both from Cic. and Liv., this use, which is more common in poets and silver age prose; e.g. 'non Teucros agat' Verg. Aen. 12. 78.

11. **fidei**, 'honesty': cp. 'fida oratio' c. 52, 3.

12. **occuleret.** On the subjunctive, see Introd. v. § 52.

suspensa, 'hesitating,' as 11. 34, 2; H. 3. 37, 2. Tiberius is described as 'velut eluctantium verborum' (4. 31, 4); 'validus sensibus aut consulto ambiguus' (13. 3, 5); and these traits are rhetorically exaggerated by Dio (57. 1).

penitus abderet, in incertum et ambiguum magis implicabantur.
5 at patres, quibus unus metus si intellegere viderentur, in questus
lacrimas vota effundi; ad deos, ad effigiem Augusti, ad genua
ipsius manus tendere, cum proferri libellum recitarique iussit.
6 opes publicae continebantur, quantum civium sociorumque in 5
armis, quot classes, regna, provinciae, tributa aut vectigalia, et
7 necessitates ac largitiones. quae cuncta sua manu perscripserat
Augustus addideratque consilium coercendi intra terminos im-
perii, incertum metu an per invidiam.

12. Inter quae senatu ad infimas obtestationes procumbente, 1
dixit forte Tiberius se ut non toti rei publicae parem, ita quae-

1. **in incertum.** On this use of 'in' to express result, see Introd. v. § 60 b.

2. **unus metus si intellegere viderentur,** 'whose only ground of fear lay in betraying their insight.' 'Metus si' (cp. 16. 5, 3) is very rare, but may be compared with the use of 'si' with 'miror,' 'mirum,' &c. Here, as in 'formido . . . si' (11. 28, 1), it is meant that they feared the consequence of detection, rather than detection itself; as is shown in the fuller expression 'si intellegere crederetur, vim metuens' (2. 42, 5). The same kind of dissimulation is described in 14. 6, 1; H. 4. 86, 1.

3. **effundi,** reflexive pass., 'burst into': cp. 3. 23, 1; 4. 8, 3, &c.

4. **libellum.** This was one of three documents deposited by Augustus with his will: see Suet. Aug. 101. Another contained instructions for his funeral; the third, the 'Index rerum gestarum' to be inscribed on his tomb, was the original of the 'Marmor Ancyranum.' The document here described seems more comprehensive than the balance sheet ('rationes imperii,' or 'rationarium'), which he had periodically published: see Staatsr. ii. 1025. Tiberius orders the recital, to show the magnitude of the whole, and to suggest partition of functions.

5. **opes,** used of resources, including both the forces and revenue: so 'opes viresque' H. 1. 61, 1; 4. 86, 2.

6. **quot classes,** &c. Nipp. notes the change from two clauses without connecting particles to a third coupled by 'et,' as well as from the asyndeta included under the first clause to the connexion by 'aut' and 'ac' of the subordinate members of the two other clauses. Many instances of such variations are given in his note, and in Dräger § 140; see Introd. v. § 90. On the fleets, see Introd. vii. p. 127; and on the dependent kingdoms ('regna'), ibid. p. 120.

tributa aut vectigalia, 'direct and indirect taxes': see on 13. 50.

7. **necessitates:** cp. 2. 27, 2; here like 'publicae necessitates' in Liv. 23. 48, 10, of regular charges on the revenue, as distinct from the voluntary 'largitiones,' such as 'frumentationes,' 'congiaria,' &c. (Mon. Anc. iii. 7, &c.). 'Ac' couples closely the two kinds of expenditure, in contrast to the kinds of income.

8. **addideratque,** &c.: in Dio (Xiphil.), 56. 33, 3, this is represented as contained in a fourth document, which is also stated to have recommended some division of the functions of government. Nipp. notes that the reconquest of Germany to the Elbe would not be looked upon as an extension of empire.

9. **metu an per invidiam.** On the variation of construction, see Introd. v. § 62. Tacitus, living in the midst of the conquests of Trajan, treats this prudence as contemptible: see Introd. viii. p. 138.

10. **Inter quae.** Nipp. shows by many examples (c. 15, 3, &c.) the fondness of Tacitus for this expression, as also for 'post quae' (c. 13, 1, &c.), 'adversus quae' (3. 59, 1, &c.), 'ob quae' (2. 30, 4). Instances are found in Livy.

11. **dixit forte,** 'dropped the expression,' as if unguardedly. Dio (57. 2, 4) states that he definitely offered to take one of three departments, either Rome and Italy, or the armies, or the provinces.

ut . . . ita, 'although . . . yet.' In this usage (cp. c. 42, 5; 3. 43, 4; 4. 33, 3; 37, 5; 71, 1, &c.) Tacitus follows Livy (3. 55, 15, &c.).

cumque pars sibi mandaretur, eius tutelam suscepturum. tum 2
Asinius Gallus 'interrogo' inquit, 'Caesar, quam partem rei
publicae mandari tibi velis.' perculsus inprovisa interrogatione 3
paulum reticuit: dein collecto animo respondit nequaquam de-
5 corum pudori suo legere aliquid aut evitare ex eo, cui in uni-
versum excusari mallet. rursum Gallus (etenim vultu offensionem 4
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 5
10 de Augusto Tiberiumque ipsum victoriarum suarum quaeque in
toga per tot annos egregie fecisset admonuit. nec ideo iram 6
eius lenivit, pridem invisus, tamquam ducta in matrimonium
Vipsania M. Agrippae filia, quae quondam Tiberii uxor fuerat,
plus quam civilia agitaret Pollionisque Asinii patris ferociam
15 retineret.

13. Post quae L. Arruntius haud multum discrepans a Galli

8. sed et: text L., perhaps sed ut et Halm, sed et . . . ut argueretur Müller.
14. polionis here and 2. 86, 2.

2. **Asinius Gallus**, in full C. Asinius C. f. Gallus Saloninus. He was consul 746, B.C. 8, proconsul of Asia two years later; and is known as an orator and man of letters (see Nipp.). He is frequently mentioned in these Books, as c. 8, 4; 13, 2; 76, 2; 2. 32, 4; 33, 3; 35, 1; 4. 20, 2; 30, 2; 71, 3; 6. 23, 1. His parentage and marriage are given in this chapter. On his sons see note on 6. 23, 3.

4. **collecto animo**, 'recovering self-possession.' Dio (57. 2, 6) gives his answer as *καὶ πῶς οἷόν τέ ἐστι τὸν αὐτὸν καὶ νέμειν τι καὶ αἱρεῖσθαι*; in the reply of Gallus, his account agrees exactly with Tacitus.

6. **excusari.** With the doubtful exception 'excusatus honoribus' (Pl. Pan. 57), this verb is nowhere found with a dative of the thing; but the construction is analogous to that of 'captae prohibere . . . Poenos aquilae' (Sil. 9. 27), &c.

rursum: cp. c. 80, 3, and note.

8. **sed ut.** Orelli retains 'et,' which may be taken as = 'etiam'; but the change of subject from 'divideret' to 'argueretur' appears to render the repetition of 'ut' necessary.

9. **addidit laudem de Augusto.** The expression is explained by Nipp., who shows that 'laus' is equivalent to 'oratio laudatoria.' The object of his speech is to show the advantage of single rule by reference to Augustus, and the capacity of Tiberius by reference to his services.

11. **ideo**, used as in c. 72, 3; 2. 42, 1; 3. 25, 2, &c. in the sense of 'for all that.' Dio (57. 2, 7) connects the subsequent fate of Gallus with this speech. Tacitus (c. 13, 2) gives an additional reason for the jealousy of Tiberius.

12. **tamquam.** On the use of this word, see Introd. v. § 67.

ducta, &c. On Vipsania, see Introd. ix. note 27; on her divorce, ibid. viii. 133.

14. **civilia**: see c. 8, 3, &c.

ferociam, 'spirit': cp. 2. 43, 3, &c., and 'ferocissimi' c. 2, 1. Dio (57. 2, 5) speaks of the *παρρησία* of Pollio. Velleius (2. 86, 4) gives his refusal to follow Caesar to Actium, 'discrimini vestro me subtraham, et ero praeda victoris.' Other instances of his freedom of speech are given in Suet. Aug. 43.

16. **L. Arruntius**; also very frequently mentioned in these Books (c. 8, 4; 76, 3; 79, 1; 3. 11, 2; 31. 5; 6. 5, 1; 7, 1; 27, 3; 47, 3; 48), was consul in 759, A.D. 6. His father, consul in 732, B.C. 22, is probably the same who held an important command in Caesar's fleet at Actium (Vell. 2. 85, 2). Seneca speaks of one or the other of these as 'vir rarae frugalitatis' Ep. 114, 17.

oratione perinde offendit, quamquam Tiberio nulla vetus in
Arruntium ira: sed divitem, promptum, artibus egregiis et pari
2 fama publice, suspectabat. quippe Augustus supremis sermo-
nibus cum tractaret, quinam adipisci principem locum suffecturi
abnuerent aut inpares vellent vel idem possent cuperentque, 5
M'. Lepidum dixerat capacem sed aspernantem, Gallum Asinium
avidum et minorem, L. Arruntium non indignum et, si casus
3 daretur, ausurum. de prioribus consentitur, pro Arruntio quidam
Cn. Pisonem tradidere; omnesque praeter Lepidum variis mox
4 criminibus struente Tiberio circumventi sunt. etiam Q. Haterius 10
et Mamercus Scaurus suspicacem animum perstrinxere, Haterius

6. M.: M.' L.; see note.

2. **artibus**, 'accomplishments': cp. 'inlustres domi artes' 4. 6, 2; also 3. 70, 1; 12. 6, 2; 14. 55, 6. In 6. 7, 1 he speaks of the 'sanctissimae artes' of Arruntius; in 11. 6, 4, a speaker mentions his 'incorrupta vita et facundia,' classing him even with Pollio and Messalla. Seneca, however, if he refers to this Arruntius (see above), considers the style of his History of the Punic wars an exaggeration of the mannerisms of Sallust.

pari fama publice, 'with corresponding public reputation.' 'Publice' is best taken, with Ruperti, as = 'iudicio omnium.'

4. **principem**, adjective, as 3. 75, 1; 4. 38, 1; 60, 4, &c. On the frequency of such adjectival substantives, see c. 9, 6.

suffecturi is best taken absolutely, as in G. 13, 1, &c., so as to leave 'adipisci' dependent only on the verbs: though 'sufficere' takes an infinitive in Verg. Aen. 5, 22.

5. **vel** certainly stands sometimes in Tacitus for 'aut,' as 13. 41, 3; 14. 35, 4, &c.; but here Nipp. appears rightly to show that, as in 14. 3, 1 ('in hortos aut Tusculanum vel Antiatem in agrum'), he is not so much contrasting three classes with each other, as two of them with a third; those who, with or without capacity, would desire the position, with those who would not. 'idem' nom. plur.

6. **M'. Lepidum.** This praenomen is given in full, 3. 22, 2. Elsewhere the MS. always reads M., thus confusing this Lepidus with another, whose praenomen 'Marcus' is written full in 3. 32, 2 (where see note). On Manius Lepidus see further 3. 35, 1; 50, 1; 4. 20, 3; 56, 3; 6. 27, 4. He was consul in 764, A.D. 11.

7. **et** is a variation for the preceding 'sed,' and often stands for an adversative particle, where the words sufficiently convey the opposition, as 'turbidos et nihil ausos' c. 38, 4. Cp. 12. 52, 3; 14. 65, 2; and 'neque' (= 'sed non') 6. 37, 3.

casus, 'opportunity'; so 11. 9, 1; 12. 28, 1; 50, 1; 13. 36, 2: chiefly from Sall., e.g. Jug. 25, 9, &c.

9. **Cn. Pisonem**: see c. 74, 6; 2. 43, 3, &c.

omnes. This should apply to all the other three; but the absurdity of supposing that Tiberius contrived the fall of Piso makes Nipp. contend that the remark about him is parenthetical, and that only two out of the three originally mentioned are referred to. In any case Tacitus oversteps his own facts, for Tiberius is admitted to have been probably not cognisant of the charge against Arruntius (6. 47, 4); so that 'omnes' is justified only by the fate of Gallus some sixteen years later: see on 6. 23, 1.

10. **Q. Haterius**, a consular (2. 33, 1), probably cos. suff. in 745, B.C. 9 (Borghesi); a man of servile disposition (3. 57, 3), and a fluent but careless speaker (4. 61, 2). On his probable marriage with a daughter of Agrippa, see Introd. ix. note 19.

11. **Mamercus Scaurus**, of similar character (3. 66, 3), was cos. suff. probably in 774, A.D. 21 (Borghesi: see Nipp. on 3. 66, and Klein, Fasti Cons.). On his accomplishments and fate see 6. 29, 4; where his death, twenty years after this date, is ascribed to the influence of Macro.

animum perstrinxere, prob. like 'aures perstringere' ('to jar') in Dial. 27, 2; Hor. Od. 2. 1, 18.

cum dixisset 'quousque patieris, Caesar, non adesse caput rei publicae?' Scaurus quia dixerat, spem esse ex eo non inritas fore senatus preces, quod relationi consulum iure tribuniciae potestatis non intercessisset. in Haterium statim invectus est; 5
5 Scaurum, cui inplacabilius irascebatur, silentio tramisit. fessusque 6
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 7
introisset ambulantisque Tiberii genua advolveretur, prope a
10 militibus interfectum, quia Tiberius casu an manibus eius inpeditus prociderat. neque tamen periculo talis viri mitigatus est, donec Haterius Augustam oraret eiusque curatissimis precibus protegeretur.

14. Multa patrum et in Augustam adulatio. alii parentem, 2

1. apud tē: caput R. 12. etusque: text L.

1. **quousque**, &c. The whole sentence might give offence from its tone of impatience, like the 'aut agat, aut desistat' of some other speaker (Suet. Tib. 24); and 'caput reipublicae' is an expression more suited to the senate (cp. H. 1. 84, 6), than, at this early date, to the 'princeps.' The words of Scaurus would be more offensive, as insinuating that Tiberius was not in earnest.

3. **relationi consulum.** The terms of such a 'relatio' can be gathered from H. 1. 47, 2, and more fully from the 'Lex de Imp. Vespasiani.' On the present occasion the powers already possessed by Tiberius (see Introd. vi. pp. 80, 98) would require fresh definition: see Staatsr. ii. 786, foll.

5. **tramisit.** This verb is used in this age in the sense of 'praetermittere,' with 'silentio' or similar words, and with accus. of the thing (as 14. 12, 2, &c.) or the person (as 13. 22, 3, &c.).

6. **flexit**, sc. 'se,' as 4. 37, 2, &c. Suet. (Tib. 24) says that he complained 'miseram et onerosam iniungi sibi servitutem,' and consented only with the reservation 'dum veniam ad id tempus, quo vobis aequum possit videri, dare vos aliquam senectuti meae requiem.' From the silence of Tacitus it has been doubted whether any formal decree was passed; but we can hardly suppose that Tiberius thus left his position unsecured, and he could not have formally become 'princeps' or 'Augustus' without such decree.

7. **ut fateretur**, 'to declare'; cp. 2. 13, 1; Dial. 17, 4.

8. **constat Haterium.** Suet. (Tib. 27) tells this story without the name of the person, only to illustrate the aversion of Tiberius to such prostrations.

9. **genua advolveretur.** This constr., taken from Sall. (see Introd. v. § 97, 1), is used by Tacitus, 6. 49, 3; 15. 71, 1; H. 4. 81, 2. On other such accusatives after compound verbs, see Introd. v. § 12 c. He has the more usual dat. with 'advolvi' c. 23, 2, &c., and 'provolvi' 12. 18, 3, &c.

10. **an**, used in expressions of doubt with almost the force of 'aut,' often in Tacitus, as c. 65, 3; 2. 38, 9; 42, 5; H. 1. 7, 2, sometimes in Cic. Sall. Liv.: see Nipp. and Madv. 453, 1.

12. **oraret.** On the subjunctive of facts with 'donec,' see on c. 1, 4.

curatissimis, 'her most solicitous entreaty.' 'Curatus' = 'accuratus' in 2. 27, 1; 14. 21, 2; 16. 22, 6; and in Pl. min.

14. **parentem . . . matrem.** Probably Walther is right in thinking the question between these titles merely one of sound. Both 'pater' and 'parens' 'patriae' appear to have been used of Cicero (Juv. 8, 243) and Julius Caesar (Suet. Jul. 76; 85). On the titles borne by the wife or mother of the princeps, see Staatsr. ii. p. 821. Provincial coins and inscriptions exist giving to Augusta titles formally disallowed, as 'mater patriae' and even 'genetrix orbis': see Eckhel, v. 154–156; Cohen, i. p. 169, 3; Rushforth, Insc. p. 67.

alii matrem patriae appellandam, plerique ut nomini Caesaris
3 adscriberetur 'Iuliae filius' censebant. ille moderandos femi-
narum honores dictitans eademque se temperantia usurum in
iis quae sibi tribuerentur, ceterum anxius invidia et muliebre
fastigium in deminutionem sui accipiens ne lictorem quidem 5
ei decerni passus est aramque adoptionis et alia huiusce modi
4 prohibuit. at Germanico Caesari proconsulare imperium petivit,
missique legati qui deferrent, simul maestitiam eius ob excessum
5 Augusti solarentur. quo minus idem pro Druso postularetur, ea
6 causa quod designatus consul Drusus praesensque erat. candi- 10
datos praeturae duodecim nominavit, numerum ab Augusto
traditum; et hortante senatu ut augeret, iure iurando obstrinxit
se non excessurum.

15. Tum primum e campo comitia ad patres translata sunt:

4. his: iis Muretus.

1. **appellandam ... ut.** On this variation of construction, see Introd. v. § 91, 7.

2. **Iuliae filius.** The title 'Divi Aug. f.' is regularly borne by Tiberius on inscriptions. For him to have also borne his mother's name is noted by Orelli as wholly without Roman precedent, though an old Etruscan custom.

4. **ceterum**: cp. c. 10, 1.

5. **fastigium**, used of 'rank' by Livy and later authors. When the highest rank is spoken of, as here, an adjective is usually added; but cp. 'initia fastigii' 3. 29, 2; and 'stare in fastigio eloquentiae' Quint. 12. 1, 20.

in. This hardly expresses here result, as in c. 11, 4, &c.; but rather how an act or event is interpreted, as in 6. 13, 4; 12. 43, 2; 16. 18, 2: cp. 'in omen acceptum' Liv. 21. 63, 14.

ne lictorem quidem. It appears from Dio (56. 46, 2) that she had a lictor when in performance of her duties as priestess of Augustus. Two were assigned to Agrippina, evidently as 'flaminica Claudialis' (13. 2, 6).

6. **aram adoptionis.** Altars are often erected as monuments, without implying any act of worship. Thus we have 'ara ob Agrippinae puerperium' (Suet. Cal. 8); and altars to personifications, as 'ultionis' (3. 18, 3); 'clementiae,' 'amicitiae' (4. 74, 3).

7. **proconsulare imperium**, probably a renewal, in consequence of the death of Augustus (Staatsr. ii. 1158, 3), of that which he had received in 764, A.D. 11, as an 'imperium maius' in Gaul and Germany (c. 31, 2). That he was not fully 'collega imperii' with Tiberius is implied in 2. 43, 2. See Introd. vi. p. 98; Staatsr. ii. 1151, &c.

9. **solarentur.** On the frequent poetical use in Tacitus of simple for compound verbs, see Introd. v. § 40.

10. **quod designatus consul**, &c. The explanation appears to be, that such an 'imperium,' valid only 'extra urbem' (12. 41, 2), would not be suitable to one who was to hold an urban magistracy. Nipp. and Mommsen (Staatsr. ii. 1152, 1) think that the allusion to his presence points to the delicacy of his having himself to give the first vote. This, however, appears not to hold in a 'relatio Caesaris' (3. 17, 8); and, in any other 'relatio,' might be obviated (3. 22, 6). Drusus, no doubt, had this imperium when sent to Illyricum (2. 44, 1).

11. **nominavit.** On the 'nominatio candidatorum,' see Introd. vi. p. 94. The number twelve was occasionally exceeded both by Augustus (Dio, 56. 25, 4) and by Tiberius (2. 32, 1; Dio, 58. 20, 5); but is retained as the normal number. See 2. 36, 1; Staatsr. ii. p. 919.

12. **obstrinxit.** This verb is used absolutely, as in 4. 31, 5; 'se' being here taken with 'excessurum.' In 13. 11, 2, Tacitus has 'clementiam suam obstringens,' in the sense of 'solemnly promising.'

14. **Tum primum**, i.e. in the election

nam ad eam diem, etsi potissima arbitrio principis, quaedam tamen studiis tribuum fiebant. neque populus ademptum ius 2
questus est nisi inani rumore, et senatus largitionibus ac precibus sordidis exsolutus libens tenuit, moderante Tiberio ne plures
5 quam quattuor candidatos commendaret, sine repulsa et ambitu designandos. inter quae tribuni plebei petivere, ut proprio 3
sumptu ederent ludos, qui de nomine Augusti fastis additi Augustales vocarentur. sed decreta pecunia ex aerario, utque 4
per circum triumphali veste uterentur: curru vehi haud per-
10 missum. mox celebratio annua ad praetorem translata, cui inter 5
cives et peregrinos iurisdictio evenisset.

10. ann : annua or annuum margin, [annum] Nipp.

of these praetors. The first consular elections are spoken of in c. 81. It is implied in the context, and in Vell. 2. 126, 2, that the new rule obtained henceforth in all elections. On this important change, see Introd. vi. p. 89.

1. **ad eam diem.** Augustus is stated, after the restoration of the comitia (Suet. Aug. 40), to have superseded them in cases of exceptional turbulence (Dio, 54. 10, 2; 55. 34, 2). The general prevalence of ordinary canvassing is seen from the description of Horace, Epp. 1. 6, 49, &c.

potissima. This may probably refer to the choice of consuls, which appears to have passed from popular control in the later years of Augustus (Dio, l. l.).

3. **inani rumore,** 'in idle murmurs.' 'Rumor' used of popular talk, as 3. 29, 5, &c. On the temper of the people, cp. Juv. 10, 73, also Introd. vii. p. 107.

precibus exsolutus. Senators were themselves the candidates for all offices above the quaestorship.

5. **quattuor . . . commendaret.** On the 'commendatio,' as distinct from the 'nominatio' of candidates by the prince, see Introd. vi. p. 94; Staatsr. ii. 921, foll. The proportion of four applies to the election of praetors only, but the insertion of 'praeturae' appears unnecessary (see Staatsr. ii. 926, 2). Velleius states (2. 124, 4) that on this occasion the two first 'candidati Caesaris' were 'nobilissimi ac sacerdotales viri,' the two others Velleius himself and his brother; and that Tiberius was in fact giving effect to a previous designation by Augustus.

5. **tribuni plebei.** Dio (56. 46, 4) connects the selection of the tribunes for this duty with the sanctity of their office (ὡς καὶ ἱεροπρεπεῖς ὄντες). A more natural explanation may be found in the tribunician power of the person commemorated.

7. **de nomine,** 'named after': cp. 6. 34, 4. The phrase is poetical: cp. Lucr. 6, 908; Verg. Aen. 1, 277, &c.

fastis additi. The 'Ludi Augustales,' or 'Augustalia,' were held either on Oct. 9 (Kal. Ant.), or Oct. 12 (Kal. Amit.): see Orelli, Inscr. ii. p. 400; C. I. L. ix. 403. That they date as a fixed institution from this time is stated here and in c. 54, 1; but the first celebration is inferred from Kal. Amit. (cp. Dio, 54. 10, 3) to have been decreed in 735, B.C. 19, and stated by Dio (54. 34, 2) to have been held in 743, B.C. 11, where perhaps the distinction drawn between them and the festival on his birthday, Sept. 23 (Kal. Maff., Orelli, ii. p. 398), is, as Nipp. thinks, incorrect. The two seem confused in Dio (Xiphil.), 56. 29, 2.

8. **vocarentur** carries on the 'oratio obliqua.'

decreta pecunia . . . utque. A similar double construction is used with this verb in 4. 16, 6; 14. 12, 1, &c.; also with 'perspecto' 3. 63, 2; 'noscenda' 4. 33, 2; 'circumspecta' 14. 33, 2.

9. **curru.** The praetor celebrating the 'Ludi Magni' had the chariot as well as the triumphal robe (Plin. N. H. 34. 5, 11, 20; Juv. 10, 36; 11, 192); but the former belonged to such only as had ordinarily the 'sella curulis,' its symbol and survival (Staatsr. i. 394), and would therefore naturally be out of place for tribunes.

10. **annua.** Neither this nor 'annuum' appears needed; and it is suggested by

16. Hic rerum urbanarum status erat, cum Pannonicas legiones seditio incessit, nullis novis causis, nisi quod mutatus princeps licentiam turbarum et ex civili bello spem praemiorum osten-
2 debat. castris aestivis tres simul legiones habebantur, praesidente Iunio Blaeso, qui fine Augusti et initiis Tiberii auditis 5
3 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
4 aspernari. erat in castris Percennius quidam, dux olim thea-

6. [aut gaudium] Muretus, Nipp.

Nipp. that 'annum ad' is corrupted from 'ad eum,' or that the text preserves part of a marginal note explaining 'mox' by 'post annum.'

11. **evenisset**, sc. 'sorte': 'obvenire' is thus used 3 33. 1: 4. 56. 3; Agr. 6, 4; and both verbs thus by Livy, &c.

1. **Hic . . . status erat.** An important date in connexion with this mutiny is furnished by the eclipse (see c. 28, 1) which marks its close. Though the precise locality of the 'castra aestiva' is unknown, some inference as to the rapidity of communication within the empire may still be drawn from the fact that, between August 19 and September 26, time was found, (1) for the news of the death of Augustus to reach Pannonia, (2) for the mutiny to develop itself, and for news of it to reach Rome, (3) for the march of Drusus and a considerable force from Rome to the spot. For many other such evidences, see Friedländer, ii. p. 18. &c. The impossibility is not as great as Asbach represents it; especially as it may be (see c. 5, 6) that Augustus really died before Aug. 19, and that news was sent to the armies (cp. 6. 50, 6) before it was published in Rome. Dio (57. 3, 1) may be right in saying that Tiberius had already suspicions of this and the German army, when he hesitated to accept the principate; but the mutiny can hardly have been already known to have broken out, as Suet. (Tib. 25) states.

Pannonicas. Pannonia was among the most important Caesarian provinces, its 'legatus' being always of consular rank (see Introd. vii. p. 116). It extended along the Danube from Carnuntum, below Vienna, to Belgrade, its western boundary from that river to the Drave being nearly that of Hungary. Most of Illyricum was placed under its 'legatus,' and that name is sometimes given to it (see on c. 46, 1); though the maritime part of Illyricum, the 'Delmatia' of 4. 5, 5, was at this time separately governed by P. Dolabella (Vell. 2. 125, 5). See Marquardt, i. 292, 295; Momms. Hist. v. ch. 6.

2. **incessit**, so with acc. pers. in 3. 71, 3; H. 2. 2, 4; 5. 23, 1, after Livy.

nullis novis causis, best taken as abl. abs.: cp. c. 31, 1; 4. 22. 1, &c.

4. **tres simul legiones.** These are specified in c. 23, 6; 30, 4. On their full titles, see Introd. vii. p. 122. The winter quarters of each legion were usually separate (see 2. 57, 2, &c.), or at most two were quartered together (c. 39, 2; 45, 1). Domitian enforced strictly the separation of the legions (see on c. 20, 1).

5. **Iunio Blaeso.** Inscriptions, cited by Nipp., show that Blaesus had been proconsul of Sicily after his praetorship, and consul suffectus in 763, A.D. 10. Afterwards we hear of him as having for his nephew Seianus, through whose influence he became 'extra sortem' proconsul of Africa, and gained the 'triumphalia' and the title of 'imperator' (3. 35, 2; 72, 6; 74, 6); and at whose fall he perished (see 5. 7, 2).

6. **aut gaudium.** These words may be an insertion; but it is certainly in the manner of Tacitus to add such an alternative clause answering to 'initiis Tiberii,' and 'aut' may be taken as in c. 8, 3: though the 'iustitium' is sufficient reason by itself for suspension of military activity, and is referred to as such in the case of the German army (c. 50, 1).

9. **dux . . . theatralium operarum.** Any persons employed in theatres as scene-shifters, stage-carpenters, &c. might be called 'theatrales operae'; but from

tralium operarum, dein gregarius miles, procax lingua et miscere coetus histrionali studio doctus. is inperitos animos et quaenam 5 post Augustum militiae condicio ambigentes inpellere paulatim nocturnis conloquiis aut flexo in vesperam die et dilapsis meli- 5 oribus deterrimum quemque congregare.

17. Postremo promptis iam et aliis seditionis ministris velut contionabundus interrogabat, cur paucis centurionibus, paucioribus tribunis in modum servorum oboedirent. quando ausuros exposcere 2 remedia, nisi novum et nutantem adhuc principem precibus vel 10 armis adirent? satis per tot annos ignavia peccatum, quod tricena 3 aut quadragena stipendia senes et plerique truncato ex vulneribus corpore tolerent. ne dimissis quidem finem esse militiae, 4

4. delapsis: text Muretus.

the mention here of a body organized under a 'dux,' and from the special acquirement of Percennius ('miscere coetus . . . doctus'), it is generally inferred that the 'operae' here spoken of were the professional 'claqueurs,' of whose existence there is abundant evidence (see Friedländer, ii. 430; Marquardt, iii. p. 542), and whose 'fuglemen' are styled 'duces' (Suet. Ner. 20), or 'signiferi' (Id. 26), or 'capita factionum' (Id. Tib. 37). Such service in applauding is itself spoken of as 'theatralis opera' in Plin. Epp. 7. 24, 7, and is here called 'histrionale studium'; an expression apparently equivalent to the 'histrionalis favor' of Dial. 29. 3 (the only other place in which the adj. is found), which certainly means 'favor erga histriones.'

1. **miscere**, 'to stir': cp. 'turbidus miscendis seditionibus' H. 4. 68, 7.

4. **dilapsis**. The full expression 'in tentoria dilabi' is found in H. 3. 10, 7.

6. **iam et**. Wölfflin notes that Tacitus, apparently for euphony, always uses this expression for 'iam etiam' (G. 15, 3; H. 1. 22, 3, &c.). It seems therefore undesirable to follow Nipp., who separates 'promptis' from 'ministris' by placing a comma at 'iam.' These 'abettors' are distinguished from the 'duces' of the mutiny, of whom more were afterwards added to Percennius: see c. 22, 1.

contionabundus, elsewhere found only in Livy, who uses it several times, and whose expression 'prope contionabundus' (3. 47, 3; 21. 53, 6) conveys the same idea as 'velut' here; that of colloquial speech so public and emphatic as almost to amount to a set harangue; in contrast to the more secret 'nocturna colloquia' of c. 16, 5.

7. **paucis**. The legion had sixty centurions, and six tribunes. See Introd. vii. p. 123.

8. **ausuros**, the regular use of the accus. with infin. where the first person ('audebimus') would be used in 'oratio recta': cp. H. 3. 13, 6, &c.; Madv. § 405.

9. **nutantem**, 'tottering,' not yet firmly seated.

10. **tricena aut quadragena**. On the regular term of military service, and its prolongation by Augustus through the institution of 'vexillarii,' see Introd. vii. p. 125. Mommsen notes 'De prov. Delmatiae re militari' (C. I. L. iii. p. 282), that such long periods of service as are here mentioned are borne out by inscriptions earlier than the time of Claudius; one of which (2014) records a veteran of thirty-three 'stipendia,' another (2818) would apparently, if complete, record one of thirty-eight, another (2710) a centurion of forty, and Delmatian military tombstones suggest twenty-five or twenty-six years' service as usual. Juvenal (14, 191) makes a man become 'primipilus' at the age of sixty.

12. **dimissis**, used here like 'dimitterentur' in c. 78, 2, and 'exauctorari' in c. 36, 4, of the fictitious discharge by which men were removed from the ranks of the legion to the condition of 'vexillarii.' If the latter were always exempt from camp duties (see on c. 36, 4), the 'eosdem labores' of this passage is an exaggeration.

sed apud vexillum tendentes alio vocabulo eosdem labores per-
5 ferre. ac si quis tot casus vita superaverit, trahi adhuc diversas
in terras, ubi per nomen agrorum uligines paludum vel inculta
6 montium accipiant. enimvero militiam ipsam gravem, infruc-
tuosam: denis in diem assibus animam et corpus aestimari: 5
hinc vestem arma tentoria, hinc saevitiam centurionum et vaca-
7 tiones munerum redimi. at hercule verbera et vulnera, duram
hiemem, exercitas aestates, bellum atrox aut sterilem pacem
8 sempiterna. nec aliud levamentum quam si certis sub legibus
militia iniretur, ut singulos denarios mererent, sextus decumus 10

1. t | tentes (with space of two letters at the end of the line): retentos B, text Iac. Gronovius.

1. **vexillum.** This, as distinct from 'signum' (c. 18, 3), is the ensign of cavalry (H. 2. 11, 4, &c.), and of any detached legionary forces (cp. Introd. vii. p. 125).

tendentes, 'living in tents,' as 13. 36, 5; H. 1. 31, 2, &c. The alternative restoration 'retentos' is supported by c. 36, 4, &c.

2. **vita superaverit,** 'outlived': so in Caes. B. G. 6. 19, 2.

adhuc = 'insuper,' as c. 48, 1; 4. 55, 7; 14. 52, 2, &c.; so once in Plautus, and often in post-Augustan writers.

diversas, 'distant,' as 2. 60, 2; 4. 46, 3, &c.; after Vergil (Aen. 3, 4, &c.) and Ovid (Trist. 4. 2, 69).

3. **per nomen agrorum,** &c. On this use of the accus. with 'per' for a simple abl., see Introd. v. § 62; and on the genitives 'uligines paludum' and 'inculta montium,' ibid. § 32. The pecuniary gratuities given by Augustus to soldiers on discharge (see Mon. Anc. iii. 37, and Mommsen ad loc.; Dio, 54. 25, 5; 55. 23, 1), are either rhetorically ignored, or must have been discontinued, and an assignment of land substituted.

4. **enimvero,** used, like ἀλλὰ μήν, to anticipate an objection, such as, that soldiers might save out of their pay.

5. **denis in diem assibus**: see below, on 'singulos denarios.'

6. **hinc vestem,** &c. The enactment stated (Plut. C. Gracch. 5, 837) to have been procured by Gracchus, providing the soldier with clothing at the public cost, must have become obsolete; while the later enactments providing for their arms and equipment (Marquardt, ii. 97, n. 1) had not yet come into force. From the absence of any allusion to food, it appears that they received rations of corn besides their pay, a privilege not granted to the praetorians till the time of Nero (see 15. 72, 1; Suet. Ner. 10).

saevitiam centurionum et vacationes munerum: both expressions denote the same practice. If centurions knew that a soldier had money to spare, they laid additional tasks on him to make him purchase furlough or exemption. A full description of this system, and of the demoralization resulting from it, is given in H. 1. 46.

7. **redimi.** This verb can be used, in different senses, as well with 'saevitiam' as with 'vacationes'; having often the meaning of 'buying off' what is unpleasant, as well as of 'buying' what is desirable. It would not however be used with equal propriety of the stoppages for necessaries, such as clothes, &c.; so that for these the sense of the simple verb 'emi' appears to be supplied from its compound, as 'petivere' from the following 'repetivere' in 15. 11, 2.

hercule. This points the contrast between scanty pay and abundant hardships.

8. **exercitas,** 'spent in toil': cp. 'aestatem inquietam exercitamque' Pl. Epp. 7. 2, 2. So 'exercita militia' c. 35, 2.

9. **certis . . . legibus,** 'fixed conditions,' as opposed to the illusory rules by which their discharge was now delayed.

10. **singulos denarios.** Pliny, in his account (N. H. 33. 3, 13, 45) of the lowering of the copper standard in the Hannibalic war, whereby the 'as' became only $\frac{1}{10}$ of the 'denarius,' adds 'in militari tamen stipendio semper denarius pro decem assibus datus;' which may be explained to mean that the soldiers received

stipendii annus finem adferret, ne ultra sub vexillis tenerentur, sed isdem in castris praemium pecunia solveretur. an praetorias 9 cohortes, quae binos denarios acceperint, quae post sedecim annos penatibus suis reddantur, plus periculorum suscipere? non 10 obtrectari a se urbanas excubias: sibi tamen apud horridas gentes e contuberniis hostem aspici.

18. Adstrepebat vulgus, diversis incitamentis, hi verberum notas, illi canitiem, plurimi detrita tegmina et nudum corpus exprobrantes. postremo eo furoris venere, ut tres legiones mis- 2 cere in unam agitaverint. depulsi aemulatione, quia suae quisque 3 legioni eum honorem quaerebant, alio vertunt atque una tres aquilas et signa cohortium locant; simul congerunt caespites, 4

3. accepit (for accepīt): text margin and B, acciperent Faern.

the same fraction of the 'denarius' as before. At that time their pay is reckoned by Polybius (6. 39, 12) at two obols or $\frac{1}{3}$ of the 'denarius,' = $5\frac{1}{3}$ of the reduced 'asses.' It would appear that subsequently, when the pay was nominally doubled by Julius Caesar (Suet. Jul. 26), it was really raised, not to $10\frac{2}{3}$, but only to 10 'asses,' and that the account given by Pliny is so far untrue. But they now demand, not merely this extra fraction, but the full 'denarius,' alleging that the praetorians, whose pay was, by regulation, only the double of theirs (Dio, 53. 11, 5), received actually two full 'denarii,' = 32 'asses.' For further information, see Marquardt, ii. 95, foll.. Mr. Purser in D. of Ant. s.v. 'exercitus,' p. 809. It has been thought that we have here the exaggeration of the speaker, and that the pay of the praetorians cannot really have been so much greater. This grievance is certainly throughout less prominent than that of the delayed discharge (see c. 19. 4, &c.), and the concessions offered even in the extreme crisis (c. 36, 4) contain no allusion to it.

sextus decumus: the limit of the earlier regulation of Augustus (Dio, 54. 25, 6).

2. **isdem in castris**, i.e. at the time and place of their discharge. This is opposed to 'ultra . . . tenerentur,' as 'pecunia' is to the assignations of land.

3. **acceperint**. The tense refers back to the time (727, B.C. 27) when double pay was assigned to the praetorians (Dio, 53. 11, 5). 'Acciperent' would not answer well to 'reddantur.'

post sedecim annos. Instances of longer service among praetorians are found, but may probably have been voluntary. An inscription (Henzen 6846) mentions one of thirty years' service.

5. **obtrectari**. This verb has an accus. of the thing in Liv. 42. 37, 6. Here it is ironical. 'We do not speak disrespectfully of a sentinel's watch in Rome; but our quarters are among savage races, with the enemy in sight.' On the dative 'sibi,' see Introd. v. § 18.

7. **Adstrepebat**, 'were chiming in.' The word is post-Augustan, and rare except in Tacitus, who often uses it, repeating this expression, 11. 17, 5; 12. 34 4; H. 2. 90, 2. 'Incitamentum' is also rare except in Tacitus: see Gudeman, Dial. Introduction, xlvi.

9. **exprobrantes**, 'showing indignantly.' Cp. the description in c. 35, 1.

eo furoris. Nipp. points out that the object of confusing the legions might be to make their comparative guilt indistinguishable. The atrocity of the act would consist in its being a violation not merely of 'esprit de corps,' but of the 'cultus' of the emperor and the eagles, of which each legion was a separate centre: see c. 39, 7; 4. 2, 4, &c. For the use of the perf. subj. 'agitaverint,' see on c. 80, 4.

11. **eum honorem**. The distinction, though not expressly mentioned, must be supposed to be that of giving its name to the combined body.

12. **signa cohortium**. Vegetius (2, 13) states that in his time the legionary cohorts had their distinctive ensigns

5 exstruunt tribunal, quo magis conspicua sedes foret. properantibus Blaesus advenit, increpabatque ac retinebat singulos, clamitans 'mea potius caede imbuite manus: leviore flagitio 6 legatum interficietis quam ab imperatore desciscitis. aut incolumis fidem legionum retinebo, aut iugulatus paenitentiam ad- 5 celerabo.'

19. Aggerabatur nihilo minus caespes iamque pectori usque adcreverat, cum tandem pervicacia victi inceptum omisere. 2 Blaesus multa dicendi arte non per seditionem et turbas desideria militum ad Caesarem ferenda ait, neque veteres ab im- 10 peratoribus priscis neque ipsos a divo Augusto tam nova petivisse; et parum in tempore incipientes principis curas onerari. 3 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 15

7. aggerebatur: text Walther. eiusque: text margin and B, eius usque Bezzenberger.

('dracones'); but it is generally held that at this date the cohort can only be shown to be distinguished by the 'signa' of its three maniples (see c. 34, 4). The passage in Caesar B. G. 2. 25, 1 ('quartae cohortis . . . signifero interfecto, signo amisso'), which has been thought to show that special ensigns of cohorts must have always existed, can be otherwise explained: see Domaszewski 'Fahnen im Römischen Heere,' p. 23.

1. **exstruunt tribunal.** Such a structure is called 'suggestus' in c. 44, 4, and, besides giving dignity to the place where the eagles and standards were collected, would serve as a platform for the speakers.

properantibus. Such a case of the participle is found with 'advenit' H. 4. 62, 3; Liv. 9. 5, 11, and is probably here a dative like 'pectori adcreverat' c. 19, 1 (Introd. v. § 21), but might also be taken as abl. abs. (ibid. § 31 c).

3. **leviore flagitio.** Nipp. notes here the condensation of expression by which a modal ablative contains the predicate of a sentence, and is equivalent to 'levius flagitium erit, si,' &c.: other such instances are 'minore discrimine sumi principem quam quaeri' (H. 1. 56, 5), and 'maiore animo tolerari adversa quam relinqui' (H. 2. 46, 4), and the similar 'minore detrimento . . . vinci' Sall. Jug. 54, 5.

7. **Aggerabatur.** This correction is supported by c. 61, 3, &c., and by the fact that the MS. text should have been written 'adgerebatur,' in consistency with such places as 2. 57, 3, and with the orthography of similar words, as here 'adcelerabo' and 'adcreverat.'

pectori ... adcreverat. Such a dative is used with 'advolutus' (c. 23, 2), with 'adrepere' (c. 74, 2; 3. 50, 5), &c.: cp. 'adpulsas litori' (H. 4. 84, 4, from Verg. Aen. 7, 39): see Introd. v. § 21.

9. **multa dicendi arte,** an abl. of quality: see Introd. v. § 29.

desideria, used of requests or petitions, as of soldiers (c. 26, 4; Suet. Aug. 17), and of provinces (Plin. Pan. 79).

12. **parum in tempore . . . onerari,** 'it was a most inopportune aggravation.' For this use of 'in tempore' (= ἐν καιρῷ) cp. 3. 41, 3; and for that of 'onerari,' c. 69, 7; 16. 30, 4; H. 2. 52, 3; 64, 3, &c.

14. **cur . . . meditentur.** Ernesti's correction 'meditarentur' has been rejected by all modern editors. In cases where either the subjunct. pres. or imperf. might be used, they are sometimes interchanged (cp. H. 4. 81, 4, and other instances here given by Nipp.); besides which Mr. Frost notes special reasons here for the use of the present; as 'si . . . tenderent' puts a supposition, while 'cur . . . meditentur' implies a fact.

coram mandata darent. adclamavere ut filius Blaesi tribunus 4
legatione ea fungeretur peteretque militibus missionem ab se-
decim annis: cetera mandaturos, ubi prima provenissent. pro- 5
fecto iuvene modicum otium: sed superbire miles, quod filius
5 legati orator publicae causae satis ostenderet necessitate expressa
quae per modestiam non obtinuissent.

20. Interea manipuli ante coeptam seditionem Nauportum
missi ob itinera et pontes et alios usus, postquam turbatum in
castris accepere, vexilla convellunt direptisque proximis vicis
10 ipsoque Nauporto, quod municipii instar erat, retinentis cen-
turiones inrisu et contumeliis, postremo verberibus insectantur,
praecipua in Aufidienum Rufum praefectum castrorum ira, quem
dereptum vehiculo sarcinis gravant aguntque primo in agmine,

9. accipere (corr. accepere).

1. **filius Blaesi**, probably the same who served afterwards under his father in Africa (3. 74, 2), and one of the two whose deaths are mentioned in 6. 40, 3.

2. **ab sedecim**, 'after sixteen years.' The same expression is used c. 26, 2; cp. 'a summa spe' 6. 50, 8; 'ab hac contione' Liv. 24. 22, 6, &c.

3. **provenissent.** The use of this word in the sense of 'to prosper' (as 4. 12, 3; 14. 25, 2, &c.) is frequent in Tacitus, and almost peculiar to him.

4. **filius . . . orator . . . ostenderet.** On this concise construction, see Introd. v. § 55 b. 2.

5. **expressa**, 'extorted': so c. 39, 3; 78, 3; and often in Livy.

6. **obtinuissent**, potential subjunctive: see Introd. v. § 51.

7. **Nauportum.** The district of this town bordered on that of Tergeste (Trieste), Vell. 2. 110, 4, at the point where the land transport from Aquileia is succeeded by a navigable river, the Κορκόρας of Strab. 4. 6, 10, 207, falling into the Save. It is identified with Ober-Laibach in Carniola: see C. I. L. iii. p. 483. It is described below as of the size and character of a municipal town (cp. 'in modum municipii exstructus locus' H. 1. 67, 4: Id. 4. 22, 1), but its importance was diminished by the colony ten miles below it at Emona (Laibach): see Pl. N. H. 3. 24, 28, 147, C. I. L. iii. p. 488.

8. **ob itinera.** The employment of detachments ('vexilla') of the legions in road-making is attested by numerous inscriptions: as an instance belonging to this date and this part of the empire may be noted the five roads leading from Salonae laid down by P. Dolabella, legatus of Tiberius A. D. 14–19 (Mommsen on C. I. L. iii. 3000). For others, see Marquardt ii. 569, D. of Ant. i. 811.

12. **Aufidienum.** The termination of this gentile name is noted as Umbrian.

praefectum castrorum. These officers are frequently mentioned from the time of Augustus, and seem usually to have been promoted from the rank of centurion (cp. 13. 9, 3, with 39, 2), as a reward of long service (Veget. 2, 10). Even in a camp containing several legions, one praefect only is usually found (e. g. c. 23, 4; 32, 6). While thus not necessarily connected with any particular legion, he has disciplinary power, though not that of life and death (see c. 38, 2), and appears to command a legion in the absence of its 'legatus' (14. 37, 6; H. 2. 29, 3), and in Egypt (Jos. B. J. 6. 4, 3), where there were no 'legati.' After Domitian ordained that every legion should have a separate camp (Suet. Dom. 7), the 'praefectus castrorum legionis' becomes in the second century 'praefectus legionis' (an abbreviation found once or twice at earlier dates), and ultimately takes the place of the 'legatus legionis.' See Wilmanns in Eph. Epig. i. 81–105, Marquardt ii. 458, D. of Ant. i. 798.

13. **vehiculo.** From a comparison of 'corpori derepta' (13. 57, 7), this would appear to be a dative. Otherwise the verb more often takes an ablative. Both constructions are poetical.

per ludibrium rogitantes an tam immensa onera, tam longa itinera
2 libenter ferret. quippe Rufus diu manipularis, dein centurio,
mox castris praefectus, antiquam duramque militiam revocabat,
vetus operis ac laboris et eo inmitior, quia toleraverat.

21. Horum adventu redintegratur seditio, et vagi circumiecta 5
2 populabantur. Blaesus paucos, maxime praeda onustos, ad ter-
rorem ceterorum adfici verberibus, claudi carcere iubet; nam
etiam tum legato a centurionibus et optimo quoque manipularium
3 parebatur. illi obniti trahentibus, prensare circumstantium genua,
ciere modo nomina singulorum, modo centuriam quisque cuius 10
manipularis erat, cohortem, legionem, eadem omnibus inminere
4 clamitantes. simul probra in legatum cumulant, caelum ac deos
obtestantur, nihil reliqui faciunt quominus invidiam misericor-
5 diam metum et iras permoverent. adcurritur ab universis, et
carcere effracto solvunt vincula desertoresque ac rerum capitalium 15
damnatos sibi iam miscent.

22. Flagrantior inde vis, plures seditioni duces. et Vibulenus

4. intus: invictus margin, vetus L, intentus Heins.

4. **vetus operis.** This emendation is generally adopted; such a genitive with 'vetus' being in accordance with the usage of Tacitus (as in 6. 12, 2; 44, 1, &c.), and suited to 'quia toleraverat.' The alternative 'intentus' has in its favour the fact of similar accidental omissions of a syllable in the MS. (as 'reditus' for 'rediturus' 2. 63, 5); and though no genitive with this word is found, such a construction would be analogous to 'ferox scelerum' (4. 12, 3), or other genitives of relation.

7. **carcere.** Such a place of custody formed part of all 'castra stativa': cp. 'militari custodia' 3. 22, 5; 'longo castrorum in carcere mansit' Juv. 6, 560.

8. **etiam tum.** This period is distinguished from the complete break-down of discipline described in c. 23.

10. **centuriam . . . cuius manipularis erat,** 'the century in whose ranks he served.' 'Manipularis' is related no less to 'centuria' than to 'manipulus,' being merely a term for the rank and file of a legion as distinct from its officers: cp. 'manipularis, dein centurio' (c. 20, 2).

12. **probra in legatum cumulant.** This construction 'cumulare aliquid in aliquem' is almost confined to Tacitus: cp. 13. 2, 5; 14. 53, 2. Curtius has 'cumulare . . . res in unum diem.'

13. **nihil reliqui faciunt,** 'leave nothing undone.' The phrase is used in this sense in Caes. B. G. 2. 26, 5; Sall. Cat. 11. 7; and Atticus (ap. Nep. 21, 5); as also 'nihil reliquum fieri' Sall. Jug. 76, 4; the expression being in all places negative. On the genitive, see Introd. v. § 32 f.

quominus, here with the force of 'quin,' as often in Tacitus (5. 5, 2; 13. 14, 3; 14. 39, 2, &c.), but, according to Dräger, in no other author. Conversely, 'quin' = 'quominus' in 14. 29, 1.

14. **permoverent,** 'stir to their depths.' In the use of this word with an accus. of the feeling excited (as 3. 23, 1; 16. 32, 2) Tacitus is preceded only by Quintilian (12. 10, 36). The imperfect is adapted to the really past force of the historic present: see Introd. v. § 48.

16. **iam,** perhaps too forcible to be taken (as by Mr. Frost) in the sense of ἤδη = 'from this point,' as 'cetera iam fabulosa' (G. 46, 5). Walther would take it to mean δή ('even associate with themselves'), and considers that in H. 1. 15, 8, 'etiam' has similarly the force of καὶ δή.

17. **plures seditioni duces.** These are distinguished from the 'ministri' previously abetting Percennius (c. 17, 1). On the dative, see Introd. v. § 19.

quidam gregarius miles, ante tribunal Blaesi adlevatus circumstantium umeris, apud turbatos et quid pararet intentos 'vos quidem' inquit 'his innocentibus et miserrimis lucem et spiritum reddidistis: 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 exitium militum habet atque armat. responde, Blaese, ubi 2 cadaver abieceris: ne hostes quidem sepultura invident. cum 3 osculis, cum lacrimis dolorem meum implevero, me quoque trucidari iube, dum interfectos nullum ob scelus, sed quia utilitati legionum consulebamus, hi sepeliant.'

23. Incendebat haec fletu et pectus atque os manibus verberans. mox disiectis quorum per umeros sustinebatur, praeceps 2 et singulorum pedibus advolutus tantum consternationis invidiaeque concivit, ut pars militum gladiatores qui e servitio Blaesi erant, pars ceteram eiusdem familiam vincirent, alii ad quaerendum corpus effunderentur. ac ni propere neque corpus ullum 3 reperiri, et servos adhibitis cruciatibus abnuere caedem, neque illi fuisse umquam fratrem pernotuisset, haud multum ab exitio

8. ablegeris: text margin. 11. ii: hi Mur. and L. 12. incedebat: text R.

2. **quid pararet intentos**, 'watching what he would do,' an unprecedented construction, due to the desire of brevity; 'intentos' for 'intente observantes.'

5. **a Germanico exercitu**, perhaps a touch thrown in by Tacitus or his authority. The revolt of the German army could not have been then known.

6. **gladiatores**. Provincial governors kept troops of gladiators, to court popularity by shows (see Friedl. ii. p. 327), till the practice was forbidden by Nero (13. 31, 4). The subject of 'iugulavit' is supplied from the sense, as in c. 52, 1; 2. 70, 2, &c.

7. **ubi . . . abieceris**; equivalent to 'ubi abiectum reliqueris': cp. 'abiecti in via cadaveris' Suet. Ner. 48; 'eo loco . . . abiecit' Id. Galb. 20.

8. **sepultura invident**. The complete form of this construction would have also a dative of the person. It is noticed by Quint. (9. 3, 1) among the conceits of his day, 'paene iam, quidquid loquimur, figura est, ut hac re invidere, non, ut omnes veteres et Cicero praecipue, huic rei.' It is especially common in the Epistles of Pliny (as 2. 10, 2, &c.), but is found earlier, as 'non inviderunt laude sua mulieribus' (Liv. 2. 40, 11), and 'invidet igne rogi miseris' (Luc. 7, 798). Walther explains it as a Latin equivalent of the Greek genit. with φθονεῖν, also directly imitated in Latin, as 'neque ille sepositi ciceris, nec longae invidit avenae' (Hor. Sat. 2. 6, 84).

12. **Incendebat haec**, 'he was giving these words more power to kindle;' cp. 'sermones audita mors . . . incendit' (2. 82, 4), and 'haec accendebat' (c. 69, 7): derived from such Vergilian metaphors as 'pudor incendit vires' (Aen. 5, 455), and 'incendentem luctus' (9, 500).

14. **pedibus advolutus**. This construction here, and in c. 32, 4, is analogous to that of 'pectori adcreverat' c. 19, 1. Elsewhere Tacitus uses the accusative with this verb, as c. 13, 7, &c.

19. **pernotuisset**. Besides Tacitus (cp. 12. 67, 1; 13. 25, 2; 14. 8, 2) Quintilian alone appears to use this word. A similar anecdote to this, though without the additional touch, that no such brother had existed, occurs in early Roman history (Liv. 3. 13; 24). Bacon (De Augm. vi. 4, sub fin.), confounding Vi-

4 legati aberant. tribunos tamen ac praefectum castrorum extrusere, sarcinae fugientium direptae, et centurio Lucilius interficitur, cui militaribus facetiis vocabulum 'cedo alteram' indiderant, quia fracta vite in tergo militis alteram clara voce ac rursus aliam
5 poscebat. ceteros latebrae texere, uno retento Clemente Iulio, 5
qui perferendis militum mandatis habebatur idoneus ob promp-
6 tum ingenium. quin ipsae inter se legiones octava et quinta decuma ferrum parabant, dum centurionem cognomento Sirpicum illa morti deposcit, quintadecumani tuentur, ni miles nonanus preces et adversum aspernantis minas interiecisset. 10

24. Haec audita quamquam abstrusum et tristissima quaeque maxime occultantem Tiberium perpulere ut Drusum filium cum primoribus civitatis duabusque praetoriis cohortibus mitteret,

4. facta uitae: text B.

bulenus with Percennius, illustrates from this story some striking remarks on the force of 'Actio Theatralis.'

1. **aberant.** On this indicative, as on 'ferrum parabant . . . ni' below, see Introd. v. § 50 b. The latter passage gives the usual order of the clauses, the priority of the dependent clause being noted elsewhere only in H. 4. 18, 1.

3. **vocabulum,** often used for a proper name, as c. 8, 4, &c. That it here means a nickname is indicated by 'militaribus facetiis,' as in c. 41, 3, by 'militari vocabulo.' Another military 'sobriquet' ('manu ad ferrum') is called 'signum' by Vopiscus (Aurel. 6, 2).

4. **vite.** The vine-rod is the 'insigne' of the centurion (cp. 'vitem posce' Juv. 14, 193), and was specially reserved for the punishment of the citizen soldier. Thus Scipio at Numantia, according to Livy (Epit. 57), 'quem militem extra ordinem deprehendit, si Romanus esset, vitibus, si extraneus, fustibus cecidit.' Hence Pliny (N. H. 14. 1, 3, 19) says of it 'etiam in delictis poenam ipsam honorat.'

6. **perferendis . . . mandatis . . . idoneus.** 'Idoneus' takes a gerundive dative (cp. Quint. 2. 10, 6), as many other words in post-Augustan Latin. Dr. instances 'callidus,' 'opportunus,' 'inhabilis,' and 'aptus.' 'Perferre' has often in Tacitus the sense of 'delivering a message,' as c. 26, 1; 57, 3; 3. 10, 2; 14. 7, 1.

8. **dum.** This conjunction is constantly thus used by Tacitus where not only a temporal but a causal connexion is indicated: cp. c. 50, 1; 54, 3; 2. 8, 3; 88, 4; 3. 19, 3; 6. 7, 6, &c. See Dräger, Synt. and Stil, § 168, and a full list of instances in Gerber and Greef. Lex. s. v.

cognomento Sirpicum. 'Cognomentum' usually denotes a real name (cp. 2. 6, 5; 9, 2; 60, 3, &c.), and Nipp. appears rightly so to take the word here, though no such name as 'Sirpicus' is otherwise known: a nickname would probably have been explained, as 'cedo alteram' above, or 'Caligula,' c. 41, 3.

9. **morti deposcit,** 'demands for death,' i. e. 'with a view to his death.' On this dative of work contemplated, see Introd. v. § 22 c; also note on c. 51, 4, and Madv. § 249.

11. **quamquam,** with adj. or part. = καίπερ, often in Tacitus, rarely in Cic., Sall., or Livy.

abstrusum, 'reserved,' apparently only here used of persons. Similar uses of 'tectus,' 'occultus,' &c. are frequent in Tacitus, but less peculiar to him.

13. **primoribus civitatis,** used in 3. 65, 2, in contradistinction to the mass even of consulars, and probably implying family nobility as well as personal rank. One of those now sent is mentioned by name (c. 27, 1), Cn. Lentulus.

praetoriis cohortibus. See note on 2. 16, 5. It is shown by gravestones that a part of this force was once stationed at Aquileia; but Patsch (Archaeol. Epig. Mittheil. xiv. 102–107) is probably right in connecting them with the temporary residence of Augustus and others of his family there in B.C. 12–10: see Suet. Aug. 20, Tib. 7.

nullis satis certis mandatis, ex re consulturum. et cohortes 2
delecto milite supra solitum firmatae. additur magna pars 3
praetoriani equitis et robora Germanorum, qui tum custodes
imperatori aderant; simul praetorii praefectus Aelius Seianus,
5 collega Straboni patri suo datus, magna apud Tiberium auctoritate, rector iuveni et ceteris periculorum praemiorumque ostentator. Druso propinquanti quasi per officium obviae fuere le- 4
giones, non laetae, ut adsolet, neque insignibus fulgentes, sed
inluvie deformi et vultu, quamquam maestitiam imitarentur, con-
10 tumaciae propiores.

25. Postquam vallum introiit, portas stationibus firmant, globos

11. introit: text L (cp. 15. 64, 4; iniit c. 34, 2, &c.).

1. **nullis satis certis mandatis.** Nipp. notes that Tacitus often tolerates three 'homoeoteleuta,' as in c. 5, 5 ('properis matris litteris'), and in one place five, 'ignis, patulis magis urbis locis' (15. 40, 2).

ex re consulturum, 'to decide according to circumstances:' so 'ex memoria' (2. 63, 1); 'ex delicto' (3. 27, 2); and commonly 'ex sententia,' &c.

2. **delecto,** i. e. chosen from the other cohorts.

3. **praetoriani equitis.** On this force, see Introd. vii. p. 126.

Germanorum. A body of Batavian horsemen had been attached to the person of Augustus (Dio, 55. 24, 7). These and any other Germans of the bodyguard had been dismissed after the defeat of Varus (Suet. Aug. 49), but had evidently been already restored. A similar force is mentioned under Gaius (Suet. Cal. 43), and Nero (13. 18, 4; 15. 58, 2), but their dismissal by Galba (Suet. Galb. 12) was probably final, as Tacitus speaks of them in the past. They were armed slaves rather than soldiers, and were divided not into 'turmae' or 'centuriae,' but as a 'collegium' into 'decuriae.' See Marquardt, Staatsv. ii. 487, D. of Ant. i. 795. Afterwards, the 'equites singulares' appear to take their place (Staatsr. ii. 808, Marquardt, ii. 488).

4. **Seianus.** Here first mentioned. His early history is given in 4. 1. His father has been mentioned (c. 7, 3).

5. **collega.** Maecenas is represented (Dio, 52. 24, 1) as advising Augustus, as a measure of safety, to share the 'praefectura praetorii' between two; and this was generally the rule, though with many exceptions, such as the sole command later of Seianus, of Macro, of Burrus (12. 42, 2), Arrius Varus (H. 4. 2, 1), &c. (see Staatsr. ii. 866). All other 'praefecturae' were administered by a single praefect.

6. **rector iuveni.** On the dative, see Introd. v. § 19.

ceteris periculorum praemiorumque ostentator, 'to hold before the rest their perils and rewards.' 'Ceteri' must apparently refer only to the troops sent from Rome, as the legions do not appear in view till the next sentence. The praetorians, whose privileges were the eyesore of the legions (c. 17, 9), were not likely to make common cause with them, but might flinch from confronting them. Hence their own commanding officer, whose influence with the princeps was a guarantee that he could make good his words, is specially charged to warn them how much they had to lose or gain by their behaviour.

7. **per officium,** 'by way of respect:' cp. 6. 50, 4; 12. 56, 4, &c., and, for the use of 'per,' Introd. v. § 62.

8. **neque insignibus fulgentes,** 'nor glittering with decorations,' i. e. with the 'dona militaria' (cp. c. 44, 7; 3. 21, 3, &c.), forming the full dress of the Roman soldier. The eagles and standards might be more or less adorned, to show joy (15. 29, 4) or mourning (3. 2, 2).

11. **portas stationibus firmant,** &c. These precautions appear intended to bar the entrance of the force with Drusus, the main body of which appears to have remained outside (see c. 30. 1), though some escort entered with him (cp. 'ut quis praetorianorum,' &c., c. 27, 1). As

armatorum certis castrorum locis opperiri iubent: ceteri tribunal
2 ingenti agmine circumveniunt. stabat Drusus silentium manu
poscens. illi quotiens oculos ad multitudinem rettulerant, vocibus
truculentis strepere, rursum viso Caesare trepidare; murmur in-
certum, atrox clamor et repente quies; diversis animorum motibus 5
3 pavebant terrebantque. tandem interrupto tumultu 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 pos-
tulatis eorum; misisse interim filium, ut sine cunctatione con- 10
cederet quae statim tribui possent; cetera senatui servanda, quem
neque gratiae neque severitatis expertem haberi par esset.

26. Responsum est a contione, mandata Clementi centurioni
2 quae perferret. is orditur de missione a sedecim annis, de
praemiis finitae militiae, ut denarius diurnum stipendium foret, 15
ne veterani sub vexillo haberentur. ad ea Drusus cum arbitrium
3 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

3. sedtulerant: text B.

the winter camp of one or more of the legions was chosen by Lentulus as a refuge, and had been previously occupied by Drusus and his retinue (cp. 'repetentem' c. 27, 2), it is inferred that it was near, and may have formed the night quarters of the praetorians, who appear to be now watching the issue close outside the gates of the summer camp (cp. 'adcursu multitudinis' c. 27, 3).

2. **stabat.** Nipp. notes the verb here, as often, placed first to give liveliness to the description: cp. 'stabant' (c. 44, 4), 'incedebat' (c. 40, 4), &c.; and the present, 'sternuntur,' &c. c. 70, 4.

4. **murmur incertum,** &c., 'there were confused utterances, fierce cries, and sudden lulls; they were terrified or terrible as their emotions changed.' 'Pavere' and 'terrere' stand thus in contrast in c. 29, 3, and answer here to the 'quies' and 'clamor' above. In the passage of Silius (10, 396), which Tacitus seems to have in mind, 'clamor saepe repens et saepe silentia fixis in tellurem oculis.' the cries and silence are both marks of fear.

8. **plurima bella.** This refers to the earlier war from 742 to 745, B.C. 12–9, and to the great rebellion of 759–762, A.D. 6–9. See Introd. viii. pp. 133, 135.

11. **quem neque,** &c., 'which should not be treated as having no right to concede or to resist.' The opposition between 'severitas' and 'largitio' in c. 36, 3, seems to show that this is its meaning here in opposition to 'gratia.' Nipp. takes it as alluding to the power to punish (cp. c. 46, 2, &c.). Here, however, the only question reserved by Drusus is whether certain concessions should be made or not (c. 26, 5). The retort below (c. 26, 6), that if the senate be consulted on military rewards it should also be consulted on punishments, is made by the soldiers themselves, to show that they saw through the pretext.

16. **arbitrium . . . obtenderet,** 'was pleading the authority;' i.e. that they must decide. 'Obtendere' is often thus used by Tacitus, as also by Quint. and Pl. Min., in speaking of a plea or pretext, e.g. 3. 17, 2; 35, 2, &c.: cp. the subst. 'obtentui' (c. 10, 1, &c.).

18. **augendis.** On this gerundive dative, see Introd. v. § 22 b.

cunctis permitti. Tiberium olim nomine Augusti desideria le- 4
gionum frustrari solitum: easdem artes Drusum rettulisse. num- 5
quamne ad se nisi filios familiarum venturos? novum id plane
quod imperator sola militis commoda ad senatum reiciat. eundem 6
5 ergo senatum consulendum, quotiens supplicia aut proelia indi-
cantur: an praemia sub dominis, poenas sine arbitro esse?

27. Postremo deserunt tribunal, ut quis praetorianorum mili-
tum amicorumve Caesaris occurreret, manus intentantes, causam
discordiae et initium armorum, maxime infensi Cn. Lentulo,
10 quod is ante alios aetate et gloria belli firmare Drusum crede-
batur et illa militiae flagitia primus aspernari. nec multo post 2

3. nisi ad se: text L, nisi [ad se] Ritt.

1. **cunctis**, a rhetorical exaggeration. Even the centurion had his vine-rod (see c. 23, 4); but capital punishment could be inflicted on a soldier, in Caesarian provinces, by no lower officer than the 'legatus Augusti;' in senatorial provinces, not even by the proconsul. See Dio, 53. 13, 6.

2. **rettulisse**, 'had repeated': cp. 4. 4, 3; also 'veterem Valeriae gentis . . . laudem rettulisset' (Cic. Flacc. 1, 1); 'cum aditus consul idem illud responsum rettulit' (Liv. 37. 6, 7); 'nota refert meretricis acumina' (Hor. Epp. 1. 17, 55).

numquamne ad se nisi. The general agreement with this transposition (cp. 'adversum ferri' c. 65, 7) makes it needless to examine Walther's explanation of the words as they stand in the MS., as an exaggeration put into the mouth of the speaker, making the grievance peculiar to themselves.

3. **filios familiarum**, i. e. persons not 'sui iuris.' The incompetence to redress a military grievance has no real connexion with the disabilities of a 'filius-familias;' which may be illustrated by the account of Tiberius after his adoption (Suet. Tib. 15), 'neque donavit neque manumisit, ne hereditatem quidem aut legata percepit aliter, quam ut peculio referret accepta.' The word is merely contemptuous, and means, 'Are our rulers never themselves to visit us?'

novum id plane. Here 'plane' (on which cp. 3. 34, 4) is ironical, as in Dial. 26, 32 (Gud.). The main stress is laid upon 'commoda;' but 'militis' is also emphatic in relation to 'imperator.' That the senate could never interfere with military matters not specially referred to it, is plain from 6. 3, 1; and the reference to it, as in c. 6, 5, appears to be an evasive devolution of responsibility. On the practice of Tiberius, see note on c. 52, 2.

6. **sub dominis**; this is used invidiously, 'under despotism.' Augustus and Tiberius alike repudiate the title of 'dominus' as an insult. See 2. 87, 2; Suet. Aug. 53; Tib. 27.

sine arbitro, 'wholly uncontrolled,' used of mere intervention, as 'Armenii sine arbitro relicti sunt' 15. 17, 5; 'mortem sine arbitro permittens' 16. 11, 6.

8. **manus intentantes**, 'using threatening gestures': cp. 3. 36, 1; H. 1. 69, 2, &c.; and 'intenderat manus' 4. 3, 2.

causam discordiae. On this apposition, see Introd. v. § 12 a, and many other instances given by Nipp. here.

9. **Cn. Lentulo.** The allusion to his age and military reputation appears to show that the person intended is Cn. Cornelius L. f. Lentulus, who was cos. in 736, B.C. 18, and had gained triumphal distinctions for his victory over the Getae or Daci. See the notice of him at his death in 778, A.D. 25 (4. 44, 1). He is also evidently the person mentioned in 2. 32, 2; 3. 68, 3; 4. 29, 1.

10. **ante alios**: cp. 'nobilitate opibusque ante alios' H. 4. 55, 1; 'muri labore et opere ante alios' H. 5. 12, 1. The construction resembles others (see Introd. v. § 31 b) in which the idea of a participle of 'sum' is supplied (cp. 2. 43, 4, &c.). The use of 'ante' (as 13. 54, 5, &c.) and 'post' (as H. 2. 77, 1) to express superiority and inferiority, is very rare in classical Latin: see Gud. on Dial. 26, 31.

digredientem cum Caesare ac provisu periculi hiberna castra repetentem circumsistunt, rogitantes quo pergeret, ad imperatorem an ad patres, ut illic quoque commodis legionum adver-
3 saretur; simul ingruunt, saxa iaciunt. iamque lapidis ictu cruentus et exitii certus adcursu multitudinis quae cum Druso advenerat protectus est.

28. Noctem minacem et in scelus erupturam fors lenivit:
2 nam luna claro repente caelo visa languescere. id miles rationis

1. eum: cum margin and B, eum cum Ritt. 8. clamore pena: text L, claro plena Weissenborn and Baiter, clariore plena Salinerius.

1. **digredientem cum Caesare.** This reading has been generally adopted, and is most fully discussed by Joh. Müller (Beiträge, sect. 3), Pfitzner (p. 114), and Wölfflin (Philol. xxvi. 103). The interpretation of 'cum Caesare' as equivalent to 'a Caesare,' cannot be justified by such phrases as 'disceptare cum aliquo,' or by general Latin usage. Nor does Tacitus seem to mean that Drusus was also himself intending to retreat to the winter camp; for so important a fact would hardly have been mentioned thus incidentally. But it may be that Drusus, with such small retinue as he had about him, was escorting Lentulus to the gate, outside which the main body of his own troops were waiting, and close to which the scene probably occurred. Thus 'cum Caesare' would mean 'prosequente Caesare,' as 'cum custodibus' (Sall. Cat. 46, 5), 'cum Cassio' (Id. Jug. 33, 1). The retention of 'eum,' with the supposition that a prep. (as 'a' or 'cum') has dropped out after it, is open to the objection that this pronoun would usually be omitted by Tacitus; cp. 'abeuntem' (2. 34, 2): 'sacrificantem' (4. 52. 3), &c.: see Introd. v. § 8.

provisu. This word, used only in the abl., is peculiar to Tacitus, and has generally the meaning of 'forethought.' Here, as in H. 3. 22, 3 'ne oculi quidem provisu iuvabant,' it has the force of 'foreseeing' (cp. 'providebat' 4. 41, 3, &c.; 'ubi . . . provideri nequeat' Liv. 44. 35, 12), usually expressed by 'praevideo.'

2. **repetentem.** See note on c. 25, 1.

5. **multitudinis,** 'the main body.' The words 'quae cum Druso advenerat' do not express their position at this moment, but merely serve to distinguish this force from the Pannonian troops. Probably, though outside (see c. 30, 1), they were close at hand, and might thus be able to see the danger of Lentulus, and to rescue him by a demonstration, if we suppose the assault to have been made when he was close to the gate, and thus seen to be quitting the camp.

7. **Noctem minacem.** On such personifications, see Introd. v. § 75.

8. **claro repente.** Most editors adopt this emendation. The position of 'repente,' though hardly natural, would be such as often results in Tacitus from an apparent desire to improve the sound of the sentence; and the eclipse, though itself gradual, may have suddenly attracted notice. The reading 'claro plena' supposes a reminiscence of Cic. de Rep. 1. 15, 23 'quod serena nocte . . . plena luna defecisset.'

languescere. This word is nowhere else used of an eclipse, but Pliny (N. H. 27. 13, 109, 133) uses it of paling colour, 'color in luteum languescens.' This eclipse took place Sept. 26, 3 to 7 a.m., and thus fixes the chronology of these events. See on c. 16, 1.

rationis ignarus. The scientific explanation of eclipses was well known to educated Romans as early as Lucretius (5, 751, &c.) and Cicero (de Divin. 2. 6, 17), and, if the story of C. Sulpicius Gallus (Liv. 44, 37) be true, even as early as B.C. 168 (see also Cic. de Rep., l. l.). A similar contrast is shown by the ignorance of the Athenian army, and even of Nicias (Thuc. 7. 50, 4), of the scientific theory which had been laid down, though in the face of much prejudice, by Anaxagoras (Plut. Nicias, c. 23), and which, from the account of Herodotus (1. 74, 3), was known even to Thales. We may notice that even Vergil (G. 2, 475) speaks in language adapted to popular superstition ('Defectus solis varios lunaeque labores'); and that this idea of a conflict with enchantment, in which the moon was

ignarus omen praesentium accepit, suis laboribus defectionem
sideris adsimulans, prospereque cessura qua pergerent, si fulgor
et claritudo deae redderetur. igitur aeris sono, tubarum cornu- 3
umque concentu strepere; prout splendidior obscuriorve, laetari
5 aut maerere; et postquam ortae nubes offecere visui creditumque
conditam tenebris, ut sunt mobiles ad superstitionem perculsae
semel mentes, sibi aeternum laborem portendi, sua facinora
aversari deos lamentantur. utendum inclinatione ea Caesar et 4
quae casus obtulerat in sapientiam vertenda ratus circumiri
10 tentoria iubet; accitur centurio Clemens et si alii bonis artibus 5
grati in vulgus. hi vigiliis, stationibus, custodiis portarum se

1. asuis: ac suis margin, suis Freinsheim. 2. quae: quo, ad quae, &c. al., cessurum qua Nipp., quae pararent Seyffert. 8. aduersari: text R. 11. in uigiliis: ii L, hi Weikert.

to be aided by the din of metal, though deplored as a superstition by Pliny (see below), was not only rife in the time of Juvenal (Sat. 6. 442), but even, as Lipsius notes, was a belief among Christians in the time of Maximus Taurinensis (A.D. 450).

1. **suis.** Most editors have adopted this reading. 'Ac suis' is accepted by Walther, who considers that 'ac' joins 'adsimulans' to 'ignarus'; but we can hardly suppose that Tacitus would have put such a clause after 'accepit.' Pfitzner (p. 61) conjectures that 'asuis' may represent 'assiduis' (cp. 'tentes' c. 17, 4); which is supported by 'aeternum laborem' below; but we appear here to require the pronoun to show to what 'labores' those of the moon are compared.

2. **prospereque cessura qua pergerent.** Halm follows Nipp. in reading 'qua,' but appears rightly to think the further alteration of 'cessura' to 'cessurum' needless. The sentence is equivalent to 'resque prospere cessuras, ea via qua pergerent,' 'that the course on which they were advancing (that of mutiny) would succeed.' 'Quae,' which is retained by Orelli, might be taken as a quasi-cognate accusative, analogous to 'pergere iter,' &c., but has no direct parallel. In any interpretation, the sense of such a participle as 'putans' is supplied from 'adsimulans.'

3. **claritudo**: see note on c. 43, 3.

aeris sono . . . strepere. An explanation of this practice may be gathered from Pliny (N. H. 2. 12, 9, 54) 'misera hominum mente in defectibus scelera aut mortem aliquam siderum pavente . . . at in luna veneficia arguente mortalitate et ob id crepitu dissono auxiliante.' For other allusions to it, see Liv. 26. 5, and passages referred to in note above.

4. **prout splendidior obscuriorve.** If the sky was still clear of cloud (as would seem from the next sentence), and the mere progress of the eclipse is meant, Tacitus would appear to be describing not the real phenomena, but the fancies of the soldiers. It is however possible that he may mean to describe something of this kind; that their spirits rose after the time of greatest obscuration was past, but that soon after this the moon became permanently hidden by clouds; and that even this common phenomenon, coupled with the eclipse, worked upon their minds.

11. **in vulgus**: cp. c. 76, 5; Introd. v. § 60 b.

vigiliis, stationibus, custodiis portarum. The two former are often mentioned together, as c. 32, 6; 11. 18, 3; 13. 35, 3. 'Stationes,' or 'pickets' detached on guard, would be on duty both by day and night, 'vigiliae' by night only, and the latter may be distinguished from the former, by being either (as Ritter thinks) the night-patrol charged with the duty of going round the camp, or (as Nipp. thinks) the sentinels, as distinct from the pickets. 'Custodiae portarum' are a class of the 'stationes': cp. 'portas stationibus firmant' (c. 26, 1).

6 inserunt, spem offerunt, metum intendunt. 'quousque filium imperatoris obsidebimus? quis certaminum finis? Percennione et Vibuleno sacramentum dicturi sumus? Percennius et Vibulenus stipendia militibus, agros emeritis largientur? denique pro 7 Neronibus et Drusis imperium populi Romani capessent? quin 5 potius, ut novissimi in culpam, ita primi ad paenitentiam sumus? tarda sunt quae in commune expostulantur: privatam gratiam 8 statim mereare, statim recipias.' commotis per haec mentibus et inter se suspectis, tironem a veterano, legionem a legione 9 dissociant. tum redire paulatim amor obsequii: omittunt portas, 10 signa unum in locum principio seditionis congregata suas in sedes referunt.

29. Drusus orto die et vocata contione, quamquam rudis dicendi, nobilitate ingenita incusat priora, probat praesentia; negat se terrore et minis vinci: flexos ad modestiam si videat, 15 si supplices audiat, scripturum patri ut placatus legionum preces 2 exciperet. orantibus rursum idem Blaesus et L. Aponius, eques

17. aponius: Apronius B.

1. **intendunt**, often used in the sense of 'augere,' but such meaning, though suitable, is probably not thought of here. The similar expressions 'intento mortis metu' (c. 39, 4), 'intenta pericula' (3. 48, 4), and 'offerunt' in the corresponding clause, suggest that it is here equivalent to 'intentant,' and a metaphor from threatening gestures.

2. **obsidebimus**. That Drusus was in some sense a prisoner in the camp, would appear from their conduct on his entry ('portas stationibus firmant,' &c., c. 25, 1), and from the exclusion (as has been suggested above: see c. 25, 1; 27, 3) of the main body of his escort. Dio adds, perhaps from another version of the story (57. 4, 4), *καὶ αὐτὸν τῆς νυκτὸς περιεφρούρησαν, μὴ διαφύγῃ*: see Introd. iii. p. 17, n. 12.

5. **Neronibus et Drusis**. The plural, as in 11. 35, 2, denotes the ruling family; which represented both the 'Claudii Nerones,' and also the 'Livii Drusi.'

6. **in culpam ... ad paenitentiam**: cp. 'in audaciam ... ad formidinem' (4. 51, 3), and other such change of prepositions for the sake of variety (Introd. v. § 87). That those addressed, as well as the speakers, are among the less guilty, is skilfully assumed to quiet their fears (Nipp.).

8. **mereare ... recipias**, potential subjunctives. See Introd. v. § 51.

9. **tironem**. This word, here and in c. 42, 7, seems extended to include all who had not completed their term of service. Elsewhere, as in 2. 78, 3, it has its ordinary meaning.

13. **orto die**. Only one day and night had passed since he entered the camp (c. 25, 1). On the whole time covered by these events, see on c. 16, 1.

14. **nobilitate**. This word has here something of a moral sense like that of *γενναιότης*, 'generosity.' It appears also to have a similar though less definite sense in H. 1. 30, 1 'nihil adrogabo mihi nobilitatis aut modestiae.'

15. **terrore et minis**. Here, as in 'nihil ... prisci et integri' (c. 4, 1), and other uses of 'et' in negative clauses, the words are more closely coupled than if 'nec' had been used.

17. **exciperet**. The tense probably (see Walther) is used to denote a more uncertain consequence. 'Excipiat' would have implied a tone of authority.

orantibus, 'on their petition,' i. e. that he would so write. On this abl. abs., see Introd. v. § 31 c.

idem Blaesus: see c. 19, 4.

Romanus e cohorte Drusi, Iustusque Catonius, primi ordinis centurio, ad Tiberium mittuntur. certatum inde sententiis, cum 3
alii opperiendos legatos atque interim comitate permulcendum militem censerent, alii fortioribus remediis agendum: nihil in
5 vulgo modicum; terrere, ni paveant; ubi pertimuerint, inpune contemni: dum superstitio urgeat, adiciendos ex duce metus sublatis seditionis auctoribus. promptum ad asperiora ingenium 4
Druso erat: vocatos Vibulenum et Percennium interfici iubet. tradunt plerique intra tabernaculum ducis obrutos, alii corpora
10 extra vallum abiecta ostentui.

30. Tum ut quisque praecipuus turbator conquisiti, et pars, extra castra palantes, a centurionibus aut praetoriarum cohortium militibus caesi; quosdam ipsi manipuli documentum fidei tradidere. auxerat militum curas praematura hiems imbribus 2

L. Aponius. Nipp. appears rightly to retain here the original text; the description given of the person being more suitable to a less known name (cp. H. 1. 79, 8, &c.) than to that of a consular family such as the Apronii (see c. 56, 1, &c.). The identification with the Apronius Caesianus of 3. 21, 6 appears to be impossible (see note there).

1. **cohorte,** 'the retinue,' as 6. 9, 2. The idea of such a 'cohors amicorum' attending the princeps or members of his family in travel, appears to be derived from the 'cohors praetoria' or staff of a provincial governor under the Republic (Cic. Verr. 2. 1, 14, 36, &c.). See Friedlaender, i. p. 122, &c.

Iustus Catonius. This is probably the same person who was afterwards 'praefectus praetorio,' and was put to death by Messalina in 796, A.D. 43 (Dio, 60. 18, 3). 'Primi ordinis centurio' and other similar expressions are found often in and after Caesar, and from about the time of Hadrian the term appears definitely to denote perhaps, as Mommsen thinks (Eph. Epig. iv. 239), the three leading centurions of the first cohort, or perhaps, as Marquardt contends (Staatsv. ii. 371), the 'centurio pilus prior' of each of the ten cohorts: see Dict. of Ant. i. p. 799. At this date it is probably not a technical term: in some cases (as here and c. 61, 5) it might mean 'centurio primipilus,' and where it evidently denotes a larger number (e.g. H. 3. 22, 5; 5. 20, 2), it might mean those personally most prominent.

3. **opperiendos legatos,** i.e. that no punishment should be inflicted till they returned.

6. **ex duce metus.** The phrase 'metus ex aliquo,' even without a verb, is frequent in Tacitus (e.g. 2. 38, 6; 72, 2; 3. 65, 1, &c.), and appears grounded on such expressions in Livy as 'ira ex clade' (2. 51, 6), and 'luctus,' 'dolor,' &c., 'ex re aliqua.'

7. **promptum ad asperiora.** On the temperament of Drusus, see c. 76, 5; 4. 3, 2. Dio (57. 13, 1) calls him ἀσελγέστατος καὶ ὠμότατος, exaggerating the worst side of the passionate but generous nature ascribed to him by Tacitus, and appealing to the slight evidence that the sharpest swords were called from him Δρουσίανα.

9. **obrutos,** 'were hastily buried': cp. 'cadaver levi cespite obrutum est' (Suet. Cal. 59). This version of the story is adopted by Dio (57. 4, 5), who gives no other.

10. **ostentui,** 'as a gazing-stock' (cp. 15. 29, 7). On this dative, see Introd. v. § 23. This word had been already thus used by Sallust (Jug. 24, 20; 46, 6), but with a different meaning.

11. **turbator.** This word is almost confined to Livy and Tacitus, and here only (acc. to Dräger) used without genit.

12. **centurionibus,** &c. The centurions had fled for refuge (c. 23, 5), probably to the protection of the praetorians remaining outside.

continuis adeoque saevis, ut non egredi tentoria, congregari inter
se, vix tutari signa possent, quae turbine atque unda raptabantur.
3 durabat et formido caelestis irae, nec frustra adversus impios
hebescere sidera, ruere tempestates: non aliud malorum leva-
mentum quam si linquerent castra infausta temerataque et soluti 5
4 piaculo suis quisque hibernis redderentur. primum octava, dein
quinta decuma legio rediere: nonanus opperiendas Tiberii epis-
tulas clamitaverat, mox desolatus aliorum discessione inminen-
5 tem necessitatem sponte praevenit. et Drusus non exspectato
legatorum regressu, quia praesentia satis consederant, in urbem 10
rediit.

31. Isdem ferme diebus isdem causis Germanicae legiones
turbatae, quanto plures, tanto violentius, et magna spe fore
ut Germanicus Caesar imperium alterius pati nequiret daretque
2 se legionibus vi sua cuncta tracturis. duo apud ripam Rheni 15

10. considerant: text R.

15. tracturus: text Freinsheim.

1. **egredi tentoria.** The active use of this verb originates with Caesar and Livy. Tacitus uses it also thus metaphorically, as 'egredi relationem' (2. 38, 3); 'neque . . . praeturam egressa' (3. 30, 2).

congregari. Ritter's repetition of 'non' before this word receives support from H. 4. 33, 2; Dial. 23, 3; but it is not impossible that Tacitus may have omitted it here, as having an ill sound before 'con,' though such a juxtaposition is sometimes tolerated by him (2. 55, 2).

2. **tutari,** 'to keep them standing.' The fall of the eagles would be thought ominous, and was so regarded in the expedition of Crassus. See Flor. 3. 11, 3 (1. 46).

3. **formido . . . nec . . . hebescere.** The idea of the principal verb is supplied from 'formido'; the words being their own expression of their fears.

frustra. In several passages of Cicero the ordinary meaning, 'without effect,' passes into that of 'without a purpose'; whence, by another step, the word comes to mean 'without cause' or 'reason,' 'groundlessly'; as here, and in 3. 58, 1; 6. 6, 2, and in several other places in Tacitus (see Nipp.), as also often in Quintilian.

4. **hebescere,** 'grew dull.' This word, like 'languescere' in c. 28, 1, is nowhere else used of an eclipse. The figure may perhaps have been suggested by the 'stellis acies obtusa videtur' of Vergil (G. 1, 395).

6. **piaculo,** 'from guilt.' This meaning is found in old writers, also in Vergil (Aen. 6, 569), and Livy (5. 52, 8). Tacitus does not elsewhere use it in this sense.

7. **epistulas.** This u se of the plural, as in c. 36, 4; 2. 70, 3; 78, 1; and many other places (see Nipp.), is peculiar to this age, but probably suggested, as Nipp. notes, by the classical use of 'litterae,' which has this meaning in the plural only.

8. **desolatus,** 'isolated': so 'filia . . . desolata' 16. 30, 4. This use of the word appears to originate in such an expression as 'desolati manipli' of Vergil (Aen. 11, 870).

10. **praesentia,** 'affairs on the spot': so in c. 45, 1; 2. 47, 4; and 'ubi praesentia satis composita sunt' (11. 18, 2).

consederant. The MS. form is found in Enn. ap. Gell. 4. 7 'qui propter Hannibalis copias considerant'; also in Liv. 28. 12, 15. Tacitus, though fond of such archaisms, always uses elsewhere the 'e' form of this perfect (c. 61, 3, &c.).

15. **tracturis.** On this concise use of the future participle, see Introd. v. § 54 d. The text has been generally thus cor-

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 3
Silius moderabatur, mente ambigua fortunam seditionis alienae
5 speculabantur: inferioris exercitus miles in rabiem prolapsus est, orto ab unetvicensimanis quintanisque initio, et tractis prima quoque ac vicensima legionibus: nam isdem aestivis in finibus Ubiorum habebantur per otium aut levia munia. igitur audito 4
fine Augusti vernacula multitudo, nuper acto in urbe dilectu,

rected; 'sua,' here, as at the end of this chapter, being more properly referred to the legions; and 'trahere' being elsewhere used (cp. 'tractis' below, and H. 2. 86, 4; 3. 44, 1) of troops inducing others to follow their lead.

duo ... exercitus. It has been noted (Introd. vi. 116, n. 7) that we have not at this date, strictly speaking, provinces of 'Germania superior' and 'inferior,' but rather a 'superior' and 'inferior exercitus in Germania,' occupying a military district within Gallia Belgica, coinciding with the line drawn between subject Germans (whether beyond or within the Rhine) and Gauls; a line coinciding in the Upper district mostly with the Vosges, in the Lower partly with the lower course of the Scheldt (Pl. N. H. 4. 14, 28, 98). These armies were under consular legati, independent of each other, but under obligation to furnish troops for each other's district or for Gaul when required (see 3. 42, 2; 43, 4; 4. 73, 1; 13. 56, 4). The headquarters were at Mainz and Köln. It is thought (but see Momms. Hist. v. 108; E. T. i. 118) that in the early period the civil government still belonged to the legatus of Belgica, but before the end of the first century, perhaps from the time of Domitian, they are two distinct provinces. See Marquardt, i. 275; Riese, in West-Deutsche Zeitschrift, Korrespondenz-Blatt. xiv. 146–159. For the legions, see Introd. vii. 122.

1. **C. Silio.** He had been cos. in 766, A.D. 13; and received the 'triumphalia' later (c. 72, 1). On his subsequent achievements, see 3. 42, 2, &c.; on his trial and death, 4. 18–19; on his son's share in the infamy of Messalina, 11. 12, &c. The poet Silius Italicus may have been related to him.

2. **A. Caecina.** As legatus in Lower Germany, he must have been of consular rank; he also received 'triumphalia' (c. 72, 1), was a veteran soldier (c. 64, 1), and had won distinction in Pannonia and Moesia in 759, 760; A.D. 6, 7 (Vell. 2. 112, 4; Dio, 55, 29–32). He is subsequently mentioned with the cognomen 'Severus' (3. 18, 3; 33, 1). 'Curare' and 'cura' are used by Tacitus (after Sall.) of military command (cp. 6 30, 3; 13. 20, 2; and Hemeus on H. 2. 24, 11), and often in inscriptions. Nipp. notes here the variation of expressions, 'sub,' 'curabat,' 'regimen summae rei,' 'moderabatur.'

regimen summae rei. Silius and Caecina were the 'legati Augusti propraetore' in the two 'exercitus'; Germanicus had 'proconsulare imperium' (see on c. 14, 4) over these and the 'Galliae.'

3. **agendo Galliarum censui:** 'censum agere' is a common phrase (14. 46, 2; Liv. 3. 22, 1, &c.), as also 'censum accipere' (c. 33, 1), of those who received the returns of property which the subjects had to furnish ('censum deferre,' as 6. 41, 1, &c.). On such returns would rest the apportionment of the great tribute of forty million H. S., laid on Gaul as a whole (Suet. Jul. 25). The first systematic census of Gaul appears to have been held by Augustus in 727, B.C. 27 (Dio, 53. 22, 5), and revised by Drusus in 742, B.C. 12 (Liv. Epit. 136; 137; 'Oratio Claudii' ii. 37); and again revised now, and later (2. 6, 1; 14. 46, 2). See Staatsr. ii. 1091; Marquardt, ii. 213.

8. **Ubiorum.** This tribe in the time of Julius Caesar lived beyond the Rhine, but was already assimilated to Gallic civilization (B.G. 4. 3, 3), and transplanted, with its own consent, by Agrippa (12. 27, 2; G. 28, 5; Strab. 4. 3, 4, p. 194), probably in 716, B.C. 38 (Dio, 48, 49). On its 'oppidum,' see c. 36, 1.

9. **vernacula multitudo.** In Caes. B. C. 2. 20, 4 (cp. Bell. Al. 53, &c.; Bell.

lasciviae sueta, laborum intolerans, implere ceterorum rudes animos: venisse tempus quo veterani maturam missionem, iuvenes largiora stipendia, cuncti modum miseriarum exposcerent
5 saevitiamque centurionum ulciscerentur. non unus haec, ut Pannonicas inter legiones Percennius, nec apud trepidas mili- 5
tum aures, alios validiores exercitus respicientium, sed multa seditionis ora vocesque: sua in manu sitam rem Romanam, suis victoriis augeri rem publicam, in suum cognomentum adscisci imperatores.

32. Nec legatus obviam ibat: quippe plurium vaecordia con- 10
2 stantiam exemerat. repente lymphati destrictis gladiis in centuriones invadunt: ea vetustissima militaribus odiis materies
3 et saeviendi principium. prostratos verberibus mulcant, sexa-

1. impellere Acid. 2. uenisset: text B. 13. sexageni: see note.

Hisp. 7, &c.), legions levied from natives of a province are called 'vernaculae' (see Momms. Hermes, xix. 13–18). Here the term is used of the lowest and mostly non-civic class of Roman population; for in the levy held 'nuper,' i. e. in 763, A.D. 10, after the defeat of Varus, freeborn citizens were so scarce and so reluctant to serve, that Augustus, besides taking other strong measures (Dio, 56. 23. 3), enlisted numbers of freedmen, and even slaves manumitted for the purpose (Suet. Aug. 25). This ἀστικὸς ὄχλος (Dio, 57. 5, 4), may have been drafted into others, besides the newly-formed Twenty-first legion (see Introd. vii. p. 122). Suetonius (l. l.), so far as he refers to these, seems to be wrong in saying that this 'libertinus miles' was kept distinct from the legions.

1. **sueta.** This part. thus takes a dat. in 2. 52, 2, &c.; and the verb in 2. 44, 1.

intolerans, used with the genit. in 2. 75, 1; and Livy 9. 18, 1; as is also 'tolerans' 4. 1, 4.

implere, needlessly altered to 'impellere' to assimilate the expression to c. 16, 5: 'implere animos' is used in 4. 9, 1, and Sil. 1, 105. The speech with which their minds were filled is to be gathered from the context.

5. **apud . . . aures.** A not uncommon phrase in Tacitus (2. 39, 4; 4. 29, 4, &c.), = 'apud aliquem'; 'aures' being quasi-personified. See note on 13. 22, 3.

8. **augeri rem publicam.** 'The empire was being extended.' They consider themselves as not merely defending a frontier, but as still engaged, under Germanicus, in a project of conquest.

in suum cognomentum adscisci, 'took from them their name,' i. e. that of 'Germanicus,' conferred at the death of Drusus on his posterity (Dio, 55. 2, 3), and hence borne by their present leader, and by his brother Claudius (Suet. Cl. 1). It was also, rarely, borne by Tiberius (Dio, 57. 8, 2, perhaps also C. I. L. vi. 2023 a). Compare 'adscivit in nomen,' of adoption, 3. 30, 3, &c.

9. **imperatores.** The elder Drusus had the permanent 'nomen imperatoris' (see c. 3, 1); as, perhaps, already had Germanicus (see on c. 58, 9), who is at any rate called 'imperator' (c. 41, 2; 44, 7), probably in virtue of his 'imperium proconsulare.'

10. **Nec legatus,** &c., in contrast to the action of Blaesus (c. 18, 5).

plurium, 'the more part,' as 2. 38, 7; 3. 42, 1, &c.; cp. Her. on H. 1. 39, 5; also in Plaut. as Trin. 2. 2, 14 'quin prius me ad pluris penetravi.'

constantiam exemerat, 'had unnerved him': cp. 'eximere consilium,' 'dissimulationem' (11. 32, 4; 13. 15, 3).

11. **lymphati,** a poetical word, but already in Livy (7. 17, 3), equivalent to νυμφόληπτος, 'Lympha' being another form of 'Nympha' (Hor. Sat. 1. 5, 97; Orell. Insc. 1637, 1638, &c.).

12. **invadunt,** with prep. here and c. 67, 4, and usually in Cic.: elsewhere Tacitus uses the simple accusative.

13. **sexagenis singulos.** This emendation appears to have occurred inde-

genis singulos, ut numerum centurionum adaequarent: tum convulsos laniatosque et partim exanimos ante vallum aut in amnem Rhenum proiciunt. Septimius cum perfugisset ad tribunal pedibusque Caecinae advolveretur, eo usque flagitatus est, donec ad exitium dederetur. Cassius Chaerea, mox caede Gai Caesaris memoriam apud posteros adeptus, tum adulescens et animi ferox, inter obstantes et armatos ferro viam patefecit. non tribunus ultra, non castrorum praefectus ius obtinuit: vigilias, stationes, et si qua alia praesens usus indixerat, ipsi partiebantur. id militares animos altius coniectantibus praecipuum indicium magni atque inplacabilis motus, quod neque disiecti aut paucorum instinctu, set pariter ardescerent, pariter silerent, tanta aequalitate et constantia, ut regi crederes.

12. nil: aut J. H. Nolte, Halm; nec Grotius, Nipp., Bait.; nil disiecti neque Heraeus; disiecti nil neque Müller.

pendently to many minds. Mr. H. D. Darbishire suggests it in Rhein. Mus. xliv. (1889), 319; and according to Wölfflin (l. l. 448) it had been also suggested by Speijer (1886), Ortmann (1882), and Zumpt. It has also been independently suggested to me by Mr. Raper. It would be clearly impossible for sixty to scourge at once, and they would think it tedious to give each a blow in succession. The grim humour consists in giving each centurion as it were one stripe for himself, and one for each of his colleagues. With the usual reading we must suppose that the legion views itself as one body, chastised by sixty, each of whom was to suffer the same in turn.

2. **convulsos laniatosque**, with limbs dislocated and mangled.' Thus Lucretius has 'artus... convulsi' (3, 343), and M. Seneca 'convolsis laceratisque membris,' of persons racked (Contr. 2. 13, 6). This seems better than Nipp.'s explanation, 'plucked from the ground,' like 'vexilla convellunt' (c. 20, 1).

3. **Septimius . . . Cassius Chaerea.** It is implied that both these were centurions. The former is otherwise unknown (perhaps a praenomen T. is lost); Chaerea was in 794, A.D. 41, a tribune in the praetorian guard, and, if rightly then called 'elderly' (Suet. Cal. 56), cannot have been now much under thirty.

7. **animi ferox.** See Introd. v. § 33 e γ. With this particular word such a genitive appears elsewhere to be found only in 4. 12, 3; H. 1. 35, 2; Ov. Met. 8, 614.

et armatos. This adds force to 'obstantes,' = 'et quidem armatos.' Cp. 'vetera et inania' 3. 13, 2, &c.

8. **vigilias, stationes.** Cp. c. 28, 5.

10. **altius coniectantibus**, 'to more penetrating judges of the soldier's character': 'altius' is thus concisely used with 'maerere' (2. 82, 5), 'disserere' (3. 25, 3), 'exponere' (3. 62, 4), 'expedire' (H. 4. 12, 1). For 'coniectare aliquem,' in the sense of 'estimating,' cp. 'ne ceteri ex Paeligno coniectarentur' (12. 49, 3).

11. **disiecti** = 'sparsi,' as c. 61, 3; 3. 2, 5; 4. 46, 3, &c.

12. **aut.** The various emendations of the MS. text are hardly felicitous. 'Neque' might have the force of 'ne . . . quidem' (cp. 4. 34, 3), or might have been repeated with another word before 'neque disiecti,' or an erroneous transposition (see crit. note) like that of 'ad se nisi' (c. 2, 5), may have taken place; in either of which latter cases 'nil' might stand, with a verb such as 'agerent' supplied from the context (see Introduction, v. § 38 b).

pariter, 'as one man.' This word often has the force of 'simul,' as c. 47, 3, &c.

ardescerent, for 'exardescerent': one of many simple verbs used poetically for compounds (Introd. v. § 40).

13. **aequalitate**, 'uniformity.' This

33. Interea Germanico per Gallias, ut diximus, census ac-
2 cipienti excessisse Augustum adfertur. neptem eius Agrippinam in matrimonio pluresque ex ea liberos habebat, ipse Druso fratre Tiberii genitus, Augustae nepos, set anxius occultis in se patrui aviaeque odiis, quorum causae acriores, quia 5
3 iniquae. quippe Drusi magna apud populum Romanum memoria, credebaturque, si rerum potitus foret, libertatem reddi-
4 turus; unde in Germanicum favor et spes eadem. nam iuveni civile ingenium, mira comitas et diversa ab Tiberii sermone
5 vultu, adrogantibus et obscuris. accedebant muliebres offen- 10
siones novercalibus Liviae in Agrippinam stimulis, atque ipsa Agrippina paulo commotior, nisi quod castitate et mariti amore quamvis indomitum animum in bonum vertebat.

9. adtiberii: a Tiberii B, text Weissenborn.

use occurs in Cic., &c.; but with Tacitus the word is more commonly equivalent to *ἰσοτιμία*, as c. 4, 1, &c.

1. **census accipienti**: see on c. 31, 2.

2. **neptem.** On the descent, family connexions, and children of Germanicus and Agrippina, see Introd. ix.

3. **plures**, 'several': so in 2. 8, 2; 3. 33, 1; 34, 10; 4. 55, 1; and often for 'complures,' which Tacitus uses three times only.

5. **patrui.** Nipp. notes that Tacitus usually (e.g. 2. 5, 2; 43, 6; 3. 3, 3; 5, 5; 17, 5; 31, 1) describes the relationship of Tiberius and Germanicus as it was by blood; but makes them in their own speeches use the terms of their adoptive relationship (e.g. c. 42, 1; 2. 71, 3; 3. 12, 8); an apparent exception, in 2. 14, 6, being due to the necessity of mentioning both Drusus and Tiberius.

acriores, quia iniquae. Tacitus had already said 'proprium humani generis odisse quem laeseris' (Agr. 42, 4); and Seneca had preceded him with 'pertinaciores nos facit iniquitas irae' (de Ira 3. 29, 2). On his fondness for such maxims see Introd. iv. p. 37. The fact of human nature here asserted is explained by Nipp. on the supposition that a sense of our own baseness leads to hatred of one who suggests the thought of it.

7. **credebaturque**, &c. The improbable tale respecting a letter addressed to Tiberius, and by him betrayed to Augustus, in which Drusus had mooted a scheme for compelling a restitution of the Republic, seems refuted by the position in which Augustus retained him till his death, at the head of his greatest army: he may have used expressions suggesting this belief as to his republican sentiments, which was evidently prevalent (see 2. 41, 5; 82, 3; Suet. Cl. 1), though Tacitus nowhere expressly endorses it, as regards him or Germanicus.

9. **civile**: cp. c. 8, 3, &c.

10. **adrogantibus et obscuris.** Both adjectives belong to both substantives, as a countenance may be called 'obscurus,' in the sense of 'inscrutable.' The application of this word to personal character (as 4. 1, 3; 6. 24, 4; Agr. 42, 4), is sanctioned by Cicero and Horace.

muliebres offensiones, 'feminine jealousies': cp. 'muliebres causae' 12. 64, 3. The 'novercales stimuli' are one cause of such jealousies, and the irritability of Agrippina is another; but the construction is changed by supplying 'accedebat' from above, with the sentence 'Agrippina . . . commotior' as its subject; like the participial construction so frequent in Tacitus (Introd. v. § 55).

11. **novercalibus.** Augusta was really her mother's stepmother; but many such terms are carried back a step, as 'amita' (2. 27, 2), 'avunculus' (2. 53, 3), &c.

12. **commotior**, 'the fact that (cp. c. 36, 2) she was excitable': cp. 'verbis commotior' (2. 28, 3); also 4. 3, 2; 6. 45, 6; 11. 12, 1. The temper of Agrippina is uniformly described as to the last degree passionate and ungovernable. Cp. 2. 72, 1; 3. 1, 1; 4. 52, 3; 53, 1, &c.

34. Sed Germanicus quanto summae spei propior, tanto impensius pro Tiberio niti, seque et proximos et Belgarum civitates in verba eius adigit. dehinc audito legionum tumultu 2 raptim profectus obvias extra castra habuit, deiectis in terram oculis velut paenitentia. postquam vallum iniit, dissoni questus audiri coepere. et quidam prensa manu eius per speciem ex- 3 osculandi inseruerunt digitos, ut vacua dentibus ora contingeret; alii curvata senio membra ostendebant. adsistentem contionem, 4 quia permixta videbatur, discedere in manipulos iubet: sic melius audituros responsum; vexilla praeferri, ut id saltem discerneret cohortes: tarde obtemperavere. tunc a veneratione 5 Augusti orsus flexit ad victorias triumphosque Tiberii, prae-

2. seque, with 7 (probably = 'et') written above in a later hand: sequanos margin and B, sequanos, proximas et Nipp., text Haase, Baiter.

nisi quod, 'were it not that.' The use of this expression to qualify what has been stated (as 6. 24, 2; H. 4. 39, 2) is Ciceronian; but its use here (as in 14. 14, 6; Agr. 6, 1) is noteworthy, as qualifying something only implied in thought: as that her temper would have deserved a bad name but for the course it took.

quamvis indomitum, 'a temper however ungovernable.' 'Quamvis' is thus used in 6. 50, 1; 15. 24, 1; 16. 16, 1; and 'quamquam' in c. 76, 5.

in bonum vertebat, 'gave a good direction to'; i. e. by enlisting such qualities on the side of virtue and in the cause of her husband. Thus it is said of her 'virilibus curis feminarum vitia exuerat' (6. 25, 3). Orelli less well explains it by 'redimebat' ('compensated').

2. **pro Tiberio niti**: cp. 'nullo pro Galba nitente' H. 1. 55, 4.

seque et proximos: see critical note. 'Sequanos proximos' (which Halm adopts) couples a portion of a single tribe to the whole province of 'Gallia Belgica'; while Nipp.'s reading would necessitate the explanation of 'et' as = 'etiam' (as 'aegro et corpore' c. 4, 2, &c.), which seems here without force. Germanicus would naturally take the oath himself, and then tender it to those about him (see on c. 7, 3), such as his 'amicorum cohors'; who might be spoken of as 'proximi' (cp. 4. 12, 7, &c.).

3. **in verba eius**. The 'princeps,' though absent, is conceived as dictating the oath of allegiance to him: cp. H 2. 14, 1, &c. This is the first instance on record, and probably the first actual instance, of extension of the 'sacramentum,' not only (as in c. 7, 3) to civilians, but even to provincials. A similar course was taken in Syria on the death of Tiberius (Jos. Ant. 18. 5, 3). For the practice later, see Pl. ad Trai. 52. Cp. Staatsr. ii. 793.

6. **audiri coepere**. On the inf. pass. with this verb, cp. Introd. v. § 42 b.

exosculandi. This word is confined to writers of this age, and appears to be stronger than the simple verb.

9. **sic melius audituros responsum**, 'they replied that they would hear better as they were,' i. e. crowding round him in a mass. This refusal is contrasted with the reluctant obedience ('tarde obtemperavere') to his next order. On this use of 'sic' cp. 'sic quoque' (4. 40. 4; 15. 17, 3). Some have thought that 'est,' which occurs with 'responsum' in c. 26, 1, should be here inserted.

10. **vexilla**: sc. 'manipulorum': see note on c. 18, 3. The inaccurate use of 'vexilla' (see on c. 17, 4) for 'signa' may be compared with H. 1. 36, 1; 3. 82, 2; and 'vexillarius' for 'signifer' in H. 1. 41, 1. To bring the standards to the front would infuse some order into the mass, as the soldiers would instinctively group themselves round them (see c. 38, 4), and a kind of formation in cohorts would result.

11. **veneratione**, expressions of reverence.' The word is especially suitable to a deified emperor, though not restricted to such: cp. 12. 42, 3.

12. **flexit**. This verb is used intransitively by Verg. Liv., &c. Its application

cipuis laudibus celebrans quae apud Germanias illis cum le-
6 gionibus pulcherrima fecisset. Italiae inde consensum Galliarum
fidem extollit; nil usquam turbidum aut discors. silentio haec
vel murmure modico audita sunt.

35. Ut seditionem attigit, ubi modestia militaris, ubi veteris 5
disciplinae decus, quonam tribunos, quo centuriones exegissent,
rogitans, nudant universi corpora, cicatrices ex vulneribus,
verberum notas exprobrant; mox indiscretis vocibus pretia
vacationum, angustias stipendii, duritiam operum ac propriis
nominibus incusant vallum, fossas, pabuli materiae lignorum 10
adgestus, et si qua alia ex necessitate aut adversus otium
2 castrorum quaeruntur. atrocissimus veteranorum clamor orie-
batur, qui tricena aut supra stipendia numerantes, mederetur
fessis, neu mortem in isdem laboribus, sed finem tam exercitae

8. uniuersa: text L.

to a turn of speech (cp. 6. 15, 5; 13. 3, 2), or thought (cp. 4. 37, 2; 41, 2), appears to be Tacitean.

1. **illis cum legionibus.** In c. 42, 6, the First and Twentieth are particularly mentioned. On the German campaigns of Tiberius, see Introd. viii. p. 134.

3. **nil usquam,** &c. This general acquiescence in the succession of Tiberius is recorded by Dio (57. 7, 1).

modestia, here 'subordination,' as in c. 49, 6, &c. Cp. c. 11, 1.

8. **exprobrant:** cp. c. 18, 1.

indiscretis, 'undistinguishable': so 'proles indiscreta' Verg. Aen. 10, 392: not opposed to 'propriis.' The several cries are shouted at once confusedly.

pretia vacationum: see on c. 17, 6.

9. **propriis nominibus,** 'specifically.' They complain of hard work generally, and particularize these kinds of it.

10. **incusant.** A similar position of a verb belonging to two or more sentences is noted by Nipp. in 'tradidit' (2. 48, 1); 'labefecit' (6. 29, 5); 'veni' (H. 1. 83, 2): 'cinxerant' (H. 2. 25, 1); but as otherwise rare except in poetry.

materiae lignorum, 'timber and firewood.' The terms are thus distinguished by Ulpian (Dig. 32. 55, pr.), 'ligni appellatio nomen generale est, sed sic separatur, ut sit aliquid materia, aliquid lignum: materia est, quae ad aedificandum, fulciendum necessaria est; lignum quidquid comburendi causa paratum est.' A similar distinction is drawn by Pliny (N. H. 16. 40, 76, 206), 'cornus non potest videri materies propter exilitatem, sed lignum'; and 'materies' has this specific sense as early as Caesar (B. G. 4. 17, 8).

11. **si qua alia,** &c., 'whatever other employments are suggested by their needs, or devised to prevent idleness': for works undertaken with the latter object, see c. 20, 1; 11. 20, 2; 13. 53, 3.

12. **veteranorum:** see c. 17, 4. On the question whether 'in isdem laboribus' here, and 'eosdem labores' there, are to be taken as exaggerations, see on c. 36, 4.

13. **mederetur . . . neu mortem . . . sed finem . . . orabant.** The harshness of such a combination of constructions with 'orabant' appears to be unprecedented; nor is any other instance given of a verb followed by 'neu' or 'neve' except as coupling a coordinate verb (e.g. 16. 34, 2). Ernesti maintained that 'mortem' should either be altered to 'morerentur' or followed by 'obirent'; the latter is inserted by Nipp. after 'laboribus,' where it might have dropped out through resemblance of sound. The change of construction which would still remain, from a dependent clause to a simple case, may be paralleled by that of 'angebatur' (c. 52, 1), and by several instances of such a change in the reverse order (Introd. v. § 91: Dräger, Synt. und Stil, § 233). The construction may be designedly abrupt, like that in c. 41, 2, and the accusatives exclamatory.

14. **exercitae:** cp. c. 17, 7.

militiae neque inopem requiem orabant. fuere etiam qui legatam 3
a divo Augusto pecuniam reposcerent, faustis in Germanicum
ominibus; et si vellet imperium, promptas *res* ostentavere. tum 4
vero, quasi scelere contaminaretur, praeceps tribunali desiluit.
5 opposuerunt abeunti arma, minitantes, ni regrederetur; at ille 5
moriturum potius quam fidem exueret clamitans, ferrum a latere
diripuit elatumque deferebat in pectus, ni proximi prensam
dextram vi adtinuissent. extrema et conglobata inter se pars 6
contionis ac, vix credibile dictu, quidam singuli propius ince-
10 dentes, feriret hortabantur; et miles nomine Calusidius strictum
obtulit gladium, addito acutiorem esse. saevum id malique 7
moris etiam furentibus visum, ac spatium fuit quo Caesar ab
amicis in tabernaculum raperetur.

36. Consultatum ibi de remedio: etenim nuntiabatur parari
15 legatos qui superiorem exercitum ad causam eandem traherent:
destinatum excidio Ubiorum oppidum, imbutasque praeda manus

3. promtas: promptos R, text Walth. 7. deripuit B.

2. **reposcerent**, 'demanded of him.' Orelli notes that this implied a recognition of Germanicus as the lawful heir; which was also probably expressed in more distinct terms ('faustis ominibus'). Dio (57. 5, 1) represents them as going to greater length (*αὐτοκράτορα ἐπεκάλεσαν*). On the legacy demanded see c. 8, 3.

3. **promptas res ostentavere.** This reading is supported by 'promptasque res ostentante' (12. 12, 5). Those who read 'promptos' suppose 'se' to be supplied, as with 'moriturum' below, and in other instances, such as 4. 59, 5; 5. 5, 2; &c. Other corrections are 'promptos se' (Jahn), or 'prompta' (Heinsius), which appears to need such a word 'studia,' as in 2. 76, 1.

4. **desiluit.** This verb has a simple abl. 15. 28, 5: elsewhere the usage is almost wholly poetical.

6. **moriturum potius quam fidem exueret.** The full construction would be 'potius quam ita victurum, ut,' &c. For similar abbreviations see 'excedendum potius, quam ... pellerentur' (Agr. 25, 3) and 'perpessus est omnia potius, quam ... indicaret' (Cic. Tusc. 2. 22, 52, where Kühner gives other instances).

7. **diripuit.** The alteration to 'deripuit' is wrong; 'diripit ensem' being the Medicean text in Verg. Aen. 10, 475, and the proper word, as Nipp. shows, for the wearer, who could not be said to 'snatch down' his sword.

8. **adtinuissent.** This word is constantly used for 'retinere' by Tacitus (as c. 50. 1, 2; 2. 10, 2, &c.); but otherwise so only by Plaut. and Sall.

9. **quidam singuli.** In contrast with 'conglobata,' as 'propius incedentes' with 'extrema pars.'

12. **spatium**, 'a pause,' during which their attention was drawn to Calusidius, and Germanicus could be got away unobserved. Orelli.

14. **etenim.** This introduces considerations which make the need of remedial measures more pressing.

15. **superiorem**: see c. 31, 2.

16. **Ubiorum oppidum**, 'the capital': so 'Batavorum oppidum' H. 5. 19, 2: see on c. 37, 3 ('civitas Ubiorum'). The conversion of this town into the famous 'Colonia Agrippinensis' (Köln) in 803, A.D. 50, is mentioned in 12. 27, 1. Agrippina, from whom it took this title, was born here probably in 768, A.D. 15. See Introd. ix. note 14.

imbutas praeda manus, 'troops steeped in plunder.' This sense of 'manus,' if less suited to 'imbutas,' is more so to 'erupturas'; and the whole

2 in direptionem Galliarum erupturas. augebat metum gnarus Romanae seditionis et, si omitteretur ripa, invasurus hostis: at si auxilia et socii adversum abscedentis legiones armarentur, 3 civile bellum suscipi. periculosa severitas, flagitiosa largitio: seu nihil militi sive omnia concederentur, in ancipiti res publica. 5 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 inmunes nisi propulsandi hostis, legata quae petiverant exsolvi duplicarique. 10

37. Sensit miles in tempus conficta statimque flagitavit. missio per tribunos maturatur, largitio differebatur in hiberna

5. sibi omnia: seu margin and Bait., sive Iac. Gron. concedentur: text R.

metaphor resembles that of H. 3. 15, 4 'ut civili praeda milites imbuerentur.'

3. **auxilia et socii**, perhaps a hendiadys, but probably to be distinguished, as by Ritter; the former being those already under arms, the latter those who might be levied.

4. **suscipi**. The construction, though varied, still depends on 'augebat metum.' 'That to arm the allies, &c., was to undertake a civil war.'

severitas. This appears to mean 'rigour,' i. e. peremptory refusal (as probably in c. 25, 3), and answers to the 'seu nihil' below, as does its opposite 'largitio' to 'sive omnia.' The notion of 'punishment' (as in c. 46, 2, &c.) seems out of place here, as such measures could not have been at present contemplated as practicable.

5. **concederentur**. The MS. text is defended by Nipp., Pfitzner, &c., as the language of dramatic description; the historic present 'est' being supplied with 'periculosa,' &c., and with 'in ancipiti.' On the other hand it is more natural to suppose the same construction to be carried through; and the omission of a syllable is shown by Baiter (from 3. 2, 1; 3, 1; 67, 3; 4. 59, 5; probably also 3. 17, 8) to be a characteristic error of this MS.

6. **inter se**. A comparison of one plan with another is implied in 'volutatis.' Nipp. notes 'artificumque manus inter se . . . miratur' Verg. Aen. 1, 455.

7. **missionem dari . . . exauctorari**. The latter of these words usually implies full discharge, whether honourable or otherwise; but here it is qualified by the context, so as to express such relaxation of the 'sacramentum' as may have taken place when the legionary soldier became a 'vexillarius' (see c. 17, 4). Similar qualification attaches to 'dimissis' (c. 17, 4); 'missi' (c. 39, 2); and 'dimitterentur' (c. 78, 2); and 'missio' is used of both kinds of discharge (c. 37, 1; 40, 1; 52, 1). The terms offered are a compromise between two regulations of Augustus by which the time of full discharge was fixed, first at sixteen, afterwards at twenty years (Dio, 54 25, 6; 55. 23, 1): but this concession, though carried out at present (see below, and c. 39, 1), was not perpetuated (see c. 78, 3). The prominent mention of immunity from camp duties would show it to have been a new concession, not a standing privilege of the veterans, who are certainly made to assert (c. 17, 4) that they have the same work as others ('eosdem labores'). Their language in c. 35, 2, is thought to point the other way, as they do not there expressly join in the complaint made by the others respecting camp duties.

10. **duplicari**. This gift, noted by Suetonius (Tib. 48) as the only donative from Tiberius to the soldiers, except that to the praetorians and some others at the fall of Seianus, was hardly a voluntary gift here, but was voluntarily extended to the Pannonian army (c. 52, 3).

11. **in tempus**, 'to meet the emergency'; cp. 'ad tempus' c. 1, 2.

12. **missio**, used here and below of both kinds of discharge: cp. c. 36, 4.

differebatur, 'was to be deferred.'

cuiusque. non abscessere quintani unetvicensimanique, donec 2
isdem in aestivis contracta ex viatico amicorum ipsiusque
Caesaris pecunia persolveretur. primam ac vicensimam legiones 3
Caecina legatus in civitatem Ubiorum reduxit, turpi agmine,
5 cum fisci de imperatore rapti inter signa interque aquilas ve-
herentur. Germanicus superiorem ad exercitum profectus se- 4
cundam et tertiam decumam et sextam decumam legiones nihil
cunctatas sacramento adigit. quartadecumani paulum dubita- 5
verant: pecunia et missio quamvis non flagitantibus oblata est.

10 **38.** At in Chaucis coeptavere seditionem praesidium agi-
tantes vexillarii discordium legionum et praesenti duorum
militum supplicio paulum repressi sunt. iusserat id M'. Ennius 2

1. quintaniunt etuicessimanique: text B. Ruperti and Nipp.

12. mennius: M. Ennius Heins., text

1. **non abscessere**, 'would not leave.' It is implied that after receiving payment they departed to 'Vetera' (c. 45, 1).

2. **viatico**, used generally of a soldier's private stock or savings, as H. 1. 57, 5; Hor. Epp. 2. 2, 26; Suet. Jul. 68, &c.

3. **primam**, &c. The previous sentence would lead us to suppose that these legions had not, like the two others, insisted on immediate payment: also Caecina is next mentioned (c. 48, 1) as in command, not of these legions at Köln, but of the two others at Vetera. This would give support to Mommsen's suggestion (Hermes, xiii. 256, n. 3) that the passage is mutilated and should run somewhat thus: 'primam ac vicensimam legiones Germanicus in civitatem Ubiorum reduxit, quintam et unetvicensimam Caecina legatus in Castra Vetera, turpi agmine.' &c. It would seem, however, as if Vetera had not been mentioned before c. 45, 1. and these two legions are also implied to have received money in c. 42, 7. It may have been thought unsafe to defer in their case what had been given on demand to the others, but it is strange that Tacitus should not have said so.

4. **civitatem Ubiorum.** This expression could be used of the whole district, as in 13. 57, 4; but the locality is here certainly identical with that of 'ara Ubiorum' (see on c. 39, 1).

5. **de imperatore rapti.** These words are emphatic, and contain the explanation of 'turpi agmine.' The plundered money may have been pointed to with pride; but the practice in itself of depositing money with the standards was usual, and was encouraged, and even to some extent enforced, to make the soldier thrifty, and to bind him to the colours (Veg. 2, 20). Domitian however considered it prudent to limit each man's deposit to 1000 H. S. (Suet. Dom. 7).

6. **superiorem**: cp. c. 31, 2. On these legions see Introd. vii. p. 122.

10. **in Chaucis.** This tribe occupied a very large space (G. 35), apparently on either side of the lower Weser. Pliny (N. H. 16. 1, 1, 2) divides them into 'maiores' and 'minores'; one or the other of whom, along the coast between the Weser and Ems (cp. 2. 24, 3), came under Roman control (cp. c. 60, 3), but, like their neighbours the Frisii (4. 72, 1), afterwards revolted (11. 18, 1; H. 4. 79, 3; 5. 19, 2; Suet. Cl. 24).

coeptavere. This verb, rare elsewhere in prose, is often used by Tacitus to express an attempt, whether successful or otherwise: cp. c. 45, 2; 2. 81, 1; 4. 19, 4; 24, 2, &c.

11. **vexillarii**, 'detachments' (see on c. 17, 4). The 'veterani sub vexillo' cannot be here meant, as they were still at headquarters (cp. c. 35, 2; 39, 1).

discordium, 'disaffected.' Thus 'dissident' (c. 46, 1); 'discordare' (3. 40, 4); 'discordia' (H. 2. 76, 9), &c., are used of soldiers, not as disagreeing among themselves, but as mutinous.

12. **M'. Ennius.** 'Mennius' is not a known Roman name; and the correction is supported by the error 'Lennium' for L. Ennium in 3. 70, 2, and by the general

castrorum praefectus, bono magis exemplo quam concesso iure.
3 deinde intumescente motu profugus repertusque, postquam in-
tutae latebrae, praesidium ab audacia mutuatur: non praefectum
ab iis, sed Germanicum ducem, sed Tiberium imperatorem
4 violari. simul exterritis qui obstiterant, raptum vexillum ad 5
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 Ubi-
2 orum Germanicum adeunt. duae ibi legiones, prima atque
3 vicensima, veteranique nuper missi sub vexillo hiemabant. pa- 10
vidos et conscientia vaecordes intrat metus, venisse patrum iussu
4 qui inrita facerent quae per seditionem expresserant. utque mos
vulgo quamvis falsis reum subdere, Munatium Plancum con-
sulatu functum, principem legationis, auctorem senatus consulti
incusant; et nocte concubia vexillum in domo Germanici situm 15

practice of mentioning officers of this rank by two names (c. 20, 1; 13. 39, 2). The preference of M', rather than M, as the praenomen, rests on a suggestion of the possible identity of this person with a Μάνιος Ἔννιος mentioned in the Pannonian war (Dio, 55. 33. 2).

1. **concesso iure**: see on c. 20, 1; 26, 3.

2. **intumescente motu**: cp. 'quoniam Galliae tumeant' (H. 2. 32, 1). Similar metaphors, originating apparently in the 'monet . . . tumescere bella' of Verg. G. 1, 465, are found in Liv., &c.

6. **ripam.** Tacitus perhaps did not know what river was meant, or may have thought it to be the Rhine (as in c. 36, 2). From the position of the Chauci, we should take it to be the Ems.

7. **hiberna**, probably at 'Vetera'; which would be nearer to the Chauci than the other winter camp.

turbidos. This is best taken in its usual sense as 'seditious' (cp. c. 34. 6; 43, 5, &c.), in which case 'et' would contain an adversative force (see note on c. 13, 2). On the use of 'et' with a negative, instead of 'neque' with an affirmative pronoun or adverb, see Madvig, § 458 a, Obs. 1. Nipp. shows by many instances the fondness of Tacitus for such constructions, especially for 'et' with 'nullus,' 'numquam,' 'nihil,' and 'nemo.'

8. **legati.** Their mission had probably no connexion with the mutiny; but was to convey to him the 'proconsulare imperium' (cp. c. 14, 4).

regressum, i.e. from the Upper army (cp. c. 37, 4).

aram Ubiorum. In 822, A.D. 69, the winter camp of the first legion was at Bonn (H. 4. 25, 1). But that the 'oppidum Ubiorum' is here meant is clear from the distance of Vetera (c. 45, 1), and from the fact that the subsequent 'Colonia' derives a title from an altar situate in it, being styled in some inscriptions and coins 'Claudia ara' or 'Colonia Claudia ara Agrippinensis' (see Marquardt, Staatsv. i. 272, 5). On this altar and worship see on c. 57, 2.

10. **sub vexillo.** It appears to be best to take these words as qualifying 'missi' ('ita missi ut sub vexillo retinerentur'). The other explanation, joining 'sub vexillo hiemabant,' forces us to apply the verb with these words to the veterans, and without them to the legions.

11. **conscientia**, 'consciousness of guilt,' as in c. 57, 2, &c.

12. **expresserant**: cp. c. 19, 5, &c.

13. **subdere**: cp. c. 6, 6, &c.

Plancum. His title in the Fasti (as cos. in 766, A.D. 13, with C. Silius) is L. Munatius L. f. L. n. Plancus. He might be son or grandson of the famous consul of 712, B.C. 42, well known in the history of the triumvirate, and stigmatized by Velleius (2. 83). Plancina (2. 43, 4) was probably his sister.

15. **vexillum.** The absence of any explanation of this word suggests that the flag is that already mentioned above ('sub vexillo'). Germanicus is living in

flagitare occipiunt, concursuque ad ianuam facto moliuntur fores, extractum cubili Caesarem tradere vexillum intento mortis metu subigunt. mox vagi per vias obvios habuere legatos, audita 5 consternatione ad Germanicum tendentes. ingerunt contume- 6
5 lias, caedem parant, Planco maxime, quem dignitas fuga impediverat; neque aliud periclitanti subsidium quam castra primae legionis. illic signa et aquilam amplexus religione sese tuta- 7 batur, ac ni aquilifer Calpurnius vim extremam arcuisset, rarum etiam inter hostes, legatus populi Romani Romanis in castris

a house, probably the regular winter residence of the 'legatus,' and the soldiers assaulting him are also outside the legionary camp. It is suggested that these are the veterans, whose 'vexillum' had no place among the standards of the legions, and was retained in the keeping of Germanicus. They had their discharge, but had possibly not, like the legions (see c. 37, 3, and note), received their money, or had further expectations on final dismissal, and in their vague fear that all might be revoked, demand possession of their 'vexillum' as a guarantee: see Nipp. and Domaszewski, 'Fahnen,' p. 25. The legions, who had less to lose, seem less prominent in this outbreak, though even among them Plancus was not safe. The alternative supposition, that the 'vexillum' is the red flag of the general-in-chief, by which signal for battle was given (Caes. B. G. 2. 20, 1; Plut. Fab. 15, 182), would make the demand for it imply an intention to elect a new general, of which there is no evidence; though Germanicus (c. 43, 2) is represented as imagining such an act in the case of his death.

situm = 'positum.' So used of statues, &c., c. 74, 4; 2. 37, 3; 4. 64, 3. See also 2. 7, 3.

1. **occipiunt**; cp. 3. 2, 5; 6. 45, 6, &c. A word generally archaic, but adopted by Tacitus from Livy.

moliuntur, 'break open': cp. 2. 82, 8; H. 2. 22, 3; Liv. and Curt.

2. **extractum.** This implies some compulsion, but not necessarily physical force; cp. 'contuberniis extracti' (15. 13, 2); 'rure extractus in urbem' (Hor. Sat. 1. 1, 11). The case is probably abl., as in Horace (l. l.); but in 6. 23, 5, the MS. text 'extractum custodiae' is generally accepted.

4. **consternatione**, 'the tumult': cp. c. 63, 3; 13. 16, 6, &c. This noun appears to originate with Livy, but the verb (cp. H. 3. 79, 3) is found earlier.

5. **impediverat**, here alone in Tacitus with simple abl. on the analogy of 'prohibere.'

6. **castra primae legionis.** The context implies perhaps that his assailants followed him into this camp, and certainly that some of the legion, who are addressed as guilty by Germanicus, attacked him there. Domaszewski (see on c. 42, 6) notes that when there were only three legions in Lower Germany, two had winter quarters at Vetera and one at Köln; hence when a second legion was allotted to the latter place, the two had separate camps.

7. **religione**: see note on c. 18, 2. On the sanctity of the eagles and other standards cp. 2. 17, 2, and 'conversus ad signa et bellorum deos' (H. 3. 10, 7); also Dion. Hal. 6, 45 *ταῦτα ...ὥσπερ ἱδρύματα θεῶν ἱερὰ νομίζεται.* Catiline kept an eagle of Marius in a shrine within his house (Cic. Cat. 1. 9, 24); and the legionary eagle is stated by Dio (40. 18, 1) to have been kept in camp in a portable shrine. Even in old times it was a practice to swear by the standards (see Liv. 26. 48, 12). See other evidence of their sanctity in Marquardt, ii. 438.

8. **aquilifer.** The eagle of the legion, placed under charge of its 'centurio primipilus' (see Introd. vii. p. 124) was actually borne by a lower officer of this title, mentioned in several inscriptions: see Henzen and Wilmanns, Indices, Caver in Eph. Epig. iv. 371, and representations in art of the eagle and its bearer in Domaszewski, 'Fahnen,' p. 29, foll.

rarum etiam, &c. On such parentheses see Introd. v. § 82. A similar outrage on 'legati' is similarly spoken of in H. 3. 80, 3.

8 sanguine suo altaria deum commaculavisset. luce demum, post-
quam dux et miles et facta noscebantur, ingressus castra Ger-
manicus perduci ad se Plancum imperat recepitque in tribunal.
9 tum fatalem increpans rabiem, neque militum sed deum ira
resurgere, cur venerint legati aperit; ius legationis atque ipsius 5
Planci gravem et inmeritum casum, simul quantum dedecoris
adierit legio, facunde miseratur, attonitaque magis quam quieta
contione legatos praesidio auxiliarium equitum dimittit.

40. Eo in metu arguere Germanicum omnes, quod non ad
superiorem exercitum pergeret, ubi obsequia et contra rebellis 10
auxilium: satis superque missione et pecunia et mollibus con-
2 sultis peccatum. vel si vilis ipsi salus, cur filium parvulum, cur
gravidam coniugem inter furentes et omnis humani iuris viola-
3 tores haberet? illos saltem avo et rei publicae redderet. diu
cunctatus aspernantem uxorem, cum se divo Augusto ortam 15
neque degenerem ad pericula testaretur, postremo uterum eius
et communem filium multo cum fletu complexus, ut abiret
4 perpulit. incedebat muliebre et miserabile agmen, profuga ducis

1. **altaria deum.** These, as well as the standards and the image of the emperor, stood in the principia. See 4. 2, 4.

2. **noscebantur,** 'were capable of recognition': cp. c. 62, 1; 4. 62, 5; H. 1. 90, 3.

ingressus castra: see above.

3. **imperat recepitque.** The historical present is easily interchangeable with a perfect, as 2. 7, 1; 20, 2; 14. 4, 6, &c.

4. **fatalem increpans rabiem.** 'Rabies' is thus used of mutiny in c. 31, 3. The use of 'fatalem' (cp. 5. 4, 2; 15. 61, 6; and note on 3. 30, 2), which is explained by 'deum ira' (cp. 16. 16, 3), treats them as hardly responsible beings, and softens the censure conveyed in 'increpans'; from which word some such sense as that of 'dicens' is supplied by 'zeugma' with 'resurgere.'

5. **ius legationis,** sc. 'violatum.' On such pregnant constructions see Introd. v. § 84.

7. **miseratur,** 'expresses sorrow for.' So 'defendere,' 'to plead in excuse,' 13. 43, 4, &c.

9. **metu,** perhaps here used of circumstances causing fear, rather than fear itself: cp. 'ostendere metum ex Tiberio' (2. 72, 2); 'metus temporum' (H. 1. 49, 6); 'provisum adversum metus' (H. 2. 12, 3), &c. A similar use of 'terror' (11. 19, 1, &c.) is classical, and 'formido' (Agr. 22, 1) is so used by Sallust.

14. **avo.** On the use of terms of adoptive relationship see on c. 33, 3. That of the boy alone is mentioned, as he, in virtue of this adoptive relationship, stood nearer than Agrippina to Tiberius. Nipp.

diu cunctatus aspernantem ... perpulit. Two distinct causes are assigned for the delay; his own hesitation, and the pride of his wife; which latter is explained by 'cum se ... testaretur.'

16. **degenerem.** This poetical word had been introduced into prose by Liv. and Pl. Mai. The construction, appearing to be shortened for 'ad pericula subeunda,' is analogous to that of 'praecipuos ad scelera,' 'ad pericula' (6. 7, 3; 14. 58, 1), and many other uses of 'ad' with the force of 'in reference to': see 2. 2, 2; Her. on H. 2. 97, 7.

18. **incedebat.** This implies the absence of such vehicles as would usually be provided. 'Muliebre' and 'miserabile' are also emphatic, and the order of words is studied for effect. 'They were starting on foot, a train of women, and in pitiable plight.'

uxor, parvulum sinu filium gerens, lamentantes circum amicorum coniuges, quae simul trahebantur, nec minus tristes qui manebant.

41. Non florentis Caesaris neque suis in castris, set velut in
5 urbe victa facies; gemitusque ac planctus etiam militum aures
oraque advertere: progrediuntur contuberniis. quis ille flebilis 2
sonus? quod tam triste? feminas inlustres, non centurionem
ad tutelam, non militem, nihil imperatoriae uxoris aut comitatus
soliti: pergere ad Treveros [et] externae fidei. pudor inde et 3
10 miseratio et patris Agrippae, Augusti avi memoria, socer Drusus,

7. quid Heins., Nipp., Ritt. 9. Treviros here twice and in most places in Hist., but Trever. five times in 3. 40-45. [et] Halm, fidei sedem Müller, externam fidem Nipp., tradi (committi, dedi) fidei others.

2. **qui manebant**, i.e. the husbands and friends parting from them.

4. **florentis**, 'in prosperity': cp. c. 53, 2; 16. 33, 1, &c.

5. **facies.** Gronov. has rightly explained this, as not 'facies Caesaris,' but 'facies rerum' (cp. c. 49, 1; H. 2. 89, 3, &c.) 'non florenti Caesari, sed urbi captae conveniens.' It seems better, with Nipp., to place a semicolon at 'facies,' and to take the sentence in apposition with the last of the preceding chapter, than, with Halm, to join it with 'gemitusque,' &c., as subject of 'advertere.'

6. **advertere**, 'attracted,' as 2. 17, 2; 4. 21, 5; 6. 44, 1, &c. For other uses of the word see 3. 52, 2; 4. 54, 2, &c.

progrediuntur contuberniis: cp. 'progredior portu' Verg. Aen. 3, 300, and other such ablatives in Introd. 5. § 24.

quis ille, &c. The construction is here to be taken as designedly broken and exclamatory, to express the agitation of the speakers. 'What is this sound of mourning? What this sight so sad? Here are women of rank—not a centurion—not a soldier as escort—not a mark of the general's wife or of her usual retinue—setting out for the Treveri!' &c. Such exclamatory sentences are given in 14. 8, 4, and, according to some, in c. 35, 2 ('neu mortem,' &c.). With 'quod,' we should expect a substantive (cp. 'quod nomen' c. 42, 4); and, though 'triste' may have a substantival force (as 'triste ... evenit' 15. 34, 1; 'triste lupus stabulis' Verg. Ecl. 3, 80), the addition of 'tam' supports the conjecture that 'iter' (E. Jacob) or 'spectaculum,' answering to 'sonus,' may have dropped out.

9. **ad Treveros [et] externae fidei.** If we are to follow most commentators in taking the last words as a concise genitive of quality (cp. Introd. v. § 34); they should certainly be joined closely to 'Treveros,' without a needless and even misleading conjunction. 'Et' appears also redundant before 'externae' in H. 5. 10, 3. But the force of such an expression here (as of 'externa superbia' in 15. 31, 2), should be 'homines talis fidei, qualis apud externos esse solet,' i.e. 'parvae fidei'; an interpretation which, if open to no other objection, misrepresents the thought of the speakers, which is not one of anxiety for Agrippina's safety, but of self-reproach, that the fidelity of foreigners should be the refuge of a Roman general's wife against a Roman army. The alternative explanation, taking 'externae fidei' as a dative adapted in construction to the idea of some such verb as 'committi,' supplied by zeugma from 'pergere,' is hardly justified even by the boldness with which Tacitus uses this figure (see Introd. v. § 83). It is possible, as suggested by Mr. Haverfield, to put a stop after 'Treveros,' and read 'externae fidei pudor inde,' which would not perhaps be harsher than some other concise expressions; otherwise some corruption is to be suspected; though no emendation has won general acceptance. On the Treveri see 3. 40, 1, &c.

10. **socer Drusus**, &c. All these clauses express the thoughts influencing the soldiers, and lead up to 'sed nihil,' &c. The passage begins regularly, but abruptly passes from 'patris ... memoria' to a pregnant construction, in which mention of the object of thought implies the

ipsa insigni fecunditate, praeclara pudicitia; iam infans in castris genitus, in contubernio legionum eductus, quem militari vocabulo Caligulam appellabant, quia plerumque ad concilianda vulgi
4 studia eo tegmine pedum induebatur. sed nihil aeque flexit quam invidia in Treveros: orant obsistunt, rediret maneret, 5 pars Agrippinae occursantes, plurimi ad Germanicum regressi.
5 isque ut erat recens dolore et ira, apud circumfusos ita coepit.

42. 'Non mihi uxor aut filius patre et re publica cariores sunt, sed illum quidem sua maiestas, imperium Romanum ceteri 10
2 exercitus defendent. coniugem et liberos 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, interfecta Tiberii nurus

thought itself. For a similar transition cp. 'cum . . . ad memoriam coniugii et infantiam liberorum revolveretur' (11. 34, 1). Wolf remarks that here the change seems designedly introduced, as if to denote that not merely the recollection, but the image itself of Drusus, their former beloved commander, is as vividly before them as those whom they actually saw. The relationship expressed is throughout that of Agrippina.

1. **insigni fecunditate.** Of the nine children whom she had in all, three were now living, and six had been born. See Introd. ix.

in castris genitus. Gaius was now just two years old. Tacitus here follows the popular belief, as expressed in an epigram quoted by Suetonius (Cal. 8), 'In castris natus,' &c. But he was born when his father, as consul, was in Rome; and Suetonius (l. l.) shows, from a letter of Augustus, that the child was in Italy not long after the date of birth; and that the birthplace was stated in the 'acta publica' to have been Antium.

2. **militari vocabulo**: see on c. 23, 4.

3. **ad concilianda vulgi studia.** The 'caliga' was not worn by officers above the rank of centurion, and is thus so far characteristic of the common soldier, that 'caligatus' is used for 'miles gregarius' (Suet. Aug. 25; Vit. 7), and 'in caliga,' or 'a caliga' for 'in,' or 'from the ranks' (Pl. N. H. 7. 42, 44, 135; Sen. de Benef. 5. 16, 2). Hence it is called 'habitus gregalis' (c. 69, 5), or 'manipularius' (Suet. Cal. 9).

4. **aeque . . . quam**: cp. 14. 38, 3, &c. In prose from Livy, who appears to take it from Plautus.

5. **orant obsistunt, &c.** The construction is again designedly abrupt: 'orant' is explained by 'rediret,' 'maneret'; 'obsistunt' refers strictly to 'pars . . . occursantes,' and more loosely to 'plurimi . . . regressi.' The alliteration adds to the rhetorical effect of the asyndeta: cp. 'pergerent properarent' c. 51, 7, and a different form in c. 58, 6.

7. **recens dolore et ira**, 'fresh from,' i. e. with their influence still strong upon him: cp. 'recens victoria' H. 3. 77, 5. So one who had been lately praetor is called 'recens praetura' (4. 52, 2). The more classical construction would be with the prep., as 'recens a vulnere Dido' Verg. Aen. 6, 450; but the usage here is analogous to that of the abl. of place whence (see Introd. v. 24).

11. **liberos**; a rhetorical plural, one child only being present.

13. **istud sceleris**, partitive genitive, like 'quicquid . . . auctoritatis' 14. 43, 2. On the freedom with which such are used by Tacitus cp. Introd. v. § 32.

14. **pietur.** Nipp. has noticed the peculiar use of this word here to denote, not an expiation of guilt, but an act on which guilt might exhaust itself. Cp. Prop. 4 (3). 19, 18 (of Medea) 'quo tempore matris iram natorum caede piavit amor.' The word is generally poetical, the usual prose word being 'expiare.'

nocentiores vos faciant. quid enim per hos dies inausum inte- 3
meratumve vobis? quod nomen huic coetui dabo? militesne 4
appellem, qui filium imperatoris vestri vallo et armis circumse-
distis? an cives, quibus tam proiecta senatus auctoritas? hos-
5 tium quoque ius et sacra legationis et fas gentium rupistis.
divus Iulius seditionem exercitus verbo uno compescuit, Quirites 5
vocando qui sacramentum eius detrectabant: divus Augustus
vultu et aspectu Actiacas legiones exterruit: nos ut nondum
eosdem, ita ex illis ortos si Hispaniae Suriaeve miles aspernа-
10 retur, tamen mirum et indignum erat. primane et vicensima 6

1. faciat: text Ritt. 9. syriae: Med. i. has this form eleven times, suria eight times, Med. ii. almost always the former; Baiter and Ritt. follow the MSS., Halm reads uniformly Suria.

1. **inausum intemeratumve.** Both words appear first in Vergil (Aen. 7, 308; 2, 143, &c.). The former, found here alone in Tacitus, occurs in earlier prose (Sen. Ep. 91, 15); the latter seems introduced into prose by Tacitus, but used freely by him, even where the passage is not rhetorical (as c. 49, 6, &c.).

2. **quod nomen,** &c. That this speech is mainly composed by the author, would appear from the evident reminiscence here of that purporting in Livy (28. 27) to have been addressed by Scipio Africanus to his mutinous troops: 'ad vos quemadmodum loquar, nec consilium, nec oratio suppeditat; quos ne quo nomine quidem appellare debeam, scio. Cives? qui a patria vestra descistis: an milites? qui imperium auspiciumque abnuistis, sacramenti religionem rupistis.'

3. **vallo et armis circumsedistis.** Walther rightly treats this as rhetorical and figurative; as neither the occurrences in the summer camp (c. 35), nor those in the winter quarters (c. 39), bear out a literal interpretation.

4. **proiecta,** 'trampled under foot': so 'proiectum consulare imperium' Liv. 2. 27, 11. In 3. 65, 4, it is adjectival, in the sense of 'abject.' The contempt for the senate is that implied in their treatment of its delegates (c. 39, 6).

hostium quoque ius, 'even rights accorded to enemies'; i.e. 'laws of war.' This and the two following expressions are all a rhetorical amplification of one idea, the conjunctions being epexegetical.

5. **sacra,** 'sanctity': cp. 2. 65, 4.

fas gentium, 'international obligation'; i.e. 'law of nations.' Cp. 'fas disciplinae' (c. 19, 3); 'fas patriae' (2. 10, 1), &c.

6. **divus Iulius,** &c. Two mutinies in his time are mentioned by Suetonius (Jul. 69; 70); and this circumstance is referred to the latter of them (that of the tenth legion near Rome in 707, B.C. 47) by him, as also by Appian (B.C. 2. 93), and Dio (42. 53, 3). Merivale (ch. xvi. p. 222) prefers the authority of Lucan (5, 358), who tells this story of the earlier mutiny at Placentia in 705, B.C. 49. In H. 3. 24, 3, Antonius Primus is made to reproach soldiers as 'pagani'; and Alexander Severus is recorded (Lamprid. 52) to have often disbanded legions by merely styling them 'Quirites.'

7. **divus Augustus,** &c. Other accounts of this mutiny represent Augustus as having hastily returned to Brundusium in the winter following Actium, and appeased the military discontent by rewards (Suet. Aug. 17; Dio, 51. 3, 4). There may be here some confusion with the incidents of an earlier mutiny, in 719, B.C. 35, which appears to have been more formidable, and more energetically dealt with: Liv. Epit. 131; Dio, 49. 34.

8. **nos.** The context shows that this refers to himself alone; Tiberius not being of the blood of Augustus, nor unknown (see 2. 3, 4) to the Syrian legions.

ut . . . ita. See on c. 12, 1.

9. **Hispaniae Suriaeve;** i.e. 'an army to which I was personally unknown.'

10. **erat.** On the force of this indicative see Introd. v. § 50 b, 2. Nipp. has here collected instances of it, as also of the subjunctive in similar expressions.

primane, &c. The construction is

legiones, illa signis a Tiberio acceptis, tu tot proeliorum socia,
7 tot praemiis aucta, egregiam duci vestro gratiam refertis? hunc
ego nuntium patri, laeta omnia aliis e provinciis audienti, feram?
ipsius tirones, ipsius veteranos non missione, non pecunia sati-
atos; hic tantum interfici centuriones, eici tribunos, includi le- 5
gatos, infecta sanguine castra, flumina, meque precariam animam
inter infensos trahere.

43. Cur enim primo contionis die ferrum illud, quod pectori
meo infigere parabam, detraxistis, o inprovidi amici? melius
2 et amantius ille qui gladium offerebat. cecidissem certe nondum 10
tot flagitiorum exercitui meo conscius; legissetis ducem, qui
meam quidem mortem inpunitam sineret, Vari tamen et trium
3 legionum ulcisceretur. neque enim di sinant ut Belgarum quam-

partly interrogative, partly exclamatory, as suited to the excitement of the speaker. In the following words we should naturally refer 'illa' to the First, 'tu' to the Twentieth legion; but the latter was certainly newly raised at the time of the Pannonian rebellion (see Introd. vii. p. 122), and possibly by Tiberius himself, whereas there must have been always a First legion in the Roman army, and the supposition that it may have been cut to pieces in the 'clades Lolliana' or 'Variana,' and afterwards reconstituted under the same title, rests on no evidence, and is not probable. The true solution seems to be that which I had suggested in the first edition, and which is now strengthened by the argument of Domaszewski (West-Deutsche Zeitschrift, Korrespondenzblatt, xii. 1893, p. 262, foll.: see also Mr. Hardy in Journ. of Philol. xxiii. p. 38), that the reference, as sometimes elsewhere (see c. 70, 6, and note), is determined by other circumstances than the order of mention. The scene is in the camp of the First legion (c. 39, 6), which confronts the tribunal of the speaker, and is addressed as 'tu,' the 'prima Germanica' which may well have shared in all the warfare of Tiberius. The Twentieth, though nearer in the order of previous mention, is supposed to stand in the background, more remote in fact and thought, and is spoken of as 'illa.'

2. **egregiam.** In his frequent ironical use of this word (c. 59, 3; 3. 17, 5; H. 1. 33, 3; 4. 32, 4), Tacitus appears to follow Vergil (Aen. 4, 53).

duci: sc. 'Tiberio.' The allusion to their former service under him is still sustained.

5. **includi legatos.** The mention of these as a climax to centurions and tribunes, as well as the inapplicability of 'includi' to the delegates of the senate, who had already departed (c. 39, 8), suggests that the 'legati legionum' are meant. No act of violence to these has been mentioned, but all the superior officers must have been under some constraint, which would justify their being spoken of as 'imprisoned,' without greater rhetorical licence than that of 'infecta sanguine castra, flumina' (cp. c. 32, 3), &c.

6. **precariam,** 'on sufferance': cp. 'precaria vita' H. 4. 76, 5; 'precarium imperium' H. 1. 52, 6 (where see Her.), &c.

8. **Cur enim,** &c. The thought is, 'I am living on sufferance, and it is the fault of my short-sighted friends that I am living at all.'

9. **melius,** sc. 'fecit.' On the omission of such verbs see Introd. v. § 38 b.

11. **tot flagitiorum ... conscius,** 'implicated with my army in so many outrages.' As responsible for its discipline, he treats himself as involved in what he had not prevented. Cp. 'quasi scelere contaminaretur' (c. 35, 4). On the construction, cp. 'alius alii tanti facinoris conscii' Sall. Cat. 22, 3; 'si conscius Dymno tanti sceleris fuissem' Curt. 6. 10, 20. The construction avoids the awkwardness of a double genitive, and, with the dative of a personal pronoun, is usual.

13. **sinant, ut.** This construction is found only a few times in Terence, and

quam offerentium decus istud et claritudo sit, subvenisse Romano nomini, compressisse Germaniae populos. tua, dive Auguste, 4
caelo recepta mens, tua, pater Druse, imago, tui memoria isdem istis cum militibus, quos iam pudor et gloria intrat, eluant hanc
5 maculam irasque civiles in exitium hostibus vertant. vos quoque, 5
quorum alia nunc ora, alia pectora contueor, si legatos senatui, obsequium imperatori, si mihi coniugem et filium redditis, discedite a contactu ac dividite turbidos: id stabile ad paenitentiam, id fidei vinculum erit.'

10 **44.** Supplices ad haec et vera exprobrari fatentes orabant puniret noxios, ignosceret lapsis et duceret in hostem: revocaretur coniunx, rediret legionum alumnus neve opses Gallis traderetur. reditum Agrippinae excusavit ob inminentem partum 2

4. fluant: text B.

once in Curtius, 'nec di siverint ut . . . quisquam . . . possit' (5. 8, 3).

1. **claritudo.** Wölfflin notes (Philol. xxv. 99) that Tacitus shows a growing preference for this more archaic form (Cato, Sisenna) instead of the Ciceronian 'claritas,' throughout the Annals, especially in the last six Books, where the latter word occurs once (16. 30, 1), the former twenty times. Except in c. 28, 2, it is used always figuratively, whether of personal renown (as here, and 11. 10, 5; 14. 53, 4, &c.), or of distinguished ancestry (as 2. 43, 6; 6. 47, 3, &c.).

3. **imago**, to be taken figuratively, and 'tui memoria' as its explanation. That the legions still bore the effigy of one long dead and never deified is most improbable; and the apostrophe to Augustus ('tua . . . caelo recepta mens') appeals equally to the imagination.

4. **gloria**, 'pride'; as 'iactantia gloriaque' (c. 8, 2). Thus 'pudor' and 'gloria' are joined in H. 2. 21, 6; cp. 'generandi gloria mellis' (Verg. G. 4, 205). It is also used in a bad sense, as 'vaingloriousness' (14. 15, 3, &c.).

hanc maculam. This is by some wrongly referred to the defeat of Varus, of which 'illam' would rather have been used. It means the stain of mutiny, and is explained by 'iras civiles,' as 'eluant' by 'in exitium hostibus vertant.' The expedition in c. 49, 5, is called 'piaculum furoris': cp. also c. 51, 7.

5. **vos quoque**, &c. The speaker is represented as skilfully imagining the existence of the change of feeling which he desires to produce.

6. **si legatos senatui . . . redditis.** They would give him back his wife and son by so behaving that he could safely recall them. The figure of 'giving back to the senate its delegates' seems more farfetched, and merely to denote due recognition of them as such; unless we suppose him to represent them rhetorically as still in the power of the legions, and not yet in safety.

8. **a contactu**, 'from contagion': so used properly in 4. 49, 4, and figuratively often in Tacitus, as 6. 7, 4, &c.

dividite = 'secernite': cp. 'provinciae quae mari dividuntur' (2 43. 2); 'dividere defensionem' (3. 15, 3). Earlier prose writers appear always to add the prep. and abl. of separation.

10. **Supplices**, &c. On the improbabilities of the narrative see Introd. iii. p. 17, n. 12. **Ad haec**, 'at these words': cp. H. 3. 70, 6.

11. **et duceret.** The conjunction here couples a future action to the clauses referring to the settlement of the mutiny itself. For instances of such combinations see Her. on H. 1. 51, 25.

13. **reditum Agrippinae excusavit.** Elsewhere, the accusative with this verb either denotes that which has been done, and is apologized for; or (as in 3. 11, 2, &c.) that which is pleaded in excuse. Here it means 'excusavit Agrippinam, quod non rediret.'

inminentem. This belongs properly

3 et hiemem; venturum filium: cetera ipsi exsequerentur. discurrunt mutati et seditiosissimum quemque vinctos trahunt ad legatum legionis primae C. Caetronium, qui iudicium et poenas de singulis in hunc modum exercuit. stabant pro contione
4 legiones destrictis gladiis; reus in suggestu per tribunum os- 5
tendebatur: si nocentem adclamaverant, praeceps datus truci-
5 dabatur. et gaudebat caedibus miles, tamquam semet absolveret; nec Caesar arcebat, quando nullo ipsius iussu penes
6 eosdem saevitia facti et invidia erat. secuti exemplum veterani haud multo post in Raetiam mittuntur, specie defendendae pro- 10
vinciae ob imminentis Suebos, ceterum ut avellerentur castris

to 'partum,' but may extend its force somewhat to 'hiemem.' An altar at Ambitarvium, a Treveran village near Coblenz, inscribed 'ob Agrippinae puerperium,' is recorded to have been seen by Pl. Mai. (Suet. Cal. 8). It has been held by some that the birth must have been that of the younger Agrippina, and that either this narrative, or the statement in 12. 27, 1. must be wrong. The supposition of Mommsen (Hermes, xiii. 256, foll.) is more probable, that neither of the children born in Germany (Introd. ix. note 14; 15) were born in this year; and that we must suppose at this time the probably premature birth of a child which never lived, and has no place in the list given by Suetonius.

2. **vinctos**: for the pl. see Introd. v. § 42 e.

3. **legatum legionis**. On these officers see Introd. vii. p. 124.

poenas ... exercuit, apparently taken from Vergil (Aen. 6, 543); with its strangeness softened by combination with the regular phrase 'iudicium exercere.'

4. **pro contione**. This construction is familiar in the phrase 'laudare aliquem pro contione' (2. 22. 1; Sall.; Liv., &c.), where it is generally explained to mean 'before the assembly.' But here the legions are the assembly. Also, there appears to be some evidence that the 'tribunal' may itself be called 'contio.' Even thus, if 'pro contione' were equivalent to 'pro tribunali,' and analogous in Tacitus to 'pro ripa,' 'pro munimentis,' 'pro muris' (2. 9, 3; 13, 4; 81, 1); it would describe the position of the speaker standing forth on the platform, rather than the audience facing it. Unless therefore we take the phrase to mean no more than that they 'stood forth assembled,' we must explain it (with Nipp.) to signify 'after the fashion of an assembly' (cp. 4. 38, 2), i. e. not an irregular crowd, yet with the implied meaning that it was not strictly a 'contio' convened by the general, but one self-constituted. No such use of the phrase has been however found elsewhere. A rude trial of this kind, in which soldiers were allowed to butcher those whom they pronounced guilty, is called 'priscus mos' in Ammian. 2. 9, 5.

5. **suggestu**. This is the regular term for the 'tribunal' or platform in camps, as H. 1. 36, 1; 55, 5; Caes.; Liv., &c. The construction of such with piled up turf is described in c. 18, 4, but it might often be a more permanent structure.

9. **secuti exemplum**; sc. 'legionum.' The 'veterani sub vexillo' are here clearly distinguished from the legions.

10. **Raetiam**. This name strictly answers to the modern Grisons and Tyrol, but often, as here, is taken to include the frontier country of Vindelicia; which comprised southern Bavaria between the Inn and the upper Danube, and extended later to the 'limes Romanus.' See Introd. vii. p. 110. Both countries were reduced to subjection by Drusus and Tiberius in 739, B.C. 15 (Liv. Epit. 138; Vell. 2. 39, 3; Hor. Od. 4. 4 and 14). Their only important town was 'Augusta Vindelicorum' (Augsburg): see G. 41, 1.

11. **Suebos**. The various tribes grouped under this name extended in the time of Tacitus from the Baltic to the Danube (cf. G. 38–43); here the Marcomani of Bohemia and others subject to Maroboduus are meant: see on 2. 44, 5.

ceterum: cp. c. 10, 1.

castris. Nipp. takes this as dat.; but Vergil has the abl. 'complexu avolsus Iuli' (Aen. 4, 616).

trucibus adhuc non minus asperitate remedii quam sceleris memoria. centurionatum inde egit. citatus ab imperatore nomen, 7
ordinem, patriam, numerum stipendiorum, quae strenue in praeliis fecisset, et cui erant dona militaria, edebat. si tribuni, si 8
5 legio industriam innocentiamque adprobaverant, retinebat ordinem: ubi avaritiam aut crudelitatem consensu obiectavissent, solvebatur militia.

45. Sic compositis praesentibus haud minor moles supererat ob ferociam quintae et unetvicensimae legionum, sexagensimum
10 apud lapidem (loco Vetera nomen est) hibernantium. nam primi 2

4. donaria: dona Victorius (cp. 6. 48, 3). 5. ordines: text Kiessling.

1. **trucibus**, 'gloomy': cp. 'lucosque vetusta relligione truces' Claud. Laud. Stil. 1, 229.

2. **centurionatum inde egit.** The sense required is that of 'centuriones recensuit,' or 'creavit'; the former process alone being described, but the latter implied; as the vacancies of those dismissed or killed (c. 32, 3) had to be filled up. But 'centurionatus,' which (according to Nipp.) is found only in Val. Max. 3. 2, 23, and in an inscription of Antonine times (C. I. L. x. 3340), must mean, like the rather less rare 'centuriatus' (Cic. and Suet. Gramm. 24), 'the office of centurion' (cp. 'optionatus,' 'decurionatus,' &c.); and thus the centurion himself should rather be said 'centurionatum agere.' It is perhaps possible, on the analogy of 'dilectum agere,' to make the phrase mean 'to hold an election of centurions'; but more probably the passage is corrupt. The most plausible emendation, however, 'centurionum reatum' (Bernhardy, cited by Baiter), introduces a word unknown in Tacitus and very rare otherwise; and one which hardly seems to bear the meaning here required.

4. **dona militaria**, 'decorations.' Such are mentioned in 3. 21, 3; Juv. 16, 57–60; and many inscriptions (see Henzen, Index, p. 144). The brilliant appearance of an army when these were worn, as in full dress, is described in H. 2. 89, 3.

si . . . adprobaverant, . . . ubi . . . obiectavissent. 'Si' and 'ubi' are interchanged (both with indic.) in 4. 17, 1; 'si' and 'ut' (both with subj.) in 11. 28, 3; and such changes are frequent: see Dräger, Synt. und Stil, § 233. The moods are interchanged, as here, in 6. 18, 5 (where see note), &c. Here there appears to be a compromise between the subj. of repeated action, usual in writers of this age, and the indic. of earlier writers. See Introd. v. § 52. Walther takes it to imply that approval was the rule and disapproval the exception.

6. **avaritiam**, in selling 'vacationes.' See on c. 17, 6.

7. **solvebatur militia.** This would have the character of an 'ignominiosa missio'; as distinct from the 'honesta,' on completion of service, and 'causaria,' for disease. Dig. 49. 16, 13.

8. **praesentibus**: cp. c. 30, 5; 11. 18, 2.

moles, 'difficulty'; as 2. 78, 1, &c. This use of the word had been already adopted by Livy (25. 11, 18) from Vergil (Aen. 1, 33, &c.).

9. **quintae et unetvicensimae.** On the departure of these legions from the summer camp cp. c. 37, 3.

10. **Vetera.** This station, though here described as if unknown to the reader, had been frequently mentioned in the 'Histories.' The full name, 'Vetera castra,' is given in H. 4. 21, 1; 5. 14, 1. The locality is identified by Schneider (Rhein. Geschichtsblätter, ii. 85) with the Fürstenberg, near Xanten (below Wesel), where remains exist. This would well suit the distance (sixty Roman miles), if reckoned from Köln. The Itinerary of Antoninus (p. 370, cited by Orelli), placing it at a distance of sixty-three milia passuum from Bonn, cannot on this supposition be correct. From observing that Tacitus says 'nomen est' (not 'erat'), and at the first mention in Hist. (4. 18, 6) uses similar words ('castra quibus Veterum nomen est'), and from the fact that in his day this camp was no longer kept up, being superseded by 'Colonia Traiana' nearer Xanten, it has been thought by Schneider that he

seditionem coeptaverant: atrocissimum quodque facinus horum manibus patratum; nec poena commilitonum exterriti nec pae-
3 nitentia conversi iras retinebant. igitur Caesar arma classem socios demittere Rheno parat, si imperium detrectetur, bello certaturus. 5

46. At Romae nondum cognito, qui fuisset exitus in Illyrico, et legionum Germanicarum motu audito, trepida civitas incusare Tiberium quod, dum patres et plebem, invalida et inermia, cunctatione ficta ludificetur, dissideat interim miles neque duorum adulescentium nondum adulta auctoritate comprimi queat. 10
2 ire ipsum et opponere maiestatem imperatoriam debuisse cessuris, ubi principem longa experientia eundemque severitatis
3 et munificentiae summum vidissent. an Augustum fessa aetate

11. imperator iam: text B. (Andresen Codd. Med. p. 4). 12. Ritt. wrongly gives the Med. text as longe

speaks of it as 'the old (i.e. disused) camp,' and that its name during its occupation is unknown to us. The alternative view (see Düntzner, Bonn. Jahrb. lxxiii. 21) would make it a Celtic name like Bonna, Novesium, &c.

primi coeptaverant: see c. 31, 3.

2. **paenitentia.** With this 'commilitonum' may be again supplied, or it may be taken (with Nipp.) to mean their own penitence.

3. **arma.** This is often used for 'milites,' as in c. 1, 3, &c. Here the legions especially are meant, as the 'socii' are mentioned separately.

classem. This was perhaps a flotilla temporarily got together for use on the river. It is known, however, that a standing German fleet of seagoing ships existed in the time of Drusus (Flor. 4. 12, 26; Suet. Cl. 1), and was employed in 758, A. D. 5, by Tiberius, who carried it to the Elbe (Vell. 2. 106, 2). and even to the Cimbri, or Jutland (Mon. Anc. v. 14). Germanicus used (c. 60, 3) and augmented it (2. 6, 2). It is styled in later inscriptions 'Classis Germanica' (or 'Augusta Germanica') P. F. ('pia fidelis'): Orelli 3600; Henzen 6865-6867.

6. **Illyrico.** This term had originally a very wide ethnographical sense (see Marquardt, i. p. 295), and is often taken to include not only Delmatia and Pannonia, but even Moesia: see Suet. Tib. 16, &c.

8. **invalida et inermia,** 'the feeble and defenceless element': cp. 'quod imbecillum aetate,' &c. (c. 56, 3). Nipp. has here collected many instances from Tacitus of the substantival application of neuter adjectives to masc. or fem. substantives. to denote them as beings, or things. of a certain class. It is not however peculiar to him, but classical: see Madv. 211 b, Obs. 1, Dr. Synt. u. Stil, § 30, Her. on H. 2. 20, 11.

9. **cunctatione**: see c. 11, &c.

dissideat, 'mutinies': cp. 'discors,' c. 38, 1, &c.

10. **adulescentium.** Germanicus was twenty-nine, Drusus about twenty-six years old. See Introd. ix. note 30, 31.

11. **opponere,** 'to confront them with.'

cessuris: cp. 'tracturis' c. 31, 1.

12. **experientia**: cp. c. 4, 3.

severitatis et munificentiae summum, 'with sovereign power to punish and reward.' 'Severitas,' though apparently used differently in c. 25, 3; 36, 3, has certainly this force in 3. 21, 2, &c. On the genitive see Introd. v. § 33, e, γ. The words might also be taken, with Zumpt (447, n. 1), like 'praestantissimus sapientiae' (6. 6, 2), to mean 'severitatis et munificentiae summae'; but the position of Tiberius, as compared with that of his sons, seems here to be thought of rather than his character.

13. **an Augustum,** &c. The speakers exaggerate the frequency of these expeditions, and invent the contrast of age. We know of no later expeditions of Augustus to Germany (or rather Gaul) than those of 738, B.C. 16, and 746, B.C. 8

totiens in Germanias commeare potuisse: Tiberium vigentem annis sedere in senatu, verba patrum cavillantem? satis pro- 4
spectum urbanae servituti: militaribus animis adhibenda fomenta, ut ferre pacem velint.

5 **47.** Inmotum adversus eos sermones fixumque Tiberio fuit non omittere caput rerum neque se remque publicam in casum dare. multa quippe et diversa angebant: validior per Ger- 2
maniam exercitus, propior apud Pannoniam; ille Galliarum opibus subnixus, hic Italiae inminens: quos igitur anteferret?
10 ac ne postpositi contumelia incenderentur. at per filios pariter 3
adiri maiestate salva, cui maior e longinquo reverentia. simul 4
adulescentibus excusatum quaedam ad patrem reicere, resistentisque Germanico aut Druso posse a se mitigari vel infringi: quod aliud subsidium, si imperatorem sprevissent? ceterum ut 5

c
10. intenderentur:

(Dio, 54. 19; 55. 6), in the forty-seventh and fifty-fifth years of his age. Tiberius, though far stronger for his years, was already fifty-six. The absence of any warning of this exaggeration suggests that Tacitus was himself misled by it.

fessa aetate. This is a common expression in Tacitus, as 3. 59, 6; 14. 33, 4, &c.

2. **cavillantem,** 'quibbling at.' The word usually means 'to jest' or 'satirize,' but is so used in Liv. 3. 20, 4 'cavillari tum tribuni': cp. 'cavillante circa crus' (of the cobbler) Pl. N. H. 35. 10, 36, 85.

3. **servituti,** invidiously contrasted with 'pacem.'

5. **Inmotum . . . fixumque,** one of the many imitations in Tacitus of Vergil (see Introd. v. § 97, 4).

6. **omittere,** 'to leave unguarded'; as c. 36, 2, &c.

caput rerum: so 'caput rerum Urbem' (of Rome) H. 2. 32, 5. On a similar occasion, later, we have the same idea in other words, 'omissa urbe, unde in omnia regimen' (3. 47, 2).

se . . . in casum dare. Cp. 12. 14, 3 'rem in casum dare'; and 2. 11, 1: such phrases are analogous to 'rem in casum . . . committere' (Liv. 4. 27, 6), and 'dare se in viam' (Cic. Fam. 14. 12), or 'in fugam' (Id. Verr. 4. 43, 95).

7. **per,** 'throughout,' i. e. distributed over.

9. **subnixus,** 'supported by': cp. c. 11. 3; 11. 1, 2.

quos. The use of this pronoun in the sense of 'uter' is rare, but found in the best authors: cp. 'controversias . . . quisnam antef rretur' (Caes. B. G. 5. 44, 2); 'quem velis, nescias,' i. e. Antonius or Octavianus (Cic. Att. 16. 14, 1): cp. also Cic. ad Fam. 7. 3, 1; Verg. Aen. 12, 719; 727; and several other instances cited by Nipp. Gudeman notes (Int. to Dial. cxvi) the rarity of the post-positive use of 'igitur' in Tacitus (seven out of 174 instances in Gerber and Greef).

10. **ac ne.** From 'angebant' are supplied both the idea of doubt (with 'quos anteferret'), and of fear (with 'ne . . . incenderentur'). 'Ac ne' is used in H. 2. 34, 2; 3. 46, 3, to subjoin an additional motive for an action. The correction of the text is needful: 'intendo' has often the sense of 'to intensify,' but is not used with an accusative of the person.

12. **excusatum.** This participial adjective, in the sense of 'excusable,' is post-Augustan and rare. The adverbial comparative is found in 3. 68, 1, and other adverbial or adjectival uses in Sen., Quint. and Pl. Min.

14. **ut . . . iturus.** Dräger notes that, before Livy, this rendering of the Greek construction of a participle with ὡς is very rare, and not found with the future participle. Tacitus has 'ut . . . arguens' (4. 33, 6); 'ut . . . transmissurus' (H. 2. 58, 4); 'ut . . . positurus' (H. 3. 68, 4). See other instances in Introd. v. § 67.

iam iamque iturus legit comites, conquisivit impedimenta, adornavit naves: mox hiemem 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 5 exemplo sibi ipsi consulerent, praemittit litteras ad Caecinam, venire se valida manu ac, ni supplicium in malos praesumant,
2 usurum promisca caede. eas Caecina aquiliferis signiferisque et quod maxime castrorum sincerum erat occulte recitat, utque cunctos infamiae, se ipsos morti eximant hortatur: nam in pace 10 causas et merita spectari: ubi bellum ingruat, innocentes ac
3 noxios iuxta cadere. illi temptatis quos idoneos rebantur, postquam maiorem legionum partem in officio vident, de sententia legati statuunt tempus, quo foedissimum quemque et seditioni
4 promptum ferro invadant. tunc signo inter se dato inrumpunt 15 contubernia, trucidant ignaros, nullo nisi consciis noscente quod caedis initium, quis finis.

8. promisca: so Med. i. and Halm always, Med. ii. sometimes (14. 14, 3; 15. 9, 2; 16. 16, 4) promiscuus.

1. **legit ... conquisivit ... adornavit.** On the fondness of Tacitus for asyndeta in lively narrative see Introd. v. § 65. In such clauses he oftener uses the historical infinitive (as 2. 31, 1), or present (as H. 2. 22, 3), and puts the verb usually at the beginning of its clause, but sometimes for variety at the end in the last clause (as c. 68, 2; 2. 29, 1). Other examples are here collected by Nipp.

2. **causatus**, 'pleading': cp. 13. 44, 2, &c.; freq. in poets and Livy.

primo, 'at first,' i.e. for a short time. These were the first, the people the next, the provinces the last to see through it.

3. **vulgum.** This accus., found in Lucr., Verg., and Liv., is not unfrequent in Tacitus: cp. 3. 76, 2; 4. 14. 4; 6. 44, 1; and several references given by Nipp.

5. **dandum . . . spatium.** This is equivalent to 'exspectandum'; with which verb, or with such as express or imply design, or attempt, 'si' is often used in the sense of 'whether,' or 'in case that.' See Madv. 451 d; Her. on H. 1. 31, 10. Dräger (§ 193) notes the usage as found in Cicero and Caesar, and especially in Livy, and that it is not really a Graecism. For 'sibi consulere' cp. H. 1. 54, 4.

6. **exemplo**, that of the two other legions (c. 44).

Caecinam. Unless there is some error (see note on c. 37, 3), he must have gone on to 'Vetera' soon after leading the two other legions to the 'civitas Ubiorum,' as he is not mentioned in the events there (c. 39–44).

7. **praesumant**: cp. 2. 73, 6; 3. 46, 2, &c. The word is confined to poets and post-Augustan prose.

8. **aquiliferis signiferisque.** Of the former (see c. 39, 7) there would be one in each legion, of the latter, one in each maniple (see on c. 18, 3; 34, 4; and Domaszewski, 'Fahnen,' p. 36 foll.). As there were no centurions left (c. 32, 3), he has to act through these as the next officers in rank.

10. **eximant.** The dative with this verb, frequent in poets and post-Augustan prose, is generally used by Tacitus (cp. c. 64, 4; 2. 55, 3; 3. 18, 1, &c.), except in Agr. 3, 3, and perhaps in 14. 64, 1.

11. **causas**, 'excuses': so 'causam seditioni' (H. 4. 19, 1); 'accipio causam' (Cic. Fam. 16. 19).

15. **promptum.** On the dative with this word see c. 2, 1.

16. **nullo . . . noscente**, 'none being able to ascertain': cp. c. 62, 1; and 'arma,' 'principia noscere' ('to distinguish') H. 1. 68, 1; 2. 93, 1.

quod . . . initium, quis finis. Wal-

49. Diversa omnium, quae umquam accidere, civilium armorum facies. non proelio, non adversis e castris, sed isdem 2
e cubilibus, quos simul vescentis dies, simul quietos nox habuerat. discedunt in partes, ingerunt tela. clamor vulnera sanguis
5 palam, causa in occulto; cetera fors regit. et quidam bonorum 3
caesi, postquam intellecto in quos saeviretur, pessimi quoque arma rapuerant. neque legatus aut tribunus moderator adfuit: permissa vulgo licentia atque ultio et satietas. mox ingressus 4
castra Germanicus, non medicinam illud plurimis cum lacrimis
10 sed cladem appellans, cremari corpora iubet.

Truces etiam tum animos cupido involat eundi in hostem, 5
piaculum furoris; nec aliter posse placari commilitonum manes, quam si pectoribus impiis honesta vulnera accepissent. sequitur 6
ardorem militum Caesar iunctoque ponte tramittit duodecim
15 milia e legionibus, sex et viginti socias cohortis, octo equitum alas, quarum ea seditione intemerata modestia fuit.

ther would explain the interchange of 'qui' and 'quis,' by supposing that more stress is laid in the first clause on the noun, in the second on the pronoun. But often the use of 'quis' for 'qui,' or the reverse, seems to turn on euphony. See Zumpt 134, note: Madvig 88, Obs. 1.

1. **Diversa omnium.** The words might be rendered 'unlike this was the appearance,' &c.; but more probably the genitive is a Graecism like that found often in Horace with words expressing separation; as 'abstineto irarum,' 'sceleris purus,' 'operum vacuus,' &c.: cp. Zumpt 469; Madv. 290, Obs. 3.

2. **facies.** This word is used in the sense of 'aspectus rei' by Sallust (Jug. 78, 3, &c.) and Vergil, from whom (Aen. 6, 104) Tacitus adopts 'laborum facies' (H. 3. 30, 1): cp. 'facies belli' (H. 1. 85, 2), 'pugnae' (H. 2. 42, 4), 'locorum' (Ann. 14. 10, 5), 'victoriae' (Agr. 38, 2). See above, c. 41, 1.

4. **discedunt in partes.** Nipp. notes the ideas supplied from this above by zeugma; as 'not confronted in battle, nor starting from opposite camps.'

5. **cetera,** 'the issue.' 'Fors omnia regere' is found in Sall. Jug. 51, 1.

7. **arma rapuerant,** a Vergilian phrase (Aen. 7, 340; 8, 220): cp. 2. 19, 2, &c.

9. **illud.** This use of a pronoun in the neuter, where its gender would more classically be attracted to that of the noun referred to, is common in Tacitus, who thus uses 'istud' (2. 38, 4), 'illud' (4. 19, 3), and 'id' (16. 22, 2). Several other instances are collected by Nipp. The usage appears to occur first in Vergil, e.g. Aen. 3, 173 'nec sopor illud erat.'

11. **etiam tum:** this is taken closely with 'truces.'

animos cupido involat. This phrase is noted by Draeger as ἅπ. εἰρ.; but the construction of 'involare' with the accusative, found also H. 4. 33, 2, and in Pl. Mai. &c., is analogous to that of many verbs compounded with 'in,' as 'inrumpere,' &c.

13. **honesta,** i.e. the wounds of honourable battle, contrasted with 'impiis,' polluted by civil war. Cp. 'impius ... miles' (Verg. Ecl. 1, 71).

sequitur, 'seconds': cp. 'adulationem ... sequitur' (3. 69, 1). Dio (57. 6, 1) makes Germanicus himself originate the expedition, φοβηθεὶς μὴ καὶ αὖθις στασιάσωσιν.

15. **e legionibus,** i.e. from the four legions of the Lower army. These detachments, amounting to about half their strength, are designated by the legionary names in c. 51, 5.

16. **quarum** applies to 'cohortes' and 'alae.' The auxiliary troops generally had no share in this mutiny. See c. 36, 2.

modestia, 'subordination'; as c. 35, 1.

50. Laeti neque procul Germani agitabant, dum iustitio ob
2 amissum Augustum, post discordiis attinemur. at Romanus
agmine propero silvam Caesiam limitemque a Tiberio coeptum
scindit, castra in limite locat, frontem ac tergum vallo, latera
3 concaedibus munitus. inde saltus obscuros permeat consultat- 5
que ex duobus itineribus breve et solitum sequatur an inpe-
4 ditius et intemptatum eoque hostibus incautum. delecta longiore
via cetera adcelerantur: etenim attulerant exploratores festam

1. **agitabant** = 'degebant': so 4. 46, 1; 11. 21, 2, &c.: cp. 'agere' c. 68. 1, &c. Sallust often so uses both, Livy the latter.

iustitio. See c. 16, 2.

2. **at Romanus**, &c. Knoke ('die Kriegszüge des Germanicus,' pp. 23–34) and other writers referred to by him and by Nipp., have endeavoured to elucidate the topography of this campaign. The difficulty, not to say the impossibility, of doing so lies in the fact that the 'silva Caesia' and 'limes Tiberii' are nowhere else mentioned, and that the locality inhabited by the Marsi is unknown (see note on § 6). It seems thus hardly possible to go beyond the likelihood that the Romans may have advanced, probably from Vetera, along the left bank of the Lippe, and then struck southward through a comparatively unknown country ('saltus obscuros') towards the upper Ruhr, and that the tribes living north of the Lippe endeavoured to intercept their retreat. On the campaigns generally see Appendix ii. to Book ii.

3. **Caesiam.** This forest must have been within a day's march of the point of crossing, and may have been widely extended. Some think the name traceable in Coesfeld, north of the Lippe. Others, agreeing with Lips., that the name should probably be 'Haesiam' (connected with that of the German war-god), think that it may survive in the village of Heisingen, near Essen.

limitem. This term is explained by Mommsen (see Hist. v. 111, n. 1, E. T. i. 122, n. 1) to denote the imperial barricaded road, forming the boundary where no natural frontier existed, preventing marauding parties and restricting traffic. This particular one may have been a line of communication with the outpost of Aliso (2. 7, 5). Veith (cited by Nipp.) would identify it with existing traces of lines north of the Lippe; but the Roman line of march was more probably south of that river.

coeptum, 'laid out.' So '(hortos) a Lucullo coeptos' 11. 1, 1. The word does not in such places imply incompleteness of work, but rather the capability of extension. Nipp.

4. **scindit**, 'penetrates,' or 'passes through.' It is hardly likely that this first march, 'propero agmine,' through a forest within the 'limes,' involved any considerable clearance of obstacles, such as Caecina was sent on to effect in the further march; nor need we suppose that the 'limes' had to be cut away to pass it; as such barriers had always passages at one or more points secured by forts.

in limite. The expression would seem to imply that this 'limes' was a broad embankment with a double 'vallum,' on which could be formed a long narrow camp, secured in front and rear, and requiring only a slight protection on the flanks to complete it. It is perhaps also possible to take the words, with Walther, to mean only that the camp was at or close to the barrier.

frontem . . . munitus. On the frequency of this poetical or Greek accus. in Tacitus see Introd. v. § 11.

5. **concaedibus.** The word appears to be found only in Vegetius and Ammianus, but such barricades of felled trees to protect the flanks are described in Caes. B. G. 3. 29, 1.

saltus obscuros. These lay between the 'limes' and the 'Marsi' (see below). It is suggested by Knoke that he may have left the line of the Lippe at Dorsten, and struck south, taking one of the roads leading to Herdecke, at the meeting-point of the streams of the upper Ruhr.

7. **incautum.** This passive sense is found in poets; also in Sallust ('incautos agros invasit' H. Fr. inc. 46 D, 12 K, 3. 71 G), and Livy ('quod neglexeris incautum . . . habeas' 25. 38, 14).

8. **cetera**, in contrast with 'delecta longiore via.'

eam Germanis noctem ac sollemnibus epulis ludicram. Caecina 5
cum expeditis cohortibus praeire et obstantia silvarum amoliri
iubetur: legiones modico intervallo sequuntur. iuvit nox si- 6
deribus inlustris, ventumque ad vicos Marsorum et circumdatae
5 stationes stratis etiam tum per cubilia propterque mensas, nullo
metu, non antepositis vigiliis: adeo cuncta incuria disiecta erant 7
neque belli timor, ac ne pax quidem nisi languida et soluta inter
temulentos.

51. Caesar avidas legiones, quo latior populatio foret, quattuor
10 in cuneos dispertit; quinquaginta milium spatium ferro flam-
misque pervastat. non sexus, non aetas miserationem attulit: 2
profana simul et sacra et celeberrimum illis gentibus templum

1. **sollemnibus epulis ludicram**, 'a night of games at the festival banquet.' The great national game of the Germans is described in G. 24, 1 'genus spectaculorum unum atque in omni coetu idem. Nudi iuvenes, quibus id ludicrum est, inter gladios se atque infestas frameas saltu iaciunt.'

4. **Marsorum.** This people appear in these Books (cp. c. 56, 7; 2. 25, 2) as one of the chief names in this part of Germany, like the Cherusci and Chatti, and are mentioned by Strabo (7. 1, 3, p. 290) as having retreated before the Romans into the interior, but in the 'Germania' appear only as an 'antiquum nomen' (c. 2, 4). Nipp. gives the probable explanation, that the name is that of a combination or aggregate of some such tribes as those mentioned in G. 34, 1, and that it had become dissolved by the time of Tacitus.

circumdatae: probably, as Joh. Müller suggests, 'vicis' should be supplied, and 'stratis' should be taken as abl. abs.

6. **antepositis**, 'placed in front of them'; so 'antepositis propugnaculis' 12. 56, 3.

disiecta, 'disorganized': cp. 'disiectas per catervas' 2. 45, 3. For other senses of the word cp. c 32, 7, &c.

7. **ne pax quidem**, &c., 'even their peace was but the stupified and reckless ease of the drunken.' Dräger notes the application in Cicero of 'languidus' to such conceptions as 'senectus,' 'studium,' 'voluptates': 'inter temulentos' is repeated from H. 1. 26, 2; 80. 3; and this prep. is often used thus concisely (cp. H. 1. 1, 2; 34, 2; 2. 92, 2; G. and G. Lex. p. 667 a), where an abl. abs, or such a causal clause as 'cum temulenti essent,' would be expected.

9. **avidas.** Tacitus appears to follow Horace (Od. 3. 4, 58) in using this word, without qualification, of eagerness for battle.

10. **cuneos.** This formation would appear suitable rather to battle than to marching; but the word is capable of a more general meaning, equivalent to 'columns,' as in 16. 27, 1; also as used in opposition to 'catervae' (H. 2. 42, 4), and to 'porrecto agmine' (H. 5. 16, 1), and by Curtius (3. 2) of the Macedonian phalanx. The four 'cunei' answer, no doubt, to the four legions. It is suggested by Knoke that the area of fifty miles devastated may have been that of the four valleys of the upper Ruhr and its three chief tributaries.

11. **non sexus**, &c. We have similar complacent descriptions of massacre in c. 56, 3; 2. 21, 3, 25, 4; yet 'mansuetudo in hostes' is noted as a special characteristic of Germanicus (2. 72, 3). Orelli supposes that the duty of avenging Varus would justify such extremities of warfare in the mind of a Roman. It is more probable that such acts towards barbarians would not appear to require justification; though the soldiers are made to express special indignation against 'perfidious peacebreakers' (2. 13, 1).

12. **templum quod Tamfanae vocabant.** As the Germans are stated to have had no temples (G. 9, 3), it is thought that here and in G. 40, 4 the word may be used of a consecrated grove containing the altar, like the 'lucus Baduhennae' in 4. 73, 7. The attributes of this deity are unknown: the form 'Tanfanae' is nearer

3 quod Tamfanae vocabant solo aequantur. sine vulnere milites,
4 qui semisomnos, inermos aut palantis ceciderant. excivit ea caedes Bructeros, Tubantes, Usipetes; saltusque per quos exercitui regressus insedere. quod gnarum duci incessitque itineri
5 et proelio. pars equitum et auxiliariae cohortes ducebant, mox 5 prima legio, et mediis impedimentis sinistrum latus unetvicensimani, dextrum quintani clausere, vicensima legio terga firmavit,
6 post ceteri sociorum. sed hostes, donec agmen per saltus porrigeretur, immoti, dein latera et frontem modice adsultantes,

1. tāfanae: Tanfanae B.

to the name as found in a German line of the ninth or tenth century (cited by Nipp.) 'Zanfana sentit morgane feiziu scâf cleiniu' ('Zanfana sendet morgen kleine feiste Schafe').

2. **palantis**, 'stragglers,' as in c. 30, 1. It is meant that all the enemy were in one or other of these three conditions; many possibly in more than one.

3. **Bructeros.** This tribe, divided into 'maiores' and 'minores,' appear to have occupied a tract between the Lippe and the upper part of the Ems, near the modern Münster, and on both sides of the former river (Strab. 7. 1, 3, 291). They had been reduced by Tiberius (Vell. 2. 105, 1), but had risen against Varus, one of whose eagles they had captured (c. 60, 4). They take part in the rising of Civilis (H. 4. 21, 3; 61, 3, &c.): the statement of Tacitus, that they had been annihilated by his own time, appears to be incorrect (see G. 33, 1, and note).

Tubantes. These are mentioned in 13. 55, 5; 56, 6; and, though not noticed in the 'Germania,' were known to Ptolemy, and much later (see Dict. of Geog.). They appear to have moved gradually from their original locality near the Yssel in a south easterly direction (see on 13. 55, 5), and to have lived at Ptolemy's time south of the Ruhr.

Usipetes. These are elsewhere called 'Usipi' (e.g. 13. 55, 5; 56, 6), and closely joined with the Tencteri (G. 32, 1, &c.). These two tribes fronted the Rhine throughout a considerable part of its course. The Usipi furnish a cohort to the army of Britain in the time of Domitian (Agr. 28, 1), but are unknown after the date of the 'Germania.'

4. **gnarum**: cp. c. 5, 4.

incessitque itineri et proelio, 'he ordered his advance alike for marching and fighting.' Such a disposition of troops is similarly described in 13. 40, 2 'viae pariter et pugnae composuerat exercitum'; in Livy (3. 27, 6) by 'non itineri magis apti quam praelio'; and in Curtius (3, 8) by 'itineri simul paratus et praelio.' On the dative see note on c. 23, 6. Here (through use of an intransitive verb) the substantive on which such dative usually more or less depends (see Roby, 1156) is absent. 'Incessit' has the force of 'incessum instituit,' as 'honori decucurrit' (2. 7, 4) is equivalent to 'honori decursum duxit,' and as 'signum' is supplied in the phrase 'receptui canere.'

5. **auxiliariae cohortes.** As it is plain from what follows that these did not all march in front, the suggestion of Nipp. is probable, that some numeral, such as x, may have dropped out after, or become altered into 'et.'

ducebant; absolutely, as ἡγοῦμαι is often used. The arrangement, nearly the same as in c. 64, 8, is one of the forms of the 'quadratum agmen,' other dispositions of which are given in Marquardt, Staatsv. ii. p. 423.

8. **porrigeretur.** This verb is here used of extension of columns in file, more usually of extension in line (as H. 5. 16, 1; Agr. 35, 4).

9. **adsultantes.** The accus. with this verb, as also that with 'incurrere' below, are instances of the fondness of Tacitus for such constructions with compound verbs: see Introd. v. § 12 c. 'Adsultare,' not apparently found earlier than in Pl. Mai., and chiefly in Tacitus, is elsewhere used by him with a dat. (as 2. 13, 4, &c.), or absol. (as 11. 31, 5, &c.).

tota vi novissimos incurrere. turbabanturque densis Germa- 7
norum catervis leves cohortes, cum Caesar advectus ad vicensi-
manos voce magna hoc illud tempus oblitterandae seditionis
clamitabat: pergerent, properarent culpam in decus vertere.
5 exarsere animis unoque impetu perruptum hostem redigunt in 8
aperta caeduntque: simul primi agminis copiae evasere silvas
castraque communivere. quietum inde iter, fidensque recentibus 9
ac priorum oblitus miles in hibernis locatur.

52. Nuntiata ea Tiberium laetitia curaque adfecere: gaudebat
10 oppressam seditionem, sed quod largiendis pecuniis et missione
festinata favorem militum quaesivisset, bellica quoque Germa-
nici gloria angebatur. rettulit tamen ad senatum de rebus 2
gestis multaque de virtute eius memoravit, magis in speciem
verbis adornata quam ut penitus sentire crederetur. paucioribus 3
15 Drusum et finem Illyrici motus laudavit, sed intentior et fida
oratione. cunctaque quae Germanicus indulserat, servavit etiam
apud Pannonicos exercitus.

1. **incurrere**, used with simple acc., here and in 2. 17, 1, after Sall. H. inc. 64 D, 30 K, 13 G.

3. **illud tempus**, 'the opportunity they had desired' (c. 49, 5).

6. **evasere**, often transitive in Tacitus (3. 14, 5; 5. 10, 4, &c.), also in Livy, but mostly in poets.

7. **recentibus**. Gerber and Greef note several certain datives with 'fido' in Tacitus, and no certain instance of abl.

11. **festinata**. This passive (as 6. 40, 1, &c.), like the transitive active (c. 6, 4), is poetical, but already used in prose by Sallust.

quaesivisset, 'had courted'; in subjunct., as part of the thought of Tiberius, who is taken by some to be the subject of the verb, and supposed to view himself as compromised by what was done in his name (c. 36, 4). But 'Germanicus' can be supplied from the following words, as is the object of 'raperet' in 2. 55, 3; and the change, from a dependent clause to a simple case, would resemble that noted on c. 35, 2.

bellica quoque ... gloria, &c. Probably, as c. 55, 1 would show, the insignificant campaign just concluded had been greatly overrated at Rome through the popularity of Germanicus. Otherwise, it seems incredible that it could have excited jealousy, or dread of his increased importance. The feelings of Tiberius seem to be imagined from the conception of his character.

12. **rettulit . . . ad senatum**. Dio (57. 6, 2) states that he also sent complimentary letters to Germanicus himself and to Agrippina. The practice of laying before the senate even matters not strictly within their proper business is characteristic of Tiberius, and appears in 2. 43. 1; 63, 3; 88, 1; 3. 47, 1; 4. 15, 3; and several other cases are referred to in Suet. Tib. 30: see Introd. vi. pp. 93, 95.

13. **magis in speciem**, &c., 'with a verbiage too ostentatious to win credit for sincerity.' For 'in speciem' cp. 2. 6, 3; and for other such uses of 'in' see Introd. v. § 60 b.

15. **intentior**, 'more in earnest': cp. 3. 35, 2; 13. 3, 1; 15. 62, 2, &c.

fida. The application of this word to inanimate things, though common in poets and post-Augustan prose writers, seems confined to them.

16. **indulserat**, 'had conceded': cp. 2. 38, 3; 11. 20, 3, &c. The passive is found in Liv. 40. 15, 16; otherwise this use appears only in the silver age.

17. **exercitus**. This plural might be understood here of the separate armies of Pannonia and Delmatia (cp. 4. 5, 4), both loosely styled 'Pannonici.' But nothing has been said about the Delma-

53. Eodem anno Iulia supremum diem obiit, ob impudicitiam olim a patre Augusto Pandateria insula, mox oppido Reginorum,
2 qui Siculum fretum accolunt, clausa. fuerat in matrimonio Tiberii florentibus Gaio et Lucio Caesaribus spreveratque ut inparem; nec alia tam intima Tiberio causa cur Rhodum absce- 5
3 deret. imperium adeptus extorrem, infamem et post interfectum Postumum Agrippam omnis spei egenam inopia ac tabe longa
4 peremit, obscuram fore necem longinquitate exilii ratus. par causa saevitiae in Sempronium Gracchum, qui familia nobili, sollers ingenio et prave facundus, eandem Iuliam in matrimonio 10
5 Marci Agrippae temeraverat. nec is libidini finis: traditam

tian army, and 'exercitus' appears to be often equivalent to 'legiones,' e. g. 3. 12, 6; 4. 47, 1; H. 3. 15, 1, &c.

1. **Iulia**, the only child of Augustus. On her marriages see Introd. ix. note 5. All authorities are agreed upon her vices: see 3. 24, 2; Vell. 2. 100, 3; Sen. de Ben. 6. 32, 1; Suet. Aug. 65; Dio, 55. 10, 12. Some of her sayings and personal traits have been preserved by Macrobius (Sat. 2. 5). She was fifty-three years old at her death, and had lived fifteen years in exile, which at first was voluntarily shared with her by her mother (Dio, l. l.).

2. **Pandateria**, Vandotena, a little north of the bay of Naples. It was afterwards the place of exile of Agrippina (Suet. Tib. 53), and of Octavia (14. 63, 1). Julia was kept there five years, her removal to Regium being a slight indulgence (Suet. Aug. 65).

Reginorum. The orthography of the MS. is confirmed by inscriptions (e. g. Orell. 3308, 3838, &c.). Nipp. notes that the clause 'qui . . . accolunt' is added to distinguish it from Regium Lepidi (Reggio), between Parma and Modena. Banishment often took the form of restriction to a town: cp. 13. 47, 4.

3. **fuerat in matrimonio**, &c. On her marriage to Tiberius, his retirement to Rhodes, and the death of her sons, see Introd. viii. pp. 133, 134.

4. **inparem**, 'beneath her'; so 'maternum genus inpar' (H. 2. 50, 1). Cp. Sall. Jug. 11, 3; Liv. 6. 34, 9. In family, Tiberius was far above her former husband, Agrippa, but had hardly as good a position in the state; and her sons, as adopted into the house of the Caesars, and heirs-designate of Augustus, would rank above her husband.

5. **tam intima**, 'so real.' 'Tam' is used to add force to a superlative by Cic., as 'tam gravissimis iudiciis' (Phil. 12. 5, 11) and 'tam maxime' (de Am. 23).

7. **egenam.** Livy, in a poetical passage (9. 6, 4), adopts the Vergilian 'omnium egeni' (Aen. 1. 599); and Tacitus uses this poetical word with genit. (as 4. 30, 2, &c.), or abl. (as 12. 46, 2).

inopia ac tabe longa, 'by privation and slow decay,' i. e. 'tabe per inopiam facta.' Suetonius (Tib. 50) says that, after the death of Augustus, Tiberius aggravated her restrictions, and withdrew her 'peculium' and annual allowance. Though she died within the year, her privations may thus have lasted three or four months. At the time of her exile Tiberius is described as at least outwardly acting with generosity on her behalf (Suet. Tib. 11).

8. **longinquitate**, 'duration.' She had been forgotten so long that none would ask how she died. This sense is fully supported (cp. 'longinquitas morbi' Cic. Phil. 10. 8, 16); and Ritter's reference to 6. 14, 4 hardly proves that any place within Italy could be called 'distant.'

9. **Sempronium Gracchum.** There is evidence (Eckhel, v. 304; C. I. L. vi. 1, 1515) that his praenomen was 'Tiberius,' and that he had been 'iii vir monetalis' and 'quaest. design.'; and Nipp. suggests that he may be the same who is mentioned as a tragedian by Ovid (ex P. 4. 16, 31), and of whom three or four lines and some titles are preserved by Priscian and others (Ribbeck, p. 196).

10. **prave facundus**, 'of unscrupulous eloquence': cp. 'pudens prave' ('with false modesty') Hor. A. P. 88.

11. **temeraverat.** This poetical word

Tiberio pervicax adulter contumacia et odiis in maritum accendebat; litteraeque quas Iulia patri Augusto cum insectatione Tiberii scripsit a Graccho compositae credebantur igitur amotus 6
Cercinam, Africi maris insulam, quattuordecim annis exilium
5 toleravit. tunc milites ad caedem missi invenere in prominenti 7
litoris, nihil laetum opperientem. quorum adventu breve tempus 8
petivit, ut suprema mandata uxori Alliariae per litteras daret, cervicemque percussoribus obtulit, constantia mortis haud indignus Sempronio nomine: vita degeneraverat. quidam non 9
10 Roma eos milites, sed ab L. Asprenate pro consule Africae missos tradidere auctore Tiberio, qui famam caedis posse in Asprenatem verti frustra speraverat.

54. Idem annus novas caerimonias accepit addito sodalium Augustalium sacerdotio, ut quondam Titus Tatius retinendis

is also brought into prose by Livy (26. 13; 13, &c.): it is generally figurative in Tacitus, as c. 30, 3, &c.

1. **contumacia et odiis**, 'through defiance and antipathy,' i.e. by rousing these feelings in her. Nipp. compares 'ira magis quam metu . . . accenderant' (15. 4, 4).

3. **scripsit.** This is a mere aorist, denoting a past event, as 'inposuit' (6. 31, 2), 'patefecit' (11. 9, 4), &c., whereas 'credebantur' expresses the belief at the time when the letters were written.

4. **Cercinam**, the 'Karkenah' or 'Kerkena' islands, in the Lesser Syrtis.

quattuordecim annis. On this ablative see Introd. v. § 26. As this computation would make his exile date from a year later than that of Julia, Nipp. suggests that he was the person whose punishment was deferred till the expiration of his tribuneship (Dio, 55. 10, 15).

8. **constantia mortis**: cp. 'constantia exitus' 15. 49, 2; 63, 4.

9. **vita**, best taken as a modal abl., similar to 'constantia.' Mr. Frost takes it as the subject of the verb.

10. **L. Asprenate.** L. Nonius Asprenas was cos. suff. in 759, A.D. 6 (Henzen 7130). An African inscription in duplicate (C. I. L. viii. 10018, 10023) records the making of a road by the Leg. iii. Augusta in his proconsulate, and the words 'Imp. Caes, Augusti f., Augustus, tri. pot. xvi,' give a date exactly agreeing with this year, the inscription being apparently written so soon after the death of Augustus that the writer was uninformed of his deification, or of the refusal of the praenomen 'Imp.' by Tiberius. Another inscription (C. I. L. vi. 1371) gives the names of his wife Calpurnia, daughter of L. Piso, and of three sons. Probably a grandson is mentioned in H. 2. 9, 1. Other family particulars are given by Nipp. He takes part in a debate in 3. 18, 5, and is perhaps the orator, whose fame had died with him, mentioned in M. Seneca Controv. 10, praef. 2; probably also the nephew of Varus honourably mentioned in Vell. 2. 120.

12. **speraverat.** This expresses the opinion of Tacitus, whereas 'speraverit,' the conjecture of Freinsh. and Ern., would express that of his authorities.

13. **annus . . . accepit.** On such personifications see Introd. v. § 75.

sodalium Augustalium. These are mentioned in 3. 64, 3; H. 2. 95, 3; Suet. Cl. 6; Galb. 8; and in numerous inscriptions (see Henzen 6045; Index, p. 46, &c.). They ranked with the great priestly colleges, and rose to the number of twenty-eight members: when, after the deification of Claudius, his cultus devolved on them, they are sometimes styled 'sodales Augustales Claudiales.' Afterwards their institution served as a precedent for the creation of 'sodales Flaviales,' 'Hadrianales,' &c. See Marquardt, iii. 469, foll., and a treatise by H. Dessau in Eph. Epig. iii. 205-229.

2 Sabinorum sacris sodales Titios instituerat. sorte ducti e pri-
moribus civitatis unus et viginti: Tiberius Drususque et Clau-
3 dius et Germanicus adiciuntur. ludos Augustales tunc primum
coeptos turbavit discordia ex certamine histrionum. indulserat
ei ludicro Augustus, dum Maecenati obtemperat effuso in amo- 5
rem Bathylli; neque ipse abhorrebat talibus studiis, et civile
4 rebatur misceri voluptatibus vulgi. alia Tiberio morum via:
sed populum per tot annos molliter habitum nondum audebat
ad duriora vertere.

1. tatios: Titios Vertran.

1. **sodales Titios.** This old religious brotherhood is mentioned by Lucan (1, 602), Suetonius (Galb. 8), and in many inscriptions, e.g. Orell. 746, 890, 2364, 2365, 2366, &c. Tacitus elsewhere (H. 2. 95, 3) ascribes the foundation to Romulus in honour of Tatius; which is more likely to have been the received form of the legend, inasmuch as Tatius, who (see Liv. 1. 10–14) is really known only as the eponymus of this priesthood and of the old century or tribe of the Titienses, was certainly honoured by sacrifices (Dion. Hal. 2. 52), and may be a god 'Euhemerized' into a man. See Seeley, Hist. Exam. of Livy, B. 1. pp. 37, 73, &c. Nothing is known of the functions of this priesthood: but Varro (L. L. 5, 85), in connecting their name with 'aves Titii,' appears to associate them with augury. Tacitus here supposes them to have kept up the Sabine religion. See Marquardt, iii. 446.

sorte ducti, &c. In Suet. Galb. 8, we find evidence of subsequent elections by cooptation, but the general mode of election is not known. On 'primores civitatis' see note on c. 24, 1.

3. **adiciuntur**; i e. as supernumerary or honorary members. Such were often added by senatorial election (see on 3. 19, 1). The addition of Claudius is remarkable, as he was not included in the Julian family. On the distinct office of 'flamen Augusti' see on c. 10, 5, 8.

tunc primum coeptos. On the apparent earlier existence of these games see on c. 15, 3.

4. **discordia,** probably 'turbulence': cp. 'discors' c. 38, 1, &c. Dio (56. 47, 2) states that one of the actors struck for higher pay, and that the people supported him so warmly that the tribunes were forced on the same day to convene the senate to authorize the increase.

histrionum. This word (interchanged with 'mimus' in c. 73, 2, 4) is generally applied by Tacitus (e.g. c. 77, 2, &c.) and writers of his age (e.g. Juv. 7, 90) to the *ὀρχηστραί*, who, from the time of Augustus (see Suet. Aug. 45, &c.) are called 'pantomimi.' The art of representing characters by dumb-show (described as 'saltare Agamemnona,' 'Oedipum,' 'Ledam,' &c.), though in some form as old as the earliest Italian drama (see 4. 14, 4; Liv. 7. 2), received such development at that time from Bathyllus, Pylades, and Hylas, that they have been called its inventors (Zosimus 1. 6). Some description of it may be seen in Macrob. 2, 7; Lucian de Salt. c. 67, &c.

indulserat. Suetonius (Aug. 45) describes his interest in all public amusements, but adds that his indulgence to the 'histriones' was not untempered by severity; for Hylas and another were scourged, and Pylades temporarily banished (see Dio, 54. 17, 4) by his order.

5. **dum.** See note on c. 23, 6.

6. **Bathylli**; he was a freedman and client of Maecenas, and the chief rival of Pylades. See Dio, 54. 17, 4.

abhorrebat talibus studiis. In Tacitus (14. 21, 2; H. 4. 55, 3; 5. 24, 1) the case is doubtful; a simple abl. would correspond to Ov. Met. 3, 145 ('meta distabat utraque'), a dat. would follow Liv. 2. 14, 1 ('profectioni abhorrens'). With such verbs both usages are poetical, the former especially (see Zumpt 468).

7. **morum via,** 'his character took a different course.' Cp. the use of 'via' alone, 4. 7, 1. Tiberius is described as 'tristissimus hominum'; see Introd. viii. 137.

8. **habitum,** 'held in hand,' 'governed': cp. 'Hispaniae . . . habebantur' 4. 5, 2; 'corruptius habiti (liberti)' H. 1. 22, 1.

nondum audebat. Dio states (57. 11, 5) that he was constantly present at

55. Druso Caesare C. Norbano consulibus decernitur Germanico triumphus manente bello; quod quamquam in aestatem summa ope parabat, initio veris et repentino in Chattos excursu praecepit. nam spes incesserat dissidere hostem in Arminium 2
5 ac Segestem, insignem utrumque perfidia in nos aut fide. Ar- 3

the regular entertainments during the earlier years of his rule. Occasional treats, as gladiatorial shows, became very rare under him: see 4. 62, 3.

ad duriora, 'to sterner courses'; 'duris iudicibus' is used in a good sense (15. 55, 5). Cp. 'dura virtus' G. 31, 5.

1. **Druso Caesare C. Norbano.** 'Flaccus,' the cognomen of the latter, is given in Suet. Vit. 3, and in Fast. Ant. (C. I. L. x. 6639, Henzen 6442), which also give M. Silanus (see on 3. 24, 5) as cos. suff. Flaccus had been praetor in 764, A. D. 11 (see Nipp. and Henzen, Act. Arv. Index, p. 192).

2. **triumphus**, celebrated two years later (2. 41, 2). See on c. 52, 1, Append. ii. to Book ii. On the reservation of the full honours of a triumph, or of an ovation (3. 11, 1) for the imperial family, see note on c. 72, 1.

manente bello. This was irregular, though not without precedent. At the time of the actual celebration of this triumph, the war was held to be virtually concluded: see 2. 41, 3.

3. **initio veris et repentino ... excursu.** Nipp. has collected many instances of the somewhat unusual, and especially Tacitean, insertion of a conjunction in such sentences. It is intended here to indicate two distinct contrasts, that of 'in aestatem' to 'initio veris,' and that of 'summa ope' to 'repentino excursu.'

Chattos. On this tribe, the most powerful of western Germany, see G. 30–31, and notes, Momms. Hist. v. 135, foll., E. T. i. 149, foll. Though always hostile to the Cherusci (see 12. 28, 2, &c.), they are also constant enemies of Rome, and are mentioned down to the fourth century. Their district formed part of the widespread 'Hercynius saltus' (G. 30, 1), and their name is considered to survive in the modern Hessen, which, with part of Nassau, represents their locality at this time.

4. **praecepit**, 'anticipated'; cp. 2. 35, 3, and 'tempore praecepto' Liv. 1. 7, 1, &c.

nam, apparently explanatory of 'quamquam ... parabat'; the dissension opened an opportunity for a vigorous attack on the Cherusci. The weakness of central authority among German tribes may be noted here. Arminius is no doubt the 'dux' (G. 7, 1), but his opponent Segestes would be politically his equal, if equally popular (c. 57, 1). Inguiomerus has a position of his own, changes from the Roman to the national side (c. 60, 1), divides the generalship (c. 68, 1), and afterwards goes over to Maroboduus (2. 45, 2), and the 'comitatus' of each of these chiefs follows their leader, not the nation (c. 57, 4; 2. 45, 2): see E. Heyck, Neue Heidelb. Jahrb. 1895, p. 133.

dissidere ... in, 'were forming factions of.' This new construction is explained by Nipp. as analogous to the personal accus. with 'in' after verbs of distribution, as 'distribuo' (2. 8, 1; Cic. Clu. 27, 74), 'divido' (2. 67, 4; Liv. 40. 59, 2), 'partior' (H. 3. 58, 3; Verg. Aen. 1, 194), &c. The present is used, as it is hoped that this had already begun: cp. 2. 34, 1.

Arminium. This prince, here first mentioned by Tacitus, is in Strabo 'Αρμένιος, both forms being equivalents of 'Hermann.' His character and career are summed up in 2. 88. It is to be gathered that he was of the royal race of the Cherusci, son of Segimerus, and nephew of Inguiomerus, that he had a brother Flavus, who married a princess of the Chatti, and had a son Italicus. Cp. c. 60, 1; 2. 9, 2; 88; 11. 16; 17; Vell. 2. 118, 2. On his wife and son see c. 57; 58. Velleius states (l. l.) that he had gained Roman citizenship and even equestrian rank by military service (cp. 2. 10, 3); whence it is inferred that he must have borne, though he had no doubt renounced, a full Roman name, probably including the 'gentile nomen' of 'Iulius' (cp. 3. 40, 1). See Hübner (Hermes x. 393–407).

5. **Segestem**: his son Segimundus is mentioned (c. 57, 2), as also (c. 71, 1) a brother Segimerus and his son.

perfidia ... aut fide, 'the one for treachery, the other for fidelity.' On this use of 'aut' cp. 'pro ... decore aut ... libertate' (2. 46, 3); 'cultus ... utrisque

minius 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 ipsi tempus
4 fore, quo crimina et innoxios discerneret. sed Varus fato et 5
vi Armini cecidit: Segestes quamquam consensu gentis in bellum tractus discors manebat, auctis privatim odiis, quod Arminius filiam eius alii pactam rapuerat, gener invisus inimici
5 soceri; quaeque apud concordes vincula caritatis, incitamenta irarum apud infensos erant. 10

56. Igitur Germanicus quattuor legiones, quinque auxiliarium milia et tumultuarias catervas Germanorum cis Rhenum colentium Caecinae tradit; totidem legiones, duplicem sociorum numerum ipse ducit, positoque castello super vestigia paterni

6. armeni: so spelt in 2. 88, 3; 11. 16, 2, 7. 8. inimicus socer Pichena.

Dianam aut Apollinem venerandi' (3. 63, 6); and Nipp. on 2. 30.

1. **parari rebellionem . . . aperuit.** His conduct is stated below as represented by himself (c. 58), and is mentioned by Velleius (2. 118, 4); but he does not appear in the narrative of Dio (56. 18, &c.). Germans used to discuss important matters over their feasts (G. 22, 3; H. 4. 14, 3); but on this occasion the chiefs appear to have been guests of Varus (c. 58, 4).

4. **principibus**, here apparently equivalent to 'proceres,' but usually denoting German magistrates rather than nobles: see Introd. to Germania, p. 21.

5. **crimina et innoxios.** This interchange of persons and things, similar to 'insontibus . . ., manifestis flagitiis' (11. 26, 2), and one of many variations noted by Dräger (§ 233), is made more natural by the frequent use in Tacitus of abstract for concrete (Introd. v. § 1).

fato. On the conception of fate in Tacitus see Introd. iv. p. 29. The blindness of Varus is similarly explained by Velleius (2. 118, 4).

8. **filiam.** See c. 57, 5.

inimici soceri. These words are taken by Halm as in the nominative plural, on the supposition that the father of Arminius is the Segimerus mentioned by Dio (56. 19, 2) as sharing in the rebellion, and that he and Segestes were therefore enemies. But Segimerus, who was probably now dead (see 2. 10, 1), seems not here thought of; so that it is better to take the words as genit. sing., and explain them by supposing that 'invisus' and 'inimici' are to be distinguished; the meaning being that Arminius, already at enmity with Segestes on public grounds, was additionally hateful to him from the way in which he became his son-in-law. This would be expanded in the next sentence ('quaeque . . . erant'), where 'apud infensos' answers to 'inimici,' and 'incitamenta irarum' to 'invisus.' Nipp. had formerly read 'inimicus soceri' from the analogy of 'invisus avunculo infensusque' (H. 4. 70, 3), and from the likelihood of a loss here of the terminal 's.'

11. **Igitur**: this takes up the narrative from 'praecepit' (c. 55, 1).

12. **tumultuarias**: so in 15. 3, 3; H. 4. 20, 2; 66, 1; and often in Livy, for troops levied on an emergency. Such are also called 'subitus miles' (H. 4. 76, 2), and 'subitarii' (Liv. 3. 4, 11).

13. **Caecinae.** The service for which he was detached is shown below, where the mention of the Marsi suggests that his advance was in the same direction as that of last year (c. 50, 51).

totidem legiones. The four legions of the Upper army (cp. c. 37, 4) are under the special command of Germanicus in this campaign; hence their legatus, Silius, is unmentioned. See c. 72, 1.

14. **paterni praesidii.** Taunus (cp. 12.

praesidii in monte Tauno expeditum exercitum in Chattos rapit,
L. Apronio ad munitiones viarum et fluminum relicto. nam 2
(rarum illi caelo) siccitate et amnibus modicis inoffensum iter
properaverat, imbresque et fluminum auctus regredienti metue-
5 bantur. sed Chattis adeo inprovisus advenit, ut quod imbe- 3
cillum aetate ac sexu statim captum aut trucidatum sit. iu- 4
ventus flumen Adranam nando tramiserat, Romanosque pontem
coeptantis arcebant. dein tormentis sagittisque pulsi, temptatis 5
frustra condicionibus pacis, cum quidam ad Germanicum per-
10 fugissent, reliqui omissis pagis vicisque in silvas disperguntur.
Caesar incenso Mattio (id genti caput) aperta populatus vertit 6
ad Rhenum, non auso hoste terga abeuntium lacessere, quod
illi moris, quotiens astu magis quam per formidinem cessit.
fuerat animus Cheruscis iuvare Chattos, sed exterruit Caecina 7

4. metuebatur: text L. 7. tramiserit: text Acid.

28, 1; Mela 3. 3, 30) is the high tract, now again known by the name, extending, nearly parallel with the Main, from the Rhine to the Nidda between Wiesbaden and Homburg. The fort might be that described in Dio (54. 33, 4), as built by Drusus παρ' αὐτῷ τῷ Ῥήνῳ.

1. **rapit** = 'raptim ducit': so 4. 25, 2, &c.; Liv. 3. 23. 3; taken apparently from Vergil (Aen. 7, 725; 10, 178; 308).

2. **L. Apronio.** This legatus, who received 'triumphalia' this year (c. 72, 1), appears from the Fasti (C. I. L. i. p. 548) to have been cos. suff. in 761, A.D. 8. He is generally identified with the Apronius who had served in Delmatia (Vell. 2. 116, 2), and with the proconsul of Africa in 773, A.D. 20 (3. 21, 1); probably also with the legatus in Lower Germany of 781, A.D. 28 (4. 73, 1; 6. 30, 3).

3. **rarum**: cp. the similar parenthesis, c. 39, 7. For the climate see G. 5, 1.

inoffensum, 'uninterrupted,' poetical, and in prose from L. Seneca: the transitive 'properare,' found in Sallust, is also chiefly poetical: see Nipp. on 13. 17.

4. **metuebantur.** This correction seems required, as 'auctus' is probably plural, as well as 'imbres.'

7. **Adranam**, the Eder, which takes a north-easterly course, and, a little above Cassel, joins the Fulda, itself a tributary of the Weser.

10. **pagis vicisque.** Roman writers probably learnt from Caesar to apply these familiar terms to definite local subdivisions of Gauls and Germans. Among the latter (cf. G. 12, 3, &c.), they probably more or less corresponded with the later 'Gau' and 'Dorf,' and thus with the English 'shire' (or perhaps 'hundred') and 'township.' See Introd. to Germania, pp. 22–23.

11. **Mattio.** This place must be north of the Eder, and has been identified with various localities, one of which, Maden, near Gudensburg, appears to preserve the name. The Mattiaci, mentioned later as under Roman rule (11. 20, 4; G. 29, 3, where see note), lived in Nassau; their hot springs (Pl. N. H. 31. 2, 17, 20) being those of Wiesbaden, and their chief town 'Mattiacum' (Ptol. 2. 11, 29) probably Marburg on the Lahn.

13. **quotiens astu, &c.**: see 2. 14, 5, and note.

14. **Cheruscis.** This great tribe, known by name to Caesar (B. G. 6. 10, 5), was at the head of the German resistance from the rising against Varus to the death of Arminius, but in the time of Tacitus they had been overpowered by the Chatti, and are spoken of as peace-loving and indolent (G. 36). The name survives in the fourth century (Claud. Bell. Get. 420). Their country was north-east of that of the Chatti, and between the Weser and the Elbe, in portions of Hanover, Brunswick, &c.; with a confederation embracing many of the western tribes.

huc illuc ferens arma; et Marsos congredi ausos prospero proelio cohibuit.

57. Neque multo post legati a Segeste venerunt auxilium orantes adversus vim popularium, a quis circumsedebatur, validiore apud eos Arminio, quoniam bellum suadebat: nam barbaris, quanto quis audacia promptus, tanto magis fidus rebusque
2 motis potior habetur. addiderat Segestes legatis filium, nomine Segimundum: sed iuvenis conscientia cunctabatur. quippe anno quo Germaniae descivere sacerdos apud aram Ubiorum creatus
3 ruperat vittas, profugus ad rebelles. adductus tamen in spem clementiae Romanae pertulit patris mandata benigneque ex-
4 ceptus cum praesidio Gallicam in ripam missus est. Germanico pretium fuit convertere agmen, pugnatumque in obsidentis, et ereptus Segestes magna cum propinquorum et clientium manu.
5 inerant feminae nobiles, inter quas uxor Arminii eademque filia Segestis, mariti magis quam parentis animo, neque evicta in

5. quõ (quoniam): quando B: cp. c. 59, 7. 6. rebus commotis: text L.
16. uicta (so Müll., Ritt., Nipp.): text Spengel.

6. **quanto**: cp. 'quanto inopina' c. 68, 5. On the abbreviation of comparative sentences in Tacitus see Introd. v. § 64.

audacia promptus: so in 14. 40, 3; cp. the similar ablatives 'animo,' 'sermone promptus' (14. 58, 2; H. 2. 86, 3). The dative is more usual, as in c. 2, 1, &c.

rebusque motis. This correction is generally followed (cp. 14. 61, 4); the simple verb, as noted by Walther, being chiefly used by Tacitus of political disturbance (as 2. 1, 1; 43, 1, &c.).

8. **conscientia**: cp. c. 39, 3. The abl., as also 'memoria' below, is causal: see Introd. v. § 30.

9. **Germaniae.** This plural, analogous to 'Galliae,' &c., is used of the parts which were or had been subject to Rome (2. 73, 3; 3. 46, 2; 11. 19, 7; Agr. 15, 4), as distinct from 'Germania,' the general name of the country: Marquardt, i. 272, n. 4.

aram Ubiorum: cp. c. 39, 1. The selection of a Cheruscan, not a Ubian, as priest, would show that this altar, probably dedicated to Augustus and Roma, or perhaps to Augustus and Julius (see on c. 59, 6) was intended to be a centre of this worship, and of Roman government generally, for all the then subject part of Germany, as was Lugdunum for Gaul, and Camulodunum afterwards (see 14. 31, 6) for Britain. Segimundus was probably chosen as being, through his father (cp. c. 58, 2), a Roman citizen.

11. **benigne exceptus.** He was evidently yet treated as a prisoner, and, according to Strabo (7. 1, 4, p. 291), was exhibited as such in the triumph.

12. **Gallicam.** Nipp. compares 'in Gallias traiecti' (12. 39, 4), as showing that, though now peopled by Germans, this side of the Rhine was still regarded as Gallic soil.

13. **pretium.** This abbreviation of 'operae pretium' (2. 35, 1; H. 3. 8, 2) appears to occur in Tacitus alone.

convertere. He was in retreat to the Rhine (c. 56, 6), and wheels round to some point in the enemy's country.

14. **clientium.** On the 'comitatus' of a German prince cp. G. 13–14, and notes.

15. **uxor, &c.**: cp. c 55, 4. Strabo (l. l.) gives her name as Θούσνελδα, which Grimm takes to be intended for Thurshilda, Thusshilda, or Thursinhilda.

16. **mariti . . . animo.** Nipp. notes a similar genit., depending on an abl. of quality, in H. 1. 8, 2 ('pacis artibus'); and H. 5. 6, 5 ('specie maris').

evicta in lacrimas. For this emendation cp 11. 37, 4; H. 2. 64, 4; for the use of 'in,' Introd. v. § 60 b.

P. CORNELII TACITI

ANNALIUM AB EXCESSU DIVI AUGUSTI

LIBER III.

1. NIHIL intermissa navigatione hiberni maris Agrippina Corcyram insulam advehitur, litora Calabriae contra sitam. illic paucos dies conponendo animo insumit, violenta luctu et nescia
2 tolerandi. interim adventu eius audito intimus quisque amicorum et plerique militares, ut quique sub Germanico stipendia fecerant, multique etiam ignoti vicinis e municipiis, pars officium in principem rati, plures illos secuti, ruere ad oppidum Brundisium, quod naviganti celerrimum fidissimumque adpulsu erat.
3 atque ubi primum ex alto visa classis, complentur non modo

4. ab excessu diui Augusti. Nihil, &c. 8. cuique: text B, ut cuique . . . fuerant Wurm. 11. ad pulsū: text B, ad adpulsum Doederlein.

4. **Nihil intermissa**, &c. Her journey (see 2. 75, 1; 79, 1) falls chiefly into the former year. Hence the beginning of this year and names of the new consuls are noticed incidentally (c 2, 5).

5. **advehitur**: cp. 'Uticam advehitur' (Sall. Jug. 86, 4); 'advehor Ortygiam' (Ov. Met. 5, 499, 640); and the similar accus. with 'adferor' (H. 3. 43, 3). The verb takes accus. pers. in 2. 45, 4, &c.

contra. On the anastrophe cp. Introd. v. 77, 1.

6. **insumit**: see note on 2. 53, 2.

nescia tolerandi, 'unskilled in endurance.' 'Nescius,' in this sense, takes a gerundial gen. (acc. to Dr.) only here and in c. 67, 2; an inf. often in poets. Cp. 'simulationum nescia' 4. 54, 2.

8. **plerique** = 'permulti,' the usual, but hardly (as Nipp. makes it) the invariable meaning in Tacitus of this word and 'plerumque': see G. G. Lex.

militares, used substantively, as in 14. 33, 4; Hor. Od. 1. 8, 5; Curt. 8. 5, 4; Quint. 11. 1, 23. The word seems here analogous to 'primipilaris,' 'consularis,' &c., as denoting persons who have been soldiers: cp. 'vir militaris' (4. 42, 2, &c.).

9. **officium**: cp. 1. 24, 4; 2. 42, 2, &c. The 'pars' and 'plures' are subdivisions of the 'multi ignoti' only, and 'illos' refers to 'pars.'

11. **celerrimum**, 'most quickly reached.' Dräger notes this use of the word as unexampled.

fidissimum, 'safest.' This sense is first found in Vergil (cp. Aen. 2, 23, 400); so Tacitus has 'pons fidus' in 15. 15, 6: cp. H. 5. 6, 4. 'Adpulsu' is generally taken as a supine, but might also be a contracted dative, as 'luxu' (c. 30, 4), &c.: cp. 'utrinque prora paratam semper adpulsui frontem agit' G. 44, 2.

12. **ex alto**, 'in the offing': cp. Verg. G. 3, 238.

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 4
constabat quid pro tempore foret, cum classis paulatim successit,
5 non alacri, ut adsolet, remigio, sed cunctis ad tristitiam compositis. postquam duobus cum liberis, feralem urnam tenens, 5
egressa navi defixit oculos, idem omnium gemitus; neque discerneres proximos alienos, virorum feminarumve planctus, nisi quod comitatum Agrippinae longo maerore fessum obvii et
10 recentes in dolore anteibant.

2. Miserat duas praetorias cohortes Caesar, addito ut magistratus Calabriae Apulique et Campani suprema erga memoriam filii sui munia fungerentur. igitur tribunorum centurionumque 2
umeris cineres portabantur; praecedebant incompta signa, versi
15 fasces; atque ubi colonias transgrederentur, atrata plebes, tra-

1. mari Mur. 13. munera: so Or., Pfitzn., Allen; text Ritt.

1. **proxima maris**, 'the sea just outside,' which, as well as the harbour itself, was crowded with boats: cp. 'proxima litorum' H. 3. 42, 1. The instances cited by Walther and Orelli do not warrant our explaining this text otherwise (see Ritter); and the emendation 'mari' is not generally accepted.

quaque, &c., 'places commanding the furthest sea-view.' It is better to take 'qua' thus, with the force of 'unde,' than to suppose the words to mean the furthest points within view from the ships.

4. **quid pro tempore foret**, 'which course was suitable to the occasion': cp. 'pro opibus' (c. 2, 2); 'consilium pro tempore et pro re' (Caes. B. G. 5. 8, 1), &c. On the use of 'quid' cp. 1. 47, 2.

successit, 'approached'; not apparently elsewhere used in this sense absolutely, but with 'ad,' or with dat.

6. **duobus**: see on 2. 70, 2.

7. **defixit**, sc. 'in terram,' a common meaning of the passive participle of this verb (cp. 1. 68, 2; 13. 5, 3, &c.); whereas the simple verb requires an addition, as H. 4. 72, 4; Verg. Aen. 6, 469. This attitude of sorrow here gives the signal for the outburst of sympathy.

9. **obvii et recentes in dolore.** 'Obvii' is opposed to the 'comitatus.' 'Recentes in dolore,' 'those whose grief was fresh,' a phrase found in Auct. ad Herenn. 2, 7, but distinct from 'recens dolore' (1. 41, 5). 'Et' is explanatory, as the persons coupled are the same.

10. **anteibant**; referring to the 'gemitus' and 'planctus' mentioned above.

11. **magistratus**, sc. 'municipales.' On the variation from the genitive 'Calabriae' to adjectives, cp. 2. 3, 2.

12. **erga**: see on 2. 2, 5.

13. **munia**. In defence of this correction (made also in H. 3. 13, 1), Ritter shows by a large collection of instances, that in the nom. and acc. plural, where Tacitus has the choice between 'munera' and 'munia,' he uses the former for gifts, &c. (e. g. 4. 26, 4; 14. 50, 2; 55, 5; Agr. 13, 1), the latter for duties or functions (e. g. 1. 2, 1; 11, 3; 16, 2; 31, 3; 69, 2, &c.).

fungerentur: cp. 4. 38, 1. Elsewhere the accus. with this verb is chiefly antiquated, except as implied in gerundive constructions. In these two places, it is perhaps preserved as an archaic purism of Tiberius, on which ground also some retain 'munera.'

14. **incompta**, 'unadorned': cp. 'inhonora signa' (H. 4. 62, 4), and note on 1. 24, 4. Pliny (N. H. 13. 3, 4, 23) notes that the standards were anointed with perfume on festal occasions.

15. **fasces**, the twelve denoting the rank of Germanicus (see on 2. 53, 3). On this sign of mourning cp. Epiced.

beati equites pro opibus loci vestem odores aliaque funerum
3 sollemnia cremabant. etiam quorum diversa oppida, tamen
obvii et victimas atque aras dis manibus statuentes lacrimis et
4 conclamationibus dolorem testabantur. Drusus Tarracinam pro-
gressus est cum Claudio fratre liberisque Germanici, qui in urbe 5
5 fuerant. consules M. Valerius et M. Aurelius (iam enim magis-
tratum occeperant) et senatus ac magna pars populi viam con-
plevere, disiecti et ut cuique libitum flentes; aberat quippe
adulatio, gnaris omnibus laetam Tiberio Germanici mortem
male dissimulari. 10

3. Tiberius atque Augusta publico abstinuere, inferius maies-
tate sua rati, si palam lamentarentur, an ne omnium oculis vul-
2 tum eorum scrutantibus falsi intellegerentur. matrem Antoniam
non apud auctores rerum, non diurna actorum scriptura reperio

6. c. aurelius: text Panvini. 8. in diurna Wurm.

Drusi 142 'quos primum vidi fasces, in funere vidi, et vidi versos indiciumque mali.' The reversal of arms in mourning is described in Verg. Aen. 11, 93.

ubi . . . transgrederentur. On the subjunctive cp. Introd. v. § 52.

colonias. Nipp. thinks that as the distinction between 'coloniae' and 'municipia' in Italy was now nominal, this term is used concisely for both (see note on 1. 79, 1). As a fact, however, most of the principal towns on the Appian Way between Brundusium and Tarracina were colonies; e. g. Tarentum, Venusia, Beneventum, Capua, Minturnae, Formiae, &c.

trabeati. The 'trabea' was not worn as mourning, but was their dress of state: cp. Staatsr iii. 513, 2.

1. **vestem.** &c. These in an actual funeral would have been cast on the pile: cp. Verg. Aen. 6, 221; Sil. 10, 569, and the contrast of German funerals, G. 27, 1.

odores. The burning of spices at funerals is described by Statius (Silv. 2. 6, 86). These were probably burnt on piles constructed as if for an actual funeral. Such piles are described as burnt all over Italy at the obsequies of Drusus, father of Germanicus (Sen. Cons. ad Marc. 3, 2).

2. **diversa,** 'off the route.' The sense is akin to that in 1. 17. 5, &c.

5. **liberis,** Nero, Drusus, Agrippina, and Drusilla: see c. 1, 5.

6. **consules.** The first of these is son of the person mentioned in 1. 8, 5, and, like his father, has the cognomen 'Messalla' (Dio, Arg. to B. 57), or 'Messalinus.' The other is styled by Dio (l. l.) 'M. Aurelius M. f. Cotta,' and is generally taken to be the Cotta Messalinus of 2. 32, 2, &c. The first consul would thus be nephew of the second, for whose praenomen see also C. I. L. vi. 10051.

7. **occeperant;** so used in 6. 45, 5, and often in Livy, as 3. 19, 2; 55, 1, &c.

8. **disiecti,** 'in scattered groups': cp. 1. 32, 7; 2. 61, 1. This applies only to the people, not then grouped in any regular form, as 'per tribus' (c. 4, 2).

11. **publico abstinuere,** 'kept at home.' The expression appears to be in general use, from its repetition in Suet. Cl. 36.

inferius maiestate, repeated c. 64, 2.

12. **rati . . . an ne;** so 'gnarus, ac ne . . . ingrueret' H. 3. 46, 3: cp. also Introd. v. § 91, 9.

13. **falsi:** cp. 1. 7, 2.

Antoniam: see c. 18, 4; 11. 3, 1; Jos. Ant. 18. 6, 6; and Introd. ix. note 21. Her profile is well represented on coins (Cohen, i. p. 223; Bernoulli, II. i. pl. xxxiii), and a few busts are assigned to her, among which some reckon the famous 'Clytie' of the British Museum (Bernoulli, p. 224).

14. **auctores rerum,** 'historians.' Sallust is thus styled in c. 30, 3: usually they are called simply 'auctores,' as in 4. 10, 1; 5. 9, 3, &c., and in Livy. On these authors see Introd. iii. p. 13 foll.

ullo insigni officio functam, cum super Agrippinam et Drusum
et Claudium ceteri quoque consanguinei nominatim perscripti
sint, seu valetudine praepediebatur, seu victus luctu animus
magnitudinem mali perferre visu non toleravit. facilius credi- 3
5 derim Tiberio et Augusta, qui domo non excedebant, cohibitam,
ut par maeror et matris exemplo avia quoque et patruus attineri
viderentur.

4. Dies, quo reliquiae tumulo Augusti inferebantur, modo
per silentium vastus, modo ploratibus inquies; plena urbis iti-
10 nera, conlucentes per campum Martis faces. illic miles cum 2
armis, sine insignibus magistratus, populus per tribus concidisse
rem publicam, nihil spei reliquum clamitabant, promptius aper-
tiusque quam ut meminisse imperitantium crederes. nihil tamen 3
Tiberium magis penetravit quam studia hominum accensa in
15 Agrippinam, cum decus patriae, solum Augusti sanguinem,

5. Augustae Kritz and Doed. 6. pari maerore et Heins.

diurna actorum scriptura. On these journals see Introd. iii. p. 19. The construction is varied to the ablative to avoid the repetition of 'apud,' and is a slight extension of the general usage in referring to a book (cp. 11. 11, 2; Madv. 273, Obs. 1). 'Scriptura' is used for 'writings' in 4. 32, 1; where also 'veteres res' is a similar hypallage (cp. Gud. on Dial. 2, 3) to 'diurna' for 'diurnorum' here.

4. **perferre visu non toleravit,** 'had not resolution to realize by sight the greatness of her affliction'; 'perferre visu' is thus a more forcible expression than 'videre.' 'Tolerare . . . perpeti' is found in Plin. N. H. 26. 1, 3, 3; 'sustinere pati' in Ov. ex P. 1. 5, 18; and such expressions appear taken from the Greek *φέρειν οὐκ ἔτλη*.

facilius crediderim. The abrupt transition implies the thought that these suppositions are improbable.

5. **Augusta.** The reading 'Augustae' (Or., Nipp., &c.) gives a construction such as in 2. 50, 4, &c. The MS. text must be taken as an extension or free use of the instrumental abl. (see Introd. v. § 27), and as equivalent to 'Tiberii et Augustae exemplo.' It follows that the next sentence 'ut par maeror,' &c. must be taken to express, not their motives for restraining her, but her own reasons for thinking fit to follow their example.

6. **par maeror,** sc. 'videretur,' supplied from 'viderentur.'

attineri: cp. 1. 35, 5; 2. 10, 2, &c.

8. **tumulo Augusti:** see note on 1. 8, 6.

9. **per silentium vastus.** Tacitus has 'vastum silentium' in 4. 50, 6; H. 3. 13, 4; Agr. 38, 2; and the epithet is here transferred to the day.

10. **faces.** The custom of carrying torches at funerals is noted as of immemorial antiquity: cp. Vergil's account of the obsequies of Pallas, Aen. 11, 142 'de more vetusto funereas rapuere faces; lucet via longo ordine flammarum et late discriminat agros'; also 'inter utramque facem' (i. e. the torch of marriage and burial) Prop. 4. 11, 46.

cum armis: cp. Epiced. Drusi 217 'armataeque rogum celebrant de more cohortes.' This, like the 'trabea' of the equites (c. 2, 2), was a parade in full equipment (cp. 12. 36, 4). Usually in the city the soldiers, even on duty, were 'togati' (cp. H. 1. 38, 5).

11. **sine insignibus,** i. e. without their fasces, praetexta, &c.: cp. Epiced. Drusi 186 'adspicitur toto purpura nulla foro.'

populus per tribus, sc 'dispositus,' 'marshalled in their tribes,' perhaps at or near the 'septa' in the Campus. The people were thus formed to meet Nero (14. 13, 2).

15. **solum Augusti sanguinem.** The younger Julia and her children (see Introd. ix. notes 7, 10) are ignored; the

unicum antiquitatis specimen appellarent versique ad caelum ac deos integram illi subolem ac superstitem iniquorum precarentur.

5. Fuere qui publici funeris pompam requirerent compararentque quae in Drusum patrem Germanici honora et magnifica
2 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 re-
3 perta aut quae posteri invenerint cumulata: at Germanico ne solitos quidem et cuicumque nobili debitos honores contigisse.
4 sane corpus ob longinquitatem itinerum externis terris quoquo modo crematum: sed tanto plura decora mox tribui par fuisse,
5 quanto prima fors negavisset. non fratrem, nisi unius diei via,

7. Liviorumque L. 10. deditos: text B. 13. quando Mur.

only point being the invidious contrast to Tiberius.

unicum antiquitatis specimen, 'a peerless model of old-fashioned morals.' 'Unicus' is frequently thus used in Livy, &c.; 'antiquitas' thus in Cic., as 'documentum virtutis, antiquitatis, prudentiae' (pro Rab. Post. 10, 27); 'his gravissimae antiquitatis viris' (pro Sest. 3, 6). The use of 'specimen' is also Ciceronian.

2. **superstitem iniquorum**: a dative would be more classical; but both this construction (cp. 2. 71, 4) and also the use of 'iniquus' for 'inimicus' (cp. 4. 68, 1; 16. 21, 3) are Ciceronian. The whole description is intended no doubt as an artistic preparation for the narrative of intrigues against this family.

3. **requirerent** = 'desiderarent,' as often in Cic., &c. 'In Drusum,' best taken, with Nipp., as depending on 'honora,' &c. The conveyance of the cinerary urn to the mausoleum, though a public act, lacked many of the solemnities of a funeral, still more of a state-funeral (on which see c. 48, 1, &c.). We gather from the context that there was no procession of ancestors, and no 'laudatio.'

5. **Ticinum**, now Pavia. Augustus was in Gaul, and on hearing of the illness of Drusus had sent off Tiberius, who arrived before his brother's death, and marched at the head of the procession all the way (Suet. Tib. 7; Dio, 55. 2). Augustus met it here on his way back to Rome.

6. **neque abscedentem**, &c.: cp. 1. 7, 6.

7. **Claudiorum Iuliorumque**. Drusus was never adopted into the latter gens; but the old rule as to the 'ius imaginum' appears to have become less strict (see Staatsr. i. 443, 1); and the natural gradation in the order of mention requires the noblest house to be put last (cp. 'Claudiae et Iuliae domus partem' 6. 8, 6); the more so as the stress is laid on what no doubt was one of the special honours accorded by Augustus to his stepson. Effigies, no doubt, of the Livii and other less noble houses were borne (see c. 76, 4), but so eclipsed by these as not to need mention. Some of these Claudian and Julian ancestors are specified in 4. 9, 3.

8. **in foro . . . pro rostris**. The places seem mentioned emphatically; but Cicero (de Or. 2. 84, 341) speaks of 'laudationes' as commonly delivered 'in foro.' See the description of a Roman funeral in Mommsen, Rom. Hist. vol. ii. ch. 13. At that of Drusus, according to Dio (l. l.), the speech in the Forum was spoken by Tiberius, and another in the Flaminian Circus by Augustus.

9. **ne solitos quidem**. This is explained by what follows.

11. **sane**, concessive, as 1. 3, 4, &c.

quoquo modo = 'sine imaginibus et pompa' (2. 73, 1). The distance is mentioned to explain its not having been brought home for burning.

12. **decora**. Nipp. takes this as from 'decorus'; as also in c. 47, 3.

13. **quanto**: cp. Introd. v. § 64, 2.

fratrem. Drusus and Claudius had

non patruum saltem porta tenus obvium. ubi illa veterum insti- 6
tuta, propositam toro effigiem, meditata ad memoriam virtutis carmina et laudationes, et lacrimas vel doloris imitamenta?

5 **6.** Gnarum id Tiberio fuit; utque premeret vulgi sermones, monuit edicto multos inlustrium Romanorum ob rem publicam obisse, neminem tam flagranti desiderio celebratum. idque et sibi et cunctis egregium, si modus adiceretur. non enim eadem 2
decora principibus viris et imperatori populo, quae modicis do-
10 mibus aut civitatibus. convenisse recenti dolori luctum et ex 3
maerore solacia; sed referendum iam animum ad firmitudinem, ut quondam divus Iulius amissa unica filia, ut divus Augustus

2. praepositam: text Mur.

both gone to Tarracina (c. 2, 4). Possibly the latter is ignored, as in 2. 71, 3: as however, in the corresponding term 'patruus,' adoptive relationship is not considered (cp. note on 1. 33, 3), it is possible that 'fratrem' refers only to Claudius. 'Unius diei' is probably an exaggeration, as 'Appii Forum' seems to be reckoned a fair day's journey from Rome (Hor. Sat. 1. 5, 5).

1. **non ... saltem.** This use for 'ne ... quidem,' not found elsewhere in Tacitus, occurs in a few places in Livy and in later prose.

2. **propositam**: this is the ordinary equivalent of the Greek *προτιθέναι*, and 'prae' and 'pro' are often confounded in MSS. The MS. text (retained by Or., Pfitzn., Allen) would rather describe such an arrangement as that at the funeral of Augustus (Dio, 56. 34, 1), where the position of a waxen effigy on the couch has to be contrasted with that of the real body below; whereas in such a case as this no real body could have been present.

toro. Unless 'praepositam' be read, this must be taken as a free use of the abl. of place; as also 'externis terris' above: see Introd. v. § 25.

meditata, 'prepared'; so used passively 4. 57, 1; 70, 6, &c., and in Cic.

3. **carmina,** verses to be sung by a choir. Such a poem was composed by Clutorius Priscus, but probably not till afterwards (c. 49, 1).

et lacrimas. Nipp. notes that these are not, like the former words, in apposition to 'veterum instituta,' but refer to the conduct of Tiberius and others.

vel, 'or even.'

imitamenta: cp. 13. 4, 1; 14. 57, 5; found (according to Dräger) only once before Tacitus (M. Sen. Cont. 2. 1, 9, 3), and very rarely later.

5. **Gnarum**: cp. 1. 5, 4, &c.

utque premeret, 'to repress.' The sense is mostly poetical, and oftener used of self-control (e. g. c. 11, 2; 6. 50, 5).

6. **ob rem publicam obisse,** referring to the inscriptions mentioned in 2. 83, 3.

8. **egregium,** 'honourable': cp. 'mihi egregium erat' (H. 1. 15, 1), and the subst. c. 70, 4; 6. 24, 3, &c.; apparently a Tacitean sense of the word.

adiceretur. Dräger notes that this verb is nowhere else used in this phrase for 'adhibere.'

9. **principibus viris.** Nipp. notes that while this is thrown in to explain his own apparent apathy, the addition of 'imperatori populo' removes the apparent self-exaltation by raising the nation to his level. On the adjectival 'imperator' (*ἅπ. εἰρ*) cp. Introd. v. § 3; also 'liberator populus' (Liv. 35. 17, 8).

10. **ex maerore solacia.** On the construction see on 1. 29, 3. The sentiment is that of Ovid (Trist. 4. 3, 38), 'expletur lacrimis egeriturque dolor.'

12. **divus Iulius ... divus Augustus.** Seneca dwells on their firmness in these trials (Cons. ad Marc. 14, 3; 15, 2); also Suetonius says of the latter (Aug. 65), 'aliquanto patientius mortem quam dedecora suorum tulit.' Julia, only daughter of Caesar and wife of Cn. Pompeius, died while her father was in Britain, in 700, B.C. 54. On the death of the grandsons of Augustus see 1. 3, 3.

4 ereptis nepotibus abstruserint tristitiam. nil opus vetustioribus exemplis, quotiens populus Romanus clades exercituum, interitum ducum, funditus amissas nobiles familias constanter tulerit.
5 principes mortales, rem publicam aeternam esse. proin repeterent sollemnia, et quia ludorum Megalesium spectaculum sub- 5
erat, etiam voluptates resumerent.

7. Tum exuto iustitio reditum ad munia, et Drusus Illyricos ad exercitus profectus est, erectis omnium animis *spe* petendae e Pisone ultionis et crebro questu, quod vagus interim per amoena Asiae atque Achaiae adroganti et subdola mora sce- 10
2 lerum probationes subverteret. nam vulgatum erat missam, ut dixi, a Cn. Sentio famosam veneficiis Martinam subita morte Brundisii extinctam, venenumque nodo crinium eius occultatum, nec ulla in corpore signa sumpti exitii reperta.

8. spe ins. Freinsh., petendae . . . ultioni Bach.

3. **amissas nobiles familias**, referring apparently to the story of the Fabii at the Cremera (Liv. 2. 50).

4. **principes**; not here in a special sense, but = 'great men.'

proin. Tacitus has this form in 12. 22, 2; always 'exim' or 'exin,' and 'dein' much oftener than 'deinde.'

5. **sollemnia**, 'their usual employments.'

Megalesium. These began on the 4th of April (Ov. Fast. 4, 179 sqq.); but we can hardly suppose that the mourning had lasted continuously till then (see on 2. 82, 8). Ovid (l. l.) describes the procession at these games, and speaks of scenic and Circensian entertainments: see Marquardt, iii. 367, foll.

suberat, 'was at hand'; so used by Cic. (Mil. 16, 42) and Caesar (B. G. 3. 27, 2; B. C. 3. 97, 4). The indicative is used because these words are a note by the writer, not a part of the edict.

7. **Illyricos ad exercitus.** On his mission see 2. 44, &c. He returned for the trial (c. 11, 1). On the plural 'exercitus' cp. c. 12, 6; 1. 52, 3, &c.

8. **erectis**, 'roused to energy': cp. 2. 25, 1; 'erectus Samnis' H. 3. 59, 2; 'non fregit . . . sed erexit' Nep. Them. 1.

spe petendae . . . ultionis. Nipp. and others retain the MS. text, as a strong instance of a gerundive genitive denoting purpose and qualifying the whole sentence (Introd. v. § 37 d); but the sense seems here to require an expression of the instrumental cause of excitement; and 'spe' could most easily have been absorbed between 'animis' and 'petendae.' The more common expression is 'erectus in (or 'ad') spem,' as 2. 71, 1; H. 2. 74. 4.

11. **probationes**, 'proofs,' or 'evidence'; so first in Quint. (5. 10, 102, &c.).

subverteret, 'was destroying.' The next sentence explains the word, by supposing that he had caused the death of Martina; but of this there appears to be no evidence beyond common talk.

ut dixi, 2. 74, 2.

13. **nodo crinium** = κορύμβῳ, possibly in a hollow in the βελόνη. It was thus, according to one version (Dio, 51. 14, 2), that Cleopatra secreted poison about her.

14. **nec . . reperta.** The inference would seem to be that she had not committed suicide, but had been murdered in some subtle manner. Nipp., on the other hand, thinks it to be assumed that she had poisoned herself; and that the important admission, that no signs of poison were found in her body, is turned into an argument that she must have used drugs that left no trace, which would explain the absence of conclusive evidence in the case of Germanicus (2. 73, 5). 'Sumere mortem' is used of suicide in 13. 30, 3; usually 'sponte' is added, as in 2. 66, 2; 6. 25, 1, &c.

8. 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 2
5 iuvenem sueta erga filios familiarum nobiles liberalitate auget. Drusus Pisoni, si vera forent quae iacerentur, praecipuum in 3 dolore suum locum respondit: sed malle falsa et inania nec cuiquam mortem Germanici exitiosam esse. haec palam et 4 vitato omni secreto; neque dubitabantur praescripta ei a Ti-
10 berio, cum incallidus alioqui et facilis iuventa senilibus tum artibus uteretur.

9. Piso Delmatico mari tramisso relictisque apud Anconam navibus per Picenum ac mox Flaminiam viam adsequitur legionem, quae e Pannonia in urbem, dein praesidio Africae duce-
15 batur: eaque res agitata rumoribus, ut in agmine atque itinere

9. et: ei L. 14. inde Wurm (2. 68, 1).

1. **filio**: see 2. 76, 2, &c.

2. **haud . . . quam.** On the abbreviation of comparative clauses see Introd. v. § 64. Nipp. notes here that the constructions 'haud tam . . . quam,' and 'haud . . . sed,' are mingled—the second clause softening the negation in the first—and compares non . . . quam' in Plaut. Rud. 4. 3, 9; Liv. 2. 56, 9; 25. 15, 9.

3. **sperabat**: cp. 2. 56, 4.

4. **integrum**, 'unprejudiced': cp. 'integris . . . animis' c. 12, 3.

5. **liberalitate**: cp. 2. 37, 2, &c. Nipp. notes that young men of rank in the retinue of provincial magistrates often received a present for their voluntary service to the state.

6. **quae iacerentur**, 'the stories flying about'; used of casual expressions in 1. 10, 7; 2. 55, 5, &c.

9. **secreto**, 'private interview': cp. 'frequens secretis' 4. 3, 5, &c.

dubitabantur: cp. 'ne auctor dubitaretur' 14. 7, 1, and the similar usage with other verbs (Introd. v. § 45).

10. **incallidus**, a rare word, only here in Tacitus; used by Cic. in negative sentences.

facilis, 'affable': cp. sermone facilis' Agr. 40, 4. In 4. 2, 4; 5. 1, 5, it means 'compliant,' in rather a bad sense: cp. 'facilitas' (6. 15, 3).

12. **Delmatico mari.** The Adriatic is also called by Tacitus 'Illyricum mare' (H. 3. 2, 4). The point from which Piso crossed was probably Salonae, then a colony and the residence of the governor (cp. Marquardt, i. 300).

13. **Flaminiam viam.** This old and celebrated road left Rome by way of the Campus Martius, on or close to the line of the present Corso, and took a north-easterly course through Umbria to Ariminum. It had been restored under the personal direction of Augustus, whose splendid bridge over the Nar at Narnia is still well known by its ruins. The road from Ancona passing through north Picenum joined it at Nuceria (Nocera), near Assisi. From Narnia the Nar is navigable for small vessels.

legionem, the Ninth (4. 23, 2), properly belonging to the Pannonian army (1. 23, 6, &c.): see note on 4. 5, 4.

15. **ut**, 'how.' This use of 'ut' in indirect or dependent questions, restricted by Cicero to those following 'video' and 'audio,' is found in Tacitus, where a verb of telling, hearing, or thinking, is expressed or implied; as with 'refero' (1. 61, 9), 'reddo' (2. 4, 5), 'mirum dictu' (H. 1. 79, 4), 'admoneo' (H. 3. 24, 2). In Livy (23. 5, 8) it follows 'veniat in mentem.'

in agmine atque itinere, 'as they were marching and on the route.' The latter is a wider term, and would include also their times of halting. This expla-

2 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 adpul-
erat dieque et ripa frequenti, magno clientium agmine ipse,
3 feminarum comitatu Plancina et vultu alacres incessere. fuit 5
inter inritamenta invidiae domus foro inminens festa ornatu
conviviumque et epulae et celebritate loci nihil occultum.

10. Postera die Fulcinius Trio Pisonem apud consules postu-
2 lavit. contra Vitellius ac Veranius ceterique Germanicum comi-
tati tendebant, nullas esse partis Trioni; neque se accusatores, 10
3 sed rerum indices et testes mandata Germanici perlaturos. ille
dimissa eius causae delatione, ut priorem vitam accusaret ob-
4 tinuit, petitumque est a principe cognitionem exciperet. quod
ne reus quidem abnuebat, studia populi et patrum metuens:
contra Tiberium spernendis rumoribus validum et conscientiae 15

1. suspicioni Pichena. 6. festo L.

nation is supported by the similar passage 'in itinere, in agmine, in stationibus' (H. 1. 23, 1), where the two latter terms appear to be an expansion of the first. For this use of 'in agmine' cp. 13. 35, 7; H. 2. 40, 2; Agr. 33, 4, &c.

1. **vitandae suspicionis.** On the genitive see Introd. v. § 37 d. The suspicion is that of tampering with the legion, which he ceases to accompany.

3. **tumulo Caesarum.** The dat. (cp. 6. 19, 4; H. 4. 84, 4) is Vergilian. The mausoleum itself did not touch the river, but the pleasure grounds surrounding it (Suet. Aug. 100) must have done so: cp. Verg. Aen. 6, 875.

4. **frequenti.** This is taken both with 'die' and 'ripa.' It was at a busy time of day (cp. 'celeberrimo fori' 4. 67, 6; 'medio ac frequenti die' Suet. Cal. 15), and at a place where the bank was usually crowded; probably at a much used landing-place, at or near the modern Ripetta. Agricola avoided suspicion by returning at night (Agr. 40, 3).

5. **alacres,** i.e. not with the demeanour of persons accused; also 'incessere' appears to imply ostentation.

6. **festa:** cp. 2. 69, 3. Such adornment of a house is described by Juvenal (6, 79), 'ornentur postes et grandi ianua lauro,' and would be natural at the return of its master.

7. **convivium,** 'an assemblage of guests': cp. 'familias . . . et tota convivia' Pl. N. H. 22. 23, 47, 96.

celebritate loci nihil occultum, 'the fact that the publicity of the spot precluded all concealment.' On the construction see Introd. v. § 55 b, 2, and many other instances here cited by Nipp.

8. **Fulcinius Trio:** see 2. 28, 3, &c.

apud consules; to bring the matter before the senate (cp. 2. 28, 5). See Introd. vi. p. 92.

9. **contra . . . tendebant,** 'were opposing him' (Verg. Liv. &c.): a verb of speaking is implied in the expression.

11. **indices et testes:** cp. 'index idem et testis' 4. 28, 2. Usually 'index' means an informer, i.e. one who discloses a crime to which he was privy; here it appears to mean that they were collectors of evidence (cp. 2. 74, 2), as well as actual witnesses of what they knew.

perlaturos: cp. 1. 26, 1.

12. **priorem vitam,** i.e. his administration of Spain (c. 13, 2). This, like the attack of Cicero on the 'praetura urbana' of Verres, could only bear on the case by showing the general character of the accused.

13. **cognitionem exciperet,** 'to take up the case.' Thus Nero is said (14. 50, 2), by a similar interposition, 'suscipere iudicium.' On the force of 'cognitio,' cp. 2. 28, 4; on the personal jurisdiction of the princeps see Introd. vi. p. 88.

15. **contra,** sc. 'ratus,' supplied from 'metuens.'

matris innexum esse; veraque aut in deterius credita iudice ab uno facilius discerni, odium et invidiam apud multos valere. haud fallebat Tiberium moles cognitionis quaque ipse fama 5 distraheretur. igitur paucis familiarium adhibitis minas accu- 6
5 santium et hinc preces audit integramque causam ad senatum remittit.

11. Atque interim Drusus rediens Illyrico, quamquam patres censuissent ob receptum Maroboduum et res priore aestate gestas ut ovans iniret, prolato honore urbem intravit. post quae 2
10 reo L. Arruntium, P. Vinicium, Asinium Gallum, Aeserninum Marcellum, Sex. Pompeium patronos petenti iisque diversa ex-

10. T. Arruntium: text N. Faber. ſulnicium: Fulcinium B, text Borghesi.

validum: cp. 'validus . . . spernendis honoribus' 4. 37, 2.

conscientiae, 'complicity': cp. 'est tibi Augustae conscientia' 2. 77, 6.

1. **innexum**, 'implicated in.' The word is frequent in Vergil and other poets, and used in prose by Val. Max. (1. 5, 1, &c.), and Col.; also elsewhere by Tacitus (6. 36, 5; 16. 14, 1, &c.).

in deterius: cp. 2. 82, 1, &c.

iudice ab uno. The princeps would associate assessors with himself, but was not bound by their decision, as the consuls or praetor by that of the senate or iudices. See Staatsr. ii. 965. This form of anastrophe (Introd. v. § 77, 3) is here fully illustrated by Nipp. from Tacitus, and from Livy and poets.

3. **qua . . . fama distraheretur**, 'the reports by which his character was being torn to pieces.' This appears here to be the meaning of the word, elsewhere used rather of a struggle or doubt within the mind, as in 2. 40, 1; 4. 40, 8; 6. 44, 3, &c. A perhaps similar metaphor is 'differre aliquem rumoribus': see on 1. 4, 3.

4. **paucis familiarium adhibitis.** On the informal, and subsequent formal employment of assessors, see Introd. vi. 88.

5. **hinc**, 'from the other side': cp. 'illic' 1. 70, 6, &c.

ad senatum remittit, a technical expression (see Introd. l. l.; Staatsr. ii. 900). If the princeps did not himself take up the case or 'remit' it, it seems that it would naturally fall through: cp. 'relationem de eo Caesar ad senatum non remisit' Pl. Epp. 9. 13, 22.

7. **Illyrico.** On the abl. cp. 2. 69, 1, &c.; Introd. v. § 24: on the departure of Drusus cp. c. 7, 1.

8. **censuissent**: cp. 2. 64, 1. If the view given on 2. 62, 1 of the chronology of these events is correct, 'priore aestate' must either be an interpolation (see note on c. 20, 1), or must be referred to the summer preceding the decree itself.

10. **P. Vinicium.** It appears plain that the latter part of the Med. text is a corruption of 'Vinicium,' but there has been much question as to the proper praenomen. The above is on the whole nearest to the MS., and the name of the consul of 755, A.D. 2 (C. I. L. x. 884), who is mentioned by M. Seneca (Contr. vii. 11, &c.) and L. Seneca (Ep. 40, 9) as an orator. He was father of the consul of 783, A.D. 30 (Vell. 2. 103, 1). For further particulars respecting the family see Nipp.'s note.

Aeserninum Marcellum, son of the consul of 732, B.C. 22, and, through his mother Asinia, a grandson of Pollio; who is said to have regarded him, even in his boyhood, as the chief heir of his own eloquence (M. Sen. Contr. 4 praef. 3). He was curator riparum et alvei Tiberis, praetor peregrinus (probably in 772, A.D. 19), and cos. suff. in some unknown year (see Nipp.). In 11. 6, 4, he is coupled as an orator with Arruntius, and compared with Pollio and Messalla.

11. **Sex. Pompeium**: see on 1. 7, 3, and below, c. 32, 2, and note on c. 72, 4. On his proconsulate of Asia see Introd. vii. p. 113. His 'facundissimus sermo' is mentioned by Val. Max. (2. 6, 8).

iisque. Nipp. notes that such a break of construction as the interposition of this

cusantibus M'. Lepidus et L. Piso et Livineius Regulus adfuere,
adrecta omni civitate, quanta fides amicis Germanici, quae fiducia
3 reo; satin cohiberet ac premeret sensus suos Tiberius. haud
alias intentior populus plus sibi in principem occultae vocis aut
suspicacis silentii permisit. 5

12. Die senatus Caesar orationem habuit meditato tempera-
2 mento. patris sui legatum atque amicum Pisonem fuisse adiu-
toremque Germanico datum a se auctore senatu rebus apud
3 Orientem administrandis. illic contumacia et certaminibus as-
perasset iuvenem exituque eius laetatus esset, an scelere extinx- 10
4 isset, integris animis diiudicandum. 'nam si legatus officii

1. M : M' L. 3. Tiberius ac premeret : an promeret B. is haud : text Acid.

abl. abs., bringing in another circumstance, has parallels in earlier Latinity, as in Sallust, 'dispersos . . . neque minus hostibus conturbatis . . . contrahit' (Jug. 98, 4), and Livy, 'honorem huic petenti, meisque . . . adiectis precibus, mandetis' (5. 18, 5); 'inter exercitus . . . imperatore tanto . . . deleto, et . . . exspectantes' (25. 35, 2); and is frequent in Greek, as in Thuc. 4. 29, 1; 8. 106, 5.

excusantibus, 'pleading in excuse': cp. 5. 2, 1; 15. 61, 1; also in Cic. &c.

1. **M'. Lepidus**: see on c. 32, 2; 1. 13, 2, &c.

L. Piso: see on 2. 32, 4; 34, 1. From his being called *Γναίου υἱός* by Dio (Arg. B. 55), Nipp. infers him to have been a brother of the accused: cp. c. 12, 9.

Livineius Regulus, also a consular, probably father of the one alluded to in 14. 17. 1. One of the name is mentioned in Bell. Afr. 89, 3.

2. **adrecta**, 'excited to see.' The construction is such as would follow a verb expressing expectation or wonder. 'Adrigo' is found here alone in Tacitus; also in poets, Sallust, and Livy.

quanta fides . . . quae fiducia. These should not be taken to be mere synonymous expressions. The 'fides' of the friends of Germanicus is their fidelity to their promise (2. 71, 8); while 'quae fiducia' means 'on what the accused relied,' and seems taken from the Vergilian 'quae sit fiducia capto' (Aen. 2, 75).

3. **cohiberet ac premeret**, 'restrain and suppress'; a rhetorical use of words virtually synonymous, as in Pl. Pan. 4 'cohibet et comprimit.'

haud alias. The repetition of 'ac premeret' is plainly an error; but 'is,' retained by Ritter, Dräger, and formerly by Halm, might well stand; 'fuit' being supplied after 'intentior,' and the sense being completed (as it is with the reading here adopted) by supplying 'haud alias' again with 'plus permisit.' But the ordinary sense of 'intentus' ('on the alert') is far more suitable to the mental attitude of the people than to that of Tiberius. The repetition in sense of 'haud alias,' noted above, is compared by Nipp. to the way in which, in Agr. 18, 7, 'nec' extends its force both to 'usus' and to 'vocabat.'

6. **meditato temperamento**, 'of studied discretion': cp. 'meditata oratio' 14. 55, 1, &c., and 'temperamentum fortitudinis' H. 1. 83, 2; 'salubri temperamento' H. 4. 86, 2. This word is similarly used to describe the character of M'. Lepidus (4. 20, 4), also in the sense of 'compromise' (11. 4, 7).

7. **legatum**; in the Caesarian province of Hispania citerior or Tarraconensis (c. 13, 2).

adiutorem. In 4. 7, 2, Seianus is called 'adiutor imperii'; and Suetonius (Cal. 26) so calls Macro and even Ennia (cp. also Suet. Aug. 39; Tib. 62). In assistants of lower rank, it is often almost a technical term; as Inscr. Orell. 3200, 3462. Such a coadjutor to a younger man is termed 'rector' (c. 48, 2; 1. 24, 3).

8. **auctore senatu**, a very remarkable instance of his habit of making the senate share responsibilities even in his own department: cp. 1. 25, 3; 4. 15, 3, &c.

9. **contumacia**, &c.; i. e. whether he had done this and no more.

11. **integris**, 'unbiassed': cp. c. 7, 2, &c.

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 cu- 5
iuscumque mortalium nece vindicandum detegitur, vos vero et
5 liberos Germanici et nos parentes iustis solaciis adficite. simul- 6
que illud reputate, turbide et seditiose tractaverit exercitus Piso,
quaesita sint per ambitionem studia militum, armis repetita
provincia, an falsa haec in maius vulgaverint accusatores, quorum
ego nimiis studiis iure suscenseo. nam quo pertinuit nudare 7
10 corpus et contrectandum vulgi oculis permittere differrique etiam
per externos tamquam veneno interceptus esset, si incerta adhuc
ista et scrutanda sunt? defleo equidem filium meum semperque 8
deflebo: sed neque reum prohibeo quo minus cuncta proferat,
quibus innocentia eius sublevari aut, si qua fuit iniquitas Ger-
15 manici, coargui possit, vosque oro ne, quia dolori meo causa
conexa est, obiecta crimina pro adprobatis accipiatis. si quos 9
propinquus sanguis aut fides sua patronos dedit, quantum quis-
que eloquentia et cura valet, iuvate periclitantem: ad eundem
laborem, eandem constantiam accusatores hortor. id solum Ger- 10

2. set privatas Pluygers. 3. noui: non vi Mur.

nam si. On the abrupt change to 'oratio recta' cp. Introd. v. § 94.

officii, 'his position': cp. 'fama aucti officii' Agr. 14, 3. This sense is post-Augustan, and especially found in Suet.

1. **imperatorem,** used here, as in c. 14, 1; 2. 76, 4, &c., of Germanicus: see note on 1. 14, 4.

exuit, used by zeugma with 'terminos.'

2. **seponam,** i.e. by 'renuntiatio amicitiae': cp. 2. 70, 3, and note there.

3. **vi principis** = 'potestate principis,' as 5. 5, 2. He would punish, but in his private capacity only.

facinus . . . vindicandum, 'an atrocity, such as in the murder of any human being would demand punishment'; i.e. irrespectively of the rank and position of the person killed: cp. 'quisnam mortalium esset' H. 2. 72, 2.

6. **turbide,** 'in a spirit of mutiny': 'turbidus' in Tacitus is nearly 'seditiosus': cp. c. 27. 4; 1. 38, 4, &c. 'Exercitus,' the legions: cp. 1. 52, 3.

8. **falsa . . . vulgaverint,** i.e. whether the accusers took up a false tale and spread it with further additions. Cp. 'in maius innotuere' (H. 4. 50, 1 and Sall.), and other expressions in Introd. v. § 60b.

9. **nudare corpus:** see 2. 73, 5.

10. **contrectandum . . . oculis.** The same metaphor is used by Lactantius (de Opif. Dei, 1), and a still bolder one by Cicero (Tusc. 3. 15, 33), 'ad . . . tota mente contrectandas . . . voluptates.'

differri, 'that report should be spread': cp. 'differtur' (4. 25, 5), and note on 1. 4, 3. Dräger notes the change from an active to a passive inf. as a solitary instance in Tacitus, but found in good authors, as in Caes. (B. C. 1. 32, 5; 61, 4) and often in Livy.

11. **interceptus:** cp. 2. 71, 3, and note.

14. **sublevari:** cp. 'defendendis hominibus sublevandisque' Cic. Div. in Caec. 2, 5.

iniquitas, such as formed part of the charges brought by Piso against Germanicus (2. 78, 1).

17. **propinquus sanguis,** alluding to his brother L. Piso (c. 11, 2).

fides, 'loyalty,' as to a friend; applying to Lepidus and Livineius Regulus (c. 11, 2). The sense is similar to that in which it is used (l. l.) of the friends of Germanicus.

manico super leges praestiterimus, quod in curia potius quam in
foro, apud senatum quam apud iudices de morte eius anquiritur:
11 cetera pari modestia tractentur. nemo Drusi lacrimas, nemo
maestitiam meam spectet, nec si qua in nos adversa finguntur.'

13. Exim biduum criminibus obiciendis statuitur utque sex 5
2 dierum spatio interiecto reus per triduum defenderetur. tum
Fulcinius vetera et inania orditur, ambitiose avareque habitam
Hispaniam; quod neque convictum noxae reo, si recentia pur-
garet, neque defensum absolutioni erat, si teneretur maioribus
3 flagitiis. post quem Servaeus et Veranius et Vitellius consimili 10
studio, et multa eloquentia Vitellius, obiecere odio Germanici
et rerum novarum studio Pisonem vulgus militum per licentiam
et sociorum iniurias eo usque conrupisse, ut parens legionum a
deterrimis appellaretur; contra in optimum quemque, maxime
in comites et amicos Germanici saevisse; postremo ipsum devo- 15
tionibus et veneno peremisse; sacra hinc et immolationes nefan-

10. postq; (postque): text R, post quae Baiter.

1. **super leges**, 'beyond ordinary course of law': see on 2. 79, 2; c. 10, 3; Introd. vi. 93, n. 3: 'praestiterimus,' fut. exact.

3. **cetera**, 'the other charges,' as distinct from that 'de morte eius'; better taken thus, than in contrast to 'id solum.'

pari modestia, 'with equal moderation': cp. 'pari secreto' (4. 57, 2), &c. 'Modestia' is used, as in 1. 11, 1, &c., of a demeanour the opposite to overbearing.

4. **adversa finguntur**, 'fictions to our discredit'; alluding to the tales of his joy at, or even complicity in, the death (c. 2, 5, &c.): cp. 'adverso rumore esse' 14. 11, 4; H. 2. 26, 4.

5. **biduum . . . statuitur.** On the change of construction to 'utque' see Introd. v. § 91, 8. The time fixed was longer than what was usually allowed by such rules as those of the 'lex Pompeia': cp. Dial. 38, 2; Pl. Epp. 4. 9, 9.

7. **Fulcinius**: see c. 10, 1.

ambitiose avareque habitam, 'administered with intrigue and extortion.' 'Provincia avare habita' is repeated in 13. 30, 1. Here 'ambitiose' might be taken to express his behaviour to his soldiers (cp. 'ambitionem militarem' c. 14, 1); or more probably the two words express his conduct to different classes of provincials, as in Agr. 30, 5 'si locuples hostis est, avari, si pauper, ambitiosi.'

8. **convictum**, 'if proved': cp. 14. 5, 1; 40, 5; also Cic. Caes., &c.

9. **defensum**, 'if refuted': cp. 'miscendo quae defendere nequibat' H. 4. 41, 4. This application of the word is rare, but analogous to the sense of repelling or warding off. On the concise use of these participles cp. Introd. v. § 54.

10. **post quem.** The reading 'post quae' follows that generally received in 2. 57, 4. In c. 33, 1 two similar abbreviations 'interq;' and 'neq;' occur in the same sentence, and the general consensus of editors reads for the first 'inter quae,' for the second 'ne quem.' 'Post quae' is found in 1. 13, 1; 2. 86, 1, &c.; 'post quos' in 6. 19, 1; H. 2. 38, 4.

Servaeus: see 2. 56, 5. Though apparently less prominent than the two others, he is coupled with them again in c. 19, 1. The speech of Vitellius was extant in the time of Pl. Mai.: see note on 2. 73, 5.

13. **parens legionum**: see 2. 55, 4.

15. **devotionibus et veneno**: see 2. 69, 5.

16. **sacra et immolationes**, referring to his thank-offerings (2. 75, 3), called 'nefandae,' as an outrage on public feeling, as well as an impiety to the house of Caesar (cp. 'vox nefaria' c. 50, 1).

das ipsius atque Plancinae, petitam armis rem publicam, utque reus agi posset, acie victum.

14. Defensio in ceteris trepidavit; nam neque ambitionem militarem neque provinciam pessimo cuique obnoxiam, ne con-
5 tumelias quidem adversum imperatorem infitiari poterat: solum 2
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 3
absurdum videbatur inter aliena servitia et tot adstantium visu,
10 ipso Germanico coram, id ausum; offerebatque familiam reus et ministros in tormenta flagitabat. sed iudices per diversa inpla- 4
cabiles erant, Caesar ob bellum provinciae inlatum, senatus numquam satis credito sine fraude Germanicum interisse.... scripsissent expostulantes, quod haud minus Tiberius quam Piso
15 abnuere. simul populi ante curiam voces audiebantur: non 5

4. cui: text R. 9. visus Pichena.

1. **petitam armis rem publicam**: see 2. 80; 81.

2. **reus agi**: cp. 14. 18, 2; 15. 20, 1; and 'tamquam reos ageret' (Liv. 24. 25, 1). Ritt. notes this use of 'agere' as an equivalent of *διώκειν*.

3. **in ceteris**, opposed to 'veneni crimen' below.

trepidavit, 'faltered.' The nearest parallel appears to be 'trepidanti inter scelus metumque' (H. 3. 39, 1).

ambitionem militarem: cp. 'senatorio ambitu' 4. 2, 3, and Introd. v. § 6.

4. **obnoxiam**, 'placed at the mercy of': cp. 2. 75, 1. It is meant that his mode of courting the soldiers was to let them plunder the subjects: cp. 'per licentiam et sociorum iniurias' c. 13, 3.

6. **visus est**, sc. 'defensor,' supplied from 'defensio.'

7. **firmabant**. The simple verb is here used for 'confirmare,' as in c. 60, 1; 4. 14, 1, &c.; more frequently for 'adfirmare,' as in 1. 81, 1, &c.

super eum. The usual arrangement (see Hor. Sat. 2. 8, 20, sqq.) appears to have been departed from, probably on account of the rank of the host. Orelli thinks that Germanicus probably himself occupied the 'locus consularis.'

8. **discumberet**. This verb is used by post-Augustan writers of a single person, but only where the presence of others is implied: cp. 4. 54, 2; 6. 50, 5.

9. **visu**. This appears to be an extension of the modal ablative (see Introd. v. § 28) to denote an attendant circumstance, such as would usually be expressed by an abl. abs. 'tot adstantibus et videntibus': see Nipp. on 4. 51.

10. **offerebat**. sc. 'in tormenta.' His own slaves could be questioned as to the procuring and preparing of the poison; and the 'ministri' who waited at table, and who would be servants of Germanicus, could be examined on what had taken place at the meal.

12. **Caesar**. That Tiberius presided at this trial, is shown by his putting the question to the consul (c. 17, 8).

13. **scripsissent expostulantes**. There is here no lacuna in the MS., but Nipp. appears rightly to argue that the gap is considerable. So far the accusation and defence appear to have been conducted according to the programme laid down in c. 13, 1. Now we hear that the accusation was renewed and the defence abandoned (c. 15, 4), and the trial still prolonged after Piso's death (c. 17, 6). It is inferred that a 'comperendinatio' had ensued, with introduction of new matter, possibly some charge made by Piso against Germanicus, which had led to a counter-demand for the production of some letters. 'Expostulantes' is used as in 1. 19, 3; 12. 46, 3; 15. 17, 5.

6 temperaturos manibus, si patrum sententias evasisset. effigies-
que Pisonis traxerant in Gemonias ac divellebant, ni iussu prin-
7 cipis protectae repositaeque forent. igitur inditus lecticae et a
tribuno praetoriae cohortis deductus est, vario rumore, custos
saluti an mortis exactor sequeretur. 5

15. Eadem Plancinae invidia, maior gratia; eoque ambiguum
2 habebatur quantum Caesari in eam liceret. atque ipsa, donec
mediae Pisoni spes, sociam se cuiuscumque fortunae et, si ita
3 ferret, comitem exitii promittebat: ut secretis Augustae preci-
bus veniam obtinuit, paulatim segregari a marito, dividere defen- 10
4 sionem 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 15
ira, obstinatum clausumque vidit, ne quo adfectu perrumperetur.
5 relatus domum, tamquam defensionem in posterum meditaretur,
pauca conscribit obsignatque et liberto tradit; tum solita cu-
6 rando corpori exsequitur. dein multam post noctem, egressa
cubiculo uxore, operiri fores iussit; et coepta luce perfosso iu- 20
gulo, iacente humi gladio, repertus est.

1. **temperaturos manibus**: cp. 'risui temperare' (13. 3, 2), &c.

2. **Gemonias**, usually thus abbreviated, as in 5. 9, 3; 6. 25, 4, &c., but in full, 'Gemoniae scalae,' in Val. Max. 6. 3, 3, &c. These stairs, on which the bodies of criminals were exposed, led from the Capitol to the Forum, near the Mamertine prison. For such destruction of statues compare the description of the fall of Sejanus (Juv. 10, 58), and of Domitian (Plin. Pan. 52).

4. **deductus**, 'he was escorted home.'

custos saluti: see Introd. v. § 19.

5. **mortis exactor**: 'exactor,' by itself, is thus used in 11. 37, 4. The sense appears to originate with Livy, who has 'exactor supplicii' in 2. 5, 5.

7. **quantum . . . liceret**, 'how far Caesar could venture against her' (cp. Verg. Aen. 6, 502); a bitter allusion to his mother's ascendency over him (see 4. 57, 4).

8. **mediae**, 'hung in the balance.'

si ita ferret, a phrase repeated from H. 2. 44, 5, and elsewhere found only in Sen. N. Q. 6. 32, 12. It is an abbreviation of such forms as 'fors tulit' (Sall. Jug. 78, 2), or 'res tulit' (Liv. 3. 27, 6).

10. **dividere**, 'to separate her defence from his': cp. 'dividite turbidos' 1. 43, 5.

12. **experiretur**; so in Cic. Cael. 8, 20, &c. For the full expression 'ius experiri' cp. c. 36, 3.

durat mentem: see note on 1. 6, 3: cp. 'cor dura' Plaut. Pseud. 1. 3, 6.

13. **redintegratam accusationem**: see note on c. 14, 4.

14. **nullo**, for 'nulla re.' Nipp. cites several instances of this use from M. and L. Seneca and Quint., and compares Liv. 2. 59, 8 'nemo ullius nisi fugae memor.'

16. **perrumperetur**, perhaps here best taken, with Louandre, of the force of emotion from within, not suffered to escape him by unguarded expressions. We can also take the word in its more usual sense, and understand it to be meant that he was steeled against any impression of feeling from without.

18. **solita . . . exsequitur**, i. e. he bathed and supped.

20. **operiri**, here alone in Tacitus in

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 inmisso percussore. quorum neutrum adse- 2 veraverim: neque tamen occulere debui narratum ab iis qui nostram ad iuventam duraverunt. Caesar flexo in maestitiam 3 ore suam invidiam tali morte quaesitam apud senatum *conquestus M. Pisonem vocari iubet* crebrisque interrogationibus exquirit, qualem Piso diem supremum noctemque exegisset. atque illo 4 pleraque sapienter, quaedam inconsultius respondente, recitat codicillos a Pisone in hunc ferme modum compositos: 'conspi- 5 ratione inimicorum et invidia falsi criminis oppressus, quatenus veritati et innocentiae meae nusquam locus est, deos inmortales testor vixisse 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 6 patri seni cessisset. eo inpensius precor ne meae pravitatis poenas innoxius luat. per quinque et quadraginta annorum obse- 7

9. lacuna noted by Boxhorn, thus supplied by Weissenborn.

the sense of 'claudi'; so in Plaut., Ter., &c.

1. **Audire me memini.** On other allusions to such floating stories see Introd. iii. p. 20. Suetonius also alludes to this tradition; but the mutilation of the passage (Tib. 52) prevents us from knowing whether he is following Tacitus or another authority.

4. **destinatum,** sc. 'fuisse,' 'it was his purpose': see Introd. v. § 39 c.

8. **duraverunt,** 'lived on.' The application of the word in this sense to persons appears to be peculiar to Tacitus: cp. Agr. 44, 5; Dial. 17, 4.

9. **apud senatum.** Some verb expressing regret is here lost, as also the name of the person questioned; who would appear to be one of the sons, whose presence is implied in c. 17, 6. Hence the restoration in the text is suitable to the sense.

12. **inconsultius,** apparently repeating some words which would have been more discreetly suppressed.

13. **codicillos,** those written by Piso just before his death (c. 15, 5).

14. **quatenus,** for 'quoniam,' as in Dial. 5, 2 (where see Gud.); Vell. 2. 68, 3; Plin. Epp. 3. 7, 14, &c. The use is archaic and poetical (Lucr., Hor., Ov.).

15. **veritati,** 'uprightness': cp. 1. 75, 2.

16. **neque alia,** 'no less': cp. 'non in alia vilitate' G. 5, 4.

17. **consulatis.** From the ordinary sense of 'consulere alicui,' the verb is often used by Tacitus as equivalent to 'parcere,' as in c. 46, 4; 11. 36, 3; 12. 47, 7; H. 3. 82, 1.

18. **qualicumque,** i. e. 'whether deserved or not.'

19. **M. Piso:** see 2. 76, 2.

20. **dehortatus est.** This verb, not used elsewhere by Tacitus, takes an inf. also in Cato (ap. Gell. 13, 24) and Sall. (Jug. 24, 4). The inf. with 'hortor' and 'moneo' is more common.

22. **quinque et quadraginta.** He

quium, 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.

17. Post quae Tiberius adulescentem crimine civilis belli purgavit, patris quippe iussa, nec potuisse filium detrectare; simul nobilitatem domus, etiam ipsius quoquo modo meriti gravem
2 casum miseratus. pro Plancina cum pudore et flagitio disseruit, matris preces obtendens, in quam optimi cuiusque secreti questus
3 magis ardescebant. id ergo fas aviae, interfectricem nepotis adspicere, adloqui, eripere senatui. quod pro omnibus civibus
4 leges obtineant, uni Germanico non contigisse. Vitellii et Veranii voce defletum Caesarem, ab imperatore et Augusta defensam
5 Plancinam. proinde venena et artes tam feliciter expertas verteret in Agrippinam, in liberos eius, egregiamque aviam ac
6 patruum sanguine miserrimae domus exsatiaret. biduum super hac imagine cognitionis absumptum, urguente Tiberio liberos
7 Pisonis matrem uti tuerentur. et cum accusatores ac testes certatim perorarent respondente nullo, miseratio quam invidia
8 augebatur. primus sententiam rogatus Aurelius Cotta consul (nam referente Caesare magistratus eo etiam munere fungeban-

13. perinde: text R.

appears to date from his entry into public life, which would thus have taken place in 728, B.C. 26.

1. **collegium consulatus.** These words can be satisfactorily explained as referring to his consulship in 747, B.C. 7 (C. I. L. ix. 5308, x. 924); which was a mark of approval from Augustus, who conferred it, and a tie of friendship with Tiberius, his colleague in it. The Cn. Piso who was consul with Augustus himself in 731, B.C. 23, must have been his father (see on 2. 43, 3). This abstract use of 'collegium' (cp. c. 31, 1; H. 1. 52, 8) is rare, but is found in Livy (4. 17, 9, &c.).

5. **iussa,** sc. 'fuisse,' as in c. 16, 1, &c. Orelli takes it less well as depending on 'detrectare,' explaining 'neque' as equivalent to 'ne . . . quidem.'

7. **pudore et flagitio.** The subjective and objective, e.g. the shame which a person feels and the infamy which he incurs, are elsewhere thus concisely coupled; as 'rubore et infamia'; 'pudor ac dedecus' H. 4. 62, 2; 72, 5. See other instances noted by Nipp. on 1. 43.

13. **proinde.** This correction is clearly required in a hortatory passage, where an inference is drawn from facts (as in 1. 11, 3; 2. 65, 6, &c.). The two words are constantly confused by copyists, from the close resemblance of their abbreviated forms; and 'proinde' is generally restored for 'perinde' in 15. 27, 2: the opposite alteration has been oftener made, and sometimes questionably; see note on 4. 20, 6; 13. 21, 3.

16. **hac imagine cognitionis:** the sham (cp. H. 4. 8, 4) was the trial of Plancina, whose acquittal was already secured. The sentence of Cotta, given below, shows however that no decision had yet been taken respecting the property of Piso or respecting his sons.

18. **perorarent:** cp. 2. 30, 1.

miseratio quam invidia. On the omission of 'potius' see Introd. v. § 64, 1: cp. also c. 32, 2; 4. 61, 1; 13. 6, 6, and Ritter there.

19. **Aurelius Cotta:** see c. 2, 5.

20. **eo etiam munere,** the duty of giving their 'sententia' on the question being put to them. According to rule,

tur) nomen Pisonis eradendum fastis censuit, partem bonorum publicandam, pars ut Cn. Pisoni filio concederetur isque praenomen mutaret; M. Piso exuta dignitate et accepto quinquagiens sestertio in decem annos relegaretur, concessa Plancinae incolu-
5 mitate ob preces Augustae.

18. Multa ex ea sententia mitigata sunt a principe: ne nomen Pisonis fastis eximeretur, quando M. Antonii, qui bellum patriae fecisset, Iulli Antonii, qui domum Augusti violasset, manerent. et M. Pisonem ignominiae exemit concessitque ei paterna bona, 2
10 satis firmus, ut saepe memoravi, adversum pecuniam et tum pudore absolutae Plancinae placabilior. atque idem, cum Va- 3
lerius Messalinus signum aureum in aede Martis Ultoris, Caecina Severus aram ultionis statuendam censuissent, prohibuit,

1. radendum: text Bait. 4. religatur: text L. 8. iulii: see 1. 10, 3. 13. ultioni: text Halm.

the magistrate who made the 'relatio' put the question first to the consuls designate (cp. c. 22, 6, &c.), then to consulars, &c., and could himself speak as often as he pleased. Other magistrates were not asked their 'sententia' and apparently did not vote, but could interpose in the debate at any time unasked. Nipp. illustrates this order of procedure by reference to Cic. ad Q. F. 2. 1, H. 4. 41, 1: see also Staatsr. iii. 942–946. Tacitus uses the past tense ('fungebantur'), because in his time the princeps, unless he happened to be consul (cp. Pl. Epp. 2. 11, 10), did not preside in person over the senate, but consulted it in writing (see note on c. 32, 1).

1. **eradendum fastis**, sc. 'consularibus.' The simple verb appears to be thus used only in Ov. Am. 1. 11, 22 ('littera rasa'). The MS. text might however be defended by the general frequency of such uses of simple for compound verbs in Tacitus (Introd. v. § 40). On such 'damnatio memoriae' see Staatsr. iii. 1191.

partem, 'half' (cp. 4. 20, 2, &c.). This would be the share of M. Piso (cp. 'paterna bona' c. 18, 2), who was to have a sum given back out of it.

2. **praenomen mutaret.** Thus the praenomen 'Marcus' was forbidden to the Manlii (Liv. 6. 20, 14). This Piso probably took the praenomen 'Lucius': see on 4. 62, 1.

3. **exuta dignitate**, sc. 'senatoria.' 'Exuere ordinem' is thus used of senators (11. 25, 5, &c.). The large sum (five times the senatorial census) given to him illustrates the remark of Seneca (ad Helv. 12, 4) 'maius viaticum exulum quam olim patrimonium principum fuerat.'

4. **relegaretur.** This mildest form of banishment (cp. Ov. Trist. 2, 137) involved no 'deminutio capitis,' or other penalty beyond itself.

6. **ne . . . eximeretur.** On the repetition of 'exemit,' see note on 1. 81, 2.

7. **M. Antonii.** The Fasti Capitolini show marks of erasure and subsequent restoration of his name (C. I. L. i. p. 440, 466); which was erased in 710 (cp. Cic. Phil. 13. 12, 26), and again apparently at the Actian war, but restored, first at the beginning of the triumvirate, and afterwards by Augustus. On his son Iullus Antonius see on 1. 10, 3.

9. **et . . . exemit.** Nipp. compares with this change of construction that in 13. 26, 2 'quibusdam frementibus . . . disserebatur contra.'

ignominiae, i.e. from loss of rank and from relegation.

10. **saepe**: cp. 1. 75, 4, and note there; also on c. 23, 3.

11. **Valerius Messalinus.** This may be the other consul of this year (see on c. 2, 5), but is generally taken to be his father (cp. 1. 8, 5), the speaker in c. 34.

12. **Martis Ultoris**: see on 2. 64, 2.

Caecina Severus: see 1. 31, 2, &c.

13. **aram ultionis statuendam.** On

ob externas ea victorias sacrari dictitans, domestica mala tristitia
4 operienda. addiderat Messalinus Tiberio et Augustae et An-
toniae et Agrippinae Drusoque ob vindictam Germanici grates
5 agendas omiseratque Claudii mentionem. et Messalinum qui-
dem L. Asprenas senatu coram percontatus est an prudens prae- 5
6 terisset; ac tum demum nomen Claudii adscriptum est. mihi,
quanto plura recentium seu veterum revolvo, tanto magis ludi-
7 bria rerum mortallum cunctis in negotiis obversantur. quippe
fama spe veneratione potius omnes destinabantur imperio quam
quem futurum principem fortuna in occulto tenebat. 10

19. Paucis post diebus Caesar auctor senatui fuit Vitellio
atque Veranio et Servaeo sacerdotia tribuendi: Fulcinio suffra-
gium ad honores pollicitus monuit ne facundiam violentia prae-
2 cipitaret. is finis fuit ulciscenda Germanici morte, non modo
apud illos homines qui tum agebant, etiam secutis temporibus 15

14. in ulciscenda Halm.

such commemorative altars see note on 1. 14, 3. The MS. text is retained by many and need not be altered; but the genitive is more usual except in cases of personification.

1. **tristitia.** This abl. can hardly be instrumental like c. 69, 1, or 'malis operire' in H. 1. 53, 3, and appears rather to be causal, as equivalent to 'ob tristitiam': see Introd. v. § 30.

4. **omiserat Claudii mentionem**: see note on 2. 71, 3, and c. 5, 5.

5. **L. Asprenas**: see 1. 53, 9.

7. **plura recentium seu veterum.** On the fondness of Tacitus for such genitives see Introd. v. § 32. Nipp. notes here the frequency with which he uses neuter plural adjectives in the genit. (as 2. 53, 2, &c.), dat. (as 4. 31, 1; 59, 4, &c.), and abl. (as 4. 3, 4; 58, 3, &c.).

revolvo, sc. animo: cp. 4. 21, 2; Agr. 46, 3. This use appears to be adopted from Vergil (Aen. 2, 101) and Ovid (Fast. 4, 667).

ludibria rerum mortalium. 'The mockery pervading human affairs': cp. 'Fortunae ludibria' (Cic. Parad. 1. 1, 9); 'ludibria casus' (Liv. 30. 30, 5). On the fatalism of Tacitus see Introd. iv. p. 29.

9. **spe**, 'expectation.'

11. **auctor senatui fuit.** Most of the priestly colleges were filled up formerly by popular election out of a list furnished by the 'collegium.' These elections had now, like those of the magistrates, passed to the senate; and we gather from this passage that the princeps, besides, of course, having his right of nomination as a member of the college, had also the right of 'commendatio' (Introd. vi. p. 94). See the speech of Claudius, ii. 13 (in App. to Book xi.); Plin. Epp. 4. 8, 3; 10. 13; and other authorities cited by Mommsen (Staatsr. ii. 1110). These persons (on whom see c. 13, 3) were probably elected 'supra numerum' (cp. 1. 54, 2); and it is stated by Dio (51. 20, 3), that such elections had become so frequent that the colleges consisted practically of no fixed number.

12. **suffragium ad honores**, i.e. that he would 'commend' him. Fulcinius became consul in 784, A.D. 31 (5. 11, 1).

14. **ulciscenda . . . morte.** Halm's insertion of 'in' has not been generally followed, though that construction or a dative would certainly be expected. The case may perhaps be taken as an unusual extension of the abl. abs. See also notes on 6. 32, 6; 14. 4, 8.

non modo . . . etiam: in 4. 35, 1 'sed' is similarly omitted, as is 'etiam' in 1. 60, 1, &c., and perhaps both in G. 10, 5 'non solum apud plebem, apud proceres, apud sacerdotes' (but see notes there). The contrast is rhetorically strengthened by these ellipses.

15. **agebant**: cp. 1. 4, 4; 68, 1. The use of this verb absolutely, for 'vivere'

vario rumore iactata. adeo maxima quaeque ambigua sunt, 3
dum alii quoquo modo audita pro conpertis habent, alii vera in
contrarium vertunt, et gliscit utrumque posteritate. at Drusus 4
urbe egressus repetendis auspiciis, mox ovans introiit. paucos-
5 que post dies Vipsania mater eius excessit, una omnium Agrip-
pae liberorum miti obitu. nam ceteros manifestum ferro vel 5
creditum est veneno aut fame extinctos.

20. Eodem anno Tacfarinas, quem priore aestate pulsum
a Camillo memoravi, bellum in Africa renovat, vagis primum
10 populationibus et ob pernicitatem inultis, dein vicos exscindere,
trahere graves praedas; postremo haud procul Pagyda flumine
cohortem Romanam circumsedit. praeerat castello Decrius im- 2
piger manu, exercitus militia et illam obsidionem flagitii ratus.
is cohortatus milites ut copiam pugnae in aperto facerent, aciem
15 pro castris instruit. primoque impetu pulsa cohorte promptus 3
inter tela occursat fugientibus, increpat signiferos quod inconditis

2. audire: text margin and L, quae quoquo modo audiere Weissenb. 14. faceret Probst.

or 'degere,' is very common in Tacitus (e. g. 4. 28, 3; 13. 45, 4; 15. 74, 4, &c.), but otherwise apparently confined to Sallust (Jug. 55, 2; 89, 7, &c.).

1. **iactata**, 'discussed'; so in H. 4. 8, 6, &c.; also Caes. B. G. 1. 18, 1; Liv. 1. 50, 2; 10. 46, 16, &c.

2. **dum**, 'inasmuch as': cp. 2. 88, 4, &c.

3. **utrumque**, credulity and falsification, the habit of mind of the two classes of persons compared.

posteritate. The construction appears to be that of an ablative of time, like 'secutis temporibus' above. Jacob compares Prop. 3. 1, 34 'posteritate suum crescere sentit opus.'

4. **repetendis auspiciis**. If he had 'proconsulare imperium' (see on 1. 14, 5), it must have been only 'extra urbem' (cp. 12. 41, 2), as distinct from that of the princeps, which did not cease within the pomerium. More properly, the general is said 'repetere auspicia' at Rome itself (cp. Liv. 8. 30, 2; Staatsr. i. 99).

ovans introiit. An inscription (C. I. L. xiv. 244, Henzen 6443) gives the date as v. k. Jun. (May 28).

5. **Vipsania**: see on 1. 12, 6. In what follows, the children of Agrippa by Marcella (Introd. ix. note 19) appear to be ignored; and, of the others, Julia, though dying in exile, and thus hardly 'miti obitu,' is not stated (4. 71, 6) to have died by violence.

8. **priore aestate**. These words are bracketed by Nipp. as an interpolation, and are certainly an error; as the campaign of Camillus is given under 770, A.D. 17 (2. 52), and cannot well have extended beyond a year after that (see on c. 21, 1). Ritter's suggestion, that the words may mean 'in a former summer,' makes Tacitus give too vague a reference.

11. **Pagyda**. This river is nowhere else mentioned, and cannot be identified; but the mention of Thala (c. 21, 2) perhaps gives some clue to the locality of the campaign.

12. **cohortem Romanam**, apparently a legionary cohort: cp. 1. 60, 2.

13. **flagitii**: see Introd. v. § 35.

14. **copiam pugnae ... facerent**. Such a phrase is elsewhere used of the general rather than the soldiers; hence Wölfflin (Jahresb. iii. 786) and Nipp. approve of the conjecture 'faceret.'

15. **pro castris**: see on 2. 80, 5.

16. **inconditis aut desertoribus**. The troops of Tacfarinas are stated (2. 52, 2) to have undergone some discipline, but might still be called 'inconditi' as com-

aut desertoribus miles Romanus terga daret; simul exceptat vulnera et quamquam transfosso oculo adversum os in hostem intendit, neque proelium omisit, donec desertus suis caderet.

21. Quae postquam L. Apronio (nam Camillo successerat) comperta, magis dedecore suorum quam gloria hostis anxius, raro ea tempestate et e vetere memoria facinore decumum quem-
2 que ignominiosae cohortis sorte ductos fusti necat. tantumque severitate profectum, ut vexillum veteranorum, non amplius quam quingenti numero, easdem Tacfarinatis copias praesidium
3 cui Thala nomen adgressas fuderint. quo proelio Rufus Helvius gregarius miles servati civis decus rettulit donatusque est ab
4 Apronio torquibus et hasta. Caesar addidit civicam coronam,

1. excepta: text Jul. Held. 9. quam | genti: quingenti B, text Weissenb.

pared with Roman legionaries. Tacfarinas was himself a deserter (l. l.) from Roman service. For 'aut' cp. 1. 55, 2.

1. **exceptat vulnera.** The MS. text is retained by Halm and most other editors, and defended by Nipp. and by Joh. Müller (Beitr. 3. 25-28), and explained either by supplying 'sunt,' or by taking the words as an accusative depending on 'intendit.' Against the first it may be said that, though the change from an active to a passive construction and vice versa is not unusual (e. g. 'quod . . . acceptum, neque prohibuit' c. 76, 3: cp. Introd. v. § 83, 2), the interpolation of a passive clause in the midst of actives is here very awkward. As to the second, the zeugma in 'intendit,' though harsh, could no doubt be paralleled; but 'excepta vulnera . . . intendit' (or 'ostendit') would be weak, with the definite and more forcible 'transfosso oculo adversum os' coupled to it. It is therefore perhaps easier to suppose that Tacitus wrote 'exceptat,' a verb which, though not elsewhere found in his writings, and otherwise rare, occurs in Caes., Cic., and Verg., and is used by Silius (9, 367) in a sense resembling that here required ('per pectora saevas exceptat mortes').

3. **suis,** to be taken as a dative (cp. 2. 50, 4); unless, as is not improbable, the preposition may have dropped out.

4. **L. Apronio:** see on 1. 56, 1. African coins have been found inscribed 'permissu L. Aproni procos. iii.' (Eckhel, iv. 148, &c.), showing that his proconsulship lasted at least beyond two years. He had probably succeeded Camillus in 771, A. D. 18, and was succeeded by Blaesus in 774, A. D. 21 (c. 35).

6. **decumum quemque.** Such decimation is mentioned as early as 283, B. C. 471 (Liv. 2. 59, 11): see 14. 44, 6.

7. **sorte ductos fusti necat.** The words are taken verbatim from Sallust (H. 4. 5 D, 27 K, inc. 96 G). The 'fustuarium' is described by Polybius (6. 37) as inflicted by the fellow-soldiers at a signal from the tribune.

8. **vexillum veteranorum:** see on 1. 17, 4; Introd. vii. 125.

amplius quam quingenti. This reading seems nearest to the MS., though such a construction as 'amplius quingenti' is sufficiently common. The strength mentioned would be about the same as that of a legionary cohort.

10. **Thala,** probably not the wealthy city of the Jugurthine war (Sall. Jug. 75) but a place further to the north, still bearing the name, on the borders of Africa and Numidia, about Lat. 35°, 40; where inscriptions showing it to have been a military station about this time have been found: see C. I. L. viii. p. 69.

12. **torquibus et hasta.** On the usual 'dona militaria' see on 1. 44, 7; also Marquardt, ii. 574, foll.

civicam coronam: cp. 2. 83, 2; 15. 12, 5; 16. 15, 2. Pliny (N. H. 16 4, 5, 11) records the honours and privileges attending this decoration. Borghesi notes that Helvius appears to have taken hence the cognomen Civica, and to have lived at Vicovaro (Varium), where an inscription (C. I. L. xiv. 3472) has been found—'M. Helvius, M. f., Cam (ilia tribu),

quod non eam quoque Apronius iure proconsulis tribuisset, questus magis quam offensus. sed Tacfarinas perculsis Numidis 5
et obsidia aspernantibus spargit bellum, ubi instaretur, cedens ac rursum in terga remeans. et dum ea ratio barbaro fuit, in- 6
5 ritum fessumque Romanum impune ludificabatur: postquam deflexit ad maritimos locos *et* inligatus praeda stativis castris adhaerebat, missu patris Apronius Caesianus cum equite et cohortibus auxiliariis, quis velocissimos legionum addiderat, prosperam adversum Numidas pugnam facit pellitque in deserta.

10 **22.** At Romae Lepida, cui super Aemiliorum decus L. Sulla et Cn. Pompeius proavi erant, defertur simulavisse partum ex

6. et ins. Haase, inligatusque Walther.

Rufus Civica, prim. pil., balneum municipibus et incolis dedit.'

2. **questus**, i. e. affecting to complain, but really well pleased. The proconsul of Africa still at this date (see Introd. vii. 115) commanded soldiers with 'proconsulare imperium,' and could punish (as above) or grant decorations: other proconsuls had no soldiers, and in Caesarian provinces the power to confer such 'dona' rested in the supreme imperium of the princeps (15. 12, 5). Suetonius, in generalising 'more suo' from this instance (Tib. 32), is therefore inaccurate.

3. **spargit bellum**, 'spreads the area of war'; so in Agr. 38, 3. The expression seems taken from Lucan (2, 682; 3, 64), who may have followed Vergil's 'spargam arma per agros' (Aen. 7, 551).

4. **rursum**, like αὖ, expressing contrast: cp. 2. 39, 4; 12. 65, 4, &c.

inritum, 'baffled'; thus used of persons in 1. 59, 7, &c.

6. **et inligatus**. Nipp. retains the MS. text without 'et' or 'que,' thinking the beginning of the apodosis at 'missu patris' sufficiently indicated by the sense, as in another somewhat ambiguous passage in H. 3. 13, 4. Joh. Müller, who also defends the MS. text (Beitr. 3. p. 28–30), thinks that in many such passages, oral recitation, in which the emphasis of the reader removes such ambiguity, is presupposed.

7. **Apronius Caesianus**, cos. in 792, A.D. 39 (Fast. Ant. C. I. L. x. 6638, Henzen 6445). An inscription on Mount Eryx (C. I. L. x. 7257) contains verses showing that at the time of this campaign he was still a youth in praetexta, and was rewarded for his service by a place among the 'septemviri epulones.' This would show that he cannot be the person thought to be mentioned in 1 29, 2.

8. **legionum**. A second legion was now in Africa (c. 9, 1). With 'velocissimos' we should rather have expected 'e legionibus'; but the legion is often used for the soldiers composing it.

10. **Aemiliorum decus**. This was now by far the greatest remaining patrician gens (cp. 6. 27, 5; 29, 7), next to the Iulii and Claudii, and a mere reference to its chief families, the Lepidi, Paulli, Scauri, &c., will alone serve to indicate its nobility. Mr. Dallin notes that thirty of its members had been consuls, many of them more than once, besides many dictators, censors, 'triumphales,' &c. Among its famous men were the consul who fell at Cannae, the conqueror of Macedon, and (by birth) the younger Scipio Africanus, also Scaurus the last republican 'princeps senatus,' and the triumvir Lepidus. Two great Roman roads perpetuated the name; and even in the fifth century St. Jerome speaks of the devout Paulla as 'Gracchorum stirps, suboles Scipionum, Paulli heres' (see Gibbon, c. 31, note 11).

L. Sulla et Cn. Pompeius proavi. Faustus Cornelius Sulla, son of the dictator, had married the daughter of Cn. Pompeius Magnus (cp. Bell. Afr. 95, 2). Their daughter Cornelia was mother of Lepida by Q. Aemilius Lepidus, cos. 733, B.C. 21 (Dio. 54. 6, 3; Hor. Ep. 1. 20, 28), whose relationship to the main stem of the Lepidi is uncertain.

11. **defertur**. On the inf. with this verb cp. 2. 27. 1. The specification of charges shows the inaccuracy of Suetonius,

2 P. Quirinio divite atque orbo. adiciebantur adulteria, venena quaesitumque per Chaldaeos in domum Caesaris, defendente 3 ream Manio Lepido fratre. Quirinius post dictum repudium adhuc infensus quamvis infami ac nocenti miserationem addiderat. haud facile quis dispexerit illa in cognitione mentem 5 4 principis: adeo vertit ac miscuit irae et clementiae signa. deprecatus primo senatum ne maiestatis crimina tractarentur, mox M. Servilium e consularibus aliosque testes inlexit ad proferenda 5 quae velut reicere voluerat. idemque servos Lepidae, cum militari custodia haberentur, transtulit ad consules neque per 10 tormenta interrogari passus est de iis quae ad domum suam 6 pertinerent. exemit etiam Drusum consulem designatum di-

who speaks (Tib. 49) of Lepida as condemned 'in gratiam Quirini consularis praedivitis et orbi, qui dimissam eam a matrimonio post vicensimum annum veneni olim in se comparati (cp. c. 23, 4) arguebat.'

1. **P. Quirinio**: see c. 48; 2. 30, 4.

2. **quaesitum**, 'the fact of inquiry' (Introd. v. 55 b 2). On the Chaldaean astrologers see 2. 27, 2. To consult them against (or concerning) the imperial family or on the future of the state was made a capital offence, as any sinister prediction was an encouragement to conspiracies. For similar charges cp. 12. 22, 1; 52, 1; 16. 14, 4; 30, 2. It was still a capital offence at the time of the jurists, as was also, for similar reasons, the inquiry by a slave touching the horoscope of his master: see Marquardt, iii. 94. n. 6.

3. **Manio Lepido**: see note on c. 32, 2; 1. 13, 2.

post dictum repudium, 'after declaration of divorce'; the usual phrase is 'mittere repudium.' The vindictiveness of Quirinius appears to be shown not so much by the prosecution being merely after a divorce, as by its being many years after it. The statement of Suetonius (l. l.) that twenty years had intervened, seems exaggerated; as Quirinius can hardly have married her till after the death of L. Caesar in 755, A.D. 2 (cp. c. 23, 1); but Nipp. thinks that the interval may have been fifteen years. She had since married Scaurus: see c. 23, 3.

5. **dispexerit**, potential subjunct. (Introd. v. § 51). The verb is used (cp. Agr. 10, 6) of what is seen, as it were, through a mist or veil.

6. **vertit**, sc. 'inter se,' 'showed by turns.'

7. **maiestatis crimina**, i.e. the charge of consulting astrologers respecting his house. Her juvenile betrothal to Lucius Caesar might possibly have strained the charge of adultery into one of treason (cp. 2. 50, 1).

8. **M. Servilium**: see 2. 48, 1.

9. **quae velut reicere voluerat**, 'what he had apparently desired to exclude from the case.' 'Reicere,' which had been corrected to 'reticere' and 'reticeri,' has got back into most texts. We should certainly have rather expected 'velut reiecerat' or 'velut reici voluerat'; but no alteration appears to be really necessary (for further discussion see Joh. Müller, Beit. 3. p. 31). On the use of 'velut' see 1. 8, 7. Tiberius had not prohibited, nor, as it seemed, sincerely deprecated the charge.

10. **militari custodia**: cp. 14. 60, 5; H. 4. 11, 4. This custody would be that of the praetorians, who, though not yet collected into their camp (4. 2, 1), must have had some barrack prison (cp. 1. 21, 2) in Rome. The change from this to the custody of the consuls, who were now civil magistrates only, would hardly, in the case of slaves detained for torture, arise from a desire to be lenient to them, but would be significant of Caesar's wish to exercise no influence in the trial.

12. **exemit . . . dicendae primo loco sententiae**: the dative with this verb (cp. 1. 48, 2) is nowhere else gerundive. A famous instance of the old custom alluded to is the 'sententia' of Silanus as cos. design. on the Catilinarians (Sall. Cat. 50; App. B. C. 2. 5). Appian there

cendae primo loco sententiae; quod alii civile rebantur, ne ceteris adsentiendi necessitas fieret, quidam ad saevitiam trahebant: neque enim cessurum nisi damnandi officio.

23. Lepida ludorum diebus, qui cognitionem intervenerant, theatrum cum claris feminis ingressa, lamentatione flebili maiores suos ciens ipsumque Pompeium, cuius ea monimenta et adstantes imagines visebantur, tantum misericordiae permovit, ut effusi in lacrimas saeva et detestanda Quirinio clamitarent, cuius senectae atque orbitati et obscurissimae domui destinata

7. misericordia: text L.

explains the practice as grounded on the probability that the responsibility of executing the decree might often devolve on the consuls designate; but it is really a recognition of their position, which, while not that of magistrates (cp. c. 17, 8), was yet quasi-magisterial. Thus Cicero (ad Q. F. 2. 1, 3), when the tribune had already asked the consul-designate, says 'de privatis me primum sententiam rogavit.' For other instances cp. c. 49, 4; 4. 42, 3; 11. 5, 3; 12. 9, 1; 14. 48, 4; Staatsr. iii. 973, n. 2.

2. **trahebant**: cp. 1. 62, 3. They took it as indicating that he desired the verdict to be adverse and the sentence severe, and that Drusus understood his wishes.

3. **neque enim cessurum**, sc. 'fuisse' (Introd. v. § 39 c). 'Drusum' is probably to be supplied as subject, and 'officio' taken as abl.; the construction being like that of 'possessione cedere,' &c. The full expression would thus be 'neque enim Drusum cuiquam cessurum fuisse quoquam officio nisi officio damnandi'; 'he would not have given way to others in respect of any duty but that of condemning' (would gladly have put himself forward to give the initiatory vote, if he had thought that his father desired it to be one of acquittal). Drusus voted at a later stage for the severer sentence, initiated by Rubellius Blandus (c. 23, 2).

4. **ludorum diebus**. In the absence of any specification, it is probable that the 'Ludi Magni Romani' are meant; which began Sept. 4, and lasted, under one or another name, to the 19th. For four days (cp. Liv. 24. 43, 7) they were scenic, during most of the others Circensian. See Marquardt, iii. 498.

cognitionem intervenerant. The accusative, not elsewhere found with this verb, is analogous to that with 'interfluere' (2. 9, 1) and other such verbs (Introd. v. 12 c). The interruption of judicial proceedings by these games may be gathered from Cicero (Verr. 1. 10, 31), who deducts forty days, chiefly for the games vowed by Pompeius and for the Ludi Romani.

6. **ea monimenta ... visebantur**, i.e. 'cuius erant ea ... quae visebantur.' A single building might be called 'monimenta' (c. 72, 1; 4. 7, 3); but other buildings, the Curia and Porticus Pompeii, were close by. This theatre, the greatest in Rome, was also the first permanent structure of the kind in the city, and considered a great innovation by severe Romans (see 14. 20, 2). It dates from the second consulship of Pompeius, 699, B.C. 55, and was in the Campus Martius: see Dyer (in Dict. of Geog.) pp. 834, 844; Burn, Rome and the Campagna, p. 318; Middleton, ii. p. 65.

7. **permovit**. On the accus. cp. 1. 21, 4.

8. **detestanda** = 'detestabilia,' as in 4. 69, 3; 16. 28, 2, &c.

9. **obscurissimae domui**: see c. 48, 2. Quirinius is, however, there shown to have been a man of distinguished public career, and no imputation is cast on his general character. Nor does the popular sympathy with Lepida appear really to rest on anything but her rank, and on the long interval of time, perhaps capable of explanation, between some, at least, of her crimes and her trial. Tacitus admits her guilt (c. 22, 3), and yet seems to lean towards this sympathy. The whole narrative thus aptly illustrates the popular respect for noble birth still prevalent under the Empire, as shown by Horace (Sat. 1. 6, 7 foll.), and, much later, by the energy with which Juvenal

quondam uxor L. Caesari ac divo Augusto nurus dederetur.
2 dein tormentis servorum patefacta sunt flagitia itumque in sen-
3 tentiam Rubelli Blandi, a quo aqua atque igni arcebatur. huic
Drusus adsensit, quamquam alii mitius censuissent. mox Scauro,
4 qui filiam ex ea genuerat, datum ne bona publicarentur. tum 5
demum aperuit Tiberius conpertum sibi etiam ex P. Quirinii
servis veneno eum a Lepida petitum.

24. Inlustrium domuum adversa (etenim haud multum distanti
tempore Calpurnii Pisonem, Aemilii Lepidam amiserant) solacio
2 adfecit D. Silanus Iuniae familiae redditus. casum eius paucis 10
repetam. ut valida divo Augusto in rem publicam fortuna, ita
domi inprospera fuit ob inpudicitiam filiae ac neptis, quas urbe
3 depulit adulterosque earum morte aut fuga punivit. nam cul-
pam inter viros ac feminas vulgatam gravi nomine laesarum
religionum ac violatae maiestatis appellando clementiam ma- 15
4 iorum suasque ipse leges egrediebatur. sed aliorum exitus,

8. adenim: text Mercer.

(Sat. 8) protests against it. See Introd. vii. p. 101; Friedl. i. p. 213.

destinata: in Greek the article would stand with the participle thus used (ἡ μνηστευθεῖσα, κ.τ.λ.). Vergil has 'divae Veneris nurus' (Aen. 2, 787).

2. **itum in sententiam.** That this did not always imply unanimity, appears here and in 14. 49, 1.

3. **Rubelli Blandi**: see on 6. 27, 1. He is called a consular in c. 51, 1, and, as he voted before Drusus, must have been already such; but if, as Borghesi thought (see Henzen, Inscr. p. 496), he was consul with Annius Pollio (6. 9, 5) in the last six months of this year, he would have been consul at this trial (cp. § 1), which would have been stated. It appears also that there were no 'suffecti' this year (Klein, Fasti; Staatsr. ii. 83, n. 3).

aqua atque igni arcebatur. Although the confiscation of property usually involved in such a sentence was here remitted, the penalty was otherwise more severe than that of the 'lex Iulia de adulteriis' (see on 2. 50, 4), and equivalent to that usually inflicted for 'maiestas' (c. 50, 6). A similar severe sentence for adultery is noted in 4. 42, 3.

4. **Scauro.** As no other name is mentioned, he must be the same spoken of in 1. 13, 4, &c. He must have married her after her divorce from Quirinius.

5. **datum ne bona publicarentur.** This act would again show that Tiberius was 'firmus adversum pecuniam,' and makes against the imputation of Suetonius (see on c. 22, 1).

tum demum, &c. It would appear that the slaves of Quirinius had been examined privately by Tiberius; but only those of Lepida at the public trial. It does not necessarily follow that the evidence of the latter had not already established the charge of poisoning. Stahr strangely here refers 'eum' to Tiberius himself, and draws inferences from it as to his clemency.

9. **solacio adfecit.** Nipp. notes that 'solari' or 'consolari' often take an accusative of that for which consolation is given, as in 2. 36, 3; 16. 13, 6; also in Cic., as 'consolatur honestas egestatem' pro Quint. 15, 49.

11. **repetam.** This verb is used of a narrative going back over the past, as in c. 33, 1; 12. 62, 1.

in rem publicam: cp. 1. 8, 7.

12. **filiae ac neptis**, the two 'Iuliae': see on 1. 53, 1; 4. 71, 6. By 'morte' he refers to Iullus Antonius (1. 10, 3), by 'fuga' ('banishment,' as in 14. 64, 5, &c.), to Silanus and Gracchus (1. 53, 6).

15. **violatae maiestatis**: cp. 2. 50, 1.

16. **egrediebatur.** His own law, the 'lex Iulia de adulteriis,' prescribed milder

simul cetera illius aetatis memorabo, si effectis in quae tetendi
plures ad curas vitam produxero. D. Silanus in nepti Augusti 5
adulter, quamquam non ultra foret saevitum quam ut amicitia
Caesaris prohiberetur, exilium sibi demonstrari intellexit, nec
5 nisi Tiberio imperitante deprecari senatum ac principem ausus
est M. Silani fratris potentia, qui per insignem nobilitatem et
eloquentiam praecellebat. sed Tiberius gratis agenti Silano 6
patribus coram respondit se quoque laetari, quod frater eius e
peregrinatione longinqua revertisset; idque iure licitum, quia
10 non senatus consulto, non lege pulsus foret: sibi tamen adversus 7
eum integras parentis sui offensiones, neque reditu Silani dissoluta quae Augustus voluisset. fuit posthac in urbe neque honores adeptus est.

25. Relatum dein de moderanda Papia Poppaea, quam senior
15 Augustus post Iulias rogationes incitandis caelibum poenis et

1. tendi: text Ern., intendi Heins. 14. deinde de: text Wölfflin.

penalties than those which he arbitrarily inflicted. On the accus. cp. 1. 30, 2.

sed . . . memorabo. Neither this promise, nor the earlier one given in H. 1. 1, 5, to write the history of Nerva and Trajan, appears to have been fulfilled.

1. **in quae tetendi,** 'my present object.'

2. **curas.** This word is used for literary work in 4. 11, 5; Dial. 3, 3; 6, 5; and, apparently, so elsewhere only in Ov. ex P. 4. 16, 39; Mart. 1. 107, 5.

3. **amicitia . . . prohiberetur:** see c. 12, 4; 2. 70, 3.

4. **demonstrari,** 'was indicated by it.'

6. **fratris potentia.** In 4. 43, 4 'potentia' is a causal abl. It might be so taken here, with 'ausus,' as meaning that the influence of his brother emboldened him to entreat. It would appear, however, that he entreated, not in person, but through his powerful brother. 'Potentia' would thus mean 'per potentiam,' and would be a quasi-instrumental abl. Neither view seems wholly satisfactory, and the suggestion that 'fretus' has been lost or corrupted is tempting, though such a juxtaposition as 'fratris fretus' (Bezzenberger) is hardly probable. The M. Silanus here meant is probably not the consul of the preceding year (2. 59, 1), but the father-in-law of Gaius (see on 6. 20, 1), whose full name is M. Iunius, C. f., Silanus (C. I. L. vi. 2028 c), and who is taken to be the cos. suff. in 768, A.D. 15 (C. I. L. x. 6639, Henzen 6442, Klein, Fasti).

9. **peregrinatione,** emphatic, as his absence was voluntary; 'longinqua' is used of time: cp. Caes. B. G. 1. 47, 4, and note on 1. 53, 3.

10. **non senatus consulto, non lege,** 'neither by decree of the senate, nor by sentence of the law court.' See 1. 6, 3, and note there.

sibi tamen, &c., 'for himself, his father's resentment towards him survived in its fulness; and the return of Silanus implied no relaxation of any intention of Augustus', i.e. the renouncement of friendship would be maintained. This ban was of itself sufficient to exclude him from all the magistracies of the state.

14. **Papia Poppaea.** On this and the previous 'Iuliae rogationes' see the Excursus appended to this Book. The plural used here of the latter appears hardly to be such a rhetorical plural as 'Oppiis . . . legibus' (c. 33, 4), but may denote that Augustus had passed more than one marriage law in his own name.

15. **incitandis . . . poenis,** 'to encourage the enforcement of penalties on celibacy.' Penalties already existed, but fresh vitality was given to them by the reward held out to informers.

2 augendo aerario sanxerat. nec ideo coniugia et educationes liberum frequentabantur, praevalida orbitate: ceterum multitudo periclitantium gliscebat, cum omnis domus delatorum interpretationibus subverteretur, utque antehac flagitiis, ita tunc legibus
3 laborabatur. ea res admonet ut de principiis iuris, et quibus 5 modis ad hanc multitudinem infinitam ac varietatem legum perventum sit, altius disseram.

26. Vetustissimi mortalium, nulla adhuc mala libidine, sine probro, scelere, eoque sine poena aut coercitionibus agebant.
2 neque praemiis opus erat, cum honesta suopte ingenio peteren- 10

3. omnes . . . subverterentur L. 10. peterent Orsini.

1. **educationes**, a plural only found in Tacitus: see Gud. on Dial. 28, 23.

2. **praevalida.** This is commonly taken to mean 'continued to prevail'; but the analogy of 'praevalida vitia' (c. 53, 3), 'nomina' (12. 60, 6), 'pars' (H. 2. 52, 2), and of 'praevalere' (1. 58, 7, &c.), suggests a better interpretation, that childlessness gave such a power in society as to frustrate the law. That such was the fact, is abundantly shown in literature. 'A rich, childless old man was a domestic tyrant, and his power increased with his years and infirmities' (Gibbon, c. 6). See 13. 52, 3; 15. 19, 3; H. 1. 73, 2; Hor. Sat. 2. 5, 28; Sen. ad Marc. 19; Petron. Sat. 116; Juv. 4, 19; 12, 99 (where see Mayor's note). Many other illustrations are given by Friedländer, Sitteng. i. p. 367, foll.

3. **periclitantium**, 'exposed to prosecution': cp. 5. 8, 2; 6. 16, 5. Dräger notes the particular application of 'periculum' to a lawsuit in Cic. (de Imp. Pomp. 1, 2, &c.).

interpretationibus, 'constructions,' i. e. by straining the technicalities of the law, to bring all possible cases under it.

4. **legibus laborabatur**, 'we were overburdened with laws.' With this sentiment may be compared that of Livy (Praef. 9) 'haec tempora, quibus nec vitia nostra nec remedia pati possumus.'

5. **ea res**, 'this fact (i. e. the oppressive working of this law) suggests a deeper discussion on the origin of civil law': 'ius,' as the whole body of law, is here distinguished from the several enactments ('leges'). 'Altius disserere,' a new phrase, but analogous to others: cp. c. 62, 4, and note on 1. 32, 7.

8. **Vetustissimi mortalium, &c.** The view here given by Tacitus appears to be not so much drawn from older poets (as Ov. Met. 1, 89, &c.), as to be an echo of the Stoicism of his day. A similar picture is drawn by Seneca (Ep. 90), who explains and comments on Posidonius: 'Primi mortalium quique ex his geniti naturam incorruptam sequebantur, eundem habebant et ducem et legem, commissi melioris arbitrio': see also Sall. Cat. 2. With this may be contrasted the Epicurean view, as set forth in Lucr. 5, 1105–1160, and humorously touched in a few lines by Horace, 'Quum prorepserunt,' &c. (Sat. 1. 3, 99, foll.) On the whole subject of the supposed Law of Nature, only a reference can be given to Maine, Ancient Law, ch. iii, &c.

adhuc, 'up to that time'; so used, without any reference to the present, in c. 42, 3; 4. 23, 1, &c., also in Livy.

10. **neque.** This answers to 'et . . . nihil (equivalent to 'neque . . . quidquam') . . . vetabantur': reward and punishment, laws to encourage or intimidate, were equally needless.

suopte ingenio. This is generally rendered 'virtue was sought from (i. e. from a love for) its own qualities': cp. 'camporum suopte ingenio umentium' (H. 5. 14, 3); also the general use of 'ingenium' of inanimate things (6. 41, 1, &c.), and the verbal resemblance to Sallust (Introd. v. § 97, 1). The difficulty of the ablative has led Nipp. to adopt the other interpretation, 'by men's own instinct'; such a personal subject being implied in 'peterentur' (cp. 'ex se metus' 2. 38, 6). But such an abl. of the objective cause may be justified by examples (cp. Introd. v. § 30).

tur; et ubi nihil contra morem cuperent, nihil per metum vetabantur. at postquam exui aequalitas et pro modestia ac pudore 3
ambitio et vis incedebat, provenere dominationes multosque apud populos aeternum mansere. quidam statim, aut postquam
5 regum pertaesum, leges maluerunt. hae primo rudibus hominum 4
animis simplices erant; maximeque fama celebravit Cretensium, quas Minos, Spartanorum, quas Lycurgus, ac mox Atheniensibus quaesitiores iam et plures Solo perscripsit. nobis Romulus, 5
ut libitum, imperitaverat: dein Numa religionibus et divino iure
10 populum devinxit, repertaque quaedam a Tullo et Anco. sed 6
praecipuus Servius Tullius sanctor legum fuit, quis etiam reges obtemperarent.

27. Pulso Tarquinio adversum patrum factiones multa popu-

3. incidebat prouenire: text L. 5. ae: hae B, ac Sirker, perhaps eae Halm.

2. **exui aequalitas**: cp. 1. 4, 1, and, on the historical inf. here, Introd. v. § 45 c. The sense is here no doubt that of the juridical maxim 'omnes homines natura aequales sunt' (on which see Maine, Anc. Law, ch. iv. p. 92, &c.). Mr. Dallin notes that there is probably a special reference to the community of goods which philosophers (as Sen. Ep. 90, 38–40), no less than poets (as Verg. G. 1, 125, &c.), imagined in the golden age.

modestia, the opposite to 'ambitio,' as 'pudor' to 'vis': cp. 1. 11, 1.

3. **dominationes**, 'despotisms.' The absolute monarchies of the old world are meant, rather than the 'tyrannies' proper of later Greek history. Some of them, as he says, survived; the Parthian of his own day being the representative of the old Eastern despotisms. He goes on to say that the first codes of law grew up either 'at once' (i. e. during the regal period, as he shows to have been the case at Rome), or after the expulsion of kings (as he appears to think was mostly the case with the early Greek codes).

4. **aeternum**: cp. 12. 28, 2; Introd. v. § 5.

6. **Cretensium**. These are placed first as supposed to be the earliest. For an account of them see Arist. Pol. 2. 10; Polyb. 6, 45–48. On the institutions of Lycurgus see especially Grote, Hist. ch. 6.

7. **ac mox**, &c. 'Quas' is again to be supplied in sense. Nipp. notes that a new turn is thus given to the sentence (cp. Introd. v. § 91, 1) without ambiguity. In giving these instances, Tacitus appears still to follow Seneca (l. l. 6), who makes the need of law arise in all cases from degeneration of kingship into tyranny. Lucretius (l. l.) traces it to anarchy consequent on the mob-rule which had overthrown the monarchies.

8. **Romulus**. Other traditions (as Liv. 1. 8) and jurists (Pomp. Dig. 1. 2, 1) have imagined Romulus also as a lawgiver. A collection of 'leges regiae' was made, under the title of 'ius Papirianum,' at an uncertain date (Dion. Hal. 3. 36), on which Granius Flaccus wrote a commentary at the time of Julius Caesar (Dig. 50. 16, 144). Both are lost.

10. **a Tullo et Anco**. A law of the former is referred to in 12. 8, 2; the latter is credited with democratic tendencies by Vergil (Aen. 6, 816), which may represent a tradition of popular laws ascribed to him.

11. **praecipuus ... sanctor**: cp. 'praecipuus ... auctor' c. 55, 5. 'Sanctor' (cp. Introd. v. § 69) is *ἅπ. εἰρ.* Servius is more properly the author of a constitution (cp. Liv. 1. 42, 4) than of laws.

13. **multa populus paravit**. By 'populus,' Tacitus appears here to mean the *πολῖται*, or body politic in general, without distinguishing 'populus' and 'plebs.' He would refer no doubt to such enactments as those which established the republican constitution and enlarged the senate (Liv. 2. 1), and to the 'leges Valeriae' of 245, B.C. 509 (Id. c.

lus paravit tuendae libertatis et firmandae concordiae; creatique decemviri et accitis quae usquam egregia compositae duodecim
2 tabulae, finis aequi iuris. nam secutae leges etsi aliquando in maleficos ex delicto, saepius tamen dissensione ordinum et apiscendi inlicitos honores aut pellendi claros viros aliaque ob 5

8), passed against such 'patrum factiones' as desired to restore the kings. Perhaps he would not speak in the same unqualified praise of the 'lex sacrata' instituting the tribunate (Id. c. 33), or the 'lex Publilia' giving the election of plebeian magistrates to the tribes (Id. c. 57); though these may be regarded as carried against 'patrum factiones,' i.e. against an extreme section of the patricians.

1. **tuendae libertatis**: cp. Int. v. 37 b.

creati . . . decemviri: see Liv. 3. 33-57: cp. also Mommsen (Hist. B. ii. ch. 2), who shows that the apparent design in this movement was to substitute for tribunician intercession a limitation of the consular powers by written law. A good general sketch of what is known to us of the contents of the Twelve Tables will be found in Arnold, Hist. vol. i. c. 14. In its general character, this, like the early codes of other nations, was probably a natural consequence of the diffusion of the art of writing, leading to a demand for such engraved tablets, published and accessible to all, in place of customary law, known only to privileged exponents. It was thus more probably grounded on existing usages than an eclectic code ('accitis quae usquam egregia'); but some evidence for the tradition that its framers had studied contemporary Greek models may be found in its arrangement, apparently more systematic than that of other early codes: see Maine, Anc. Law, ch. i.

3. **finis aequi iuris**, 'the close of impartial law.' That such is the meaning of Tacitus would appear from the following sentence, stating that the subsequent course of legislation, except such as was directed to the repression of crime, aimed at personal or party objects, rather than the welfare of the whole state. It is easy to point to laws which cannot be justly so described; and Tacitus may have really meant no more than that the enactment of this code was the last occasion on which all orders had united in a comprehensive attempt at legislation. He appears to know nothing of the distinction implied in the narrative of Livy and asserted by Cicero (de Rep. 2. 37, 63), that the two last Tables were 'iniquissimae.' The general Roman reverence for the code is expressed by Cicero, and also by Livy, who calls the first ten Tables 'fons omnis publici privatique iuris' (3. 34, 7). The division of periods is here obscure; for the conflict of patricians and plebeians (cp. 'dissensione ordinum et apiscendi illicitos honores') belongs to the century succeeding the decemvirate, while some of the remarks on the 'secutae leges' appear to refer to later dates than that of the Gracchi, and 'alia prava' is wholly indefinite.

in maleficos. This might refer to old laws 'de ambitu,' to the 'lex Fabia de plagiariis' in 571, B.C. 183, the 'lex Calpurnia de repetundis' in 605, B.C. 149 (omitting later laws).

4. **ex delicto**, 'according as crimes arose': cp. 'ex re' (1. 24, 1), &c.

dissensione ordinum, causal abl.: cp. c. 26, 2, and references there. The 'lex Canuleia de connubio ordinum' would be an instance, as also those opening the magistracies; the words 'et apiscendi,' &c. being best taken as explanatory of 'dissensione ordinum.'

5. **apiscendi inlicitos honores**. This construction, so frequent with the gerundive (Introd. v. § 37 d), is rare with the gerund. The laws referred to are those opening magistracies to plebeians, as the Licinian rogations (Liv. 6. 35-42), 'lex Publilia' (Id. 8. 12), and 'Ogulnia' (Id. 10. 6-9). The admiration of Tacitus for the later aristocracy leads him even to sympathize with the patriciate against the plebeian houses. Livy also at times speaks of the old plebeians as if they were a rabble (e. g. 3. 35, 5, &c.).

pellendi claros viros. The known instances of banishment by special decree or 'privilegium' belong to later date, and are more distinctly alluded to below; but there may be a loose and inaccurate reference to such cases as the banishment of Camillus, the retirement of Scipio Africanus, the 'repulsa' of Aemilius Paullus, the popular attacks on Scipio Aemilianus, and to more appropriate

prava per vim latae sunt. hinc Gracchi et Saturnini turbatores 3
plebis, nec minor largitor nomine senatus Drusus; corrupti spe
aut inlusi per intercessionem socii. ac ne bello quidem Italico, 4
mox civili omissum, quin multa et diversa sciscerentur, donec
5 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 com- 5

instances, such as the exile of Metellus Numidicus, nearer to the time of Sulla.

1. **hinc**, 'hence ensued.' This marks a new period, but one which was the outcome of previous party conflicts. In reality a long lull had succeeded the equalization of the orders, until the rise of new grievances demanding redress, which are here persistently ignored.

Gracchi et Saturnini. It is natural to suppose both the Gracchi to be spoken of, but the rhetorical plural 'Saturnini' (cp. 1.10, 3) would suggest that 'Gracchi' also is to be similarly taken, and Gaius Gracchus alone intended. On the persons and their policy see Mommsen, Hist. B. iv. c. 2, 3, 6. The injustice to Gracchus of thus ranking him on an equality with one morally and intellectually so inferior to him as Saturninus has often been noted. Caesar indeed couples their names (B. C. 1. 7, 4), but only to speak of their violent deaths.

2. **Drusus.** The description would suit either the rival of Gaius Gracchus or his more famous son. From the position of the name between that of Saturninus and the Italian war, the son would seem to be meant, but it is possible that Tacitus has confused them. In either case, 'nec minor largitor' is an understatement: see Mommsen, Hist. B. iv. c. 3, 6.

3. **socii**, the Italians, who 'were bribed by hope of the franchise, and cheated by a veto.' The elder Drusus vetoed in 632, B.C. 122, the proposals of his colleague Gracchus. Those of the son were cut short by his death in 663, B.C. 91.

bello...Italico...civili. The former lasted from 663–666, B.C. 91–88, the latter, that of Marius and his successors against Sulla, from 666–672, B.C. 88–82.

4. **multa et diversa.** The 'many and conflicting enactments' of this period seem to be a vague description, both of the laws passed to meet the Italian outbreak ('lex Iulia,' and 'lex Plautia or Papiria de civitate,' 664, 665, B.C. 90, 89), and of the 'leges Sulpiciae' of 666, B.C. 88, repealed by Sulla. Other laws, now forgotten, may have been passed by the Marian party during their rule.

5. **L. Sulla.** On his dictatorship from 672–675, B.C. 82–79, and his 'leges Corneliae,' see Mommsen (Hist. B. iv. ch. 10), who describes his ordinances as to the Quaestiones as 'the first Roman code after the Twelve Tables, and the first criminal code specially issued at all' (E. T. iv. p. 130).

6. **eius rei**, i.e. a repose from fresh legislation.

statim turbidis . . . rogationibus. Nipp. and Pfitzner seem rightly to take the abl. abs. as subject, with 'statim' (sc. 'secutis') as predicate, explanatory of 'non in longum': 'the revolutionary proposals of Lepidus immediately ensuing.' M. Lepidus, father of the triumvir, proposed, as consul in 676, B.C. 78, to rescind various laws of Sulla. His speech and the reply of Philippus to him are among the extant fragments of Sallust. On his insurrection and death see Mommsen. Hist. B. v. c. 1.

7. **neque multo post.** In 684, B.C. 70, 'M. Crassus et Cn. Pompeius consules tribuniciam potestatem restituerunt' (Liv. Epit. 97); i.e. they restored what Sulla had taken away. Cicero (de Legg. 3. 9) describes Sulla with approval, 'qui tribunis plebis . . . iniuriae faciendae potestatem ademerit, auxilii ferendi reliquerit.' The speech of Lepidus in Sallust describes the people as 'agitandi inops' (H. 1. 41, 11 D, 45 K, p. 141 G): cp. also Caes. B. C. 1. 5, 1; Vell. 2. 30. Mommsen shows, especially from the 'plebiscitum de Thermensibus,' passed in 683, B.C. 71 (Inscr. Orell. 3673; C. I. L. i. 204), that the tribunes could consult the people, but only with consent of the senate, as the formula 'de senatus sententia' is added (B. iv. c. 10).

8. **in commune**, 'with general application.'

mune, sed in singulos homines latae quaestiones, et corruptissima re publica plurimae leges.

28. Tum Cn. Pompeius tertium consul corrigendis moribus delectus, set gravior remediis quam delicta erant suarumque legum auctor idem ac subversor, quae armis tuebatur, armis 5
2 amisit. exim continua per viginti annos discordia, non mos, non ius; deterrima quaeque inpune ac multa honesta exitio
3 fuere. sexto demum consulatu Caesar Augustus, potentiae se-

4. et : so Beit., Nipp., Ritt., set Pluygers.

1. **in singulos**, i. e. 'privilegia.' The laws of the Twelve Tables 'in privatos homines leges ferri noluerunt' (Cic. Legg. 3. 19, 44); and the banishment of Cicero by the bill of Clodius in 696, B. C. 58, appears here to be especially alluded to.

quaestiones, 'impeachments' or 'attainders.' Ritter seems right in taking the expression as shortened for 'leges latae, ut . . . quaestiones haberentur.'

corruptissima re publica, abl. abs., 'in the greatest decay of the republic most laws were made.'

3. **tertium consul.** In 702, B. C. 52, Pompeius was created consul 'absens et solus, quod nulli alii umquam contigit' (Liv. Epit. B. 107). He was appointed 'corrigendis moribus,' i. e. to stop the violence prevalent at recent elections. He retained the proconsulate of Spain with this virtual dictatorship, which from the first of August became an ordinary consulship, by being shared with Q. Metellus Scipio. On the history of the year see Mommsen, Hist. B. v. ch. 8; Watson, Letters of Cicero, Introd. to Part ii. 1, and authorities there cited.

4. **gravior remediis, &c.**; by his severe and retrospective laws 'de vi' and 'de ambitu'; by the trials held under them; by his military rule in Rome; by overawing the court on the trial of Milo by presence of a guard (see references above). Tacitus, who elsewhere (H. 2. 38, 4) calls Pompeius 'occultior, non melior' (sc. 'Mario et Sulla'), had formed a very different estimate of him from Livy (see below, 4. 34, 4), but appears to show no real perception of the magnitude of the evils which had then to be dealt with: see Merivale, ch. xiii. p. 46. Seneca (de Ben. 5. 16, 3) had said of Sulla, 'patriam durioribus remediis quam pericula erant sanavit.'

5. **auctor . . . subversor.** In violation of his own laws against riot and corruption, he sent into court a written commendation in favour of Plancus Bursa, and prevented the conviction of his father-in-law Scipio. Also, in violation of his law 'de iure magistratuum,' which provided that candidates should canvass in person, and that five years should intervene between the tenure of office at Rome and the government of a province, he secured for himself for another five years the government of Spain, and was a party to the dispensation from personal canvass given to Caesar. See the authorities referred to in Watson, l. l.

quae armis tuebatur. This refers not only to his military rule during his consulship (see above), but also to his position afterwards with 'proconsulare imperium' outside the gates of Rome (Caes. B. G. 6. 1, 2), and to the troops held in his name by his legati in Spain (Id. B. C. 1. 85, 8; Vell. 2. 48, 1).

6. **per viginti annos**, from Pharsalus to the sixth consulship of Augustus, 706–726, B. C. 48–28. It is indeed astonishing, that Tacitus should regard the dictatorship of Caesar as merely part of this general anarchy, and that in a review of Roman legislation his 'Leges Iuliae' should be altogether ignored. For an account of them see Watson, Part iv. Appendix ix. That the triumvirate should be also thus dealt with is not remarkable, owing to the general cancelling of its enactments by Augustus, as here mentioned. On some of its usurpations, especially that of the appointment of magistrates, see Staatsr. ii. 732.

non mos, non ius, sc. 'fuit,' 'there was neither morality (c. 26, 2) nor law.'

7. **inpune**, sc. 'fuere': cp. 1. 72, 3.

8. **sexto demum consulatu.** It was in this year that the acts of the triumvirate were cancelled at a stroke (Dio, 53. 2, 5), and the foundations laid of the principate, which formally begins with

curus, quae triumviratu iusserat abolevit deditque iura, quis pace
et principe uteremur. acriora ex eo vincla, inditi custodes et 4
lege Papia Poppaea praemiis inducti, ut, si a privilegiis paren-
tum cessaretur, velut parens omnium populus vacantia teneret.
5 sed altius penetrabant urbemque et Italiam et quod usquam 5
civium corripuerant, multorumque excisi status. et terror omni- 6
bus intentabatur, ni Tiberius statuendo remedio quinque con-

3. uisi : ut si L.

the following year (see Introd. vi. p. 75); but the laws of which Tacitus speaks were mostly of later date.

potentiae securus. The genitive with 'securus' is poetical and post-Augustan, and usually denotes the evil or danger against which precaution is not taken. As an instance apposite to the use here, Mr. Dallin notes 'securus veniae' in Luc. 8, 784; so here, 'sure of his ascendency.'

1. **triumviratu**, abl. of time during which (Introd. v. 26; Her. on H. 1. 89).

dedit iura, 'established principles of law,' or 'imposed a constitution.' The authority 'dare leges' belonged regularly, in respect of 'socii,' to Romans possessed of 'imperium' (see Introd. vi. p. 87; Staatsr. ii. 888, &c.). 'Iura dare' is more strictly used of the magistrate administering the law by jurisdiction (cp. Verg. Aen. 8, 670); but, in the sense given above, Romulus is said 'iura dare' in Liv. 1. 8, 1; and to do so is often spoken of by Vergil (e. g. Aen. 1, 293; 3, 137; 5, 758) as a kingly function. It is perhaps here implied that Augustus enacted these laws, without senate or comitia, by a survival of his power 'reipublicae constituendae.' See Staatsr. ii. 745.

quis pace et principe uteremur. The simplest explanation of these words would be to take 'quis' as instrumental abl., and 'pace et principe' as depending on 'uteremur.' But for 'quis' we should rather expect 'per quas'; and 'legibus uti' is a known phrase (e. g. Lucr. 5, 1143). This would favour the interpretation of Nipp. and others, by which 'quis' depends on 'uteremur' and 'pace et principe' is an abl. abs., 'for us to enjoy in peace and under a prince.' Such a construction, though usual for 'pace,' is harsh for 'principe'; but this word, on either interpretation, is taken as thrown in bitterly and *παρὰ προσδοκίαν*.

2. **acriora ex eo vincla**, 'thenceforward restraints were stricter': cp. 'acria iudicia' Cic. Rosc. Am. 5, 11. Allusion is probably intended generally to the stretch of arbitrary power (cp. *ἐκ τούτου μοναρχεῖσθαι αὖθις ἀκριβῶς ἤρξαντο* Dio, 52. 1, 1), and specially to the 'lex Iulia de maritandis ordinibus' and any similar enactments before it, or to any edicts or decrees interfering with private life.

inditi custodes, 'watch was set over us': cp. 'castella rupibus indita' 4. 46, 5; and 'additus' in 4. 67, 6; 6. 14, 3, &c. The delators are called 'custodes legum' by Tiberius (4. 30, 4), and were evidently already active before this lex assigned definite rewards to them.

3. **praemiis.** Their amount may be estimated from the fact that Nero reduced them to one fourth (Suet. Ner. 10); which was also the informer's minimum under the law of 'maiestas' (cp. 4. 20, 3).

ut . . . teneret, 'in order that, if men neglected to earn the rewards of paternity, the state as the common parent might possess the unowned properties': 'vacantia' refers to some such word as 'bona,' and = 'caduca.' On these penalties and forfeitures see the Excursus at the end of this Book.

5. **altius penetrabant**: cp. 2. 36, 2. Here it appears to mean that they forced their way further into private life than the law had contemplated, laying information (cp. 'corripio' c. 49. 1; 2. 28, 4, &c.) against all citizens (to whom alone the law applied) throughout the empire.

6. **multorum . . . excisi status**, 'many had their position undermined.' In some cases the possession of a senatorial or equestrian census, in others the 'status' of a freedman, &c., might depend on bequests that could be invalidated. Cp. H. 1. 10, 2 'attritis opibus, lubrico statu,' and the similar words above (c. 26, 2) 'cum omnis domus . . . subverteretur'; also Plin. Pan. 48 'nulla iam testamenta secura, nullius status certus.'

terror, &c., 'dread was hanging over all': cp. 'metum intentabat' 15. 54, 6.

sularium, quinque e praetoriis, totidem e cetero senatu sorte duxisset, apud quos exsoluti plerique legis nexus modicum in praesens levamentum fuere.

29. Per idem tempus Neronem e liberis Germanici, iam ingressum iuventam, commendavit patribus, utque munere capessendi vigintiviratus solveretur et quinquennio maturius quam per leges quaesturam peteret, non sine inrisu audientium postu-
2 lavit. praetendebat sibi atque fratri decreta eadem petente Augusto. sed neque tum fuisse dubitaverim, qui eius modi preces occulti inluderent: ac tamen initia fastigii Caesaribus erant magisque in oculis vetus mos, et privignis cum vitrico
3 levior necessitudo quam avo adversum nepotem. additur pontificatus et quo primum die forum ingressus est congiarium plebi

10. fastidii: text B.

2. **exsoluti . . . nexus**: cp. 'vinclis exsolutis' (c. 33, 4); 'enodandos . . . iuris laqueos' (Gell. 13. 10, 1); 'qui iuris nodos . . . solvat' (Juv. 8, 50); 'iurisdictionis retia et . . . nodos resolventes' (Cod. 4. 29, 23, pr.). Walther and Mr. Dallin take 'nexus' in the strict legal sense (='obligations'); but these commissioners appear not so much to have released men from obligations contracted, as to have 'loosed many snares' woven out of the law by the subtlety of informers; declaring such cases not to come within its intention. This would be, as is here stated, a partial and temporary relief, not amounting to any alteration of the law itself.

4. **Neronem.** On his age, &c., see Introd. ix. note 11.

6. **vigintiviratus.** On the separate magistracies thus collectively designated see Introd. vi. p. 91; on the qualifications for the candidates for the quaestorship, Id. p. 95; Staatsr. i. 544.

7. **per leges.** The old 'lex Villia Annalis' of 574, B.C. 180 (Liv. 40. 44, 1), had been modified, probably by Augustus. Tiberius, who is here stated to have had only the same privilege as that which he requests, was quaestor in his nineteenth year (Vell. 2. 94, 1). This confirms the view that the twenty-fourth or twenty-fifth year was at this time the earliest legal or customary age for the quaestorship.

non sine inrisu; a request which could not be refused was a mockery.

8. **praetendebat**; so, with inf., 6. 18, 4: cp. 59, 6. The dispensing decrees passed for Tiberius and Drusus in 730, 735, B.C. 24, 19, are mentioned in Dio, 53. 28, 3; 54. 10, 4. Germanicus appears to have had a similar privilege, and to have held the consulship immediately after the quaestorship (Suet. Cal. 1).

10. **ac tamen**, i.e. yet such a request was not then so ludicrous, for a refusal was not so out of the question. Three reasons are given for this difference.

initia fastigii Caesaribus erant, 'the supremacy of the Caesars was but beginning': cp. 'praeumbrante imperatoris fastigio' 14. 47, 1; also c. 56, 2; 73, 3; 6. 32, 1, &c.

12. **levior necessitudo**, 'the tie of connexion was slighter.' Thence it might be supposed that Augustus cared less about the request than Tiberius. For 'adversus,' 'in relation to,' cp. 15. 48, 8, &c.

pontificatus. Inscriptions show that Tacitus confuses the priestly offices given to Nero, with those of his brother Drusus. See Introd. ix. notes 11, 12.

13. **quo primum die**, &c. This 'dies tirocinii' (Suet. Tib. 54) is shown by a fragmentary kalendar to have been June 7: 'vii Idus Iun. Nero to[gam virilem] sumpsit cong. d.' (C. I. L. xiv. 244, Henzen 6443). These 'congiaria,' formerly gifts of oil, wine, &c. (Liv. 25. 2, 8; Pl. N. H. 14. 14, 17, 96) were now given in money: see Mon. Anc. iii. 7–21; also 2. 42, 1; 12. 41, 3; Suet. Ner. 7; and a full account in Marquardt, ii. 136.

admodum laetae, quod Germanici stirpem iam puberem aspiciebat. auctum dehinc gaudium nuptiis Neronis et Iuliae Drusi 4
filiae. utque haec secundo rumore, ita adversis animis accep- 5
tum, quod filio Claudii socer Seianus destinaretur. polluisse 6
5 nobilitatem familiae videbatur suspectumque iam nimiae spei Seianum ultra extulisse.

30. Fine anni concessere vita insignes viri L. Volusius et Sallustius Crispus. Volusio vetus familia neque tamen prae- 2
turam egressa: ipse consulatum intulit, censoria etiam potestate
10 legendis equitum decuriis functus, opumque, quis domus illa inmensum viguit, primus adcumulator. Crispum equestri ortum 3
loco C. Sallustius, rerum Romanarum florentissimus auctor,

5. uidebantur: so Pfitzn., text J. F. Gron. 6. ultro Alciatus.

2. **Iuliae Drusi filiae**: see Introd. ix. note 34. On an earlier betrothal of Nero to the daughter of Creticus Silanus see 2. 43, 3.

3. **haec**, sc. 'accepta': for such ellipses cp. Gudeman on Dial. 7, 4

secundo rumore, 'with approbation.' The expression had been used of cheering by Vergil (Aen. 8, 90), who, as also Horace (Epp. 1. 10, 9), appears to have followed an old formula, 'populi rumore secundo,' appearing in Ennius (Ann. 260, Vahl.): cp. 'adverso rumore' 14. 11, 4, &c.

4. **filio Claudii**. Suetonius, speaking of the family of Claudius (Cl. 27), says, 'Drusum . . . impuberem amisit . . . cui et ante paucos dies filiam Seiani despondisset.' It is implied in 4. 7, 3, perhaps in 4. 39, 4, that the boy was still at that time alive; also the only known daughter of Seianus is called a mere child eleven years later (5. 9, 2), and must at this time have been only just born. Probably 'destinare' here means only an expression of intention; and the actual betrothal was some years later.

5. **suspectum**; so with genit. in c. 60, 2, &c., and Liv. 24. 9, 10.

6. **ultra extulisse**, 'to have raised even beyond his hopes.' Nipp. thinks this improbable and 'ultra,' taken in any other way, pleonastic, and reads 'ultro.'

9. **consulatum**. The Fasti (see Klein; C. I. L. i. p. 546) appear to make him one of the coss. suff. of 742, B.C. 12. Nipp. cites Borghesi and other authorities, who show from coins and inscriptions that he was proconsul of Africa in 748, B.C. 6, legatus of Syria in 758, A.D. 5, and one of the 'septemviri epulones.' On his son and grandson, also consulars, cp. 12. 22, 2, &c.; 13. 25, 1, &c.

censoria etiam potestate. Mommsen (Staatsr. i. 359, 3) notes that inscriptions of freedmen (C. I. L. vi. 1883 a) flatter Volusius by styling him censor.

10. **legendis equitum decuriis**. The 'decuriae' of persons of equestrian census, selected for judicial purposes (see Introd. vii. p. 102) are to be distinguished from the 'centuriae' and 'turmae' (see on 2. 83, 5) of 'equites equo publico,' the 'equites Romani' properly. Suetonius (Aug. 37) ascribes to Augustus the institution of a 'triumviratus recognoscendi turmas equitum,' which is apparently the censorial function exercised by Volusius, and more than once speaks of the revision of 'decuriae' as a function discharged by the princeps personally (Aug. 32; Tib. 41; cp. Pl. N. H. 33. 1, 30). If, as Mommsen argues (Staatsr. iii. 536), the 'decuriae' were selected from the 'equites equo publico,' a confusion of 'turmae' and 'decuriae' is very probable.

11. **inmensum**, adv., as c. 52, 1; 4. 27, 3, &c. (in Ann. from Sall. and poets). The wealth of his son Volusius is mentioned in 14. 56, 2, as the result of parsimony.

adcumulator, ἅπ. εἰρ.

Crispum. Horace (Od. 2. 2, 2) addresses him as 'inimice lamnae . . . nisi temperato splendeat usu.' Nipp. notes an epigram of Krinagoras addressed to him.

12. **C. Sallustius**. The historian died in 720, B.C. 34. Though Tacitus men-

4 sororis nepotem in nomen adscivit. atque ille, quamquam prompto ad capessendos honores aditu, Maecenatem aemulatus sine dignitate senatoria multos triumphalium consulariumque potentia anteiit, diversus a veterum instituto per cultum et mun-
5 ditias copiaque et affluentia luxu propior. suberat tamen vigor 5 animi ingentibus negotiis par, eo acrior, quo somnum et inertiam
6 magis ostentabat. igitur incolumi Maecenate proximus, mox praecipuus cui secreta imperatorum inniterentur et interficiendi Postumi Agrippae conscius, aetate provecta speciem magis in
7 amicitia principis quam vim tenuit. idque et Maecenati acci- 10 derat, fato potentiae raro sempiternae, an satias capit aut illos, cum omnia tribuerunt, aut hos, cum iam nihil reliquum est quod cupiant.

31. Sequitur Tiberi quartus, Drusi secundus consulatus,

5. affluentia: so Halm, text B, and Med. ii. in 16. 18, 4. The verb is almost always adfluo.

tions him here only, he has throughout shown his appreciation of him by frequent imitation: see Introd. v. § 97, 1.

florentissimus. This term is constantly used by Tacitus of famous and distinguished persons, e. g. 4. 68, 4; 71, 7; 11. 37, 4; 16. 33, 1, &c.

1. **adscivit,** 'adopted': cp. 1. 31, 5; 2. 60, 3, &c.

4. **diversus**: cp. 'diversus a maiorum institutis' 2. 2, 5.

cultum et munditias; nearly synonyms, as are also 'copia et affluentia' (16. 18, 4), 'somnum et inertiam.'

5. **luxu propior,** 'inclined to luxury': cp. 'famae propior' (Agr. 6, 4). Tacitus uses this form of the dative in c. 33, 3; 34, 9; 1. 10, 1; 6. 23, 6; 12. 62, 2; 15. 48, 4; H. 2. 71, 2; but does not seem to be constant to it in any word (e. g. 'luxui' 14. 15, 3). Gellius (4. 16) treats the question between the forms in -'u' and -'ui' as open, giving instances of the former not only from Lucilius and Vergil, but from Caesar; but, on the strength of Priscian's dictum (7, § 88), that such forms are poetical, some editors (as Ritter 1864) correct those in prose.

suberat tamen vigor, &c. The same contrast of outward effeminacy and latent energy is noted in Maecenas: cp. Vell. 2. 88, 2 'ubi res vigiliam exigeret, sane exsomnis, providens atque agendi sciens; simul vero aliquid ex negotiis remitti posset, otio et mollitiis paene ultra feminam fluens.'

7. **mox.** The death of Maecenas took place in 746, B. C. 8 (Dio, 55. 7, 1). His retirement from public affairs, alluded to below and in 14. 53, 3 (cp. Suet. Aug. 66; Dio, 54. 19, 6), had taken place eight years earlier.

8. **interficiendi . . . Agrippae**: cp. 1. 6, 6; 2. 40, 3.

11. **fato,** apparently a causal ablative; another alternative cause being suggested by 'an satias capit' (cp. 'pavore an . . . retinens' 2. 38, 9): 'from the fatality by which influence is rarely permanent, or because,' &c. 'Fatum' is often with Tacitus assumed as a cause of what he cannot explain (see Introd. iv. p. 31): here, as in 13. 12, 2, the alternative of some traceable cause is added.

satias: cp. c. 54, 9; 6. 38, 1; 16. 16, 1; chiefly archaic and post-classical, and not in other works of Tacitus.

illos . . . hos, 'the one . . . the other'; i. e. the giver and the receiver, implied in the sense: cp. the sentiment in 14. 54, 1. The mere gradual decay of friendship and influence here noted is widely different from the daily peril of imminent ruin, causing the 'miserae magnaeque pallor amicitiae' of Domitian's courtiers (Juv. 4, 74).

14. **Tiberi quartus Drusi secundus**: see 2. 53, 1; 1. 55, 1. Dio (57. 20, 1) represents people as already saying that it was ominous to be consul with Tiberius, a foreboding which the sequel of this and of his fifth consulship in 784,

patris atque filii collegio insignis. nam triennio ante Germanici
cum Tiberio idem honor neque patruo laetus neque natura tam
conexus fuerat. eius anni principio Tiberius quasi firmandae 2
valetudini in Campaniam concessit, longam et continuam ab-
5 sentiam paulatim meditans, sive ut amoto patre Drusus munia
consulatus solus impleret. ac forte parva res magnum ad cer- 3
tamen progressa praebuit iuveni materiem apiscendi favoris.
Domitius Corbulo praetura functus de L. Sulla nobili iuvene 4
questus est apud senatum, quod sibi inter spectacula gladia-
10 torum loco non decessisset. pro Corbulone aetas, patrius mos, 5
studia seniorum erant: contra Mamercus Scaurus et L. Arruntius
aliique Sullae propinqui nitebantur. certabantque orationibus et 6
memorabantur exempla maiorum, qui iuventutis inreverentiam

1. biennio: so Baiter, text Nipp.

A. D. 31, bore out; it being a strange coincidence that, of all his colleagues, four (Quintilius Varus, Cn. Piso, Drusus, and Seianus) were known, and the fifth (Germanicus) popularly believed, to have died violent deaths. On the use of 'collegium' cp. c. 16, 7.

1. **triennio.** The MS. 'biennio' has been defended as possibly meant to express an interval of two clear years. A similar difficulty (or perhaps error of the writer) is noticed on 12. 25, 3. Ritter here thinks the whole sentence 'nam ... fuerat' an interpolation.

2. **neque natura tam conexus,** 'nor so close an association in respect of birth.' The expression is inexact through brevity; the meaning being that the association in distinction was not then that of persons of so near a natural relationship. For this sense of 'natura,' compare 'natura pater' (Ter. Ad. 1. 2, 46; 5. 7, 4). The word is here thrown in, because Germanicus also was a son, but by adoption.

4. **in Campaniam.** He addresses the senate by letter during his absence (c. 32, 1; 47, 1; 52, 4; 56, 1; 59, 2), which lasted till the next year (c. 64, 1). His final departure was four years after that time (4. 57, 1).

5. **meditans,** 'practising' (= μελετῶν); as in the expressions 'meditari proelia,' &c. (Verg. and Juv.).

8. **Domitius Corbulo.** It is hardly possible, in spite of Wolffgram's arguments (Philol. xliv. 371-376), to suppose that this person, who had already been 'praetor,' and would seem to have been somewhat elderly, can be the famous general (cp. 11, 18, &c.) who perished still in the vigour of life forty-six years later, but he may well have been his father. It has been thought (see Staatsr. i. 1078, n. 2) that the two have been confused; as Dio (59. 15, 3; 60. 17, 2) says that the attacks of Corbulo on the contractors continued till the time of Gaius, who eagerly employed his services, and rewarded him with the consulship in 792, A. D. 39; but that Claudius afterwards refunded, and forced him to refund, the sums extorted. The above consulship, the only one recorded in the family, must be that of the son, and probably the account in § 7 and in Dio, here apparently related out of place, really belongs to him also.

L. Sulla. Nipp. follows Borghesi in making him great grandson of the P. Sulla, nephew of the dictator, whom Cicero defended, and doubts his identity with the consul of 786, A. D. 33 (6. 15, 1).

iuvene. We should infer that he was not a senator. It is probable, as suggested by Lipsius, that the reservation of seats for senators at all 'spectacula,' enjoined by Augustus (Suet. Aug. 47), may have applied only outside Rome. At the circus they had not reserved seats till the time of Claudius (Suet. Cl. 21).

12. **orationibus,** 'in set speeches,' above the mark for this 'parva res.'

13. **exempla maiorum:** cp. Cic. de Sen. 18, 63; and the rule (De Inv. 1. 30, 48) 'ut maioribus natu adsurgatur'; also

gravibus decretis notavissent, donec Drusus apta temperandis animis disseruit; et satisfactum Corbuloni per Mamercum, qui patruus simul ac vitricus Sullae et oratorum *ea* aetate uberrimus
7 erat. idem Corbulo plurima per Italiam itinera fraude mancipum et incuria magistratuum interrupta et inpervia clamitando, exsecu- 5 tionem 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 rursum Africam incursu Tacfarinatis docuit, iudicioque 10 patrum deligendum pro consule gnarum militiae, corpore vali-
2 dum et bello suffecturum. quod initium Sex. Pompeius agitandi

3. ea ins. Ferretti.

Juv. 13, 55, where several other illustrations are collected by Prof. Mayor.

inreverentiam, used absolutely only here and in 13. 26, 2; H. 3. 51, 1. Pliny (Epp. 6. 2, 5) has 'inreverentia studiorum periculorumque.'

3. **patruus simul ac vitricus.** Scaurus would thus appear, after having divorced Lepida (cp. c. 23, 3), to have married the widow of L. Sulla (cos. 749, B.C. 5), who must have been his half-brother on the mother's side, and also father of this Sulla. This wife of Scaurus may probably be the Sextia of 6. 29. 7. He was a tragedian as well as an orator (6. 29. 4).

4. **mancipum**, 'contractors,' the 'redemptores' of Hyginus, &c.: cp. 'mancipi viae Appiae' Inscr. Orell. 3221, C. I. L. vi. 8468.

5. **magistratuum**, the 'curatores viarum,' to whom these contractors were responsible (Staatsr. ii. 107). These are distinct from the board of four forming part of the vigintivirate (Introd. vi. p 91), whose sphere of duties lay within the city. The chief Italian roads appear each to have had their own curator; the office, in respect of the greater roads, being one of much dignity (Pl. Ep. 5. 14). It had existed under the Republic (Cic. Att. 1. 1, 2, &c.), but appears to have been so far reorganized by Augustus as to be looked upon as his institution (Suet. Aug. 37).

inpervia; so 'iter inpervium' Quint. 12. 11, 11; 'impervius amnis' Ov. Met. 9, 106.

exsecutionem, 'judicial prosecution': cp. 'exsecutio delicti' Dig. 47. 1, 1, &c., and a frequent similar meaning of 'exsequi.' Nipp. takes it to mean 'jurisdiction' (see his note on 15. 25, 5); but Corbulo seems rather to have been the accuser than the judge.

6. **publice usui**, 'for the public advantage.' On the dative cf. Introd. v. § 23.

7. **habitum**, 'was managed': cp. 4. 6, 1, &c.

multis, i. e. the 'curatores' and 'mancipes.'

8. **damnationibus et hasta**, 'convictions and auctions,' i. e. of the property of those who did not make good their defalcations.

9. **missis . . . litteris.** The princeps often consulted the senate in writing; the deliverer of such missives being usually one of the 'quaestores Caesaris' (cp. 16. 27, 2; Suet. Aug. 65; Ner. 15; Tit. 6, &c.).

10. **motam rursum Africam**: see c. 20, 1.

iudicio patrum, i. e. by selection, not by lot. The princeps sometimes directly prohibits a person from the lot for a province (as 6. 40, 3); usually the decision is left to the senate, or jointly arranged: cp. c. 35, 1, and Henzen 6450, recording a proconsul sent to Cyprus 'extra sortem auctoritate Aug. Caesaris et S. C.'

12. **bello suffecturum**, 'who would be competent for war'; so 'sufficere' with dat. c. 72, 4; 16. 5, 1; H. 4. 8, 2; Cic., Caes., &c.

Sextus Pompeius: c. 11, 2; 1. 7, 3.

adversus Marcum Lepidum odii nanctus, 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 probro actam
5 honori quam ignominiae habendam ducebat. igitur missus in 3
Asiam, et de Africa decretum ut Caesar legeret cui mandanda foret.

33. Inter quae Severus Caecina censuit ne quem magistratum, cui provincia obvenisset, uxor comitaretur, multum ante repetito
10 concordem sibi coniugem et sex partus enixam, seque quae in publicum statueret domi servavisse, cohibita intra Italiam, quamquam ipse pluris per provincias quadraginta stipendia exple-

1. **Marcum Lepidum.** The praenomen of this person is here alone given in full, the praenomen 'Manius' in full in c. 22, 2. The Fasti give M. Lepidus as consul in 759, A.D. 6; M'. Lepidus in 764, A.D. 11. Elsewhere in this MS. the praenomen of Lepidus is constantly read as M.; but two distinct persons are thus named. The one is sent this year to Asia, the other is one of the two selected for Africa (c. 35, 1), and becomes proconsul of Asia five years later (4. 56, 3). One is of moderate ability and narrow means (as here and c. 72, 3; 2. 48, 1), the other one of the foremost men of the age (1. 13, 2, &c.). As the Fasti recognize as consulars of this time not two Marci Lepidi, but Marcus and Manius, the praenomen in the MS. must in some places be altered. It appears on the whole best to suppose the one mentioned here and in c. 72, 3; 2. 48, 1, clearly also in 6. 40, 4, to be Marcus; and that Manius Lepidus is the distinguished senator (1. 13, 2), praised alike for his independence and discretion (4. 20, 4; 6. 27, 4), the defender of Cn. Piso (c. 11, 2) and his sister Lepida (c. 22, 2), who interposed on behalf of Clutorius Priscus (c. 50, 1), was considered capable of service in Africa (c. 35, 1), and subsequently governed Asia (4. 56, 3). Consequently in all these places M. is altered to M'.

2. **dedecorum,** only here and in 12. 47, 5; Plaut. Bacch. 5. 2, 74 (where the reading is questioned).

etiam Asiae sorte, i. e. even from the lot for a peaceful province. Asia and Africa were given annually by lot to the two senior consulars who had not yet held either. As Africa was now to be given 'extra sortem,' there were really no lots to be drawn, and Lepidus would have Asia as a matter of course. Five consulars junior to M. Lepidus had already held Asia or Africa: see Introd. vii. pp. 113, 114, and the explanation there suggested. Nipp. notes a coin of Cotiaeum recording his proconsulate.

4. **paternas . . . angustias:** cp. 1. 75, 5. where 'esse,' here supplied, is expressed. Borghesi notes that his father and grandfather (see on 72, 3) had been proscribed, and though their lives were spared, had probably suffered in property.

5. **honori quam ignominiae.** On the omission of 'potius' cp. c. 17, 7, and on the dative, Introd. v. § 23.

habendam ducebat. From this 'habebat' is supplied with 'Lepidum,' &c.

8. **Inter quae.** It is shown, from c. 34, 1, that this was an 'egressio relationis': see on 2. 33, 2; 37, 3; 38, 3.

Severus Caecina: cp. c. 18, 3.

9. **obvenisset,** sc. 'sorte,' as 4. 56, 3; Caes. B. C. 1. 6, 5, &c. The proposal is thus limited to senatorial provinces; it being no function of the senate to make rules for those of Caesar.

multum ante repetito, 'recounting in a long preamble.' On the abl. see Introd. v. § 31 a; on the use of 'repetere,' c. 24, 2.

10. **concordem,** not elsewhere with dat.; but cp. 'discors' c. 42, 3.

in publicum, 'for the community'; cp. the contrast to 'domi' in c. 70, 4.

11. **cohibita** = 'cum cohibuisset': cp. Introd. v. § 31 c.

12. **quadraginta,** apparently a round number for 41: cp. 1. 64, 6; 2. 6, 1.

2 visset. haud enim frustra placitum olim ne feminae in socios
aut gentes externas traherentur: inesse mulierum comitatui
quae pacem luxu, bellum formidine morentur et Romanum
3 agmen ad similitudinem barbari incessus convertant. non in-
becillum tantum et inparem laboribus sexum, sed si licentia 5
adsit, saevum, ambitiosum, potestatis avidum; incedere inter
milites, habere ad manum centuriones; praesedisse nuper femi-
4 nam exercitio cohortium, decursu legionum. cogitarent ipsi,
quotiens repetundarum aliqui arguerentur, plura uxoribus ob-
iectari; his statim adhaerescere deterrimum quemque provinci- 10
alium, ab his negotia suscipi, transigi; duorum egressus coli,
duo esse praetoria, pervicacibus magis et inpotentibus mulierum
iussis, quae Oppiis quondam aliisque legibus constrictae, nunc
vinclis exsolutis domos, fora, iam et exercitus regerent.

34. Paucorum haec adsensu audita: plures obturbabant, ne- 15

1. **frustra**: cp. c. 1. 30, 3.

placitum olim. The old rule (cp. M. Sen. Controv. 9. 25, 251), though it had such signal exceptions as Livia, Agrippina, Plancina, &c., was still on the whole prevalent (cp. Suet. Aug. 24). Ulpian (Dig. 1. 16. 4, 2), while stating that the wife might go with her husband to a province, thinks he would be better without her, and mentions the decree (see on 4. 20, 6) making him responsible for her conduct. The wife of Pilate was with him (Matt. 27, 19), Drusilla with Felix (Acts 24, 24), Calpurnia with Pliny (Epp. 10. 120, 121).

3. **pacem**, 'peaceful duties': cp. 'pacis impedimentum' c. 34, 3.

4. **barbari incessus**, 'the progress of a barbaric king,' with his train of women, servants, &c.

6. **ambitiosum**, 'intriguing': cp. 'ambitiose' c. 13, 2, &c.

7. **ad manum**, 'at their beck.'

nuper: cp. 2. 55, 5: 'praesedisse' is somewhat an exaggeration. Caecina, though here, as in c. 18, 3, speaking as an enemy of the enemies of Germanicus, and referring directly to Plancina, may have meant also to glance at Agrippina (1. 69, 2). On the dative 'decursu' cp. c. 30, 4.

9. **plura uxoribus obiectari.** Prior to this date, no other instance but that of Plancina seems to be known to us. Afterwards the case of Sosia (4. 19, 4) may be cited, also those of Paxaea (6. 29, 1; Dio, 58. 24, 3), of Cornelia, wife of Calvisius Sabinus (Dio, 59. 18, 4), and of the wife of Classicus (Pl. Epp. 3. 9. 19). Juvenal also (8, 128) pictures the governor's wife hovering as a harpy over provincial towns.

11. **negotia**, especially (as Nipp. notes) such transactions as the prosecutor on a charge of 'repetundae' would cite.

duorum egressus, &c., 'there were two to be escorted to public places, two centres of government.' 'Praetorium' is the regular term for the governor's residence (as in N. T. &c.), and hence used of other mansions: see Prof. Mayor on Juv. 1, 75. Here it is explained by the 'mulierum iussa,' more persistent and imperious than those of their husbands.

13. **Oppiis**: the plural, here and in c. 34, 6, is probably to be taken as rhetorical (cp. 1. 10, 3). The 'lex Oppia,' restraining the ornaments, dress, and vehicles of women, was passed by a tribune 'in medio ardore Punici belli' in 539, B.C. 215, and was repealed twenty years later, in spite of the vehement protest of Cato, represented in a speech by Livy (34. 1–8): see also Val. Max. 9. 1, 3.

aliis; as for instance the 'lex Voconia,' limiting the right of women to inherit, a law which though unrepealed appears to have been very inoperative: see Mr. Roby, D. of Ant. s. v.

15. **obturbabant**, 'were interrupting' (cp. 6. 24, 4), with such remarks as follow.

neque relatum: see c. 33, 1. Without

que relatum de negotio neque Caecinam dignum tantae rei
censorem. mox Valerius Messalinus, cui parens Messalla inerat- 2
que imago paternae facundiae, respondit multa duritiae veterum
in melius et laetius mutata; neque enim, ut olim, obsideri
5 urbem bellis aut provincias hostilis esse. et pauca feminarum 3
necessitatibus concedi, quae ne coniugum quidem penates, adeo
socios non onerent; cetera promisca cum marito, nec ullum in
eo pacis impedimentum. bella plane accinctis obeunda: sed 4
revertentibus post laborem quod honestius quam uxorium leva-
10 mentum? at quasdam in ambitionem aut avaritiam prolapsas. 5
quid? ipsorum magistratuum nonne plerosque variis libidinibus

3. a duritie Mur., e duritie Ern. 4. in add. Mur. o i absidere: adsideri Bait., adsidere Haase.

a 'relatio' no vote could be taken: cp. 15. 22, 1.

2. **censorem**, used invidiously; the only censorial functions being now vested in Caesar. Tiberius himself says (2. 33, 6) 'non id tempus censurae.'

Valerius Messalinus: see on 1. 8, 5.

Messalla. M. Valerius M. f. M. n. Messalla Corvinus, the celebrated orator and friend of Horace, Ovid, and Tibullus, was born in 695, B.C. 59, was consul with Caesar in the year of Actium, and died about 761, A. D. 8. On his 'praefectura urbis' see 6. 11, 5.

3. **multa duritiae**, partitive gen. like 'multa laudis et artium' (c. 55, 6). Beroald. had printed 'duritie.' whence the attempts to emend by insertion of a preposition. We have a genitive depending on a genitive, as 'veterum' here, in 11. 33, 2, &c.

4. **in melius . . . mutata.** Here and in 14. 43, 1 ('deterius mutari') 'in' has been generally inserted by editors, but 'peius mutata res est' stands in Liv. 1. 47, 3, and some, as Pfitzner, would retain here the MS. text, as analogous to 'bene mutari' in c. 44, 3. Here, however, the result of the change seems to be distinctly expressed, and the preposition to be required, as in c. 54, 9, &c.

obsideri . . . bellis, 'had war at its gates.' The alternative corrections derive support from the frequent confusion of 'ab' and 'ad' in the MS. (1. 10, 4; 2. 4, 3; 37, 7; 4. 35, 3; 6. 3, 4), and 'adsideri' further from Sall. H. 4. 42 D, 1 K, 44 G 'Amisum adsideri . . . audiebat,' and from the transitive use of the active by Tacitus in 4. 58, 4; 6. 43, 1. All these readings would alike express the condition of Rome when the Oppian law was passed (cp. c. 33, 4), and 'provincias hostiles' a later period before the empire was permanently consolidated.

6. **necessitatibus**, 'requirements.' The 'luxus' alleged in c. 33, 2 is alluded to.

penates = 'rem familiarem.' It is used of the house and its position in 2. 84, 1 (where see note).

adeo . . . non, 'much less'; so in H. 3. 39, 4: cp. 'adeo numquam' 6. 15, 6, and 'adeo' (= 'much more') in H. 1. 9, 1; 4. 39, 4; 80, 1 (see Gerber and Greef, Lex. s. v.). The usage is found also in Vell., Curt., Pl. Mai., and Quint.

7. **cetera promisca**, 'all else is shared with her husband,' i. e. would be given to her husband, were he alone, in contrast with the few special indulgences ('pauca') above: cp. 'actiones promiscas' 13. 26, 3.

8. **pacis**: cp. 'pacem' c. 33, 2.

plane, concessive, like 'sane' (c. 5, 4, &c.) or 'sine dubio' (1. 10, 3, &c.).

accinctis, 'in marching order,' i. e. without superfluities.

9. **uxorium levamentum**, 'the relaxation of a wife's society': cp. the similar sentiment in 12. 5, 5, and the use of 'levaretur' in 4. 58, 1: 'levamentum' is supplied again with 'quod.'

10. **at**, meeting an objection, as in 11. 24, 8, &c., 'at enim' 4. 40, 8, &c. The reasoning here must be taken as addressed to a very favourable audience.

6 obnoxios? non tamen ideo neminem in provinciam mitti. cor-
ruptos saepe pravitatibus uxorum maritos: num ergo omnis
caelibes integros? placuisse quondam Oppias leges, sic tempori-
bus rei publicae postulantibus: remissum aliquid postea et miti-
7 gatum, quia expedierit. frustra nostram ignaviam alia ad vo- 5
cabula transferri: nam viri in eo culpam, si femina modum
8 excedat. porro ob unius aut alterius inbecillum animum male
9 eripi maritis consortia rerum secundarum adversarumque. simul
sexum natura invalidum deseri et exponi suo luxu, cupidinibus
10 alienis. vix praesenti custodia manere inlaesa coniugia: quid 10
fore, si per plures annos in modum discidii oblitterentur? sic
obviam irent iis quae alibi peccarentur, ut flagitiorum urbis
11 meminissent. addidit pauca Drusus de matrimonio suo; nam
12 principibus adeunda saepius longinqua imperii. quotiens divum
Augustum in Occidentem atque Orientem meavisse comite Livia! 15
13 se quoque in Illyricum profectum et, si ita conducat, alias ad
gentes iturum, haud semper aequo animo, si ab uxore carissima
et tot communium liberorum parente divelleretur. sic Caecinae
sententia elusa est.

35. Proximo senatus die Tiberius per litteras, castigatis obli- 20

19. elusa . et: text Freinsheim. 20. proximi: text Freinsh.

1. **obnoxios**, 'liable': cp. 'lubidini obnoxius' Sall. C. 52, 21.

5. **frustra . . . transferri**, 'it is useless to put other names on our own indolence'; a novelty of expression, as Nipp. notes, for 'alia vocabula ad nostram ignaviam transferri,' or 'nostrae ignaviae imponi.'

7. **porro**, 'besides': cp. Agr. 15, 6; 31, 4; Juv. 3, 126, &c.

unius aut alterius, 'one or two'; so Agr. 15, 5; 40, 4, &c., and 'unus alterve' in c. 47, 2, &c. Nipp. notes that where a copulative particle is used, as 'unus alterque' (13. 46, 3), 'unus atque alter' (H. 5. 6, 4), 'unus et alter' (Dial. 21, 1), the meaning is distinctly 'more than one.'

8. **consortia**, abstract for concrete, 'partners.'

9. **luxu**, dative: cp. c. 30, 4.

10. **praesenti custodia**, 'with the guardian on the spot': cp. 'praesentiā' 1. 30, 5, &c., 'praesenti opera' 14. 57, 2 (Lips., Halm).

11. **in modum discidii**, 'by a virtual divorce': cp. 2. 86, 2.

oblitterentur, 'become forgotten': cp. 2. 83, 5, &c.

sic . . . ut, 'let them so deal with faults abroad as not to forget enormities at home.' 'Meminissent' answers to an imperfect, as 'memini' to a present.

14. **principibus**, 'members of the imperial family': cp. c. 6, 5, &c.

16. **Illyricum**: cp. 1. 24, 1; 2. 44, 1; 3. 7, 1.

18. **tot**. His three children (cp. 2. 84, 1, &c.) were a family beyond that of Augustus or Tiberius, or of other members of the house, except Germanicus.

19. **elusa est**, 'was parried': cp. 'refellere aut eludere' (c. 67, 2) and other similar uses, as 14. 41, 2; H. 1. 26, 3. The MS. text is retained by Orelli and Nipp., 'et' being placed at the beginning of the next chapter. The reading 'interfectusque . et,' in 6. 18, 1, has been similarly corrected; it being supposed that the insertion of such a dot is intended by an old reviser of the MS. to indicate an error.

20. **Proximo**; so read from comparison of 2. 33, 1; 50, 3. Tiberius here gives an answer to the recent decree (c. 32, 3).

que patribus quod cuncta curarum ad principem reicerent, M'. Lepidum et Iunium Blaesum nominavit, ex quis pro consule Africae legeretur. tum audita amborum verba, intentius ex- 2
cusante se Lepido, cum valetudinem corporis, aetatem liberum, nubilem filiam obtenderet, intellegereturque etiam quod silebat, avunculum esse Sciani Blaesum atque eo praevalidum. respondit 3
Blaesus specie recusantis, sed neque eadem adseveratione, et consensu adulantium haud adiutus 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 dis- 2

8. haut iustus: auditus margin and B, adiutus J. F. Gron., haut iutus Jac. Gron., text Halm.

1. **cuncta curarum.** On the genitive see Introd. v. § 32 b.

M'. Lepidum: see on c. 32, 2.

2. **Iunium Blaesum**: see 1. 16, 2.

3. **intentius**: cp. 1. 52, 3, &c.

4. **aetatem**, i.e. that their youth made his presence still needful.

5. **nubilem filiam**, that he had to arrange a marriage for her. Borghesi thinks that she was the Lepida afterwards married to Galba (Suet. Galb. 5).

7. **adseveratione**: cp. 2. 31, 4.

8. **haud adiutus est.** The reading 'adiutus' would mean that the flatterers of Blaesus supported his candidature. That of Jac. Gron. is nearest to the MS., and this participle is generally read in 14. 4, 1. With this or Halm's reading the meaning would be that the flatterers unanimously refrained from supporting, or rather overruled, his insincere objections.

9. **promptum** = 'prolatum est': cp. 'promere' in 1. 6, 8, &c., a rare use in prose before Tacitus (Her. on H. 2. 90, 2); here in contrast to 'quod . . . tegebatur,' 'a grievance stifled in the whispered murmurs of many.'

10. **incedebat**, 'was spreading': cp. c. 26, 3; 2. 55, 5, &c.

deterrimo cuique. This dative is best taken with 'incedebat,' such a construction being common in other authors, and analogous to many usages of Tacitus; though he elsewhere (1. 16, 1, &c.) uses this verb with the accusative.

11. **arrepta imagine Caesaris.** Out of such general sanctity as attached to effigies of the ruling prince or 'divi Caesares' (see 1. 73, 2, and note there), appears to have grown a privilege of asylum (cp. c. 60, 2), such as was given to the temple of 'divus Iulius' by the triumvirs (Dio, 47. 19, 2). Hence Agrippina is advised 'celeberrimo fori effigiem divi Augusti amplecti' (4. 67. 6). The evidence on the subject is chiefly of later date (see Staatsr. ii. 760, n. 1); and stories such as that of Philostratus (Vit. Apoll. 1, 15), that it was an offence to have beaten a slave who held a coin of Tiberius, seem incredible exaggerations; but that, as in the camp (12. 17, 3) and the provinces (c. 63, 6), so at Rome, some form of this privilege existed, is indisputable, however it might be disregarded by those who (as here Drusus; see also Suet. Aug. 17) had no fear of a charge of 'maiestas' Probably many statues of gods or 'divi' were excepted by inscriptions such as have been found, 'a servo non tangi.' See Lips. Exc. on this passage; Marquardt, iii. 463, Friedl. iii. 209 foll. The explanation of Nipp., making the expression a metaphor = 'seizing the phantom of Caesar,' i. e. 'holding out an imaginary charge of maiestas,' does not seem adequate to the language or the facts, though such threats no doubt were part of the insults here complained of.

13. **ultro metuebantur**, i. e. not only had themselves nothing to fear, but even caused fear, by the threats alluded to.

C. Cestius, probably the 'pater' of 6. 7, 3, thought to be the consul of 6. 31, 1,

seruit principes quidem instar deorum esse, sed neque a dis nisi iustas supplicum preces audiri, neque quemquam in Capitolium aliave urbis templa perfugere, ut eo subsidio ad flagitia utatur.
3 abolitas leges et funditus versas, ubi in foro, in limine curiae ab Annia Rufilla, quam fraudis sub iudice damnavisset, probra sibi 5 et minae intendantur, neque ipse audeat ius experiri ob effigiem
4 imperatoris oppositam. haud dissimilia alii et quidam atrociora circumstrepebant, precabanturque Drusum daret ultionis exemplum, donec accitam convictamque attineri publica custodia iussit. 10

37. Et Considius Aequus et Caelius Cursor equites Romani, quod fictis maiestatis criminibus Magium Caecilianum praetorem
2 petivissent, auctore principe ac decreto senatus puniti. utrumque in laudem Drusi trahebatur: ab eo in urbe, inter coetus et
3 sermones hominum obversante, secreta patris mitigari. neque 15 luxus in iuvene adeo displicebat: huc potius intenderet, diem aedificationibus, noctem conviviis traheret, quam solus et nullis

17. editionibus L (see note). trahere: text L.

and father of the legatus of Syria under Nero (15. 25, 5; H. 5. 10, 1). On the use of 'senator' see 1. 75, 3.

3. **subsidio**, 'refuge,' as in c. 60, 2.

4. **versas**: cp. 2. 42, 4.

5. **damnavisset**, 'had caused to be convicted.' Such terms are used of a prosecutor (cp. 4. 42, 3; 66, 1), as are 'arcere' (c. 23, 2), 'concedere' (4. 20, 3) of the proposer of a sentence; persons being said to do that which they cause or recommend to be done.

6. **ius experiri**: cp. c. 15, 4, &c. Here it apparently means to prosecute the new charge arising from the 'probra et minae': cp. below, 'accitam convictamque.'

7. **quidam**, &c. 'Some were clamouring round him of more outrageous cases': this verb (cp. 11. 31, 2: H. 2. 44, 3) here takes a quasi-cognate acc., as 'fremere' in 13. 13, 1, and Livy and poets.

9. **attineri**: cp. 1. 35, 5, &c.

publica custodia, 'the common prison,' which was under charge of the consuls (c. 22, 5).

13. **auctore principe ac decreto senatus**. Ablatives of different kinds are thus coupled in 1. 55, 1 (whence see Nipp.), and below, c. 39, 2.

utrumque, i. e. both the punishment of Annia Rufilla (c. 36, 4) and the missive from his father against these persons, presumed to have been procured by his influence.

15. **secreta patris mitigari**, 'the solitary plans of his father were made less cruel.' Nipp. compares 'secretum' in Agr. 22, 5; 39, 3; Pl. Pan. 53.

neque . . . adeo, 'not so very much': 'in iuvene' is thrown in as the ground of excuse.

16. **huc . . . intenderet**, 'he had better take this bent': cp. 2. 6, 1.

17. **aedificationibus**. To explain this we must suppose that Drusus, in contrast to the parsimony of Tiberius (6. 45, 1), had a passion for building, probably for the erection of such mansions as were a leading extravagance of the age (cp. c. 53, 5; Hor. Od. 3. 1, 33–37; Vell. 2. 33, 4, &c.), and spent his days in planning them. Other accounts mention no such passion, but describe him as addicted to pantomimes (Dio, 57. 14, 10); whence it has been thought that Tacitus may have written 'ludicris factionibus,' or may have invented such a plural as 'ludificationibus' or 'laetificationibus.' 'Editionibus' (referring to the propensity noted in 1. 76, 5) does not seem able to stand by itself for 'gladiatorial exhibitions,'

voluptatibus avocatus maestam vigilantiam et malas curas exerceret.

38. Non enim Tiberius, non accusatores fatiscebant. et Ancharius Priscus Caesium Cordum pro consule Cretae postulaverat
5 repetundis, addito maiestatis crimine, quod tum omnium accusationum complementum erat. Caesar Antistium Veterem e 2
primoribus Macedoniae, absolutum adulterii, increpitis iudicibus ad dicendam maiestatis causam retraxit, ut turbidum et Rhescuporidis consiliis permixtum, qua tempestate Cotye [fratre] inter-
10 fecto bellum adversus nos volverat. igitur aqua et igni inter- 3
dictum reo, adpositumque ut teneretur insula neque Macedoniae neque Thraeciae opportuna. nam Thraecia diviso imperio in 4

9. [fratre] Ein.

nor 'agitationibus' (Urlichs) by itself for 'driving.'

conviviis. He is described as *μέθῃ κατακορής* (Dio, l. l.).

traheret. The MS. text is retained by some, and might be taken as an explanatory infinitive following on 'huc.'

1. **malas,** 'pernicious,' illustrated by 'non enim,' &c. following.

3. **fatiscebant,** 'were becoming exhausted'; so in 6. 7, 6; 14. 24, 1; 16. 5, 1, &c. The sense is a metaphor from the literal meaning in Vergil (G. 1, 180, &c.), before whom it is deponent.

et: see note on 2. 50; 1.

Ancharius Priscus. Borghesi (v. 307) thinks from the surname that he was of municipal origin, akin to a T. Ancharius T. f. Pal(atina) Priscus, recorded in an inscription at Pisaurum (Pesaro). The Anchari at Rome have no cognomen.

4. **Cretae.** This island had been constituted into a province by Q. Caecilius Metellus Creticus in 687, B. C. 67 (Vell. 2. 34). It was now combined with Cyrene (see c. 70, 1) into a senatorial province, governed by proconsuls of praetorian rank.

postulaverat. The result of this accusation is given in c. 70, 1. No abl. of this kind is used elsewhere with this verb except such a general term as 'crimine' (Apul. Met. 3. 6, 183; 7. 3, 450); and the nearest parallel is 'damnatus repetundis' (Suet. Oth. 2). Elsewhere the verb is used by Tacitus with gen. (as 1. 74, 1, &c.), and by Cicero with 'de.'

6. **complementum,** 'the makeweight' The same expression is cited from Cod. Th. 9. 24, 3. Elsewhere the word occurs only in Cic. Or. 69, 230 ('inania . . . verba . . . quasi complementa numerorum).' On the frequent addition of this charge to others, cp. 2. 50, 1; c. 22, 2; 67, 3, &c. A similar rhetorical exaggeration is seen in Pliny, who calls it (Pan. 42) 'unicum crimen eorum qui crimine vacarent.' See Introd. viii. p. 142.

e primoribus Macedoniae. It is very possible that he was a Macedonian who, through a patronus of that name, had received the civitas, and had thus the privilege of trial before the praetor's court at Rome (cp. 'increpitis iudicibus'); but, as such persons more commonly take only the gentile name of their patronus, like Julius Sacrovir, Orelli may be right in supposing him to be a Roman resident in Macedonia.

9. **consiliis permixtum**: cp. 'negotiis permixtos' 4. 40, 8, 'moribus . . . nostris mixti' 11. 24, 10.

[**fratre**], generally taken to be a blundering interpolation, as Tacitus would hardly have forgotten that he had made Cotys nephew of Rhescuporis (2. 64, 3).

10. **bellum . . . volverat,** 'had contemplated war': cp. 'animus . . . bellum volvebat' H. 1. 64, 2, 'volvens' 1. 64, 7.

aqua et igni interdictum reo, the usual phrase (cp. c. 68, 2; 4. 21, 5; Cic. Phil. 6. 4, 10), varied by Tacitus to 'arceri' (c. 23, 2; 50, 6) or 'prohiberi' (16. 12, 1). This was the ordinary and proper penalty for 'maiestas' (cp. c. 50, 6).

11. **adpositum,** 'it was added.'

12. **opportuna,** 'convenient,' i.e. 'near': cp. 'locorum opportuna' 4. 24, 2.

diviso imperio, &c.: cp. 2. 67, 4.

Rhoemetalcen et liberos Cotyis, quis ob infantiam tutor erat Trebellenus Rufus, insolentia nostri discors agebat neque minus Rhoemetalcen quam Trebellenum incusans popularium iniurias
5 inultas sinere. Coelaletae Odrusaeque et Dii, validae nationes, arma cepere, ducibus diversis et paribus inter se per ignobili-5
6 tatem; quae causa fuit ne in bellum atrox coalescerent. pars turbant praesentia, alii montem Haemum transgrediuntur, ut remotos populos concirent; plurimi ac maxime compositi regem urbemque Philippopolim, a Macedone Philippo sitam, circumsidunt. 10

39. Quae ubi cognita P. Vellaeo (is proximum exercitum praesidebat), alarios equites ac levis cohortium mittit in eos qui praedabundi aut adsumendis auxiliis vagabantur, ipse robur
2 peditum ad exsolvendum obsidium ducit. simulque cuncta

2. trebellienus and trebellienum: see 2. 67, 4. 4. alii: Dii L.

2. **insolentia nostri.** This genit. is here more distinctly objective than that of the personal pronoun in 2. 54, 3, &c., like 'insolens contumeliae' 6. 34, 1, &c., and similar instances in Cic., Caes., &c. The Roman rule so new to them was that of Trebellenus, whose position was that of a governor; the princes in whose name he ruled being not only minors, but absent in Rome (see note on 2. 67, 4).

discors, 'seditious': cp. 1. 38, 1, &c.

3. **popularium iniurias . . . sinere.** The sentence is obscure from its brevity. Trebellenus is accused of oppressing the people, and Rhoemetalces of permitting it. For the construction with 'incuso' cp. 6. 3, 3, and note, and the inf. with 'accuso' in 4. 22, 4; 14. 18, 1.

4. **Coelaletae,** in Pl. N. H. 4. 11, 11, 41, generally read 'Celaletae'; Ryck. would here read 'Coeletae,' adapted to the Κοιλητικὴ στρατηγία of Ptol. 3. 11, 9. In Dio, 54. 34, 6, we have mention of Σιαλέται, which some MSS. read in Pl. l. l.

Dii, restored from Thuc. 2. 96, 2, where the Dii of Rhodope are joined with the Odrysae, the chief tribe ἐντὸς . . . Αἵμου καὶ . . . Ῥοδόπης.

5. **paribus . . . per ignobilitatem,** 'equally undistinguished,' so that none could assert a preeminence and combine all under him.

7. **praesentia,** 'their neighbourhood,' as opposed to 'remotos,' a sense nearly similar to that in c. 34, 10, &c.

9 **Philippopolim,** Philippopoli, or Filibe, in the upper valley of the Hebrus (Maritza), still one of the most important towns of Roumelia.

Philippo, the father of Alexander the Great.

sitam: cp. 1. 39, 4. Tacitus nowhere else (cp. 2. 7, 3; 4. 55, 6; 6. 41, 2, &c.) uses this participle with the prep. and abl.: whence some read 'positam,' on the analogy of 'posuere' in 12. 63, 1.

11. **P. Vellaeo.** He appears to have succeeded Flaccus in Moesia (see 2. 66, 3; also note on 1. 80, 1). He has been thought to have been the brother of the historian, and to have been praetor with him in 767, A. D. 14 (Vell. 2. 124, 4). Nipp. thinks him probably brother to C. Vellaeus Tutor (cos. suff. in 781, A. D. 28), who was one of the authors of the 'lex Iunia Vellaea.'

exercitum praesidebat. Tacitus uses the accus. with this verb in the Annals (4. 5, 1; 72, 6; 12. 14. 7; 29, 3), after Sall. (H. 2. 28 D, 34 K, 52 G), and analogously to his usage with many other verbs (Introd. v. § 12 c).

12. **alarios equites ac levis cohortium,** auxiliaries, as opposed to the legion mentioned below ('robur peditum'): cp. 12. 31, 5. On the genit. cp. Introd. v. 32 c.

13. **praedabundi,** those described (c. 38, 6) as 'turbantes praesentia.'

prospere acta, caesis populatoribus et dissensione orta apud obsidentes regisque opportuna eruptione et adventu legionis. neque 3
aciem aut proelium dici decuerit, in quo semermi ac palantes
trucidati sunt sine nostro sanguine.

5 **40.** Eodem anno Galliarum civitates ob magnitudinem aeris
alieni rebellionem coeptavere, cuius exstimulator acerrimus inter
Treveros Iulius Florus, apud Aeduos Iulius Sacrovir. nobilitas 2

3. semerme: semermes B, text Jac. Gron.: cp. c. 45, 3; 1. 68, 5.

2. **regis . . . eruptione.** Mommsen cites (Eph. Epig. ii. p. 256) an inscription commemorating the preservation of Rhoemetalces, and of Pythodoris (see on 2. 56; 67), who had been besieged with him. 'Eruptione' and 'adventu' are instrumental ablatives, but are coupled to the abl. abs. preceding (cp. c. 37, 1).

3. **aciem aut proelium,** 'pitched battle or even conflict.'

dici. The inf. pass. after 'decet' is rare, but in Cic. Tusc. 1. 14, 32; Verg. Aen. 12, 797.

5. **Galliarum.** Of the four Gallic provinces, two are wholly unaffected by this rising, namely, the senatorial Gallia Narbonensis, and the Caesarian province of Aquitania in the south west; but the rebellion embraced, or was intended to embrace, considerable part of the other two; of which Gallia Lugdunensis included the country between the Loire, Seine, and Saone; and Belgica all between the Seine and Rhine, except what was placed under the legati of the 'Germaniae' (see on 1. 31, 2). To the former province belong the Aedui, also the Andecavi and Turoni (c. 41, 1); to the latter the Treveri. The special hostility of the Gaulish nobility of this date to Roman rule is noteworthy: see Momms. Hist. v. 73, E. T. i. 81.

aeris alieni. Such indebtedness was not uncommon among provincial states and individuals. Thus the Allobroges in Catiline's time were 'publice privatimque aere alieno obpressi' (Sall. Cat. 40). Besides the general causes mentioned by Nipp. and E. Jacob, such as financial mismanagement, official extortion, heavy tribute, and usurious interest, may here be added a special cause arising from the requisitions of Germanicus (cp. 2. 5, 3). The claims, however usurious, of Roman creditors against provincials, were backed by the whole force of government (e.g. the claim of Brutus on the Salaminians of Cyprus, Cic. Att. 5. 21; 6. 2); so that rebellion was the only refuge. Dio (62. 2, 1) makes the usury of Seneca a cause of the British rebellion of 814, A. D. 61.

6. **exstimulator,** only here and in H. 2. 71, 4.

7. **Treveros.** This people were among the chief Gallic tribes in Caesar's time and extended then from the upper Meuse on both sides of the Mosel probably to the Rhine, but subsequently lost territory in that direction by German settlements. Their chief town was the 'Colonia,' or 'Augusta Trevorum' (H. 4. 62, &c.; Mela 3. 2), now Trier or Treves. Their country was chosen as the refuge of Agrippina (1. 41, 2), and they must have been then thought trustworthy. Afterwards they are frequently mentioned in the rebellion of Civilis. By the time of Tacitus (G. 28, 4) they counted themselves to be of German origin, which would show that they had become much mixed with German blood.

Iulius Florus. Florus is a family name at Rome, but no Iulius Florus is known before the one addressed by Horace (Ep. 1. 3, 1; 2. 2, 1) as a companion of Tiberius in the East in 734, B. C. 20. M. Seneca (Controv. 9. 25, 258) mentions one of the name as a pupil of Porcius Latro; and Quintilian (10. 3, 13) one who practised oratory in Gaul and became its foremost rhetorician. The two last, or perhaps all three, may be the same person, who may have been son of some Gaul who had received citizenship from Julius Caesar; and this rebel chief may represent a third generation.

Aeduos. This people, also called Haedui, and so prominent in the time of Julius Caesar, extended from the Loire to the Saone, having for their chief city Augustodunum (c. 43, 1), the modern Autun, identified with the Bibracte of Caesar (B. G. 1. 23, &c.). In spite of the national load of debt complained of, they

ambobus et maiorum bona facta, eoque Romana civitas olim
3 data, cum id rarum nec nisi virtuti pretium esset. ii secretis
conloquiis, ferocissimo quoque adsumpto aut quibus ob egestatem ac metum ex flagitiis maxima peccandi necessitudo, com-
4 ponunt Florus Belgas, Sacrovir propiores Gallos concire. igitur 5
per conciliabula et coetus seditiosa disserebant de continuatione tributorum, gravitate faenoris, saevitia ac superbia praesiden-
5 tium; et discordare militem audito Germanici exitio. egregium resumendae libertati tempus, si ipsi florentes, quam inops Italia, quam inbellis urbana plebes, nihil validum in exercitibus nisi 10
quod externum, cogitarent.

41. Haud ferme ulla civitas intacta seminibus eius motus
2 fuit: sed erupere primi Andecavi ac Turoni. quorum Andecavos Acilius Aviola legatus, excita cohorte quae Lugduni praesidium

7. faenus always in this MS., in Med. ii. mostly fenus.

are still called rich (c. 43, 1; 46, 4), and their nobles were subsequently the first of 'Gallia comata' to become senators of Rome (11. 25, 1).

Iulius Sacrovir. This name again, as also that of Iulius Indus (c. 42, 3), suggests a gift of citizenship by Julius or perhaps Augustus: the cognomen here may indicate that the first who bore it was a priest.

1. **bona facta**, i. e. services to Rome: cp. 'bona societas' (1. 57, 7).

2. **cum id rarum.** Citizenship had certainly been freely bestowed by the dictator Caesar, and after his death lavished (Cic. Phil. 1. 10, 23; 2. 36, 92) or sold (Id. 5. 4, 11) by Antonius in his name. Augustus however, according to Suetonius (Aug. 40), 'civitatem parcissime dedit,' and Tiberius probably followed his example; but in the time of Claudius, according to Dio (60. 17, 5), citizenship was purchased wholesale through Messalina and the freedmen, at first μεγάλων χρημάτων (cp. Acts 22, 28), afterwards for a trifle (Vol. ii. Introd. p. 39).

4. **metum ex flagitiis**: cp. 'ex duce metus' (1. 29, 3), &c.

componunt, 'they agree'; so συντίθεσθαι in Xen., &c. Nipp. notes the use of 'compositum' (4. 10, 2; 68, 3, &c.), and 'composito (or 'ex composito') facere aliquid' (H. 4. 66, 2). These phrases are frequent in Sallust and Livy. For the infin. see Introd. v. § 43.

5. **propiores**, nearer to Italy.

6. **conciliabula et coetus.** Nipp. appears rightly to distinguish these, the former as public gatherings, markets, &c., utilized by the conspirators, the latter as meetings specially convened.

continuatione, 'perpetuity,' when relaxation might have been expected.

8. **discordare**, 'was mutinous': cp. 1. 16, 3; also 'discors' 1. 38, 1, &c.

10. **nihil validum**, &c.: see Introd. vii. p. 127. The auxiliaries were of course all 'peregrini'; but as regards the legionaries, either the speaker is designedly made to exaggerate, or Tacitus uses language more suited to his own day. Seeck (Rh. Mus. xlviii. pp. 602–621) shows from many inscriptions that under the Iulian emperors, at least the western legions were in very great proportion (he would say almost exclusively, but see on 4. 4, 4) recruited from Italy. Stages of change are noticed under the Claudian and Flavian Caesars, and by the time of Trajan and Hadrian the Italian element is very scanty. The 'urbana plebes' had been enlisted by Augustus on emergency: cp. 1. 31, 4.

13. **Andecavi ac Turoni.** The former are the Andes of Caesar, and the two answer to the provinces of Anjou, on the right of the lower Loire, and Touraine, on both sides of that river, above it. Their capitals, Angers and Tours, are known from the time of Ptolemy (2. 8, 8, 14) as Juliomagus and Caesarodunum.

14. **Acilius Aviola**, then legatus of Gallia Lugdunensis, and afterwards cos. suff. (Marquardt, i. 274). He is thought

agitabat, coercuit. Turoni legionario milite, quem Visellius Varro 3
inferioris Germaniae legatus miserat, oppressi eodem Aviola
duce et quibusdam Galliarum primoribus, qui tulere auxilium,
quo dissimularent defectionem magisque in tempore efferrent.
5 spectatus et Sacrovir intecto capite pugnam pro Romanis ciens, 4
ostentandae, ut ferebat, virtutis: sed captivi, ne incesseretur
telis, adgnoscendum se praebuisse arguebant. consultus super eo
Tiberius aspernatus est indicium aluitque dubitatione bellum.

42. Interim Florus insistere destinatis, pellicere alam equi-
10 tum, quae conscripta e Treveris militia disciplinaque nostra
habebatur, ut caesis negotiatoribus Romanis bellum inciperet;
paucique equitum corrupti, plures in officio mansere. aliud 2
vulgus obaeratorum aut clientium arma cepit; petebantque

10. conscriptae : conscripta B, text Bekk.

by Nipp. not to be the consular of that name, mentioned by Val. Max. (1. 8, 12) and Pl. Mai. as a signal instance of suspended animation, but the father of the consul of 807, A. D. 54 (12. 64, 1).

cohorte. The 'cohors xiii. urbana' (see on 4. 5, 5) is mentioned in inscriptions (e. g. Henzen 6808) as at Lugdunum (Lyons), the capital and chief centre of the 'tres Galliae' (Introd. vii. p. 111). The mention of a 'cohors xviii.' there in H. 1. 64. 6, may be an error; but the urban cohorts had been then increased (Vol. ii. Introd. p. 36).

1. **legionario milite.** This force would appear from c. 46, 3 to have been a single legionary cohort; but see note there.

Visellius Varro, C. Visellius C. f. C. n. Varro, cos. 765, A. D. 12, with Germanicus (Orell. Insc. 4717, &c.), father of the consul of 777, A. D. 24 (4. 19, 1). He must have succeeded to Caecina Severus (1. 31, 2, &c.).

4. **in tempore,** 'opportunely': cp. 1. 19, 2.

efferrent, 'proclaim it': cp. 6. 9. 1; also 'id quidem minime est opus . . . efferri' Ter. Ad. 4. 4, 17, 'effert animi motus' Hor. A. P. 111, and a similar use of ἐκφέρειν.

6. **ostentandae . . . virtutis:** see Introd. v. § 37 d.

8. **dubitatione,** 'indecision.' He allowed the insurrection to gather strength while he could not make up his mind how to deal with it.

9. **insistere:** cp. 2. 21, 3.

alam equitum. The 'ala Trevorum' is mentioned in 822, A. D. 69 (H. 2. 14, 2; 4. 55, 1), 'ala equitum Trevirorum' in a Rhenish inscription (see Orelli and Nipp.). The words here, 'quae . . . habebatur,' imply that it was, like so many other 'alae' and 'cohortes,' mentioned in inscriptions, no less a standing force than the legions.

11. **negotiatoribus:** cp. 2. 62, 4, &c. These Roman capitalists in the provinces are constantly mentioned by Cicero (see Ernesti, clavis) and others. They would usually be of the equestrian order, and are generally distinguished both from 'publicani' and 'mercatores,' though they may have practised such professions in addition to their own, which was that of bankers or money lenders. Their activity in the old 'provincia Narbonensis' about 685, B. C. 69, is described by Cicero (pro Fonteio 1, 1) referta Gallia negotiatorum est, plena civium Romanorum. Nemo Gallorum sine cive Romano quidquam negotii gerit; nummus in Gallia nullus sine civium Romanorum tabulis commovetur.' See Marquardt, i. 539.

12. **aliud vulgus,** &c., 'the rest, the common herd,' &c. The use of 'aliud' does not imply that the 'equites' also belonged to the 'vulgus'; several other instances being noted by Nipp., in which 'alius' stands thus, in apposition, with one only of the parties mentioned, as 'primores populorum . . . vulgus aliud armatorum' (Liv. 7. 8, 1). Such use of ἄλλος, as μήτηρ . . . οὐδ' ἄλλαι δμωαί (Hom. Od. 2, 412), is more common.

13. **obaeratorum aut clientium.** The

saltus quibus nomen Arduenna, cum legiones utroque ab exercitu, quas Visellius et C. Silius adversis itineribus obiecerant,
3 arcuerunt. praemissusque cum delecta manu Iulius Indus e civitate eadem, discors Floro et ob id navandae operae avidior,
4 inconditam multitudinem adhuc disiecit. Florus incertis latebris 5 victores frustratus, postremo visis militibus qui effugia insederant, sua manu cecidit. isque Treverici tumultus finis.

43. Apud Aeduos maior moles exorta, quanto civitas opulentior et comprimendi procul praesidium. Augustodunum caput gentis armatis cohortibus Sacrovir occupaverat, *ut* nobilissimam 10

10. ut ins. Bezzenb. nobilissimarum: et nobilissimam L., nobilissimamque Pich., nobilissima (or nobilissima cum Ioh. Müller) . . . subole . . . operata Haase.

debtors (who were virtual bondsmen) and clients of a Gallic noble are spoken of by Caesar, B. G. 6. 13, 2; 19, 4; 7. 40, 7, &c. Orgetorix collected a similar band to that here mentioned (Id. 1. 4, 2).

1. **Arduenna**, Ardennes (from a Celtic word = 'forest'), the name of a much larger district then than now, as Caesar (B. G. 5. 3, 4; 6. 29, 4) describes this forest as extending throughout the country of the Treveri, from the Rhine to the Remi and Nervii (the neighbourhood of Rheims and Bavay).

2. **C. Silius**: see 1. 31, 2, &c. He was still legatus of Upper Germany.

3. **delecta manu**, called 'una ala' (c. 46, 3). Several inscriptions (see Introd. ii. p. 11) speak of an 'ala Indiana,' evidently raised by and called after this person; probably the force here meant.

4. **discors Floro**. For the dative cp. 2. 56, 1. The gerundive is genit.: cp. c. 33, 3; 54, 11, &c.

5. **inconditam multitudinem adhuc**. The 'incondita multitudo' may have been conceived as a single idea, such as might have been represented by one word ('a rabble'); or the position of 'adhuc' may be a mere affectation of style, as in 1. 67, 1. On the sense of the word cp. c. 26, 1.

incertis latebris, repeated from H. 1. 81, 4, where it appears not to mean (as Ern. takes it here) 'often changed,' but 'untraceable hiding places.'

6. **visis militibus**: cp. 'visa caede' 2. 31, 3; H. 3. 62, 2. This passive use is chiefly poetical (as in Verg. Aen. 1, 326, &c.) and post-Augustan.

7. **tumultus**, used strictly of a Gallic, as also of an Italian rising: see Cic. Phil. 8. 1, 2.

8. **quanto**. On the abbreviated comparative sentence see Introd. v. § 64.

opulentior. Nipp. takes this to mean 'more powerful' (cp. 'opulentia' 2. 60, 4); but their wealth is distinctly mentioned in c. 46, 4, and would be shown by their having raised so large a force and armed part of it so completely. Caesar (B. G. 6. 12, 9) describes them as being in his time 'longe principes' of all the Gauls, the Remi standing next to them.

9. **comprimendi**, probably to be taken like the gerundive genit. (Introd. v. § 37): cp. 'apiscendi' 3. 27, 2.

procul, i. e. in the armies of the 'Germaniae.' The small forces employed against the Andecavi and Turoni (c. 41, 2) are here treated as of no account.

Augustodunum: see on c. 40, 1.

10. **ut nobilissimam**, &c. The emendations proposed for 'nobilissimarum,' evidently an error of assimilation, are numerous. For a discussion of them see Pfitzner, p. 19; Joh. Müller, Beitr. sect. 3. p. 33. Most editors have followed L. or Pich., taking 'occupaverat' by zeugma with 'subolem' in some such sense as that of 'copias occupavisse' (1. 10, 1). But it appears awkward to introduce a new object after an apparently completed sentence. This would be in favour of some such text as that given above. In any case some form of words must have been used which would imply the acquisition of the parents and relations, rather than of the youths, to be the primary object.

Galliarum subolem liberalibus studiis ibi operatam, et eo pignore parentes propinquosque eorum adiungeret; simul arma occulte fabricata iuventuti disperrit. quadraginta milia fuere, quinta sui 2
parte legionariis armis, ceteri cum venabulis et cultris quaeque
5 alia venantibus tela sunt. adduntur e servitiis gladiaturae desti- 3
nati, quibus more gentico continuum ferri tegimen: cruppellarios vocant, inferendis ictibus inhabiles, accipiendis inpenetrabiles. augebantur eae copiae vicinarum civitatum ut nondum 4
aperta consensione, ita viritim promptis studiis, et certamine
10 ducum Romanorum, quos inter ambigebatur utroque bellum sibi poscente. mox Varro invalidus senecta vigenti Silio concessit.

44. At Romae non Treveros modo et Aeduos, sed quattuor

1. ut eo: et eo Bezzenberger.

1. **liberalibus studiis**, &c. This school, which must have been founded by Augustus, made Augustodunum the great Roman seminary in Gaul; as Massilia (Strab. 4. 1, 5, 181) was the centre of Greek culture. Such institutions, taking the place of the suppressed schools of Druidism, laid the foundation of the Romano-Hellenic culture, which took such strong root in this country: see Momms. Hist. v. 102, E. T. i. 112. That this school still flourished till the end of the third century is attested by an oration of Eumenius, delivered when he was appointed by Constantius to preside over it, on its restoration after the sack of Augustodunum by barbarians (Panegyrici veteres, iii: see also Lips. Exc. on this passage).

operatam, aoristic; so 'conubiis arvisque novis operata iuventus' (Verg. Aen. 3, 136; cp. Hor. Ep. 1. 2, 29).

3. **quadraginta milia**. This must be taken as the sum of all the Aeduan forces. At the rising of Vercingetorix their first contingent, with that of those subordinate to them, was fixed at 10,000 foot and 800 horse, to which was added a further levy of 35,000 for the final crisis (Caes. B. G. 7. 64; 75).

quinta sui parte legionariis armis, 'to the extent of one fifth, armed as legionaries.' 'Legionariis armis' appears to be rightly explained by Joh. Müller and Nipp. as an abl. of quality, similar to 'ingentibus gladiis et brevibus cetris' Agr. 36, 1, &c. (cp. Introd. v. § 29); but there is an unusual harshness in its immediate proximity to another abl., that of the part referred to.

5. **gladiaturae**, found nowhere else in any author of repute. 'Lanistatura' occurs in the 'Tabulae Heraclaeenses,' and Dräger notes that several such forms are introduced in later Latin.

6. **gentico**, only found in 6. 33, 3; Tert. de An. 39.

cruppellarios. This Celtic word occurs nowhere else. The same men are called 'ferrati' in c. 45, 3, and such a kind of unwieldy plate armour ('cataphracta') is described as worn by Sarmatian chiefs in H. 1. 79, 5. The gladiators called 'mirmillones' were supposed to represent the usual Gaulish military equipment.

7. **accipiendis inpenetrabiles**. No other instance of this construction appears to be found, but an ordinary dative ('inpenetrabilis irae') in Sil. 7, 561.

8. **ut . . . ita**: cp. 1. 12, 1, &c.

9. **viritim**, 'of individuals.' Nipp. notes that in 11. 24, 2 'singuli viritim' stand in opposition to 'terrae, gentes'; in Bell. Al. 65, 4 'et viritim et publice' are contrasted: cp. 'ipsum viritim' ('himself individually') Vell. 2. 16, 3.

13. **quattuor et sexaginta**, 'the sixty-four,' i. e. all the Gallic tribes. This number agrees with that of Ptolemy (2. 7–9), who makes seventeen ἔθνη in Aquitania, twenty-five in Lugdunensis, and twenty-two in Belgica; the old 'Provincia Narbonensis' forming no part of this reckoning. Strabo (4. 3, 2, 192) speaks of the altar at Lugdunum inscribed with

et sexaginta Galliarum civitates descivisse, adsumptos in societatem Germanos, dubias Hispanias, cuncta, ut mos famae, in
2 maius credita. optumus quisque rei publicae cura maerebat: multi odio praesentium et cupidine mutationis suis quoque periculis laetabantur, increpabantque Tiberium, quod in tanto rerum 5
3 motu libellis accusatorum insumeret operam. an Sacrovirum maiestatis crimine reum in senatu fore? extitisse tandem viros qui cruentas epistulas armis cohiberent. miseram pacem vel
4 bello bene mutari. tanto inpensius in securitatem conpositus, neque loco neque vultu mutato, sed ut solitum per illos dies 10 egit, altitudine animi, an conpererat modica esse et vulgatis leviora.

45. Interim Silius cum legionibus duabus incedens, praemissa auxiliari manu vastat Sequanorum pagos, qui finium extremi et
2 Aeduis contermini sociique in armis erant. mox Augustodunum 15 petit propero agmine, certantibus inter se signiferis, fremente etiam gregario milite, ne suetam requiem, ne spatia noctium opperiretur: viderent modo adversos et aspicerentur; id satis
3 ad victoriam. duodecimum apud lapidem Sacrovir copiaeque

6. an *et* 7 sacrouirum: Iulium margin and B, text Nipp.

the names of sixty ἔθνη, probably a round number. See Momms. Hist. v. 86, E. T. i. 95, Marquardt, i. p. 268. The greater only are reckoned, not the lesser tribes under their 'clientela.'

3. **credita**: from this is supplied 'creditum' with 'descivisse,' &c.

6. **libellis**, 'informations': cp. 2. 29, 3.

an Sacrovirum. The sign in the text may note an omission, and the 'et' above and 'Iulium' of the margin are attempts by later hands to supply it. Orelli reads 'et.'

8. **cruentas epistulas.** The only missive mentioned that could answer to this description would be that against Antistius Vetus (c. 38, 2): the others from Tiberius during this absence had dealt with other matters, or had even punished informers (c. 37, 1); so that language suitable to his later years seems here inserted.

9. **inpensius in securitatem conpositus**, 'with a more studied air of unconcern'; so 'in dissimulationem sui compositus' 13. 25, 1: cp. 1. 7, 2; 2. 34, 6; 4. 31, 4, &c.

11. **altitudine animi.** The application of this term to Domitian (H. 4. 86, 3), and the explicit reference of 'altitudo ingenii incredibilis' to the dissimulation of Sulla (Sall. Jug. 95, 3), suggest that here also it means 'profound reserve.' βαθύτης, in Cic. Att. 4. 6, 3, &c., may also probably be thus explained.

14. **Sequanorum.** This people, belonging to Gallia Belgica, occupied a tract answering on the whole to the province of Franche Comté between the Jura and the Saone, their chief town being Vesontio (Besançon). They are constantly mentioned by Caesar, in whose day they reached to the Rhine (B. G. 1. 1, 4).

pagos: cp. 1. 56, 5.

finium, sc. 'Galliae.' Their country lay between the military district of Upper Germany and the Aedui.

17. **spatia noctium**, i. e. the nights that seemed so long to their impatience. Nipp. compares 'spatiis itinerum' 2. 5, 3; 15. 17, 3.

18. **adversos**, 'face to face': 'videre et adspici' are joined in Agr. 45, 2.

19. **duodecimum**, from Augustodunum.

patentibus locis apparuere. in fronte statuerat ferratos, in cornibus cohortes, a tergo semermos. ipse inter primores equo in- 4
signi adire, memorare veteres Gallorum glorias quaeque Romanis adversa intulissent; quam decora victoribus libertas, quanto in-
5 tolerantior servitus iterum victis.

46. Non diu haec nec apud laetos: etenim propinquabat legionum acies, inconditique ac militiae nescii oppidani neque oculis neque auribus satis conpetebant. contra Silius, etsi praesumpta 2
spes hortandi causas exemerat, clamitabat tamen, pudendum
10 ipsis quod Germaniarum victores adversum Gallos tamquam in hostem ducerentur. 'una nuper cohors rebellem Turonum, una 3
ala Treverum, paucae huius ipsius exercitus turmae profligavere Sequanos. quanto pecunia dites et voluptatibus opulentos, tanto 4
magis inbelles Aeduos evincite et fugientibus consulite.' ingens 5

1. **ferratos**, the 'cruppellarii' (c. 43, 3): cp. 'agmina . . . ferrata' Hor. Od. 4. 14, 30.

2. **cohortes**, those who had 'legionaria arma' (c. 43, 2).

primores. In Liv. 1. 1, 7 ('processisse Latinum inter primores'), and Id. 3. 18, 8 ('inter primores pugnam ciens'), the word is best taken to mean 'the front rank'; and such may probably be the meaning here; but Nipp. takes the expression in each instance to mean 'surrounded by the princes.'

insigni, 'adorned with trappings': cp. H. 3. 89, 1.

3. **adire**, sc. 'singulos': cp. the description of Arminius (2. 45, 4).

glorias. Nipp. notes that the glory of each success is separately thought of: cp. 'infamias' 4. 33. 4, 'gloriae triumphique' Sall. Jug. 41, 7.

4. **intolerantior**: here and in 11. 10, 5 ('subiectis intolerantior'), this word is generally explained to mean 'more intolerable.' Gellius also (19. 7, 10) thought that Laevius so used 'curis intolerantibus,' and apparently (13. 8, 5) himself so used 'nihil . . . intolerantius.' Nipp. however thinks that Gellius misunderstood Laevius, and that all good authors take the word actively. He would here explain it to mean a slavery more intolerant, more arbitrary on the master's part.

8. **conpetebant**, 'were competent neither as regards their eyes nor ears,' i. e. could use neither rightly. The expression is closely repeated from H. 3. 73, 1, and appears taken from Sallust (see Introd. v. § 97, 1). Livy (22. 5, 3) has 'ut vix . . . conpeteret animus,' also (5. 42, 3) 'ne auribus quidem atque oculis satis constare poterant.'

praesumpta spes. This expression, found also in Sil. 7, 582, seems to contain a reminiscence of the Vergilian 'spe praesumite bellum' (Aen. 11, 18): cp. also 'praesumpta suspicio' (2. 73, 6).

10. **Germaniarum**: see note on 2. 73, 3.

11. **una . . . cohors**. The 'legionarius miles' of c. 41, 3 may well have been a single cohort; but it is very probable that the Andecavi and Turoni are rhetorically grouped under one name, and that the cohort employed against the former is here meant.

una ala: cp. c. 42, 3.

12. **paucae . . . turmae**, the 'auxiliaris manus' of c. 45, 1.

13. **dites . . . inbelles**, words used of the Gauls in general in 11. 18, 1, to describe the effect of long peace on them.

voluptatibus opulentos, 'abounding in luxuries.'

14. **evincite**. The verb may have the force of 'devinco'; the participle being often in Tacitus (e. g. 4. 57, 5, &c.), as in Verg., Ov., &c., equivalent to 'victus' or 'devictus': cp. 'evicit omnia miles' Liv. 10. 17, 10. Nipp. takes it to mean, 'make them change their resolution,' others insert 'esse' before 'Aeduos' or 'evincite,' and translate 'prove them to be'; as 'ratio esse evincet' Hor. Sat. 2. 3, 250.

consulite = 'parcite' (cp. c. 16, 5), i.e.

ad ea clamor, et circumfudit eques frontemque pedites invasere;
6 nec cunctatum apud latera. paulum morae attulere ferrati restantibus lamminis adversum pila et gladios; set miles correptis securibus et dolabris, ut si murum perrumperet, caedere tegmina et corpora; quidam trudibus aut furcis inertem molem prosternere, iacentesque nullo ad resurgendum nisu quasi exanimes
7 linquebantur. 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 demum Tiberius ortum patratumque bellum senatu scripsit; neque dempsit aut addidit vero, sed fide ac virtute
2 legatos, se consiliis superfuisse. simul causas, cur non ipse, non Drusus profecti ad id bellum forent, adiunxit, magnitudinem imperii extollens, neque decorum principibus, si una alterave
3 civitas turbet . . . omissa urbe, unde in omnia regimen. nunc quia

c

2. tunctatum: diu certatum Wölfflin. 3. lamminis: so Med. ii. in H. 1. 79, 6. 9. ingressa: incensa R. 11. senatus: senatui B, text Halm. 16. lacuna noted here by Nipp., after regimen by Ritter.

'make them prisoners.' The difference between such a command and that of Germanicus (2. 21, 3) may be due partly, as Nipp. thinks, to contempt for such an enemy, and to the absence of such vindictiveness as was felt towards the Germans; partly, perhaps, also to the covetousness by which Silius was held to have marred his victory (4. 19, 4).

1. **circumfudit**, 'spread round the flanks.' Elsewhere, in this sense, the verb takes an accusative, as in 12 38, 3 (where see note); but such verbs in Tacitus (Introd. v. § 41) are often intransitive.

eques . . . pedites. On the interchange of sing. and pl. see Introd. v. § 2.

2. **cunctatum**, nowhere else passively used for 'dubitatum' (which stands thus in 2. 80, 7; 12. 69, 3). Nipp. justifies it by the passive use of many other deponent participles, and notes the archaic form 'cuncto.'

restantibus = 'resistentibus'; an apparently archaic use (Enn. and Lucr. 2, 450), followed by Sall. (H. 1. 75 D, 74 K, 100 G) and often by Livy.

5. **trudibus**, from Verg. (Aen. 5, 208); who, as Nipp. thinks, took the word from the language of common life.

6. **nullo . . . nisu**, 'without an effort.' Their armour deprived them of all power to rise.

9. **super**: cp. 1. 68, 2. Livy (21. 14, 4) has 'domos super seipsos concremaverunt.'

11. **patratum**: cp. 2. 26, 2.

senatu, dative: cp. c. 30. 4, &c.

12. **dempsit**, sc. 'quidquam.'

13. **superfuisse**, 'had got the better' = περιγενέσθαι. Nipp. notes that this verb expresses preeminence in Agr. 44, 2 'gratia oris supererat'; also in Cic. ap. Gell. 1. 22, 7 'maioribus . . . Tubero . . . doctrina etiam superfuit.' The whole chapter in Gell. is a curious disquisition on this word.

15. **principibus**, here used to include Drusus: cp. c. 34, 11.

una alterave: cp. c. 34, 8. 'Turbet' absol. as 4. 1, 1, Ter., &c.

16. **omissa urbe**: cp. 'omittere caput rerum' 1. 47, 1. Most editors mark a 'lacuna'; but the explanation of Pichena, by which 'proficisci' is supplied from above, is perhaps capable of justification by the nearness and prominence in the sentence of 'profecti forent.'

non metu ducatur, iturum, ut praesentia spectaret componeretque. decrevere patres vota pro reditu eius supplicationesque et alia decora. solus Dolabella Cornelius, dum anteire ceteros 4
parat, absurdam in adulationem progressus, censuit ut ovans
5 e Campania urbem introiret. igitur secutae Caesaris litterae, 5
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.

10 **48.** Sub idem tempus, ut mors Sulpicii Quirini publicis exsequiis frequentaretur, petivit a senatu. nihil ad veterem et patri- 2
ciam Sulpiciorum familiam Quirinius pertinuit, ortus apud municipium Lanuvium: sed impiger militiae et acribus ministeriis consulatum sub divo Augusto, mox expugnatis per Ciliciam

14. super Ciliciam M. Haupt.

1. **metu**, 'a state of panic': cp. 1. 40, 1.

praesentia: cp. 1. 30, 5, &c.

2. **decrevere . . . decora**: cp. 'decora . . . tribui' c. 5, 4. The word hardly seems used in contrast (as Doed. thinks) to the 'indecora adulatio' of Dolabella.

3. **Dolabella Cornelius.** P. Cornelius P. f. P. n. Dolabella was cos. in 763, A.D. 10 (C. I. L. i. p. 550): a Delmatian inscription (Orelli 2365) records him as one of the 'septemviri epulones' and 'sodales Titii,' as well as legatus of Augustus and Tiberius (in 767, A.D. 14) in that province (cp. Vell. 2. 125, 5). He was proconsul of Africa in 777, A.D. 24 (4. 23, 2). Other inscriptions referring to him are cited by Nipp., who thinks he was father of the friend of Galba (H. 1. 88, 1). Other extravagant 'sententiae' proposed by him are given in c. 69, 1; 11. 22, 3: in 4. 66. 2 he is mentioned as going out of his way to accuse a near relation.

6. **ferocissimas gentes perdomitas**, &c. See Introd. viii. pp. 133, 134. Velleius (2. 122, 1) alleges, that although he was contented with three triumphs, he could have claimed seven.

10. **Sulpicii Quirini**: see c. 22, 1; 2. 30, 4.

publicis exsequiis. It was the opinion of Lipsius that any 'indictivum funus' (Festus, &c.), i. e. any to which all were summoned by public notice, might be called 'publicum'; but the term is evidently restricted to the funerals of those who, for their services, were buried at the public cost. Thus Velleius (2. 62, 4) says, 'Pansae atque Hirti corpora publica sepultura honorata'; and Valerius Maximus (5. 2, 10), 'praetore funus Hirtio et Pansae iussu senatus locante.' For other instances see 6. 11, 6; Dio 57. 21, 3, &c., Staatsr. iii. 1188, and note on 'censorium funus' 4. 15, 3.

11. **frequentaretur**, 'should be celebrated.' Tacitus has 'celebrare mortem' (6. 27, 2); and 'frequento' has the general force of 'celebro,' and may be used of a single person (14. 4, 1, &c.); but either verb would be more properly used of the funeral than of the death.

12. **familiam**, for 'gentem': cp. 2. 52, 8, &c. This gens, though chiefly patrician, had noble families of both orders, the 'Camerini, Galbae, Rufi,' &c.

13. **impiger.** The relative genitive with this word, found also in H. 1. 87, 4, and in Florus (Dr.), is analogous to many others (Introd. v. § 33, e γ). Cp. 'acer militiae' H. 2. 5, 1.

acribus ministeriis. Certain successes over the Garamantes and Marmaridae of Libya, ascribed to Quirinius by Florus (2. 31 = 4. 41), are assigned by Mommsen (Comm. on Mon. Anc. App. pp. 170, 171) to a time before his consulship, when he may have been praetorian proconsul of Cyrene.

14. **consulatum**, in 742, B.C. 12 (Dio, 54. 28, 2).

Homonadensium castellis insignia triumphi adeptus, datusque
3 rector Gaio Caesari Armeniam optinenti. Tiberium quoque
Rhodi agentem coluerat: quod tunc patefecit in senatu, laudatis
in se officiis et incusato M. Lollio, quem auctorem Gaio Caesari
4 pravitatis et discordiarum arguebat. sed ceteris haud laeta 5
memoria Quirini erat ob intenta, ut memoravi, Lepidae pericula
sordidamque et praepotentem senectam.

49. Fine anni Clutorium Priscum equitem Romanum, post

1. onoma densium: text B. 4. folio: text L. 8. C Lutorium L.

mox, &c. Cilicia belonged to Syria (cp. 2. 78, 3, &c.); so that these victories would have been gained by him during his tenure of that province, with which a vexed question of chronology (St. Luke 2. 2, &c.) is involved. It has been most fully investigated by Mommsen (l. l. pp. 161–178), who assigns to Quirinius an inscription, now nameless (C. I. L. xiv. 3613, Henzen 5366), which would make him twice legatus of Syria. He is known from Josephus (Ant. 17. 13, 5; 18. 1, 1; 2, 1) to have held this province in 759, A.D. 6. But these Cilician victories appear from the order of mention to have preceded his service with Gaius Caesar in the East; and are thus to be assigned to his first tenure of Syria, which Mommsen places in 751, 752, B.C. 3, 2.

per Cilicium: 'super' is adopted by Nipp. and supported by Mommsen (l. l. p. 172). The Homonadenses were not strictly within Cilicia, but in Pisidia or Isauria, though reckoned as a Cilician race (cp. Strab. 12. 6. 5, 569; Plin. N. H. 5. 27, 23, 94). The MS. text would imply, and Tacitus may have thought, that they were spread over parts of Cilicia itself. Mommsen suggests, but appears rightly to disapprove of, another interpretation, by which 'per' might mean 'passing through,' as 'per circum' 1. 15, 4

1. **Homonadensium**, restored from Strabo (l. l.), who says that Quirinius starved them into submission, and distributed 4000 of them as colonists in the vicinity, leaving none behind in the prime of life. He describes them as mere cave dwellers; but Pliny (who calls them 'gens Omanadum' l. l.) speaks of a town, Omana, and forty-four 'castella.'

datusque rector, as Seianus to Drusus (1. 24, 3). Mommsen (l. l. p. 123) dates this appointment in 755, A.D. 2, after the death of Lollius, who is mentioned below Gaius could then be strictly spoken of as 'Armeniam optinens,' being actually in military possession of that country: cp. 'Armenios . . . optinebat' 12. 44, 2.

2. **Tiberium quoque.** I have followed Mommsen (l. l. p. 175) in the punctuation of this passage. The return of Tiberius to Rome belongs to the same year as the death of Lollius; so that Quirinius, if not till that year sent to the East, is hardly likely to have found him still at Rhodes. The mutilated inscription already referred to would make Quirinius to have been at some time proconsul of Asia, probably between 747–751, B.C. 7–3; in which capacity he may have paid to Tiberius the respect here mentioned.

4. **M. Lollio.** M. Lollius, M. f. was in 729, B.C. 25, the first governor of Galatia (Eutrop. 7, 10), consul in 733, B.C. 21, legatus in Germany in 738, B.C. 16 (1. 10, 3). His antipathy to Tiberius is mentioned by Suetonius (Tib. 12); and his character is drawn in the blackest colours not only, as might be expected, by Velleius (2. 102, 1), but also by Pliny (N. H. 9. 35, 58, 118), who states that he committed suicide from poison after Gaius had renounced his friendship for his perfidy and corruption. Horace, on the other hand, praises him highly (Od. 4. 9, 34–44).

5. **pravitatis et discordiarum**, 'perverseness and animosity'; or perhaps, as a hendiadys, 'perverse animosity.' The same words are coupled in Liv. 4. 26, 6.

6. **ut memoravi**: see c. 22, 3.

7. **praepotentem.** His childlessness (l. l.) increased his influence (cp. c. 25. 2).

8. **Clutorium.** The emendation of Lips. agrees with Dio (57. 20, 3), who

celebre carmen, quo Germanici suprema defleverat, pecunia donatum a Caesare, corripuit delator, obiectans aegro Druso composuisse quod, si extinctus foret, maiore praemio vulgaretur. id 2
Clutorius in domo P. Petronii, socru eius Vitellia coram multis-
5 que inlustribus feminis, per vaniloquentiam legerat. ut delator 3
extitit, ceteris ad dicendum testimonium exterritis, sola Vitellia nihil se audivisse adseveravit. sed arguentibus ad perniciem 4
plus fidei fuit, sententiaque Haterii Agrippae consulis designati indictum reo ultimum supplicium.

10 **50.** Contra M'. Lepidus in hunc modum exorsus est: 'si,

5. iecerat Weissbrodt, Nipp., Ritt.

gives the full name Gaius Lutorius Priscus. But it would be unusual for Tacitus, in speaking of a somewhat obscure person, to mention him in these two chapters twice by three and twice by two names. Ritter, who noted this, and in his former edition omitted 'C' throughout, now follows the MS. form, which Nipp. supports by inscriptions (Rhein. Mus. xvi. 291), showing that 'Clutorius' is a Roman name. The name appears also to occur in Pl. N. H. 7. 39, 40, 129, where the MSS. have 'utorio' and 'sutorio.'

1. **pecunia donatum.** These 'honoraria' from the Caesars to men of letters seem to have been common. New-fledged poets are bidden to weep for the death of Claudius (Sen. Lud. 12, v. 56); and such liberality was the sole hope of struggling literature in Juvenal's time (7. 1–21).

2. **corripuit**: cp. 2. 28, 4.

composuisse, sc. 'eum,' 'that he had written another, which' &c.

3. **maiore praemio vulgaretur**, 'might be published and more liberally rewarded.' The charge would imply that he had speculated on the death of Drusus, which would lead to an inference that he had desired it; as in the case of those who consulted astrologers 'in domum Caesaris' (c. 22, 2, &c.).

4. **P. Petronii**, mentioned again in 6. 45, 4, father of P. Petronius Turpilianus, distinguished under Nero (14. 29, 1, &c.), and of the first wife of Vitellius (H. 2. 64, 1). Inscriptions (see Nipp.) show him to have been augur, cos. suff. in 772, A.D. 19, and proconsul of Asia for the unusual period of six years (Introd. vii. p. 113); after which he was legatus of Syria under Gaius (Jos. Ant. 18. 8, 2, &c.); in which capacity he is praised by Philo (Leg. ad Gai. 31, 1022, foll.). He was also a friend of Claudius, during whose rule he died (Sen. Lud. 14).

Vitellia. Nipp. thinks her to have been great-aunt of the emperor Vitellius.

5. **legerat.** 'Vaniloquentia,' found once in Plaut. and once in Liv., is elsewhere used by Tacitus only in 6. 31, 2; from which passage 'iecerat' has been here read. Clutorius would more strictly have shown 'vaniloquentia' in talking about his poem than in reading it; nor is it easy to see how Vitellia could have pretended not to have heard what had been formally recited in her presence: but a similar plea is advanced in respect of a poem read at a large banquet (14. 48, 4), and that he had at least recited or quoted bits of it seems implied in 'aures hominum polluerit' (c. 50, 1).

6. **ad dicendum . . . exterritis**: cp. 2. 62, 3.

7. **arguentibus ad perniciem**, 'evidence supporting the charge to his destruction.'

8. **Haterii Agrippae**: see on 1. 77, 3. On the vote of the cos. design., see c. 22, 6.

9. **ultimum**; so 'summum supplicium' (6. 3, 5), 'ultima poena' (Liv. 3. 58). This was beyond the proper sentence, even for 'maiestas' (see c. 50, 6).

10. **M'. Lepidus**: see on c. 32, 2. This speech illustrates the discretion ('temperamentum') ascribed to him in 4. 20, 4. Its tone somewhat resembles that of Thrasea (14. 48, 5), and in both Tacitus seems to have had some reminiscence of Sallust's speech of Caesar (Cat. 51, 8).

patres conscripti, unum id spectamus, quam nefaria voce Clutorius Priscus mentem suam et aures hominum polluerit, neque carcer neque laqueus, ne serviles quidem cruciatus in eum suffe-
2 cerint. sin flagitia et facinora sine modo sunt, suppliciis ac remediis principis moderatio maiorumque et vestra exempla 5 temperant, et vana a scelestis, dicta a maleficiis differunt, est locus sententiae, per quam neque huic delictum impune sit et
3 nos clementiae simul ac severitatis non paeniteat. saepe audivi principem nostrum conquerentem, si quis sumpta morte miseri-
4 cordiam eius praevenisset. vita Clutorii in integro est, qui neque 10 servatus in periculum rei publicae neque interfectus in exemplum
5 ibit. studia illi, ut plena vaecordiae, ita inania et fluxa sunt; nec quicquam grave ac serium ex eo metuas, qui suorum ipse flagitiorum proditor non virorum animis sed muliercularum ad-
6 repit. cedat tamen urbe et bonis amissis aqua et igni arceatur: 15 quod perinde censeo ac si lege maiestatis teneretur.'

51. Solus Lepido Rubellius Blandus e consularibus adsensit:

10. esto L, sit Madvig.

1. **nefaria.** The poem must have been complimentary; but any language treating Drusus as already dead would be ominous, and therefore shocking.

3. **carcer . . . laqueus.** These are parts of the same punishment; the prison being the 'Tullianum' or well-house' (see Burn, p. 81; Middleton, i. p. 151, foll.), in which criminals were strangled (cp. 4. 29, 2; 5. 9, 2; 6. 40, 1; 11. 2, 5; and the description in Sall. Cat. 55). It still exists as the lowest portion of the Mamertine prison near the Capitol.

serviles . . . cruciatus, the rack and the cross.

4. **sin flagitia,** &c. The apodosis does not begin till 'est locus,' and the protasis is to be taken as if it had been divided, as 'sin flagitia quidem . . . suppliciis vero,' &c. 'If, though outrage and crime are unlimited, the prince's clemency and our precedents yet limit penalties and redress, and lines are drawn between folly and wickedness, between word and deed.'

7. **impune:** cp. 1. 72, 3.

8. **audivi:** cp. c. 16. 3, 2; 2. 31, 4.

10. **in integro,** 'yet untouched'; cp. 15. 2, 4; H. 3. 2, 9.

qui neque, &c., 'whose survival will not be in its issue dangerous to the state, nor his execution exemplary'; i. e. he is too insignificant for either result: cp. 'voluptates ituras in dolorem' Sen. Ep. 121, 4; 'in scelus it' Luc. 10, 343.

12. **studia;** so used of compositions in 16. 4, 2.

fluxa, used of the honours decreed to Poppaea (15. 23, 4): cp. 'fluxa mens' (6. 38, 2). Here it is used of 'fugitive pieces' that would soon be forgotten.

14. **animis . . . adrepit:** cp. 1. 74, 2.

16. **quod perinde,** &c., 'this I propose, as if he were guilty under the law of treason.' He implies that the case was not strictly within the definition of 'maiestas' (see on 1. 72, 3; 4. 34, 3; Introd. viii. p. 141 and notes), and that if it were so, 'exilium' with loss of goods is the proper legal penalty. This had been fixed by the dictator Caesar (Cic. Phil. 1. 9, 23) and still remained so in the time of Nero (14. 48, 7), though that of death was often inflicted, especially in the later years of Tiberius and under Nero and Domitian, and is subsequently recognized as usual: cp. Paul. Sent. Rec. v. 29, 1 'antea in perpetuum aqua et igni interdicebatur; nunc vero humiliores bestiis obiciuntur vel vivi exuruntur, honestiores capite puniuntur.'

teneretur: cp. 2. 50, 1.

17. **Rubellius Blandus:** see c. 23, 2.

ceteri sententiam Agrippae secuti, ductusque in carcerem Priscus ac statim exanimatus. id Tiberius solitis sibi ambagibus apud 2
senatum incusavit, cum extolleret pietatem quamvis modicas principis iniurias acriter ulciscentium, deprecaretur tam prae-
5 cipitis verborum poenas; laudaret Lepidum, neque Agrippam argueret. igitur factum senatus consultum, ne decreta patrum 3
ante diem *decimum* ad aerarium deferrentur idque vitae spatium damnatis prorogaretur. sed non senatui libertas ad paeniten- 4
dum erat, neque Tiberius interiectu temporis mitigabatur.

10 **52.** C. Sulpicius D. Haterius consules sequuntur, inturbidus externis rebus annus, domi suspecta severitate adversum luxum, qui inmensum proruperat ad cuncta quis pecunia prodigitur. sed alia sumptuum, quamvis graviora, dissimulatis plerumque 2
pretiis occultabantur; ventris et ganeae paratus adsiduis ser-
15 monibus vulgati fecerant curam, ne princeps antiquae parsimoniae durius adverteret. nam incipiente C. Bibulo ceteri quoque 3

7. decimum ins. L.

2. **ambagibus**, 'circumlocution.' Dio (57. 20, 4) assigns as the motive for his displeasure, that punishment of death had been inflicted without his leave: yet he is generally represented as only too ready to devolve such responsibilities.

7 **ante diem decimum.** That the latter word must have stood in the original text appears from Suet. Tib. 75: Dio, l. l. Pfitzner (p. 97) shows that, according to Quint. Decl. 313, the interval appears later to have been extended to thirty days.

ad aerarium. The registration of a decree of the senate in the 'aerarium' was essential to its validity: cp. 13. 28, 3; Livy, 39. 4, 8; Suet. Jul. 28; Staatsr. ii. 489, 2; iii. 1011.

8. **non ... libertas.** On the power of pardon or revision see Introd. vi. p. 87. It is evident, here and elsewhere, that the senate had still liberty of choice in the original sentence.

9. **interiectu.** The use of this word of an interval of time, in the abl., is especially Tacitean (cp. 3. 67, 4; 6. 39, 2), and is copied once by Aur. Vict.

10. **C. Sulpicius**, the same person who is called 'C. Galba' in 6. 40, 3, the elder brother of the emperor Galba (Suet. Galb. 3). On the other consul see c. 49, 4.

inturbidus ... annus. The construction is here somewhat strained for conciseness of expression; 'annus' stands in apposition to 'consules,' as 'consules' to 'annum' in Liv. 4. 30, 12, and the ablatives follow as if the words had been 'turbidus non externis rebus sed suspecta severitate.' 'Inturbidus' is wholly a Tacitean word, used passively here and in 14. 22, 5, actively in H. 3. 39. 4.

11. **suspecta severitate**, 'through an apprehension of strict measures': cp. the use of 'suspectus' with 'insidiae' (4. 70, 7), 'proditio' (12. 14, 3), 'iracundia' (H. 1. 10, 2), &c.; also in Sallust and Quintilian.

12. **prodigitur**: cp. H. 1. 20, 3: the verb had been used in this sense by Sallust (oratio Lepidi 17), and before him by Plautus.

13. **alia sumptuum.** On the genitive cp. Introd. v. § 32 b.

14. **ganeae**, strictly = 'popinae,' but used generally of feasting: in H. 2. 95, 4, &c. Orelli notes that coarse words are used to show contempt.

paratus: cp. 'lauto cenare paratu' Juv. 14, 13; also c. 55, 3, &c.

15. **princeps antiquae parsimoniae**: cp. 'antiqua parsimonia' 12. 53, 5, and 'antiquo cultu victuque' c. 55, 5. On the example set by Tiberius in the expenses of the table, see Suet. Tib. 34.

16. **adverteret**: cp. 2. 32, 5.

aediles disseruerant, sperni sumptuariam legem vetitaque utensilium pretia augeri in dies, nec mediocribus remediis sisti posse. et consulti patres integrum id negotium ad principem distulerant.
4 sed Tiberius saepe apud se pensitato, an coerceri tam profusae cupidines possent, num coercitio plus damni in rem publicam 5 ferret, quam indecorum adtrectare quod non obtineret vel retentum ignominiam et infamiam virorum inlustrium posceret, postremo litteras ad senatum composuit, quarum sententia in hunc modum fuit.

53. 'Ceteris forsitan in rebus, patres conscripti, magis expe- 10 diat me coram interrogari et dicere quid *e* re publica censeam: in hac relatione subtrahi oculos meos melius fuit, ne denotantibus vobis ora ac metum singulorum, qui pudendi luxus argue-
2 rentur, ipse etiam viderem eos ac velut deprenderem. quod si mecum ante viri strenui, aediles, consilium habuissent, nescio an 15 suasurus fuerim omittere potius praevalida et adulta vitia quam

2. remedii isti: remediis resisti B, text Pich. 11. de ins. margin, e B.

1. **aediles.** It was part of their duty to regulate the market: see Introd. vi. p. 90, Staatsr. ii. 497 foll.

sumptuariam legem. Gellius (2. 24, 14) mentions a 'lex Iulia' of Augustus and an edict by him or by Tiberius, both of which limited the amount that might be spent on the dinner for common or festal days. This 'lex,' which is probably the one here referred to, was passed in 732, B.C. 22 (Dio, 54. 2, 3; Suet. Aug. 34).

utensilium: cp. 1. 70, 6. Suet. (Tib. 34) speaks of three mullets having been at that time sold for 30,000 H. S. Seneca tells another story (Ep. 95, 42) of one P. Octavius buying by auction for 5000 H. S. a single mullet, presented to Tiberius and sold by his order.

2. **sisti posse**, sc. 'rem.' Tacitus follows Livy, who has 'ut consuetis remediis sisti posset' (3. 20, 8).

3. **consulti patres.** Nipp. notes that as the aediles had not themselves the 'ius relationis,' they may be supposed to have mentioned the matter 'per egressionem,' and asked for a 'relatio' from the consuls (see on 2. 38, 3).

distulerant: 'differre' is elsewhere equivalent to 'reicere,' but with reference to a place or time rather than a person, as 'legationes . . . distulit ad Tarraconem' Liv. 26. 51, 10, 'legati . . . ad novos magistratus dilati erant' Id. 41. 8, 5. The construction seems here pregnant = 'distulerant et ad principem reiecerant.'

4. **pensitato**: cp. Introd. v. § 31 a. This sense of the verb is found first in Livy, the abl. abs. of the part. only here and in 12. 17, 3.

5. **in rem publicam**, probably not used as in c. 24, 2, but with the force of a simple dat. (Introd. v. § 60 b).

6. **quam indecorum**, sc. 'esset,' 'how undignified it was.'

obtineret, 'maintain': cp. 'ad obtinendas iniquitates' H. 2. 84, 2, 'obtinendis quae percurrerat' Agr. 23, 1, 'ad obtinendam iniuriam' Liv. 29. 1, 17. The verb is varied to 'retentum,' used concisely for 'si retentum esset.'

8. **in hunc modum.** Tacitus here professes to give the substance only.

11. **e re publica**: cp. 2. 33, 2.

12. **subtrahi oculos**: cp. 'Nero . . . subtraxit oculos' (Agr. 45, 2).

denotantibus, 'marking,' by looking at them and making them conspicuous: cp. 'denotandis tot hominum palloribus' Agr. 45, 2. 'Ora et metum' are a hendiadys for 'metum in ore.'

16. **suasurus . . . omittere.** The inf. with this verb is rare in classical prose, and used by Tacitus in the Annals only (13. 37, 6; 15. 63, 6; 16. 9, 3).

hoc adsequi, ut palam fieret quibus flagitiis impares essemus.
sed illi quidem officio functi sunt, ut ceteros quoque magistratus 3
sua munia implere velim: mihi autem neque honestum silere
neque proloqui expeditum, quia non aedilis aut praetoris aut
5 consulis partis sustineo. maius aliquid et excelsius a principe 4
postulatur; et cum recte factorum sibi quisque gratiam trahant,
unius invidia ab omnibus peccatur. quid enim primum prohi- 5
bere et priscum ad morem recidere adgrediar? villarumne in-
finita spatia? familiarum numerum et nationes? argenti et auri
10 pondus? aeris tabularumque miracula? promiscas viris et feminis
vestes atque illa feminarum propria, quis lapidum causa pecu-
niae nostrae ad externas aut hostilis gentes transferuntur?

54. Nec ignoro in conviviis et circulis incusari ista et modum
posci: set si quis legem sanciat, poenas indicat, idem illi civita-
15 tem verti, splendidissimo cuique exitium parari, neminem cri-
minis expertem clamitabunt. atqui ne corporis quidem morbos 2
veteres et diu auctos nisi per dura et aspera coerceas: corruptus

1. **flagitiis impares**; so 'impar curis' 14. 54, 3; 'dolori' 15. 57, 1, &c.

4. **quia non**, &c. These words are taken only with 'neque proloqui expeditum.'

5. **a principe**. On the conception of this dignity as a magistracy see Introd. vi. p. 81.

6. **sibi quisque . . . trahant**, 'each appropriates to himself'; so in H. 3. 33, 3: cp. 'in se trahere' 1. 2, 1 and 'trahere' Liv. 6. 40, 18, &c.

7. **unius invidia**. The preposition 'cum' might have been expected; but such quasi-absolute ablatives of attendant circumstances are found in Tacitus, as 'pavore' 5. 3, 4; 'pernicie' H. 4. 30, 1. It is meant that all social vices were ascribed to laxity in the princeps, who alone had power to check them.

8. **ad morem recidere**, pregnant construction for 'recidendo reducere.'

villarum . . . spatia. Sallust speaks (Cat. 12, 3) of villas 'in urbium modum exaedificatus,' and similar language is used by Horace (Od. 2. 15 and 17), by Seneca (de Ben. 7. 10, 5), and Juvenal (14, 86). See Friedl. iii. p. 89, foll.

9. **familiarum numerum et nationes**, 'the host of slaves of all nations': cp. 'nationes in familiis habemus' 14. 44, 5. Pliny (N. H. 33. 10, 47; 135) mentions a person who, at his death in 746, B.C. 8, left 4116 slaves. For later instances see 14. 43, 4; Athenaeus, 6, p. 272 d. They were of all nationalities, Greeks, Syrians, Phrygians, Cappadocians, Thracians, Aethiopians, &c. See Introd. vii. p. 106; Marquardt, ii. p. 122; Friedl. i. p. 53; Hirschf. Unters. 194, and Jacob's note here.

argenti et auri pondus, taken from Verg. Aen. 1, 359. The quantity of plate is alluded to in 2. 33, 2.

10. **aeris**: cp. Suet. Tib. 34 'Corinthiorum vasorum pretia in inmensum exarsisse graviter conquestus.'

11. **vestes**: cp. 2. 33, 1.

quis. Nipp. refers this to 'illa . . . propria'; 'the special extravagances of women, through which,' &c.

lapidum causa. Pliny (N. H. 9. 35, 58, 117) speaks of having seen Lollia Paulina covered with jewels estimated to have cost forty million H. S.; and elsewhere (12. 18, 41, 84) estimates the annual drain of money to the East for such extravagances at 100 million H. S.

12. **externas aut hostilis**, 'foreign to the empire, if not hostile.'

13. **in conviviis et circulis**, a form of expression, found in Cic. (Balb. 26, 57; ad Att. 2. 18, 2), and often in Livy.

15. **verti**: cp. 2. 42, 4, &c.

17. **coerceas**, potential subjunct. (Introd. v. § 51); so also 'timeas' below.

simul et corruptor, aeger et flagrans animus haud levioribus
3 remediis restinguendus est quam libidinibus ardescit. tot a
maioribus repertae leges, tot quas divus Augustus tulit, illae
oblivione, hae, quod flagitiosius est, contemptu abolitae securio-
4 rem luxum fecere. nam si velis quod nondum vetitum est, 5
timeas ne vetere: at si prohibita impune transcenderis, neque
5 metus ultra neque pudor est. cur ergo olim parsimonia pollebat?
quia sibi quisque moderabatur, quia unius urbis cives eramus;
ne inritamenta quidem eadem intra Italiam dominantibus. ex-
ternis victoriis aliena, civilibus etiam nostra consumere didicimus. 10
6 quantulum istud est de quo aediles admonent! quam, si cetera
respicias, in levi habendum! at hercule nemo refert, quod Italia

8. sibique moderabatur qua: text B.

corruptus simul et corruptor. Tacitus thus joins 'corrumpere' and 'corrumpi' in 14. 20, 5; G. 19, 3. Bentley has collected (on Hor. Od. 4. 9, 39) many of the expressions in Latin poetry or rhetoric in which the mind is personified, as 'aestimator,' 'carnifex,' 'censor,' &c.

1. **aeger et flagrans,** 'enfeebled and feverish,' i.e. full of passionate longings, but without healthy energy.

2. **restinguendus,** 'to be cooled': the metaphor of a fever is carried through the sentence.

libidinibus, attracted for 'libidines quibus.'

tot a maioribus repertae. The earliest was the 'lex Oppia' (c. 33, 4). Others, dating between the end of the second Punic war and the death of Sulla, are the 'leges' 'Orchia,' 'Fannia,' 'Didia,' 'Licinia,' 'Cornelia,' 'Aemilia,' 'Antia.' On their provisions see Gell. 2. 24; Macrob. 2. 13. A 'lex Iulia' was also passed by the dictator Caesar (Dio, 43. 25, 2; Suet. Jul. 43), who complained of its neglect (Cic. Att. 13. 7, 1).

3. **tot quas divus Augustus tulit.** No others are known but his 'lex Iulia' already mentioned (c. 52, 3); so that the language seems rhetorical.

4. **contemptu;** their recent date precluding the excuse of oblivion.

6. **si prohibita . . . transcenderis,** 'if you have passed the forbidden line.' The phrase seems to be a pregnant construction for 'transcendere leges et prohibita facere,' and is sufficiently analogous to such expressions as 'vota transcendi mea' (Sen. Thyest. 912).

8. **unius urbis cives.** In legal status they were still and always such; but the reference is apparently to a time when Roman citizens, like those of the old Greek cities, were such by home and nationality, not merely in legal phraseology, and were restrained from extravagance by civic ideas of equality or proportion. Nipp. applies the expression to the whole time down to the Italian war; but as the last century of that period is full of sumptuary legislation (see above), it can hardly be described as one of voluntary self-restraint: it seems therefore better to suppose the time throughout referred to to be that before the Punic wars and other 'externae victoriae,' when men were simple citizens, not pampered conquerors. The sentence 'ne . . . dominantibus' would thus not distinguish another period, but add another reason: not only had men then more self control, but also fewer temptations, as foreign luxuries were comparatively unknown.

9. **externis victoriis, &c.** Pliny (N.H. 37. 1, 6, 12) shows the influence on luxury of the victories of L. Scipio, Mummius, and Pompeius.

10. **civilibus . . . nostra,** not only by pillaging each other as they had pillaged the foreigner, but also by the sense of insecurity, leading men to spend at once what might become the spoil of another.

12. **in levi habendum;** so 'in levi habitum' H. 2. 21, 4; also 'in benignitate' (Sall. Jug. 103, 6), 'in damno habere' (Liv. 21. 13, 5). The abl. is usually plural; but the singular is common in Greek, as οὐκ ἐν ἐλαφρῷ Theocr. 22. 213.

externae opis indiget, quod vita populi Romani per incerta maris
et tempestatum cotidie volvitur. ac nisi provinciarum copiae et 7
dominis et servitiis et agris subvenerint, nostra nos scilicet
nemora nostraeque villae tuebuntur. hanc, patres conscripti, cu- 8
5 ram sustinet princeps; haec omissa funditus rem publicam trahet.
reliquis intra animum medendum est: nos pudor, pauperes 9
necessitas, divites satias in melius mutet. aut si quis ex magis- 10
tratibus tantam industriam ac severitatem pollicetur, ut ire ob-
viam queat, hunc ego et laudo et exonerari laborum meorum
10 partem fateor: sin accusare vitia volunt. dein, cum gloriam eius 11
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, in-
anes et inritas neque mihi aut vobis usui futuras iure deprecor.'
15 **55.** Auditis Caesaris litteris remissa aedilibus talis cura; lux-

9. exonerare Doed. 10. parte Heins., parte me Wopkens.

nemo refert. This might be said not only of those who had the 'ius relationis,' but of all senators, who could do as the aediles in this case had done (see c. 52, 3).

quod Italia . . . indiget. Respecting the dependence of Rome and Italy on foreign corn, cp. 2. 59, 4; 4. 6, 6; 12. 43, 5; H. 1. 73, 2; 3. 8, 3; 48, 4.

1. **vita . . . volvitur:** cp. the similar expression (12. 43, 5) 'navibus et casibus vita populi Romani permissa est.' Here 'volvitur' = 'agitatur.'

3. **subvenerint,** used in two senses, of supplying the deficiency of arable land, and the needs of the master and the slave.

nos. He speaks as one of the senators, though his own estates in Italy were moderate and well-managed (4. 6, 7).

6. **intra animum,** i. e. by a change of disposition, instead of by the external pressure of law.

nos pudor, &c. He here distinguishes the senators from the rich in general, as well as from the poor. He assumes that they could be, and thus implies that they should be, restrained by the self-respect due to their rank, and the sentiment of 'noblesse'; whereas a rich knight or freedman would probably only leave off luxury through surfeit.

7. **aut si,** &c. 'On the other hand, if.'

9. **hunc ego,** &c. Nipp. notes that the natural order of the words is varied to emphasize 'hunc' in relation to si quis.'

exonerari, 'is being removed.' The verb has this sense in H. 5. 2, 3 'multitudinem . . . . exoneratam,' and in several other instances cited by Nipp. from Plautus, Livy, L. Seneca, and Lucan.

11. **simultates faciunt:** cp. 'saepe simultates ira morata facit' Ov. Am. 1. 8, 82. 'Dein' belongs to both verbs.

12. **me quoque non,** 'that neither am I.' 'Quoque non,' like 'nec' and 'neque' (see note on 2. 34, 7), has sometimes the force of 'ne . . . quidem,' whether in the sense of 'not either' (11. 13, 3; 15. 66, 1), or 'not even' (14. 21, 2; 15. 57, 4). 'Etiam non' and 'neque etiam' are also thus used: see Nipp. here, Dräger, Synt. und Stil, § 122.

offensionum, 'of provoking animosities': cp. 'accendendis offensionibus' 2. 57, 3.

13. **inanes et inritas,** 'purposeless and fruitless,' i. e. incurred without any compensating result. These words, nearly synonymous, are explained by 'nec mihi . . . futuras,' and the whole stands in contrast to 'pro republica.'

15. **remissa aedilibus talis cura,** 'the aediles were excused from such a duty,' i. e. from that of an energetic enforcement of the laws. The laws were left unaltered, and their violation tacitly ignored. On 'remissa' cp. 1. 8, 6. It is stated in Suet. Tib. 34 (cp. also Pl. N. H. 33. 2, 8, 32), that Tiberius did at some time place the market under senatorial super-

usque mensae, a fine Actiaci belli ad ea arma, quis Servius Galba rerum adeptus est, per annos centum profusis sumptibus
2 exerciti paulatim exolevere. causas eius mutationis quaerere libet. dites olim familiae nobilium aut claritudine insignes
3 studio magnificentiae prolabebantur. nam etiam tum plebem socios regna colere et coli licitum; ut quisque opibus domo paratu speciosus, per nomen et clientelas inlustrior habebatur. postquam caedibus saevitum et magnitudo famae exitio erat,
4 ceteri ad sapientiora convertere. simul novi homines e munici-

vision and enjoined on the aediles a strict control of 'popinae' and 'ganeae.'

1. **arma** = 'bellum,' more strictly 'the time when arms were taken up': cp. 'post arma . . . Vindicis' 15. 74, 2, 'per civilia arma' (= 'during civil war') H. 2. 11, 4. Instances approaching to this meaning are found in Cic., Liv., &c.

2. **rerum adeptus.** The genitive with this verb (cp. 12. 30, 4) and with 'apiscor' (6. 45, 6) is peculiar to Tacitus. The construction, which is analogous to that of 'potior,' is apparently taken from that of τυγχάνειν.

per annos centum. On this and other principal forms of the luxury of this whole period, the fullest information is to be found in Friedl. Sitteng. iii. ch. 1.

3. **exerciti . . . exolevere,** 'were practised, but have since gradually gone out of fashion.' Two distinct statements are here condensed for brevity: cp. 'peremptí . . . retinent' 4. 35, 3, and several other instances given here by Nipp.

causas. It will be seen that Tacitus puts forward three traceable causes. (1) The ruin, or the gradually enforced moderation, of old rich families. (2) The introduction of new senators of simple habits from the Italian towns or from the provinces. (3) The example of Vespasian. After these he suggests a fourth explanation of a fatalist character, that there are cycles of moral changes, as of the seasons; in other words, that there are causes of which the action is not traceable (see Introd. iv. p. 31).

5. **prolabebantur.** The metaphor (cp. 1. 31, 3; 2. 10, 2; 4. 18, 2, &c.) is from persons slipping their footing and unable to recover themselves. Dräger compares 'cupiditate prolapsos' Cic. Att. 1. 17, 9; 'cupiditate regni prolapsus' Liv. 40. 23, 8. 'Olim' is perhaps best taken with 'prolabebantur'; so as to refer, like 'etiam tum,' to the earlier part of the century indicated.

plebem, especially in the time of Augustus, before the abolition of the comitia (1. 15, 1).

6. **socios,** the provincial subjects.

regna, the tributary kingdoms, and especially their kings, such as those of Judaea, Cappadocia, Mauretania, Thrace.

et coli, sc. 'ab iis.' Temples were erected in the provinces to proconsuls under Augustus (Suet. Aug. 52), as under the Republic. Nipp. notes the games held at Mylasa in honour of C. Marcius Censorinus, proconsul of Asia, who is styled σωτὴρ καὶ εὐεργέτης.

7. **paratu:** cp. c. 52, 2.

per nomen. The sentence seems to involve the tautology of speaking of a person as being 'reputed more illustrious through his reputation.' We can, however, explain 'inlustrior habebatur' to mean 'he was sustained in a more distinguished position': cp. 1. 73, 2.

8. **postquam caedibus saevitum.** This applies especially to the reign of terror in the later years of Tiberius, and that under Gaius and Nero.

magnitudo famae, referring to 'nomen' above.

9. **ceteri,** 'the survivors.' On the danger of wealth in perilous times see Juv. 10, 15, &c.

e municipiis et coloniis. The use of these terms by Tacitus to denote specially the towns of Italy (see note on 1. 79, 1) makes the antithesis in 'provinciis' sufficiently plain, though the provinces also contained towns of colonial or municipal rank. For the selection of senators by Julius Caesar see Suet. Jul. 76, 80. An inscription (C. I. L. ix. 3306) records in the time of Augustus the first Paelignian senator, and Tiberius admitted many from Italian towns (Or. Claud.

piis et coloniis atque etiam provinciis in senatum crebro adsumpti domesticam parsimoniam intulerunt, et quamquam fortuna vel industria plerique pecuniosam ad senectam pervenirent, mansit tamen prior animus. sed praecipuus adstricti 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 quidam 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.

56. Tiberius fama moderationis parta, quod ingruentis accusatores represserat, mittit litteras ad senatum, quis potestatem

10. in add. L and Vertran., erga add. R, [maiores] Schneidewin.

ii. 2). For the action of Claudius see 11. 25, 1, for that of Vespasian Suet. Vesp. 9, and generally Staatsr. iii. 876. In 822, A.D. 69, Otho (H. 1. 84, 6) calls the senate 'decora omnium provinciarum.'

2. **domesticam parsimoniam.** The 'provincialis parsimonia' of Massilia is mentioned in Agr. 4, 3: cp. also 16. 5, 1.

4. **adstricti moris**: cp. 'astrictus pater' Prop. 3. 17, 18, 'astricta parsimonia' Just. 44, 2.

Vespasianus. He was a 'novus homo' from Reate (Suet. Vesp. 1, 2), and his parsimony is proverbial. Other instances of the influence of the princeps on manners are given in Friedl. i. p. 68.

7. **nisi forte.** The explanation thus suggested is probably that which commended itself most to Tacitus, and resembles that which Plato (Rep. 546, A) offers for the alternation of barren and fertile ages of human intellect.

quidam velut, so joined in Dial. 5, 3; 30, 3; 33, 1, &c., to soften (as either word alone might) a figurative expression: cp. 'quasi . . . quandam' Cic. Lael. 13, 48. So 'orbis' in Sen. Ep. 108, 20.

8. **quem ad modum**: cp. 6. 24, 3; Dial. 33, 2. In such clauses Tacitus much oftener uses 'quomodo': see on 4. 35, 4.

9. **nostra . . . aetas**, i. e. that of Trajan.

multa laudis et artium, 'many examples of noble character and talent': 'artes' are here used for the 'bonae artes' of 2. 73, 4, &c. In H. 1. 3, 3, he similarly describes the age as not wholly 'virtutum sterile.'

10. **haec nobis in maiores certamina.** Most editors read thus. The construction 'certamen in aliquem' is nowhere found; the nearest parallel in Tacitus being 'ambitio in posteros' (6. 46, 4), and other uses of 'in' with the sense of 'in relation to' (cp. 4. 11, 2; 12. 6, 5; Introd. v. § 60 b); a meaning perhaps suitable to such a figure as that of a contest between those who are of different generations. Joh. Müller (Beitr. 3. p. 34) suggests that 'maiores' may have been the corruption of 'animorum'; 'certamen animorum' being, though hardly in the same sense, a frequent phrase in Livy (2. 59, 1; 4. 56, 9, &c.). For other alterations see Walther and Baiter on Orelli.

11. **ex honesto**, sc. 'orta'; 'honourable rivalries.'

12. **fama moderationis parta.** It is of course insinuated that he utilized the credit thus obtained for moderation to push this request. By associating Drusus in the tribunician power, he would be seen to aim at making the succession to the principate hereditary.

ingruentis, i. e. those who would have seized the opportunity, if strict enforcement of sumptuary laws had been enjoined.

13. **potestatem tribuniciam**, i. e. to be associated in that power with himself: cp. 1. 3, 3; Introd. vi. p. 98. On the coins attesting the possession of this power by Drusus, see Introd. ii. p. 10.

2 tribuniciam Druso petebat. id summi fastigii vocabulum Augustus repperit, ne regis aut dictatoris nomen adsumeret ac
3 tamen appellatione aliqua cetera imperia praemineret. Marcum deinde Agrippam socium eius potestatis, quo defuncto Tiberium
4 Neronem delegit, ne successor in incerto foret. sic cohiberi 5 pravas aliorum spes rebatur; simul modestiae Neronis et suae
5 magnitudini fidebat. quo tunc exemplo Tiberius Drusum summae rei admovit, cum incolumi Germanico integrum inter duos
6 iudicium tenuisset. sed principio litterarum veneratus deos, ut consilia sua rei publicae prosperarent, modica de moribus adu- 10
7 lescentis neque in falsum aucta rettulit. esse illi coniugem et tres liberos eamque aetatem, qua ipse quondam a divo Augusto

8. admouet: text Halm.

1. **summi fastigii**: cp. 13. 17, 5; 14. 54, 5, &c.

Augustus repperit. Julius Caesar, according to Dio (42. 20, 3), had tribunician power for life, ὡς εἰπεῖν, i. e. in substance without a formal title ('vocabulum,' cp. 1. 2, 2, &c.). Nor did Augustus bear the title until 731, B.C. 23, though he had in some form held the power long previously: see Introd. vi. p. 76.

2. **ne regis, &c.**: cp. 1. 9, 6. Augustus states (Mon. Anc. Gr. iii. 2–9) that he refused a formal offer, both of the dictatorship, and of the consulship annually or for life, in 732, B.C. 22.

3. **praemineret.** The verb is of post-Augustan use only, except in Sall. Fr. II. 2. 85 D, 83 K, 50 G; where it takes an accus. as in the Annals (12. 12, 1; 33, 1; 15, 34, 3), analogously to 'praecello,' 'praesideo,' &c.

Marcum Agrippam: see Introd. ix. note 4. He held the tribunician power from 736, B.C. 18 (Dio, 54. 12, 28), till his death six years later. The only titular recognition of it in his case appears to be found in a Greek and Latin inscription of Laconia (C. I. G. 1299; Henzen 5367).

4. **Tiberium Neronem.** He did not succeed to this power immediately on the death of Agrippa, but six years later, in 748, B.C. 6 (Dio, 55. 9, 4), and held it for five years; after which Augustus made no appointment, apparently reserving it for his grandson Gaius, till Tiberius was reappointed on his adoption (see Introd. viii. p. 134). All these years of his tenure of the power are reckoned in his inscriptions (see Introd. ix. note 28).

5. **delegit.** For the position of the verb in the second instead of the first clause cp. 'labefecit' 6. 29, 5, 'iussit' 13. 15, 3, 'veni' H. 1. 83, 2.

ne successor, &c. Tacitus appears here to attribute to the association in this power a significance which it did not at that early time possess, and which seems precluded by the limited time for which the power was commonly given. It is evident that Augustus could only have contemplated Agrippa or Tiberius as successors in the event of a sudden vacancy, his hopes during all this period being centred on Gaius and Lucius (Introd. viii. p. 135).

in incerto: cp. c. 69, 5; 6. 45, 5, &c.; Introd. v. § 60 a.

6. **modestiae Neronis**: cp. 1. 11, 1: i. e. he could not fear that Nero would aim at any dangerous rivalry with himself.

7. **summae rei admovit**, i. e. designated him as successor: see above. With 'tunc' we should expect a past tense, but many retain the present.

8. **integrum . . . iudicium**: cp. c. 8, 2.

10. **prosperarent**, a word used especially in prayer, as in H. 4. 53, 3; Liv. 8. 9, 7; Hor. Carm. Saec. 18.

12. **aetatem.** From the known age of Tiberius at the date referred to, it may be inferred that Drusus was in his thirty-fifth year. His birthday was on the seventh of October (Henzen, Inscr. 5359), and the year of his birth would appear to have been 740 or 741, B.C. 14 or 13.

ad capessendum hoc munus vocatus sit. neque nunc propere, 8
sed per octo annos capto experimento, compressis seditionibus,
compositis bellis, triumphalem et bis consulem noti laboris
participem sumi.

5 **57.** Praeceperant animis orationem patres, quo quaesitior
adulatio fuit. nec tamen repertum nisi ut effigies principum, 2
aras deum, templa et arcus aliaque solita censerent, nisi quod
M. Silanus ex contumelia consulatus honorem principibus petivit
dixitque pro sententia, ut publicis privatisve monimentis ad me-
10 moriam temporum non consulum nomina praescriberentur, sed
eorum qui tribuniciam potestatem gererent. at Q. Haterius cum 3
eius diei senatus consulta aureis litteris figenda in curia censuis-
set, deridiculo fuit senex foedissimae adulationis tantum infamia
usurus.

15 **58.** Inter quae provincia Africa Iunio Blaeso prorogata, Ser-
vius Maluginensis flamen Dialis ut Asiam sorte haberet postu-
lavit, frustra vulgatum dictitans non licere Dialibus egredi Italia,

11. atque haterius : text L.

2. **per octo annos**, i. e. since his service in 767, A. D. 14.

seditionibus: cp. 1. 24, &c.

3. **bellis**: cp. 2. 44; 62.

triumphalem: cp. c. 19, 1.

bis consulem: cp. 1. 55, 1; c. 31, 1.

5. **Praeceperant**, 'had anticipated': cp. 1. 55, 1; 2. 35, 3. Here it is explained by 'animis.' The purport of his letter had got wind, and they had studied their compliments: cp. 'pugnam . . . futuram praeceperat animo' Liv. 38. 20, 1.

orationem. Mommsen (Staatsr. ii. p. 899) notes that the use of this term of a written communication (cp. 'litteras' c. 56, 1, 'missa . . . oratione' 16. 7, 3) shows that Caesar was treated as present, when he thus made a 'relatio.'

quaesitior adulatio, 'more studied'; repeated 12. 26, 1: cp. c. 26, 4; 5. 3, 3, &c.

7. **nisi quod**. Dräger notes as a rare negligence (cp. Dial. 21, 6) the sequence of this clause on another with 'nisi ut.'

8. **M. Silanus**: see on c. 24, 5.

9. **publicis privatisve**, 'on all records, whether public or private.' This use of 've' is noticed by Walther as frequent in laws, decrees, &c. This 'sententia' must have dropped unheeded, as the year continues to be designated by its consuls. On the use of the years of an emperor's tribunician power as a reckoning of those of his rule, see Staatsr. ii. 796.

11. **at Q. Haterius**. The praenomen is required to distinguish this Haterius (cp. 1. 13, 4; 2. 33, 1; 4. 61. 1) from D. Haterius Agrippa (c. 52, 1, &c.).

12. **aureis litteris**, i. e. on a golden tablet. By an approach to this extravagance, Nero's opening speech was engraved ἐς ἀργυρᾶν στήλην (Dio, 61. 3).

13. **deridiculo**: cp. 'per deridiculum' 6. 2, 2; used differently in 12. 49, 1, elsewhere mostly adjectively. Here it is explained by 'senex': he was so old that he could have nothing to get by his servility but the disgrace of it.

14. **usurus**: cp. 4. 39, 5, and other such uses of participles (Introd. v. § 54 d).

15. **Blaeso**: cp. c. 35, 1; 72, 6.

Servius Maluginensis. His full name is given in the Fasti (C. I. L. i. p. 550) as Ser. Cornelius, Cn. f., Cn. n., Lentulus Maluginensis, consul with Blaesus in 763, A. D. 10. His death is mentioned in 4. 16, 1.

16. **sorte**, used as in c. 32, 2; there being really no lot to be cast, as Africa was disposed of.

17. **frustra**: cp. 1. 30, 3. 'The general opinion was groundless.'

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.
2 saepe pontifices Dialia sacra fecisse, si flamen valetudine aut munere publico impediretur. quinque et septuaginta annis post 5 Cornelii Merulae caedem neminem suffectum, neque tamen ces-
3 savisse religiones. quod si per tot annos possit non creari nullo sacrorum damno, quanto facilius afuturum ad unius anni procon-
4 sulare imperium? privatis olim simultatibus effectum, ut a pontificibus maximis ire in provincias prohiberentur: nunc deum 10 munere summum pontificum etiam summum hominum esse, non aemulationi, non odio aut privatis adfectionibus obnoxium.

59. Adversus quae cum augur Lentulus aliique varie dissere-

2. sibi: si hi B. 5. duobus: text Lachmann. 12. aemulatione: text Mur. and Faern.

2. **si hi duxissent provincias**, sc. 'sorte.' Marquardt (Staatsv. iii. p. 332) notes that these flamines also were by old custom (Liv. 24. 8, 10) confined to Rome, and were often inhibited by the chief pontiff from expeditions (Liv. Epit. 19; 37. 51, 1; Cic. Phil. 11. 8, 18); but the rule was now more lax (see note on c. 66, 2). The pontifex maximus had never left Italy before 623, B.C. 131 (Liv. Epit. 59).

3. **populi scita.** Such would be strictly 'leges,' as shown by the formula 'populus iure scivit' Cic. Phil. 1. 10, 26; elsewhere (Cic. de Opt. Gen. Or. 7, 19; Nep. Ar. 1, 5; Alc. 5, 4) this expression is a special term for the Athenian ψηφίσματα. Tacitus may have used it here as a wide term to include both 'leges' and 'plebiscita,' the former especially, as this old patrician office (cp. 4. 16, 2 had received its regulations before plebiscites were known. The reason for the absence of express enactment would be that the flamen was kept in Rome by the nature and duties of his office.

reperiri. A point placed after this word in the MS. is thought by Pfitzner (p. 21) to indicate the loss of one or more words; but none are needed to complete the sense, as 'id' can be supplied from 'de eo,' and explained from 'id vetitum' above. Joh. Müller (Beitr. 3. p. 36) notices other omissions of subject or object for conciseness, as with 'audiverat' 4. 54, 2, 'additae sunt' 11. 14, 4, 'accitos' 11. 24, 2, 'miserat' 12. 11, 1.

5. **quinque et septuaginta.** From the suicide of Merula at the return of Marius and Cinna, in 667, B.C. 87, seventy-five complete years intervened before the creation of another flamen by Augustus in 743, B.C. 11 (Dio, 54. 36. 1). Some retain the Med. text as an error of Tacitus; but that it is more likely to be due to the copyist would appear from the case with which 'ii' and 'v' or 'u' might be confused.

11. **summum pontificum, &c.** From the time when Augustus had assumed that office in 742, B.C. 12, it continued to be held by the princeps till the latter part of the fourth century, being found in inscriptions of even Christian emperors as late as Valentinian I. and Gratian (Inscr. Orell. 1117, 1118); soon after which time the title was assumed by the bishops of Rome. See Staatsr. ii. 1106–1108. The election of Tiberius did not take place till March 10, 768, A.D. 15 (Kal. Praen. see Orell. ii. p. 386).

12. **obnoxium**: cp. c. 34, 5.

13. **augur Lentulus.** This person is constantly thus designated in the Fasti and elsewhere (cp. Mon. Anc. iii. 23), to distinguish him from other Lentuli, such as the one mentioned in 1. 27, 1, &c. His full name is Cn. Cornelius Cn. f. Lentulus. He was consul in 740, B.C. 14, proconsul of Asia in 753, B.C. 1 (C. I. G. 2943), magister Arvalium in 767, A.D. 14 (C. I. L. vi. 1, 2023 a, 1). It appears from Seneca (de Ben. 2. 27, 1) that he was extremely rich (see Introd. vii. p. 101),

rent, eo decursum est ut pontificis maximi sententiam opperi-
rentur. Tiberius dilata notione de iure flaminis, decretas ob 2
tribuniciam Drusi potestatem caerimonias temperavit, nominatim
arguens insolentiam sententiae aureasque litteras contra patrium
5 morem. recitatae et Drusi epistulae quamquam ad modestiam 3
flexae pro superbissimis accipiuntur. huc decidisse cuncta, ut ne
iuvenis quidem tanto honore accepto adiret urbis deos, ingre-
deretur senatum, auspicia saltem gentile apud solum inciperet.
bellum scilicet aut diverso terrarum distineri, litora et lacus Cam- 4
10 paniae cum maxime peragrantem. sic imbui rectorem generis 5
humani, id primum e paternis consiliis discere. sane gravaretur 6
aspectum civium senex imperator fessamque aetatem et actos

2. delata. 9. bello L, bello eum Pichena.

miserly, and stupid; and from Suetonius (Tib. 49) that he committed suicide from weariness of life, making Tiberius his heir.

1. **decursum**; so often in Livy (e. g. 22. 31, 10; 26. 18, 4), as also 'decurritur' (Id. and Caes.).

2. **dilata notione.** The answer is given in c. 71, 3. 'Notio' is used for 'cognitio' by Cicero (ad Att. 11. 20, 2; de Leg. Agr. 2. 21, 57; pro Dom. 13, 54): cp. 'noscere' for 'cognoscere' (12. 60, 3).

3. **caerimonias**, apparently applied here to the altars and temples mentioned in c. 57, 2, the vote of which was probably cancelled, as well as that part of the decree more specifically censured.

4. **insolentiam . . . aureasque litteras.** The latter clause explains the 'insolentia,' and the whole forms thus a hendiadys (Introd. v. § 76): cp. 'carmina et devotiones' 2. 69, 5. Müller (Beitr. p. 37) thinks that 'Silanianae' may have dropped out before 'sententiam,' but no such addition is needed.

5. **ad modestiam flexae**, 'with studied expressions of deference': cp. 'flexo in maestitiam ore' c. 16, 3.

6. **pro superbissimis.** This offence was taken at his addressing them by letter at all, instead of in person.

huc decidisse cuncta, 'things have come to such a pass': cp. 'eo decidit ut exsul . . . fieret' Pl. Epp. 4. 11, 1, &c.

8. **auspicia . . . inciperet.** Compare the description in Livy (21. 63, 7; 22. 1, 6) of the feeling roused by the conduct of C. Flaminius on assuming the consulship. It might appear hence that the tribunician power was assumed 'auspicato,' but Mommsen (Staatsr. ii. 792, n. 3) considers the expression here a figure of speech.

gentile solum, 'his fatherland': cp. 'gentiles nationes' (= 'the people of his birthplace') 11. 1, 2, and note on 6. 32, 5.

9. **bellum scilicet**: 'esse' is to be supplied, as in 'parum subsidii' 2. 4, 4, 'neque enim societatem' H. 4. 14, 4. Probably here the construction is designedly exclamatory.

diverso terrarum. On 'diversus' cp. 1. 17, 5, &c.; on the genit., Introd. v. § 32 a.

10. **cum maxime**, 'just now' (νῦν γε μάλιστα). This phrase is used in 4. 27, 2, and in several places in the Histories, &c., also in Cic. (Off. 2. 7, 23, &c.), Liv. (40. 32, 1, &c.), and others. A fuller form is 'nunc cum maxime,' and the phrase is a modification of 'nunc ut cum maxime' (cp. Ter. Hec. 1. 2, 40), which means 'now especially.' For a full discussion see Hand, Turs. iii. p. 599, foll.

imbui, 'was being instructed': cp. 12. 32, 5; H. 5. 5, 4, &c.

11. **gravaretur**, with accus., as in 5. 8, 3; H. 2. 20, 2: the usage appears first in Hor. (Od. 4. 11, 27), thence in Sen., &c.: 'sane,' concessively, as in c. 5, 4, &c.

12. **fessam aetatem**: cp. 1. 46, 3, &c.

labores praetenderet: Druso quod nisi ex adrogantia impedimentum?

60. Sed Tiberius, vim principatus sibi firmans, imaginem antiquitatis senatui praebebat, postulata provinciarum ad disqui-
2 sitionem patrum mittendo. crebrescebat enim Graecas per urbes licentia atque impunitas asyla statuendi; conplebantur templa pessimis servitiorum; eodem subsidio obaerati adversum
3 creditores suspectique capitalium criminum receptabantur. nec ullum satis validum imperium erat coercendis seditionibus populi,
4 flagitia hominum ut caerimonias deum protegentis. igitur pla-
5 citum ut mitterent civitates iura atque legatos. et quaedam quod falso usurpaverant sponte omisere; multae vetustis super-
6 stitionibus aut meritis in populum Romanum 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.

10. protegentes: text R.

3. **vim . . . sibi firmans.** Ritter understands this of the association of Drusus in the tribunician power, but it may equally refer to the stability given to the constitution by this show of power left to the senate. See Introd. vi. p. 92.

imaginem: cp. 'imago reipublicae' 13. 28, 1, &c.

4. **postulata provinciarum.** The old function of the senate in this respect is described by Polybius (6. 13, 7). That here left to them concerns their own provinces only; the deputations mentioned in the three next chapters, and in 4. 14, 1–3, being from Asia, Cyprus, and Crete: see also 13. 4, 3.

6. **licentia atque impunitas**, probably hendiadys, 'unchecked licence.' Nipp. takes 'impunitas' here and in H. 2. 69, 1, to mean 'insolence.'

asyla statuendi. On the corresponding practice at Rome cp. c. 36, 1.

conplebantur, &c. Three classes are mentioned as using these 'asyla,' (1) runaway slaves; (2) debtors; (3) criminals.

7. **subsidio**, 'place of refuge'; so c. 36, 2; 4. 67, 2; 5. 8, 1.

8. **receptabantur**, used in prose only here and Liv. 5. 8, 2.

9. **validum**, with gerundive dat., as in c. 10, 4. The 'seditiones' spoken of would be those raised by any attempt to restrain the abuse of sanctuary.

10. **flagitia . . . protegentis**, 'protecting human outrage no less than religious observances.' The antithesis is hardly as pointed as it seems, for 'hominum' is a subjective and 'deum' an objective genitive. The pl. 'caerimoniae' appears to be sometimes equivalent to 'res sacrae,' as in the phrase 'habere aliquid in caerimoniis' (Pl. N. H. 37. 7, 28, 100), and is by some so explained in H. 1. 43, 2, 'in contubernio (aedis Vestae) abditus non religione nec caerimoniis sed latebra imminens exitium differebat.' Such may possibly be its meaning here, but that given above is more in accordance with its general use: see 1. 54, 1; 62, 3, &c.; Gerber und Greef, Lex. s. v.

11. **iura**, 'charters' or 'documents,' to prove their right to these asyla. The word appears to be here alone thus used.

14. **beneficia**, 'privileges granted.'

15. **pacta** = 'foedera.'

16. **libero**, here alone thus used in abl. abs.: cp. Introd. v. § 31, b. For the sense cp. 'libera coniectura' (Liv. 4. 20, 11) and 'liberum est' (Quint. 6. 3, 112).

61. Primi omnium Ephesii adiere, memorantes non, ut vulgus
crederet, Dianam atque Apollinem Delo genitos: esse apud se
Cenchreum amnem, lucum Ortygiam, ubi Latonam partu gra-
vidam et oleae, quae tum etiam maneat, adnisam edidisse ea
5 numina, deorumque monitu sacratum nemus. atque ipsum illic 2
Apollinem post interfectos Cyclopas Iovis iram vitavisse. mox
Liberum patrem, bello victorem, supplicibus Amazonum, quae
aram insederant, ignovisse. auctam hinc concessu Herculis, cum 3
Lydia poteretur, caerimoniam templo, neque Persarum dicione
10 deminutum ius; post Macedonas, dein nos servavisse.

62. Proximi hos Magnetes L. Scipionis et L. Sullae consti-

2. in Delo Bezzenb. 3. Cenchrium B. locum: text L. 8. insiderant: text B. 11. proximo snagnetes: proximo Magnetes B, proximi M. Freinsh., text Wurm.

1. **Ephesii.** Their asylum is described by Strabo (14. 1, 23, 641) as having always existed, but with various changes of boundary: see below, § 3.

2. **Delo.** Such ablatives of place are used with much freedom by Tacitus: cp. 'saxo Seripho' 4. 21, 5, and other instances in Introd. v. § 25, and many collected here by Nipp.

3. **Cenchreum amnem, lucum Ortygiam.** Strabo (14. 1, 20, 639) describes the situation of this grove, with this stream running through it, as just above the sea, and gives the legend as here stated. 'Cenchrium' is adapted to the form in Strabo and in Pausanias (7. 5, 10), but an epigram (see Baiter) gives the form Κεγχρεῖος, for which ē (cp. 'Dareo' c. 63, 5) would be equivalent.

Ortygiam, i. e. 'the quail-land,' well known as a name of Delos (Verg. Aen. 3. 72, &c.), also as that of the island forming the acropolis of Syracuse.

4. **tum etiam,** at the day on which they were speaking; answering to 'nunc' in 'oratio recta': cp. 6. 21, 3, and 'tunc' 14. 35, 1; 16. 3, 2.

adnisam: 'adnixus,' with dat., has often this sense in Vergil, as Aen. 4, 690; 9, 229; 12, 92.

6. **post interfectos Cyclopas.** For the general form of this legend see Eur. Alcestis, 3 8, &c.

7. **Liberum patrem,** &c. Dionysus, according to one legend (Plut. Quaest. Gr. 56), pursued the Amazons from Ephesus to Samos and there slew them; according to another (Diod. 3. 71, &c.), united with them against the Titans. The legend of Amazons in Western Asia is found in Homer (Il. 3, 189; 6, 186). Pindar, according to Pausanias (7. 2, 7), ascribed to them the foundation of the Ephesian temple; another legend (see 4. 56, 1) makes an Amazon foundress of Smyrna. The Attic legend respecting them (Hdt. 9. 27, 5, &c.) is famous from its representations in art.

8. **aram insederant,** here equivalent to the Greek καθίζεσθαι ἐπὶ τοὺς βωμούς Thuc. 3. 28, 2. &c. Halm is inconsistent in retaining the 'i' form of this perfect here and not in 16. 27, 1. Elsewhere the MSS. have always the 'e' form: cp. 1. 30, 5. On the indic. see Introd. v. § 49.

cum Lydia poteretur. Most legends represent Heracles in Lydia as the slave of Omphale: cp. Soph. Trach. 248, &c.

9. **caerimoniam,** 'sanctity'; so in 4. 64, 5; 14. 22, 6. This sense, restricted to the singular, is also found in 'caerimonia deorum' (Caes. ap. Suet. Jul. 6), 'legationis' (Cic. Rosc. Amer. 39, 113), and is akin to that of the pl. noted on c. 60, 3.

dicione, abl. of time: cp. Introd. v. § 26.

10. **post Macedonas, dein nos.** Strabo states (14. 1, 23, 641) that Alexander had made the asylum extend for a stadium round the temple; that Mithridates had somewhat enlarged it by making the limit a bowshot; that Antonius had so extended it as to include part of the city; and that Augustus, in consequence of increased abuses, had curtailed it. The περίβολος as fixed by him, and dated by inscriptions styling him cos. xii. trib. pot. xviii. (749, B.C. 5), has been discovered (see Wood, Ephesus. Append. p. 2).

11. **Proximi hos.** The construction is

tutis nitebantur, quorum ille Antiocho, hic Mithridate pulsis fidem atque virtutem Magnetum decoravere, uti Dianae Leuco-
2 phrynae perfugium inviolabile foret. Aphrodisienses posthac et Stratonicenses dictatoris Caesaris ob vetusta in partis merita et recens divi Augusti decretum adtulere, laudati quod Parthorum inruptionem nihil mutata in populum Romanum constantia per-
3 tulissent. sed Aphrodisiensium civitas Veneris, Stratonicensium
4 Iovis et Triviae religionem tuebantur. altius Hierocaesarienses

2. leucophine: Leucophryenae B, text L.

that found in 15. 15, 6, and in Plaut., Caes., and Liv.

Magnetes. Magnesia near the Maeander is meant, as distinct from Magnesia 'a Sipylo' (2. 47, 4); with which Pausanias (1. 20, 5) appears to confound it. It lay a little north of the Maeander on a tributary stream, on the site of Inekbazar. It appears from 4. 55, 3 to have become an insignificant town.

1. **Antiocho . . . Mithridate.** This city, with Tralles and Ephesus, took the lead in joining the Romans after the defeat of Antiochus in 564, B. C. 190 (Liv. 37. 45, 1), and alone in Asia held out for Rome against Mithridates in 666, B. C. 88 (Id. Epit. 81).

pulsis. For the use of the plural here and in 'decoravere' Dräger compares 'verterent' 6. 46, 3; 'travecti sunt' 12. 41, 3; 'acceperant' 14. 53, 3, &c.

2. **decoravere,** 'honoured by the grant.'

Leucophrynae. The form here adopted is supported by coins (Mionnet, iii. 146, &c.). The form 'Leucophryenae' appears to have equal support from inscriptions (C. I. G. 2914 a, &c.), and from Strabo (14. 1, 40, 647) and Pausanias (3. 18, 9). The temple was named from Leucophrys, an older town on the site of Magnesia, and is described by Strabo (l. l.) as remarkable among all temples in Asia for its symmetry and beauty, and as in size surpassed only by those at Ephesus and Didymi. Remains of it still exist: see Texier and Pullan, Asia Minor, p. 27.

3. **Aphrodisienses,** Aphrodisias, in Caria (Pl. N. H. 5. 28, 29, 104), or Phrygia (Strab. 12. 8, 13, 576), at the present Gheira, a little S. W. of Laodiceia. Fifteen columns of its beautiful Ionic temple are still standing: see Fellows, Lycia, p. 33; Texier and Pullan, Pl. xxvi–xxxii.

4. **Stratonicenses,** Stratoniceia in Caria, called after the wife of Antiochus Soter (Strab. 14. 2, 25, 660). It was situated at Eskihissar near Mylasa, where considerable remains of it exist. The construction is here concise even to ambiguity, as the decree of the dictator relates to Aphrodisias, and that of Augustus to Stratoniceia.

dictatoris Caesaris. An extant inscription (C. I. G. 2737 a) records the confirmation of this decree (ἐπίκριμα) by the senate and by Antonius, cir. 715–719, B. C. 39–35. Orelli quotes it in part here.

5. **divi Augusti decretum;** also mentioned in an inscription (C. I. G. 2715). The following words give its purport.

Parthorum inruptionem. The occasion mentioned is that of the joint invasion of Q. Labienus and Pacorus in 714, B. C. 40. The latter remained in Syria, but the former pushed on through Cilicia and carried all before him, and encountered no successful resistance in Asia except from this city (Dio, 48. 26, 3). Stratoniceia appears to have been a free city (Plin. N. H. 5. 29, 109), probably as a reward for this fidelity.

7. **sed.** The return from a digression is often thus marked: cp. 1. 74, 3, &c.

8. **Iovis et Triviae.** The inscription above mentioned (cp. also C. I. G. 2720) associates the names [Διὸς τοῦ Π]ανημε[ρίου καὶ Ἑκ]άτης. Strabo (l. l.) mentions as the two temples of Stratoniceia that of Hecate (ἐν Λαγίνοις) and a temple to Zeus Chrysaoreus, outside the city, common to all the Carians. This, as Nipp. shows, must be distinct from the one here mentioned, which, as being not locally separate from that of Hecate, is not distinctly noticed by Strabo.

altius . . . exposuere, 'showed a claim of more remote date.' For an analogous phrase cp. c. 25, 3.

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* 5
5 delubris, quorum vetustissimum Paphiae Veneri auctor Aërias, post filius eius Amathus Veneri Amathusiae et Iovi Salaminio Teucer, Telamonis patris ira profugus, posuissent.

63. Auditae aliarum quoque civitatium legationes. quorum 2
copia fessi patres, et quia studiis certabatur, consulibus permisere,
10 ut perspecto iure, et si qua iniquitas involveretur, rem integram

4. de ins. Bezzenberger. 8. civitatium: so 4. 14, 1 and three times in Med. ii.

Hierocaesarienses, Hierocaesarea in Lydia between Sardis and Smyrna.

1. **Persicam . . . Dianam**, the Artemis Anaitis of Pausanias (3. 16, 8); who also describes (5. 27, 5) a Persian or Magian ritual kept up in his time at this city and Hypaepa. This Lydian goddess claimed affinity with the Tauric Artemis, and had probably the same attributes as the Ephesian Artemis, whether of Arian or Semitic origin: see Nipp.

rege Cyro = 'regnante Cyro': cp. 'principe Augusto' c. 71, 3.

2. **Perpennae.** M. Perpenna or Perperna, consul in 624, B.C. 130, was the conqueror and captor of Aristonicus of Pergamum: see 4. 55, 2.

Isaurici. We should suppose the first and best known of the name to be intended: but Borghesi (v. 306) points out that the proconsulate of Asia was never held by him, but by his son P. Servilius Isauricus, cos. 706, B.C. 48, who had that province in 708, B.C. 46 (Cic. ad Fam. 13. 68, &c.).

3. **duobus milibus passuum.** a space of two Roman miles in each direction from it.

4. **Cyprii.** Cyprus, annexed in 696, B.C. 58, and for some time held with Cilicia, was among the provinces originally taken in hand by Augustus (Dio, 53. 12, 7), but was made over to the senate in 732, B.C. 22, and governed by proconsuls of praetorian rank, residing at new Paphos (Acts 13. 6, 7), now Baffa: see Marquardt, i. 392.

tribus de delubris. The prep. can easily have dropped out before 'delubris,' and 'exposuere' can be supplied. The reference in 'exim' would seem to lie rather to the sentences marked by 'primi,' 'proximi,' and 'posthac'; but the construction thus suggested, that of supplying 'adiere,' and taking 'tribus delubris' as abl. abs. or dat., seems impossible.

5. **quorum, &c.** This sentence again is somewhat obscure from the attempt to combine concisely the mention of the locality of the three temples, the worship to which they were dedicated, and the names of their founders. It is implied that the first was situated at old Paphos (Kukla), the second at Amathus (old Limasol), the third at Salamis (Costanza, near Famagousta).

Paphiae Veneri. On this temple, and on Aërias, cp. H. 2, 2–3; where it is mentioned that the goddess was represented by a mere stone. The Aphrodite of Paphos and Amathus appears to be a form of Astarte.

auctor, 'founder'; as in H. 4. 84, 6, &c.

7. **Teucer**: cp. Hor. Od. 1. 7, 21, sqq.

posuissent, 'had founded': cp. 'Byzantium . . . posuere' (12. 63, 1), &c. The subjunct. appears to be used because the record of foundation is part of their statement.

8. **quorum**, 'such things': the word refers to the whole matter. Nipp. compares Cic. ad Fam. 2. 8, 2 'sermonibus versatus sum, quae nec possunt scribi nec scribenda sunt.'

9. **studiis**, the partialities of certain senators to particular cities.

consulibus. For another such reference of a matter to the consuls by the senate see 14. 17, 3.

10. **si.** This is best taken with Nipp. as depending on 'perspecto,' with the sense of 'whether': cp. 1. 48, 1. 'Circumspecta' has an analogous double

3 rursum ad senatum referrent. consules super eas civitates, quas memoravi, apud Pergamum Aesculapii conpertum asylum rettu-
4 lerunt: ceteros obscuris ob vetustatem initiis niti. nam Zmyrnaeos oraculum Apollinis, cuius imperio Stratonicidi Veneri templum dicaverint, Tenios eiusdem carmen referre, quo sacrare 5
5 Neptuni effigiem aedemque iussi sint. propiora Sardianos:
6 Alexandri victoris id donum. neque minus Milesios Dareo rege

3. Zmyrnetis: Smyrnaeos B, text from 4. 43, 7; 55–56. 4. strato nicidiuae: text R. 7. regi utis et: text L and Mur.

construction in 14. 33, 2: see Introd. v. 91, 8; and note on 1. 15, 4.

involveretur, 'should be fraudulently concealed in the claim.'

2. **Pergamum.** This city, the site of which still retains the name of Pergamo or Bergamah, situated in Mysia near the junction of two other streams with the Caicus, became very important from the time of Lysimachus under its own princes; whose kingdom, bequeathed to Rome, formed the original province of Asia. It still remained a famous city, being estimated to consist of 40,000 citizens and 120,000 inhabitants, able to vie with Smyrna and Ephesus, and, in the judgement of Pliny (N. H. 5. 30, 33, 126), 'longe clarissimum Asiae': see Marquardt. i. 341, n, 5, &c. For a short summary of the very important recent discoveries made on its site see Perry, Greek and Roman Sculpture, ch. xlvi.

Aesculapii. The worship of this god was brought there from Epidaurus (Paus. 2. 26, 8); and the temple was situate outside the city (Id. 5. 13, 2).

3. **Zmyrnaeos.** The city then, as now, known under this name, dated from the Alexandrian epoch; the old city north of it having been ruined by Alyattes (Hdt. 1. 16, 2), though still inhabited *κωμηδόν* (Strab. 14. 1, 37, 646). Its importance has been mentioned in the note above. It is the most considerable city of modern Asia Minor, having still a population of over 150,000.

4. **Stratonicidi Veneri.** Nipp. rightly notes that this worship, being instanced as one obscure from its antiquity, can have no connexion with Stratonice (see on c. 62, 2) in its origin, though no doubt afterwards associated with her honour; as the names seem to have some relation to each other in an inscription of Seleucus Callinicus confirming the asylum (C. I. G. 3137). *Ἀφροδίτη Στρατονικίς* (Inscr. l. l. and 3156) must therefore be identical with *Ἀφροδίτη Στρατεία* or *Νικηφόρος*, the original of the Roman 'Venus Victrix.' This temple is mentioned as the Stratoniceum by Vitruvius (5, 9).

5. **Tenios.** Tenos, like the other Cyclades, belonged to the province of Asia. In Strabo's time (10. 5, 11, p. 487) its town was small, but its temple of Poseidon outside the walls large and celebrated, attesting by its large *ἑστιατορία* the number of worshippers frequenting it. On coins of Tenos the attributes of this god are found.

6. **propiora**, sc. 'referre,' 'they made a claim of more modern date': cp. 'altius exposuere' c. 62, 4.

Sardianos. On Sardes see 2. 47, 3. Strabo (13. 4, 5, 626) mentions its temple of Artemis Coloëne (called after a neighbouring lake) as *μεγάλην ἁγιστείαν ἔχον*.

7. **id**, i. e. 'ius asyli': with 'donum' is to be supplied 'esse.'

Milesios. Miletus, though no longer a great city, was still a *μητρόπολις τῆς Ἰωνίας* (Marquardt, i. 345, 5). Within its territory lay the temple of Apollo Didymaeus, at Didymi or Branchidae, one of immemorial antiquity (Paus. 7. 2, 4). and famous in early Greek history (Hdt. 1. 46, &c.). It had been ruined by the Persians, but rebuilt on an enormous scale, containing a village within its precincts (Strab. 14. 1, 5, 634). For an account of the locality see Newton, Trav. and Disc. in the Levant, ii. 147, foll.; Texier and Pullan, pl. iii. foll.

Dareo rege niti; so most edd.; 'uti' is retained by some. According to some accounts Darius was the destroyer; but this was more probably the act of Xerxes (cp. Strab. l. l.).

niti ; set cultus numinum utrisque Dianam aut Apollinem venerandi. petere et Cretenses simulacro divi Augusti. factaque 7
senatus consulta, quis multo cum honore modus tamen praescribebatur, iussique ipsis in templis figere aera sacrandam ad
5 memoriam, neu specie religionis in ambitionem delaberentur.

64. Sub idem tempus Iuliae Augustae valetudo atrox necessitudinem principi fecit festinati in urbem reditus, sincera adhuc inter matrem filiumque concordia sive occultis odiis. neque 2
enim multo ante, cum haud procul theatro Marcelli effigiem divo
10 Augusto Iulia dicaret, Tiberi nomen suo postscripserat, idque ille credebatur ut inferius maiestate principis gravi et dissimulata offensione abdidisse. set tum supplicia dis ludique magni ab 3
senatu decernuntur, quos pontifices et augures et quindecimviri

4. fiere: facere B, text Pichena.

1. **set**: cp. c. 62, 3.

cultus . . . venerandi, 'their worship consisted in the honouring'; the gerund being used as a defining genitive. Cp. 'effugium . . . prorumpendi' 2. 47, 2, 'ambitu . . . ornandi' 4. 2, 4, 'patrocinium defendendae . . . poeticae' Dial. 4, 1.

Dianam aut Apollinem; i. e. the one worshipped Diana, the other Apollo: cp. 'perfidia . . . aut fide' (1. 55, 2), &c.

2. **petere**, sc. 'ius asyli.'

simulacro divi Augusti. On the 'imago principis' cp. c. 36, 1.

3. **honore**, 'expressions of respect': cp. 6. 15, 4; 'honora oratio' 1. 10, 7.

modus. This appears to mean that new 'asyla' were not to be set up, and the limits of those existing were to be strictly defined. Suetonius (Tib. 37) exaggerates this into an abolition of all asyla.

4. **aera**, &c., 'tablets to consecrate the record.'

5. **neu** = 'et ne.' Nipp. couples this to 'sacrandum ad memoriam,' as adding a second reason for erecting tablets; to prevent future extensions of sanctuary by cities in rivalry with each other.

6. **valetudo atrox.** Nipp. notes that an altar to 'Pietas Augusta' was ordered on the occasion of this illness but not erected until 796, A. D. 43 (C. I. L. vi. 562).

7. **reditus**: cp. c. 31, 1. The Praenestine Kalendar (see below) would show that he returned after April, and had therefore been absent more than a year.

8. **sive.** Tacitus intimates a preference for this alternative by inserting the clause 'neque enim,' &c., to show a probable reason for it.

neque . . . multo ante. The date, viii. Kal. Mai (April 23), is given in Kal Praen. (Inscr. Orell. ii. p. 388).

9. **theatro Marcelli.** This was dedicated by Augustus in 743, B. C. 11 (cp. Momms. on Mon. Anc. iv. 22). It stood in the 'forum holitorium' (cp. 2. 49, 2), between the Capitol and the Tiber, and considerable remains of it still exist. See Burn, p. 302, foll.; Dyer, Dict. of Geog. p. 845; Middleton, ii. 71–73.

10. **postscripserat.** This verb is nowhere else found. The kalendar quoted above appears to follow the original inscription in giving the names in this order. 'Sig. Divo Augusto Patri ad Theatrum Mar[celli] Iulia Augusta et Ti. Augustus dedicarunt.'

12. **abdidisse**, 'stored in memory.' On this trait in his character cp. 1. 7, 11; 69, 7, &c.

supplicia = 'supplicationes,' an old sense of the word (Festus), retained by Plautus (Rud. Prol. 25), Sallust (Cat. 9, 2, &c.), and Livy (22. 57, 5).

ludi magni, 'votivi circenses.'

13. **quindecimviri septemviris simul.** The former had charge of the Sibylline Books (cp. 6. 12, 1, &c.) and special charge of 'ludi saeculares' (11. 11, 4). The collegium, at first of two, was raised to ten when opened to plebeians, and to fifteen by Sulla: see Marquardt. iii. 380. 'Triumviri epulones'

4 septemviris simul et sodalibus Augustalibus ederent. censuerat L. Apronius ut fetiales quoque iis ludis praesiderent. contra dixit Caesar, distincto sacerdotiorum iure et repetitis exemplis: 5 neque enim umquam fetialibus hoc maiestatis fuisse. ideo Augustales adiectos, quia proprium eius domus sacerdotium esset, 5 pro qua vota persolverentur.

65. Exsequi sententias haud institui nisi insignes per honestum aut notabili dedecore, quod praecipuum munus annalium reor, ne virtutes sileantur, utque pravis dictis factisque ex pos- 2 teritate et infamia metus sit. ceterum tempora illa adeo infecta 10 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 cen-

to preside at the 'epulum Iovis' were instituted in 558, B.C. 196 (Liv. 33. 42), and the number was subsequently increased to seven, and by Julius Caesar to ten (Dio, 43. 51, 9), though the name of 'septemviri' continued: Marquardt, 347. These two, with the pontiffs and augurs, formed the four great priestly colleges.

1. **simul.** On this prepositional use cp. Introd. v. § 63.

Augustalibus: cp. 1. 54, 1.

2. **L. Apronius**: cp. 1. 56, 1, &c. His motion was perhaps grounded on the fact that Augustus had been a 'fetialis'; a reason equally valid to include the 'sodales Titii' (see Mon. Anc. Gr. iv. 7).

3. **distincto**, &c., 'distinguishing the legitimate functions of the priesthoods and going back for precedents.' These are explained by 'neque enim,' &c., as showing that the fetiales had never had 'hoc maiestatis,' i. e. had never ranked in dignity with the four great colleges. On the functions of the fetiales in connexion with the ceremonies of war and treaties, see Marquardt, iii. 416, foll.

4. **ideo Augustales**, &c., anticipating the objection that neither were they among the old great 'collegia.' They were again associated with them in the thanksgivings on the fall of Seianus (Dio, 58. 12, 5), probably for a similar reason.

7. **Exsequi**, 'to set forth in detail': cp. 4. 4, 6; 11. 21, 1; 12. 58, 1; Dial. 16, 2; also in Liv., Pl. Mai., Quint., &c. Cic. has 'verbis exsequi' (ad Fam. 11. 27, 6). This chapter, though it does not appear to relate to those immediately preceding, leads from such motions as those mentioned in c. 57, to what follows in c. 66.

8. **notabili dedecore**, probably best taken, with Nipp., as an abl. of quality; as 'notabili,' while corresponding well to 'insignes,' would be tautologous, if taken as depending on it.

munus annalium, 'the office of history.' On the use of 'annales' in this general sense cp. Introd. i. p. 6; and, on this conception of the office of history, Id. iv. p. 27. 'Quod' is explained by the following clause, as in 4. 4, 6.

9. **posteritate et infamia**, hendiadys. On 'metus ex' cp. 1. 29, 3.

10. **infecta**, usually with ablative in Tacitus, as 2. 85, 5; 6. 7, 4, &c., but thus used absolutely in the sense of 'poisoned' or 'tainted' by Sen. (Ep. 59, 9) and Plin. (H. N. 9. 7, 6, 18), who also thus uses 'inficimus' (Id. 18. 1, 1, 3).

11. **primores civitatis**, the more famous consulars, such as Asinius Gallus, Ateius Capito, &c.

14. **pedarii senatores.** The investigation of this term by Gellius (3. 18) shows that in his time it had become obscure, and was even corrupted into 'pedanii.' The use of the word here in opposition to 'consulares' and 'praetura functi,' answers to that in Frontinus (de Aq. 99), 'Augustus . . . curatorem fecit Messallam Corvinum, cui adiutores dati Postumius Sulpicius praetorius et L. Cominius pedarius.' This is reconcileable with the view that the term denoted those who had not held a curule office, as the small

serent. memoriae proditur Tiberium, quotiens curia egrederetur, 3
Graecis verbis in hunc modum eloqui solitum 'o homines ad
servitutem paratos!' scilicet etiam illum, qui libertatem publicam 4
nollet, tam proiectae servientium patientiae taedebat.

5 **66.** Paulatim dehinc ab indecoris ad infesta transgrediebantur.
C. Silanum pro consule Asiae, repetundarum a sociis postulatum, 2
Mamercus Scaurus e consularibus, Iunius Otho praetor, Brutte-
dius Niger aedilis simul corripiunt obiectantque violatum Augusti
numen, spretam Tiberii maiestatem, Mamercus antiqua exempla
10 iaciens, L. Cottam a Scipione Africano, Servium Galbam a
Catone censorio, P. Rutilium a M. Scauro accusatos. videlicet 3
Scipio et Cato talia ulciscebantur, aut ille Scaurus, quem pro-
avum suum obprobrium maiorum Mamercus infami opera de-

7. Bruttidius B, Brutidius R.

13. malorum: text R.

and not particularly important class of senators who had attained, but not got beyond, the curule aedileship (cp. 6. 30, 2), may be here ignored. The question of the position of 'pedarii' in debate (cp. Cic. ad Att. 1. 19, 9; 20, 4) is discussed in Staatsr. iii. 962, 2 and 982, 1, and by Mr. D. B. Monro (Journal of Philology, vol. iv pp. 113, foll.). The evidence of Tacitus goes to show that they were not precluded from speaking; especially if 'senator' in c. 36, 1; 1. 75, 3, &c., is taken to mean 'senator pedarius.'

3. **qui ... nollet.** Dräger (Synt. und Stil. § 160) notes this concessive relative as rare: cp. 'qui deos ... contemneret' Suet. Cal. 51, 'qui luxuriae immodicae esset' Id. Ner. 51.

4. **proiectae**, 'abject': cp. H. 3. 65, 4, and note on Ann. 1. 42, 4.

5. **ab indecoris ad infesta**, 'from servility to persecution,' i. e. to delations; by fastening an imaginary charge of 'maiestas' on a person indicted by provincials on other grounds.

6. **C. Silanum**, in the Fasti C. Junius, C. f., M. n., Silanus, cos. 763, A. D. 10. He had apparently preceded M. Lepidus (c. 32, 2) in the proconsulate (see Introd. vii. p. 113). He was also, according to the Fast. Cap., 'flamen Martialis' (cp. note on c. 58, 1).

7. **Mamercus Scaurus**: see 1. 13, 4: further account of Otho and Niger is given below.

8. **violatum Augusti numen**: see 1. 73. 2.

10. **iaciens**: see on c. 49, 2.

L. Cottam. The accusation of L. Aurelius Cotta (cos. 610, B. C. 144) by the younger Africanus, on a charge of 'repetundae,' took place about 624, B. C. 130. He was acquitted, a result which, according to Cicero (pro Mur. 28, 58), was ascribed to a desire on the part of the judges to escape the suspicion of being awed by so great an accuser.

Servium Galbam. Ser. Sulpicius Galba, often mentioned by Cicero as a great orator, was indicted in 605, B. C. 149, for atrocious cruelty and treachery to the Lusitanians. The charge was supported by Cato, then in the extremity of old age; but Galba procured an acquittal by his eloquence and by parading his sons and nephew as suppliants (Cic. Brut. 23, 89), and also, as is said, by bribery (App. Hisp. 60).

11. **P. Rutilium.** P. Rutilius Rufus, who was exiled at a later date (see on 4. 43, 7), had been a candidate for the consulship in 638, B. C. 116, against Scaurus, the famous 'princeps senatus,' &c. After the election, each accused the other of 'ambitus' (Cic. Brut. 30, 113).

videlicet, ironical; as in Cic., &c.

12. **ille Scaurus.** It should be remembered that this hero of the optimates is represented by Sallust (Jug. 15, 3) as 'factiosus, avidus potentiae honoris divitiarum, ceterum vitia sua callide occultans'; and that he appears undoubtedly to have taken bribes from Jugurtha.

13. **dehonestabat.** The verb is first found in Liv. 41. 6, 10. Tacitus uses it only in the Annals, e. g. c. 70, 4, &c.

4 honestabat. Iunio Othoni litterarium ludum exercere vetus ars
fuit: mox Seiani potentia senator obscura initia impudentibus
5 ausis propolluebat. Bruttedium artibus honestis copiosum et,
si rectum iter pergeret, ad clarissima quaeque iturum festinatio
extimulabat, dum aequalis, dein superiores, postremo suasmet 5
6 ipse spes antire parat: quod multos etiam bonos pessum dedit,
qui spretis quae tarda cum securitate, praematura vel cum exitio
properant.

67. Auxere numerum accusatorum Gellius Publicola et M.
2 Paconius, ille quaestor Silani, hic legatus. nec dubium habeba- 10
tur saevitiae captarumque pecuniarum teneri reum: sed multa
adgerebantur etiam insontibus periculosa, cum super tot sena-
tores adversos facundissimis totius Asiae eoque ad accusandum

3. pro polluebat: porro polluebat L, provolvebat Jac. Gron., polluebat Orelli, ultro polluebat Ritt. 4. perageret: text R. 6. antereparat: anteire parat R, text Bach.

1. **litterarium ludum**, 'an elementary school'; so in Plin. (N. H. 9. 8, 8, 25), &c. He seems to have had more talent than is here implied; as M. Seneca speaks of him in several places, as an accomplished though artificial speaker, and as an author of rhetorical works (Controv. 9. 33. 37). Similar instances of men of low birth rising to wealth and rank by the profession of rhetoric and practice of delation are found in Eprius Marcellus and Vibius Crispus (see Dial. 8, 3).

3. **ausis**: cp. 2. 39, 3.

propolluebat. If the text is sound, we must suppose that Tacitus, who has elsewhere (6. 25, 1) coined 'provixisse,' in the sense of 'lived on,' has here treated 'polluo' as a simple verb, and formed this compound of it, in the sense of 'was yet further defiling.' The simplest emendation 'polluebat' is perhaps the most satisfactory, and not tautologous, as his 'obscura initia' are not to be presumed to be therefore already 'polluta.'

Bruttedium. This person also is cited by M. Seneca as an orator (Contr. 9. 35) and historical writer (Suas. 6. 20, 21). It would appear from Juvenal (10, 82, where see Mayor) that he was involved in the fall of Seianus. Of the various forms of the name (see crit. note), this seems to be the oldest (Bücheler, in Rh. Mus. xi. 295).

copiosum, 'richly endowed': cp. 'copiosa vita' 13. 43, 7.

4. **pergeret**, with accus., as in 1. 28, 2; 4. 20, 5, &c. 'Perageret' would imply a course completed at the close of life (cp. Verg. Aen. 4, 653), a sense inconsistent with 'iturum.'

5. **suasmet**, i. e. all that he had formerly hoped for.

6. **antire**, often thus syncopated in the Annals: cp. c. 69, 5; 4. 40, 7; 71, 1, &c.

9. **Gellius Publicola.** Borghesi considers this person, who was cos. suff. in 793, A. D. 40 (see Klein), to have been descended from L. Gellius Publicola, brother of Messalla (Liv. Epit. 122), who was consul in 718, B. C. 36, and had been a prisoner in the power of Brutus and Cassius (Dio, 47. 24, 3).

M. Paconius. Suetonius (Tib. 61) states, on contemporary authority, that Tiberius afterwards imprisoned Paconius, and on being reminded of his existence by a jester, ordered his execution. Tacitus calls him an innocent victim (16. 29, 3) in speaking of the charge against his son Paconius Agrippinus.

11. **teneri**, with gen. 11. 7, 8, on the analogy of 'arguere,' &c.; also with abl. as c. 13, 2, &c. On the inf. with accus. after 'nec dubium,' cp. Introd. v. § 44.

multa, the circumstances mentioned in the whole passage down to 'silendi.'

13. **facundissimis**, &c., rhetoricians of Ephesus and other Greek cities, delegated by the 'concilium' as accusers: cp. 16. 21, 3, &c.

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 confitendum
5 erat, ne frustra quaesivisset. Servos quoque Silani, ut tormentis 3
interrogarentur, actor publicus mancipio acceperat. et ne quis necessariorum iuvaret periclitantem, maiestatis crimina subdebantur, vinclum et necessitas silendi. igitur petito paucorum 4
dierum interiectu defensionem sui deseruit, ausis ad Caesarem
10 codicillis, quibus invidiam et preces miscuerat.

68. Tiberius quae in Silanum parabat, quo excusatius sub exemplo acciperentur, libellos divi Augusti de Voleso Messalla eiusdem Asiae pro consule factumque in eum senatus consultum recitari iubet. tum L. Pisonem sententiam rogat. ille multum 2
15 de clementia principis praefatus aqua atque igni Silano interdicendum censuit ipsumque in insulam Gyarum relegandum. ea- 3
dem ceteri, nisi quod Cn. Lentulus separanda Silani materna

2. eloquende belitat: text B. 3. eoque quod Acid. 6. interrogentur: text L. 9. missis Faern, ausus . . . codicillos Ryck.

2. **exercitam**, 'trained': cp. c. 20, 2; 4. 11, 2; 14. 2, 4; 56, 5, &c. This use, in the sense of 'exercitatus,' appears especially Tacitean; another use is noted in 1. 17, 7; 35, 2.

4. **dabatur**, often with inf. in this sense in Tacitus (4. 6, 2; 60, 1; 6. 19, 4, &c.), after poets (Verg., Ov., &c.), Quint., and Plin. (Pan. 50).

5. **ne frustra quaesivisset**, i. e. lest Tiberius should be irritated if his questions failed to elicit anything.

6. **actor publicus**: cp. 2. 30, 3.

7. **iuvaret periclitantem**, repeated from c. 12, 9.

subdebantur: cp. 1. 6, 6.

9. **interiectu**: cp. c. 51, 4.

ausis, here alone used as a passive participle; but such use appears in the subst. 'ausum' (c. 66, 4, &c.); and the verb is used in the passive in Liv., Vell., &c.; and poets (Verg. Aen. 9, 320, &c.).

10. **invidiam et preces**. These are coupled in 4. 53, 1; 16. 10, 5; and 'invidia' has the sense of reproach in 4. 52, 3; 11. 34, 5; 15. 19, 2.

11. **excusatius**, 'with more justification'; so in Pl. Ep. 9. 21, 3; Just. 32. 2; and 'excusate' Quint. 2. 1, 13.

sub exemplo, 'by putting forward an example': cp. 4. 11, 5; 'sub nominibus' 16. 9, 5.

12. **libellos**, generally so used of the accusers' indictment (2. 29, 3); here of the letter from the prince sent to the senate, the 'epistulae' of c. 44, 3, &c.

Voleso Messalla. On the date of his consulship and proconsulate see Introd. vii. p. 113; on his atrocious cruelty see Id. p. 120, n. 1.

14. **L. Pisonem**. Here, as in 2. 32, 4, there is an uncertainty between two persons; but Mommsen points out (Staatsr. iii. 975, 2) that, as he is asked before Cn. Lentulus, it is probably the consul of 739, B.C. 15 (see on 6. 10, 3), not of 753, B.C. 1 (see on 2. 34, 1) that is meant.

16. **Gyarum**, one of the Cyclades, now τὰ Γιούρα or Jura, apparently a common and typical place of exile (Juv. 1, 73; 10, 70, &c.). See note on c. 69, 8.

17. **Cn. Lentulus**: probably the augur (see on c. 59, 1) is meant, as the Cn. Lentulus of 1. 27, 1 would have preceded either of the above Pisones.

separanda, i. e. from the 'publicatio' implied in this sentence.

bona, quippe Atia parente geniti, reddendaque filio dixit, adnuente Tiberio.

69. At Cornelius Dolabella dum adulationem longius sequitur, increpitis C. Silani moribus addidit, ne quis vita probrosus et opertus infamia provinciam sortiretur, idque princeps diiudi- 5
2 caret. nam a legibus delicta puniri: quanto fore mitius in ipsos,
3 melius in socios, provideri ne peccaretur? adversum quae disseruit Caesar: non quidem sibi ignara quae de Silano vulgabantur, sed non ex rumore statuendum. multos in provinciis contra quam spes aut metus de illis fuerit egisse: excitari quosdam ad 10
4 meliora magnitudine rerum, hebescere alios. neque posse principem sua scientia cuncta complecti, neque expedire ut ambitione aliena trahatur. ideo leges in facta constitui, quia futura in in-
5 certo sint. sic a maioribus institutum, ut, si antissent delicta,
6 poenae sequerentur. ne verterent sapienter reperta et semper 15 placita; satis onerum principibus, satis etiam potentiae. minui iura, quotiens gliscat potestas, nec utendum imperio, ubi legibus
7 agi possit. quanto rarior apud Tiberium popularitas, tanto

1. alia: text Madvig. 16. minutura: text L.

1. **Atia.** Madvig argues (Adv. Crit. i. 148) that the name must have been one easily mistaken for 'alia,' and that of a family entitled to the utmost consideration; and that these requirements would be satisfied by supposing his mother to have been an Atia, of the same family with the mother of Augustus. Other suggestions are 'Manlia' or 'Mallia,' from comparison of the name of his sister (c. 69, 9); or that 'alia' might possibly mean 'of far other character' (cp. 1. 43, 5); or that 'quippe ... geniti' is a gloss.

filio, probably the consul of 781, A.D. 28 (4. 68, 8).

3. **Cornelius Dolabella**: cp. his 'absurda adulatio' in c. 47, 4.

sequitur: cp. 'sequitur ardorem militum' 1. 49, 6. The sense in both cases is that of falling in with a prevalent feeling and stimulating it.

5. **idque princeps diiudicaret.** On the interference of the princeps with the 'sortitio provinciarum' cp. 6. 40, 3.

6. **a legibus.** The use of the prep. is suited to the personification. Nipp. compares Cic. Part. Or. 38, 134; M. Sen. Contr. 24, 1, in both of which 'a lege' is used with a personifying expression.

8. **vulgabantur.** On the indicative cp. Introd. v. § 49.

9. **contra quam**; so used of acts contrary to rule or principle, in Cic. (e. g. pro Cl. 5, 12, &c.), and Liv. (30. 19, 9); not elsewhere in Tacitus, who has 'secus quam' (4. 8, 6; 6. 22, 5).

11. **hebescere**; so used of persons in H. 2. 77, 4: cp. 'hebent' G. 15, 1, and the adj. 'hebes' 14. 11, 3.

12. **expedire ut.** This construction is rare, and probably here, as in Just. 34. 1, 7 ('expedire ... ut ... leges habeant'), adopted to avoid the dependence of an inf. on another inf. Dräger points out the similar reason for 'intelligebant opus esse ... ut,' 'respondeat sufficere ut' (Dial. 31, 1; 32, 1, where see Gudeman).

ambitione aliena, i. e. the intrigues of those who wished to supplant a rival candidate for a province.

16. **placita**: cp. 2. 66, 3.

18. **popularitas**, 'the effort to please': so in Suet. Cal. 15; Ner. 53; Tit. 8: cp. 'gratum popularitate Magnum' Stat. Sylv. 2. 7, 69. See the remarks on another act of magnanimity in Tiberius (4. 31, 1).

laetioribus animis accepta. atque ille prudens moderandi, si 8
propria ira non impelleretur, addidit insulam Gyarum inmitem
et sine cultu hominum esse: darent Iuniae familiae et viro quon-
dam ordinis eiusdem, ut Cythnum potius concederet. id sororem 9
5 quoque Silani Torquatam, priscae sanctimoniae virginem, expe-
tere. in hanc sententiam facta discessio.

70. Post auditi Cyrenenses, et accusante Anchario Prisco
Caesius Cordus repetundarum damnatur. L. Ennium equitem 2
Romanum, maiestatis postulatum, quod effigiem principis pro-
10 miscum ad usum argenti vertisset, recipi Caesar inter reos vetuit,
palam aspernante Ateio Capitone quasi per libertatem. non 3
enim debere eripi patribus vim statuendi neque tantum male-
ficium impune habendum. sane lentus in suo dolore esset: rei

4. cythenum: Cytheram B, text L. 8. lennium: text B.

1. **prudens moderandi**, 'thoughtful to enforce moderation.' Several instances of such action can be given, as in 2. 50, 4; 3. 18, 1, &c

3. **sine cultu hominum.** Pliny (N. H. 8. 29, 43, 104) gives a story from Varro, who apparently had it from Theophrastus (Id. 57, 82, 222), of its desertion through a plague of mice. In 4. 30, 2 it is called destitute of water. Strabo, however, records (10. 5, 3, 485) that at the time of Actium he found there a village of fishermen, who complained of inability to pay their tribute (600 H. S.).

quondam ordinis eiusdem. His senatorial rank was a thing of the past, lost 'ipso facto' on sentence of exile.

4. **Cythnum**, Thermia, near Gyaros, but considerably larger and having a town once capable of defence (Liv. 31. 45, 9), afterwards occupied by a pseudo-Nero (H. 2. 8, 2).

5. **Torquatam.** The surname is explained by the connexion of the Iunii with the Manlii (c. 76, 4). Torquata is mentioned as a vestal, with the full name 'Iunia C. Silani f. Torquata,' in two inscriptions (see on Introd. ii. p. 10), the former of which describes her as 'virgo Vestalis maxima' (see on 2. 86, 1); also as 'Iunia C. Silani f.,' on two bases in the 'atrium Vestae' (H. Jordan 'Der Tempel der Vesta,' 1886, p. 45).

6. **in hanc sententiam facta discessio**, i.e. 'this was assented to without discussion': cp. 6. 12, 1, and Nipp. there. That the 'consensus' in such a case (see Gell. 14, 7) was not always unanimous or final is evident: see note on c. 23, 2, and Staatsr. iii. 983, 991; also the paper by Mr. D. B. Monro referred to on c. 65, 2.

7. **Cyrenenses.** The Cyrenaica had certainly been joined to the province of Crete ever since the arrangement of 727, B.C. 27 (Dio, 53. 12, 4), and was usually held with it before that date: see Marquardt, i. 461. On its original cession to Rome by bequest see on 14. 18, 2. The country extended from the eastern boundary of Africa at 'Philaenorum arae' (Introd. vii. p. 115) to the frontier of Egypt, coinciding with the eastern half of modern Tripoli. Josephus (Ant. 14. 7, 2) gives, on the authority of Strabo, a fourfold division of the population: 1. πολῖται (Greeks); 2. γεωργοί (Libyans); 3. μέτοικοι; 4. Ἰουδαῖοι. These latter were a large body (cp. Acts 2, 10).

8. **Caesius Cordus.** On him and Ancharius Priscus cp. c. 38, 1. The accusers had probably demanded a year for collecting evidence (cp. 13. 43, 2).

9. **promiscum ad usum . . . vertisset**, i.e. had melted it down into plate. For other charges implying desecration of such images, cp. 1. 73, 2; 74, 4.

11. **aspernante**, 'protesting': cp. 4. 30, 2; 14. 42, 2, &c.

Ateio Capitone: see on c. 75, 1.

12. **enim.** This marks the transition to 'oratio obliqua,' as in 2. 28, 2; 4. 70, 5; 15. 27, 1, &c.

13. **impune**: cp. 1. 72, 3.

4 publicae iniurias ne largiretur. intellexit haec Tiberius, ut erant magis quam ut dicebantur, perstititque intercedere. Capito insignitior infamia fuit, quod humani divinique iuris sciens egregium publicum et bonas domi artes dehonestavisset.

71. Incessit dein religio, quonam in templo locandum foret 5 donum, quod pro valetudine Augustae equites Romani voverant equestri Fortunae: nam etsi delubra eius deae multa in urbe, 2 nullum tamen tali cognomento erat. repertum est aedem esse apud Antium, quae sic nuncuparetur, cunctasque caerimonias

1. **ne largiretur**, 'he should not show his generosity in forgiving wrongs against the state.' No other instance is given of this sense of 'largior.'

ut erant, &c., 'his real thought rather than his expression.'

2. **insignitior.** This comparative form appears to be more used in a bad sense than 'insignior': cp. 4. 51, 2; Liv. 7. 15, 10; 8. 13, 1. On rare forms of comparison in Tacitus see Introd. v. § 7.

3. **humani divinique iuris sciens.** Nerva is similarly described in 6. 26, 1; and, as jurisprudence is defined to be 'divinarum atque humanarum rerum notitia' (Ulp. Dig. 1. 1, 10), a great jurist would be versed in both branches. Macrobius (7. 13, 11) credits Capito with special proficiency in pontifical, or divine, law. See Marquardt, iii. 317, n. 4.

egregium publicum. It is generally thought that 'egregium,' used substantively in 6. 24, 3; 14. 60, 1, may here form the substantive in a phrase analogous to 'bonum,' 'malum publicum,' and the rare 'optimum' (Gell. 7. 3, 17), 'pessimum publicum' (Varr. R. R. 1. 13, 7; Liv. 2. 1, 3). It should thus mean 'the glory,' or 'honour of the state'; and Nipp. takes it of the glory of the imperial clemency; which Capito could hardly be said 'dehonestare'; but he might be said to cast a stain on the renown which as a great jurist he had conferred on his country. A far more satisfactory meaning would be 'his distinguished public rank' (as a consular and leading senator); but it is very questionable whether 'publicum' could possibly bear such a substantival meaning. Prof. C. L. Smith, in a carefully reasoned paper on the passage (Harvard Studies in Classical Philology, i. pp. 107–110), is perhaps right in thinking the text unsound, and suggests 'egregium publice locum.'

4. **bonas domi artes.** The contrast drawn by these words is hardly the same as that between 'inlustres domi artes' and 'claritudo militiae' (4. 6, 2); and 'domi partam dignationem' in 13. 42, 8 (if rightly read), is probably to be otherwise understood (see note there); but his juristic learning might be viewed as an accomplishment of private life, apart from the glory shed by it on the state, or his own position as a public man: cp. 'artibus egregiis et pari fama publice' (1. 13, 1). Mr. Smith thinks 'bonae artes' a weak expression for his great accomplishments, and would take it (as Nipp.) of his qualities of personal character (cp. H. 1. 10, 3, &c.); but to these Tacitus would hardly give even that much praise.

5. **religio**, here 'a religious question': cp. below, 'de religionibus.'

6. **valetudine Augustae**: cp. c. 64, 1.

8. **nullum . . . erat.** A difficulty arises from the fact that a temple thus entitled was dedicated at Rome in 581, B.C. 173 (Liv. 40. 40; 42. 3, 10), was evidently in existence in 662, B.C. 92 (Jul. Obsequens, § 113, citing, probably from Livy, a prodigy belonging to that year), and appears to be alluded to, as still standing, even by Vitruvius (3. 3, 2). It may, however, have perished after that date, and the only inscriptions to 'Fortuna' with this title appear to be spurious: see Orelli here and on Inscr. 1746.

9. **apud Antium.** This town being especially the seat of the worship of Fortune (Hor. Od. 1. 35, 1), another temple to that goddess may well have existed there, besides the famous one of the 'Fortunae Antiates' (cp. 15. 23, 3; Insc. Orell. 1738, 1740), but so obscured by it as to be forgotten.

caerimonias, 'worship': cp. c. 60, 3, &c.

Italicis in oppidis templaque et numinum effigies iuris atque imperii Romani esse. ita donum apud Antium statuitur. et 3 quoniam de religionibus tractabatur, dilatum nuper responsum adversus Servium Maluginensem flaminem Dialem prompsit 5 Caesar recitavitque decretum pontificum, quotiens valetudo adversa flaminem Dialem incessisset, ut pontificis maximi arbitrio plus quam binoctium abesset, dum ne diebus publici sacrificii neu saepius quam bis eundem in annum; quae principe Augusto constituta satis ostendebant annuam absentiam et provinciarum 10 administrationem Dialibus non concedi. memorabaturque L. 4 Metelli pontificis maximi exemplum, qui Aulum Postumium flaminem attinuisset. ita sors Asiae in eum qui consularium Maluginensi proximus erat conlata.

72. Isdem diebus Lepidus ab senatu petivit ut basilicam

4. promisit: text L. 5. quotiens non Haase, Dialem non Ritt. 14. M. Lepidus Nipp.

1. **iuris . . . Romani esse.** This is inserted to show that such an offering could be dedicated as lawfully at Antium as at Rome. When the Italians became Roman citizens, it appears to have rested with the pontiffs to decide what 'municipalia sacra' should be kept up: see Marquardt, iii. 320.

3. **dilatum nuper:** cp. c. 59, 1. The 'pontifex maximus' was 'iudex atque arbiter rerum divinarum humanarumque' (Festus): cp. Marquardt, iii. 317. The present question was one of 'ius divinum.'

5. **quotiens valetudo adversa, &c.** The MS. text must be taken to mean that the flamen could be absent for one or two nights at his discretion; but that any further absence required the permission of the chief pontiff, who could allow it only on the plea of illness, and not even on that plea at all times or more than twice a year. It is so difficult to believe that so stringent a rule could have still existed, that some corruption has been thought probable. Yet an ordinance of Augustus of even such severity would imply some relaxation of the old rule, given by Livy (5. 52, 13) as referred to by Camillus, 'flamini Diali noctem unam manere extra urbem nefas est.' For various other restrictions laid upon him see Marquardt, iii. 328.

6. **incessisset,** 'had attacked.' The word is often so used with accus. of person in Livy.

8. **in annum.** The construction resembles that of *εἰς* in such expressions as *εἰς μίαν ἡμέραν* Thuc. 6. 16, 6.

principe Augusto, abl. absol.: cp. 'rege Cyro' c. 62, 4.

11. **Postumium.** He was 'flamen Martialis,' not 'Dialis' (Liv. Epit. 19), and cos. B.C. 242.

12. **attinuisset:** cp. c. 36, 4, &c.

sors Asiae: see c. 32, 2; 58, 1. The province probably fell to Fonteius Capito (cp. 4. 36, 4).

14. **Lepidus.** Tacitus usually gives the praenomen where either Lepidus is mentioned. What is said of his moderate means would identify him with the one mentioned in 2. 48, 1, and would be more likely to be true of Marcus (c. 32, 2) than of Manius Lepidus; also the parentage here given appears not to agree with that of the latter (see note on c. 22, 1).

basilicam Pauli. From what is said below, Lepidus appears to have been grandson of L. Aemilius Paulus, cos. 704, B.C. 50, who was at once the restorer of the old Basilica Aemilia or Fulvia adjoining the Forum, and the founder of the new and magnificent Basilica Pauli (Cic. Att. 4. 16, 14; Plut. Caes. 29; App. B. C. 2. 26), which was completed and dedicated by his son Paulus Aemilius Lepidus, the husband of Cornelia, in his consulship (as cos. suff.), in 720, B.C. 34 (Dio, 49. 42, 2), and was again restored in his name by Augustus and others after

Pauli, Aemilia monumenta, propria pecunia firmaret ornaretque.
2 erat etiam tum in more publica munificentia; nec Augustus
arcuerat Taurum, Philippum, Balbum hostiles exuvias aut exun-
3 dantis opes ornatum ad urbis et posterum gloriam conferre. quo
tum exemplo Lepidus, quamquam pecuniae modicus, avitum 5
4 decus recoluit. at Pompei theatrum igne fortuito haustum
Caesar extructurum pollicitus est, eo quod nemo e familia

3. arguerat: text L.

a fire in 740, B.C. 14 (Dio, 54. 24, 3). Its columns of Phrygian marble are noted by Pliny (N. H. 36. 15, 24, 102). Probably the new basilica adjoined the old one and eclipsed or absorbed it, as one only, the 'belligeri sublimis regia Pauli' (Stat. Sylv. 1. 1, 30), is mentioned by authors. See Middleton, ii. 247.

1. **monumenta**: cp. c. 23, 1.

2. **etiam tum.** In the time of Tacitus himself all such acts were those of the princeps: cp. 'adhuc' 2. 33, 2.

publica, towards the state: cp. 'comparatio deterrima' 1. 10, 6.

nec Augustus arcuerat. He is represented by Velleius (2. 89, 4) and Suetonius (Aug. 29) as even stimulating men to such acts of munificence. Suetonius instances the same three persons who are here mentioned. The use of 'arceo' with inf., though elsewhere apparently confined to poets, is analogous to those noted in Introd. v. § 43.

3. **Taurum.** On Statilius Taurus cp. 6. 11, 6. His amphitheatre, the first, and, till the Flavian era, the only one of stone, was in the Campus Martius, and was dedicated by him in 724, B.C. 30 (Dio, 51. 23, 1). It is stated by Dio (62. 18, 2) to have perished in the fire of Nero, and is not mentioned in later times: see Middleton, ii 77.

Philippum. L. Marcius Philippus, son of the stepfather of Augustus, was trib. pl. in 705, B.C. 49 (Caes. B. C. 1. 6, 4), praetor in 710, B.C. 44 (Cic. Phil. 3. 10, 25). Borghesi also shows that he was cos. suff. in 716, B.C. 38, and gained a triumph from Spain. His 'aedes Herculis Musarum' (Suet. l. l.), the 'clari monumenta Philippi' of Ovid (Fast. 6, 801), with an adjoining 'porticus' (Mart. 5. 49, 12), close to the 'porticus Octaviae,' appears to have been a restoration of that erected in 567, B.C. 187, by Q. Fulvius Nobilior. Some slight remains are traceable: see Middleton, ii. 206.

Balbum. L. Cornelius P. f. Balbus, a consular of the famous Spanish family, had gained a triumph (for successes as proconsul in Africa in 735, B.C. 19) and a pontificate (Vell. 2. 51, 2, &c.). His theatre, less important than those of Pompeius and Marcellus, stood in the Campus Martius, near the river, and was dedicated by him in 741, B.C. 13 (Dio, 54. 25, 2). Some remains exist: see Middleton, ii. 73, 74.

hostiles exuvias; so 'bellorum exuviae' Juv. 10, 133; here for the general's prize-money ('manubiae').

4. **ornatum ad urbis.** On the anastrophe see Introd. v. § 77. 4.

5. **pecuniae modicus.** On the gen. cp. 2. 73, 3; on the probable reason for the fact see c. 32, 2.

avitum decus: see note above, § 1, and the full account of his lineage given by Nipp. from Borghesi.

6. **recoluit**, 'renewed'; so used of images replaced (H. 3. 7, 3), or of persons reinvested with dignities (H. 1. 77, 5).

Pompei theatrum: see on c. 23, 1. It would appear from 6. 45, 2 (where see note) that the 'scaena' alone was destroyed, and that, if he completed restoration, he left the dedication to the Gaius.

haustum, thus metaphorically applied to destruction by fire in 12. 58, 2; H. 4. 60, 5; Liv. 5. 7. 3. &c.

7. **extructurum.** On the omission of 'se' cp. Introd. v. § 8.

nemo e familia. The only Pompeius known at this time, and apparently the last of that house (see 1. 7, 3, &c.), must be supposed to have been poor: Nipp. notes that, in a passage cited as proving the opposite to this (Sen. Tranq. An. 11. 8, 10), 'Ptolemaeo' should be read for 'Pompeio.'

restaurando sufficeret, manente tamen nomine Pompei. simul laudibus Seianum extulit, tamquam labore vigilantiaque eius tanta vis unum intra damnum stetisset. et censuere patres 5 effigiem Seiano, quae apud theatrum Pompei locaretur. neque 6 multo post Caesar, cum Iunium Blaesum pro consule Africae triumphi insignibus attolleret, dare id se dixit honori Seiani, cuius ille avunculus erat. ac tamen res Blaesi dignae decore tali fuere.

73. Nam Tacfarinas, quamquam saepius depulsus, reparatis per intima Africae auxiliis huc adrogantiae venerat, ut legatos ad Tiberium mitteret sedemque ultro sibi atque exercitui suo postularet, aut bellum inexplicabile minitaretur. non alias 2 magis sua populique Romani contumelia indoluisse Caesarem ferunt, quam quod desertor et praedo hostium more ageret. ne 3 Spartaco quidem post tot consularium exercituum clades inultam 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 ne- 4 gotium Blaeso, ceteros quidem ad spem proliceret arma sine

12. inexpiabile Pluygers.

1. **restaurando sufficeret.** 'Sufficere' is used with gerundial dat. (cp. Introd. v. § 22 a) in Liv. 26, 36: for its use with gerundive cp. 4. 23, 1; 6. 4, 4; Agr. 45, 2. 'Restauro' is post-Augustan.

2. **tamquam,** 'on the ground (or plea) that.' The expression does not necessarily insinuate the falsehood of what is alleged; which certainly in some instances (cp. 4. 31, 7; 11. 4, 3; H. 1. 8, 5, &c.) seems implied to be true. See Introd. v. § 67, and several passages cited here by Nipp.

3. **intra . . . stetisset,** 'had not gone beyond': cp. c. 75, 4; 4. 7, 1, 'citra stetit' 12. 22, 3, 'sistere intra' 4. 40, 7, also 'utinam . . . intra verba peccasset' Curt. 7. 1, 26.

4. **apud theatrum** = 'in theatro' (Introd. v. § 57). Seneca (Cons. ad Marc. 22, 4) quotes an exclamation of Cremutius Cordus (see 4. 34, 1) on hearing of this decree, 'tunc vere theatrum perire.' It would seem that the statue was at once erected: cp. 4. 7, 3.

5. **Blaesum:** see c. 35, 1, &c.

9. **Nam Tacfarinas,** &c. The account in these chapters is a condensed summary of events from c. 32.

10. **huc,** so with genit. in 6. 24, 4.

12. **inexplicabile,** 'endless,' a metaphor from an insoluble knot, used of impassable roads (Liv. 40. 33, 2), and an incurable disease (Pl. Ep. 5. 21, 2). 'Inexpiabile bellum' (Liv., &c.) is a more common expression, but the word here aptly expresses a guerilla war leading to no issue.

non alias. The frequent use of this phrase at the beginning of a sentence (2. 46, 4; 4. 69, 6, &c.) seems a reminiscence of Verg. G. 1, 487.

14. **desertor:** cp. 2. 52, 2.

hostium more, 'as a belligerent.'

15. **Spartaco.** His rising lasted from 681–683, B.C. 73–71. He defeated both the consuls of 682, B.C. 72, besides a proconsul and two praetors. The Sertorian war lasted through a year of this period, the Mithridatic war through all of it (cp. Liv. Epit. 96).

18. **fastigio:** cp. c. 29, 2.

5 noxa ponendi, ipsius autem ducis quoquo modo poteretur. et recepti ea venia plerique. mox adversum artes Tacfarinatis haud dissimili modo belligeratum.

74. Nam quia ille robore exercitus inpar, furandi melior, pluris per globos incursaret eluderetque et insidias simul temp- 5
2 taret, tres incessus, totidem agmina parantur. ex quis Cornelius Scipio legatus praefuit qua praedatio in Leptitanos et suffugia Garamantum; alio latere, ne Cirtensium pagi impune trahe-
3 rentur, propriam manum Blaesus filius duxit. medio cum delectis, castella et munitiones idoneis locis inponens, dux ipse 10

1. poteretur: the 'e' form is most common, cp. oreretur, 2. 47, 5, and Baiter there.
7. lepcinos: text Freinsh. (H. 4. 50, 5; Sall. Jug. 77, 2; 79, 1).

1. **noxa**, 'punishment'; frequent in Livy and in jurists.

et recepti, &c. Wilmanns, commenting (Eph. Ep. ii. 271–284) on an inscription found on the borders of Algeria and Tunis, notes the mention of a 'Musulamiorum civitas' in that locality, and thinks that those who were at this time induced to surrender were settled there, and that the 'defectio' mentioned in 4. 24, 2, relates to them. He also connects with them the mention of a 'Musulamiorum praefectus' in the time of Nerva, and of a 'cohors Musulamiorum' in another inscription.

3. **haud dissimili modo**: cp. 'suis ... artibus peti' Liv. 22. 16, 5.

4. **furandi melior**. On the gen. cp. Introd. v. § 33 e γ. Dräger notes that such a genitive is used with 'melior' only here and in Silius.

5. **incursaret**, &c. The subjunct. is probably that denoting frequent occurrence (cp. below, § 3). Nipp. gives a different, but apparently less satisfactory explanation. For 'eluderet' cp. 2. 52, 6.

6. **tres incessus**. The word would seem to be best taken here, as in 6. 33, 5, as 'directions of advance'; 'parantur' being taken strictly with 'agmina,' and by zeugma, in some such sense as 'deliguntur,' with 'incessus.' The left column is directed towards Leptis and the Garamantes, the right covers the outlet from the Aures towards Cirta, while the main army advances by Theveste (Tebessa) into the territory of the Musulamii (see 2. 52, 2), and occupies it (§ 5): see Momms. Hist. v. 633, E. T. ii. 318.

Cornelius Scipio, probably the person mentioned in 11. 2, 5; 4, 7; 12. 53, 3. An inscription (C. I. L. v. 4329) shows him to have been legatus of the Ninth legion, employed in this campaign (4. 23, 2), and afterwards consul (probably suff. in 777 or 780, A.D. 24 or 27); and to have held other offices. His father (Insc. Orell. 644) and son (13. 25, 1) were also consulars, and one of the three procos. of Asia (C. I. G. 3186).

7. **Leptitanos**. Leptis minor (Lamta or Lamba), a free city between Thapsus and Adrumetum, is here meant; Leptis maior (Lebdah) being east of Tripoli, and beyond what can reasonably be supposed to be the field of operations.

suffugia Garamantum, 'places of retreat among the Garamantes' (cp. 4. 47, 2; G. 16, 4, &c.): the word is used in post-Augustan prose and in Ovid. The Garamantes are generally placed in Fezzan, certainly far nearer Leptis 'maior' than 'minor,' but they extended further westward, as would appear from the campaigns against them under Augustus (see Momms. Hist. v. 630, E. T. ii. 315).

8. **Cirtensium**, Cirta, the chief town of Numidia or New Africa, restored by Constantine under his own name; which is still borne by the modern city, the capital of the French province.

trahorentur, 'should be plundered': cp. 'Aeduorum pagos trahebat' H. 2. 61, 2. The use appears taken from Sall. (letter of Mithridates) H. 4. 61, 17 D, 19 K, p. 155 G.

9. **Blaesus filius**: see on 1. 19, 4.

arta et infensa hostibus cuncta fecerat, quia, quoquo inclinarent,
pars aliqua militis Romani in ore in latere et saepe a tergo erat;
multique eo modo caesi aut circumventi. tunc tripertitum exer- 4
citum pluris in manus dispergit praeponitque centuriones virtutis
5 expertae. nec, ut mos fuerat, acta aestate retrahit copias aut in 5
hibernaculis veteris provinciae componit, sed ut in limine belli
dispositis castellis per expeditos et solitudinum gnaros mutantem
mapalia Tacfarinatem proturbabat, donec fratre eius capto re-
gressus est, properantius tamen quam ex utilitate sociorum,
10 relictis per quos resurgeret bellum. sed Tiberius pro confecto 6
interpretatus id quoque Blaeso tribuit ut imperator a legionibus
salutaretur prisco erga duces honore, qui bene gesta re publica
gaudio et impetu victoris exercitus conclamabantur; erantque
plures simul imperatores nec super ceterorum aequalitatem. 7
15 concessit quibusdam et Augustus id vocabulum, ac tunc Tiberius
Blaeso postremum.

75. Obiere eo anno viri inlustres Asinius Saloninus, M.

1. **quoquo inclinarent**, subjunct., expressing frequency: cp. Introd. v. § 52.

2. **in ore** = 'in conspectu': cp. 'in ore vulgi' H. 3. 36, 1.

6. **veteris.** The original Africa as distinct from Numidia: see on 2. 52, 1.

ut in limine belli, perhaps best taken, with Nipp., to mean 'as if the war was but beginning,' instead of the summer being over: cp. 'in primo limine vitae' Sen. Herc. F. 1132.

7. **mutantem mapalia**; adapted, like 'positis mapalibus' (4. 25, 1), from terms used of a camp. Such movable 'mapalia' are mentioned by Livy (29. 31) and described by Vergil (G. 3, 331–334). and, according to Shaw (Travels, i. p. 397), answer to the 'hhymas' or 'beet-el-shar' ('houses of hair'), the goatskin tents, in shape like an inverted boat, of the Bedoweens. Sallust, who thus describes their shape (Jug. 18, 8), calls them 'aedificia,' apparently confounding them with such huts as are spoken of ('arundine texta storeaque . . . tecta') in Liv. 30. 3, 9; which according to Shaw (p. 400) answer to the 'gurbies' (of hurdles daubed with mud or of sunbaked clay and thatch) used by the Kabyles; supposed by him to be the 'magalia' of Vergil (Aen. 1, 421). Both words are used for the single tent or hut, and for collections of them (the 'douwars' of the former, 'dashkrahs' of the latter).

11. **id quoque**, i.e. besides the 'triumphalia.'

12. **prisco . . . honore.** Livy (27. 19, 4) represents Scipio Africanus as saying that he had this title from his soldiers; and it is found on inscriptions nearly approaching that time: see Staatsr. i. 124.

13. **gaudio et impetu**: cp. the similar hendiadys in H. 1. 27, 5; 2. 70, 5; 4. 49, 6.

conclamabantur, apparently shortened for such an expression as that of Caesar (B. C. 2. 26, 1) 'universi exercitus conclamatione imperator appellatur.'

14. **plures**, 'more than one,' 'several.'

15. **concessit quibusdam et Augustus.** All the instances which Mommsen (l. l. 125) has collected are prior to the formal constitution of the principate in 727, B. C. 27; after which (see also Id. ii. 267) the title is confined to members of the imperial family or probably to sharers in the 'imperium proconsulare' (Introd. vi. p. 98); in which respect the position of the proconsul of Africa at this time was exceptional (Id. vii. p. 115).

17. **Obiere . . . viri inlustres.** Dio (57. 21, 3) states that Tiberius in this year honoured the memory of some by public funerals and statues.

Asinius Saloninus one of the sons of Asinius Gallus and of Vipsania, former

Agrippa et Pollione Asinio avis, fratre Druso insignis Caesarique progener destinatus, et Capito Ateius, de quo memoravi, principem in civitate locum studiis civilibus adsecutus, sed avo
2 centurione Sullano, patre praetorio. consulatum ei adceleraverat Augustus, ut Labeonem Antistium isdem artibus praecel- 5
3 lentem dignatione eius magistratus anteiret. namque illa aetas duo pacis decora simul tulit: sed Labeo incorrupta libertate, et ob id fama celebratior, Capitonis obsequium dominantibus magis
4 probabatur. illi, quod praeturam intra stetit, commendatio ex iniuria, huic, quod consulatum adeptus est, odium ex invidia 10 oriebatur.

76. Et Iunia sexagensimo quarto post Philippensem aciem anno supremum diem explevit, Catone avunculo genita, C. Cassii uxor, M. Bruti soror. testamentum eius multo apud

6. magistratibus: text B.

wife of Tiberius (cp. 1. 12, 6, and note on 6. 23, 3). Asinius Gallus also bore the surname Saloninus, commemorating the capture of Salonae in Delmatia by his father Pollio in 715, B. C. 39.

2. **progener**, i. e. as husband to a daughter of Germanicus.

de quo memoravi: cp. c. 70, 2; also 1. 76, 3; 79, 1.

3. **principem in civitate locum**, used in Dial. 34, 1 of the first orator of the age. Here the 'civilia studia,' which might include also oratory, are understood of juristic knowledge only.

4. **consulatum**. He was cos. suff. in 758, A. D. 5: cp. C. I. L. i. p. 474; Eph. Epig. iii. p. 11; where his full name is given, 'C. Ateius L. f. L. n. Capito.' It would thus appear that his father (the 'praetorius') is the L. Ateius, L. f., An. Capito mentioned in a senatus consultum in Cic. ad Fam. 8. 8, 5. Another, C. Ateius Capito, was trib. pl. in B. C. 55 (Dio, 39. 32, 3).

5. **Labeonem Antistium**, mentioned by Gellius (13. 10, &c.), and constantly in juridical writings. His father, who killed himself after Philippi (App. B. C. 4. 135), was also a jurist.

7. **duo pacis decora**. They are known in the history of jurisprudence as the founders of the two schools called, from the names of subsequent leaders, Sabinians and Proculians. The decisions of Capito are described as strictly grounded on, those of Labeo as more independent of, tradition and precedent (Dig. 1. 2, 2, § 47): see Gibbon, ch. 44.

incorrupta libertate, abl. of quality. His rival Capito, quoted by Gellius (13. 12), says he had a 'libertas nimia atque vecors.' An illustration is given by Dio (54. 15, 7) and Suetonius (Aug. 54), that at the choice of senators in 736, B. C. 18, 'quum vir virum legeret,' he chose M. Lepidus the ex-triumvir, though an enemy of Augustus, and exiled from Rome, and defended his choice with spirit.

8. **obsequium**: cp. c. 70, 2. The story, that he said of a doubtful word used by Tiberius, that if it was not Latin, it would soon become so (Suet. de Gr. 22), is hardly to the point.

9. **intra stetit**: cp. c. 72, 5. According to a later account (Dig. l. l.), he refused a consulship.

12. **Iunia**. Servilia, half-sister of M. Cato Uticensis, and, by her first marriage, mother of M. Brutus the conspirator, afterwards married D. Iunius Silanus, cos. 692, B. C. 62, by whom she had this daughter, known also as Tertia (Suet. Iul. 50) or Tertulla (Cic. Att. 14. 20, 2; 15. 11, 1), and another older Iunia, wife of M. Lepidus the triumvir (Cic. Att. 6. 2, 25; Phil. 13. 4, 8; Vell. 2. 88, 1, &c.).

13. **genita**, used loosely of a niece by blood. The passage cited by Nipp. (12. 64, 4) is not fully parallel, as 'avunculo Augusto' is there abl. abs., which can hardly be the case here.

14. **multo . . . rumore fuit**, 'was one

vulgum rumore fuit, quia in magnis opibus, cum ferme cunctos proceres cum honore nominavisset, Caesarem omisit. quod civi- 3
liter acceptum, neque prohibuit quo minus laudatione pro rostris ceterisque sollemnibus funus cohonestaretur. viginti clarissima- 4
5 rum familiarum imagines antelatae sunt, Manlii, Quinctii aliaque eiusdem nobilitatis nomina. sed praefulgebant Cassius atque 5
Brutus eo ipso, quod effigies eorum non visebantur.

1. operibus: text B. 7. P. CORNELI LIBER III FINIT. INCIPIT LIBER IIII.

of much notoriety.' Nipp. notes such ablatives of quality in 4. 52, 8; 58, 1; 6. 47, 3; 51, 3.

2. **quod civiliter acceptum**, 'which Tiberius took as a citizen should'; i. e. did not resent it 'vi principis' (c. 12, 4), by prohibiting her funeral honours: cp. 'civiliter . . . habuit' 4. 21, 2, 'comitia . . . civiliter celebrans' H. 2. 91, 2.

4. **cohonestaretur**, 'should receive general honour'; so 'ad cohonestandas exequias' Cic. Quint. 15, 50, 'ad memoriam puellae cohonestandam' Inscr. Orell. 5037.

viginti . . . familiarum. That 'ancestry' was a wide term in such cases is shown by c. 5, 2 (where see note). The names given here are those not of families but of 'gentes' (see note on 2. 52, 8).

5. **Manlii**. The son of T. Manlius Torquatus, cos. 589, B.C. 165, was adopted by D. Iunius Silanus (Cic. de Fin. 1. 7, 24). The relationship with the Quinctii is not traceable.

7. **non visebantur**. Their effigies were certainly preserved in households (4. 35, 3; 16. 7, 3; Dio, 53. 32, 4), and were objects of special reverence, even in Pliny's time; who says of Titinius Capito 'mirum . . . quo studio imagines Brutorum, Cassiorum, Catonum domi, ubi potest, habeat' (Epp. 1. 17, 3). The last words imply that they were not shown publicly, whether by positive prohibition (cp. 2. 32, 2), or as a matter of prudence. 'Viso' is thus used for the simple 'video' in 13. 46, 4; 14. 1, 5, &c.

APPENDIX III.

EXCURSUS ON THE 'LEX PAPIA POPPAEA' (see 3. 25–28).

NOTE.—In the preparation of this Excursus, little more has been done than to condense and arrange the materials collected by Mr. T. F. Dallin; with some addition to the introductory and supplemental remarks.

THAT Tacitus makes the mention of this law an occasion for a dissertation on the origin and development of law in general, and of Roman law in particular, is an evidence that he considered it to form an era in legislation. Still stronger testimony to its importance is given by the constant references to it in the Digest; and the numerous comments of the jurists on its provisions[1], which have rendered possible such restorations of it as have been made.

The laws of Rome, probably from a very early period, had encouraged marriage and the rearing of children, and discouraged celibacy[2]. The censor was himself probably required by old law to be a married man[3], and was entitled to question citizens as to their condition, and to levy a fine ('uxorium') from the unmarried[4].

The attention of the dictator Caesar had been called to the need of fresh legislation in this direction by the revelation in the census-lists of the ravages which the civil wars had made in the population[5]; which he endeavoured to meet by offering valuable rewards to the fathers of many children[6].

The years following his death must have aggravated the evil, which thus demanded a prominent place in the social and domestic legislation of Augustus. His earlier efforts, which began perhaps from his sixth

[1] It is often mentioned as 'Leges' *κατ' ἐξοχήν* by Proculus, Pomponius, &c., and in the ancient Index to the Pandects (Heinecc. pp. 13, 14).

[2] Some kind of 'ius trium liberorum' has been thought to date from the regal period, but this is questioned by Heineccius (pp. 26, 27).

[3] Cicero (de Legg. 3. 4, 7) lays down such a law, apparently from ancient precedent.

[4] Cic. de Orat. 2. 64, 260; Val. Max. 2. 9, 1; Plut. Camill. p. 129; Id. M. Cat. p. 345; Gell. 4. 20; Festus, s. v. 'uxorium.'

[5] See App. B. C. 2. 102.

[6] Dio, 43. 25, 2 *πολυπαιδίας ἆθλα ἐπέθηκεν*. He had already given privileges to parents of three or more children in the distribution of the Campanian lands (Suet. Jul. 20; App. B. C. 2. 10).

consulship in 726, B.C. 28[1], had endeavoured to deal with the subject in the most energetic and stringent manner; but met with such a storm of opposition as to compel him to withdraw and modify his proposals[2]. In some milder form, the 'lex Iulia de maritandis ordinibus' was passed in 736, B.C. 18[3]; but an interval of three years was given before it should be enforced[4].

Towards the close of his life, in 762, A.D. 9, he took the further step of procuring the enactment of a great and comprehensive measure, designed apparently to absorb and codify much if not all of the 'ius civile' on the subjects of marriages and wills. This law, fully sanctioned by senate and comitia[5], is generally named after the consuls its actual proposers, but often called in full 'lex Iulia et Papia Poppaea de maritandis ordinibus.'

The following account of its several chapters is taken mainly from the treatise of Heineccius[6]: who has collected such fragments of the text as have been preserved, and has restored the rest from what is known respecting its substance.

Lex Maritalis.

Cap. I. De senatorum eorumque liberorum nuptiis. 'Qui senator est quive filius neposve ex filio proneposve ex filio nato, cuius eorum est, erit: ne quis eorum sponsam uxoremve sciens dolo malo habeto libertinam, aut eam quae ipsa cuiusve pater materve artem ludicram facit, fecerit. Neve senatoris filia neptisve ex filio proneptisve ex nepote filio nato nata libertino eive qui ipse cuiusve pater materve artem ludicram facit, fecerit sponsa nuptave sciens dolo malo esto: neve quis eorum dolo malo sciens sponsam uxoremve eam habeto[7].'

Cap. II. De ingenuorum nuptiis. 'Omnibus reliquis ingenuis praeter senatores eorumque liberos libertinam uxorem habere liceto; . . .[8] at ne quis ingenuus eam quae palam quaestum corpore facit, fecerit; lenam, a lenone manumissam, aut iudicio publico damnatam, aut in adulterio deprehensam quaeve artem ludicram facit fecerit sponsam uxoremve sciens dolo malo habeto.'

Cap. III. De sexagenariis, quinquagenariis, spadonibus[9].

[1] See Ann. 3. 28, 3, 4.

[2] Suet. Aug. 34. Propertius, in an elegy (2. 7) written probably between 726-730, B.C. 28-24, expresses his own and Cynthia's joy at the withdrawal of this law.

[3] Dio, 54. 16. Horace alludes to it as a new law in 737, B.C. 17 (Carm. Saec. 17-20). [4] Suet. l. l.

[5] See Heineccius, pp. 50, 51.

[6] In vol. iii. of his collected works, part 3, pp. 1-446. The Geneva edition of 1767 is referred to. Several later authorities are cited by Marquardt, Staatsv. ii. 291, n. 8. See also Dr. Moyle's summary of the whole law in Dict. of Ant. ii. 44.

[7] Preserved by Paullus.

[8] Preserved by Celsus: cp. Dio, 54. 16, 2; 56. 7. 2.

[9] This chapter dealt with exemptions: men above sixty and women above fifty

Cap. IV. De concubinatu[1].
Cap. V. De sponsalibus[2].
Cap. VI. De poenis iniustarum nuptiarum[3].
Cap. VII. De privilegiis maritorum et parentum in gerendis honoribus[4].
Cap. VIII. De eorundem privilegiis in petendis honoribus[5].
Cap. IX. De immunitate ob liberorum numerum[6].
Cap. X. De iure Quiritium ob liberos consequendo[7].
Cap. XI. De liberatione liberti ab operis ob liberos[8].
Cap. XII. De mulierum liberatione a tutela ob numerum liberorum[9].
Cap. XIII. De divortio libertae prohibito. 'Ne divortii faciundi potestas libertae quae nupta est patrono, quamdiu is eam uxorem esse, volet; neve invito illo alii nubendi potestas esto[10].'
Cap. XIV. De tutore muliere dotis causa dando[11].
Cap. XV.–XIX. 'Leges decimariae[12].'
Cap. XX.–XXVIII. De solidi capacitate[13].
Cap. XXIX. De legato sub conditione caelibatus relicto[14].

were under the penalties of the law for life, unless they had married before attaining those respective ages. By a senatus consultum passed under the rule of Claudius, an exemption extended to men who were sixty years old at the time of marriage, if the wife was under fifty (Suet. Cl. 23; Ulp. Fr. Tit. xvi. 3).

[1] That a chapter existed on this subject is inferred by Hein. from the statements of jurists. He imagines it to have run somewhat as follows: 'Quas personas per hanc legem uxores habere non licet, eas concubinas habere ius esto: ingenuam honestam in concubinatu habere ius ne esto.' These details are doubtful.

[2] Enacting that a girl should not be betrothed under ten years old; that marriage should follow within two years of betrothal; that women should be allowed two years from widowhood, or six months from divorce, before remarriage (Suet. Aug. 34; Dio, 54. 16, 7; Ulp. Fragm. Tit. xiv. 1).

[3] Those who married unlawfully were to be treated as unmarried (Ulp. Fragm. Tit. xvi. 2).

[4] A consul who had more children ranked as senior, a married consul took precedence of an unmarried (Gell. 2, 15).

[5] The same principle applied to candidates (cp. Pl. Epp. 7. 16, 2). Tacitus records a breach of this provision (Ann. 2. 51, 2), and its evasion by fraudulent adoptions (15. 19, 1).

[6] A father of three children was exempted from personal duties (as 'tutela,' &c.) at Rome.

[7] A Latin father or mother of three children was to be a Roman.

[8] The full text of this chapter is preserved by Paullus. It exempts a freedman who had two or more children 'in sua potestate' from such 'operae' as he was bound to furnish to his patron.

[9] This exemption was given for three children to a 'Romana,' for four to a 'libertina.'

[10] Preserved by Ulpian.

[11] A 'tutor ad dotem dandam' to be assigned in certain cases by the praetor urbanus (Ulp. Fragm. Tit. xi. 20).

[12] The titles and contents of these chapters need not here be given. They entitle husband and wife, as such, to succeed to one tenth of each other's property, and to further tenths, in right of children by another marriage, and on other grounds (Ulp. Fragm. Tit. xv.: see Heinecc. pp. 87–89, and Comm. pp. 257–273).

[13] These chapters treat of the causes entitling husband and wife to succeed to the whole of each other's property, and to legacies or inheritances from the wills of others (Ulp. Fragm. Tit. xvi. For full explanation see Heinecc. Comm. pp. 273–293).

[14] The legatee was discharged from the condition.

Cap. XXX. De iureiurando libertis remittendo[1].

Cap. XXXI. De iure adfinitatis inter vitricum, etc.[2]

Cap. XXXII. De privilegiis absentium reip. causa[3].

Cap. XXXIII. De indulgentia senatus[4].

Cap. XXXIV. De divortii modo et poena[5].

Cap. XXXV. De cogendis parentibus ut liberos elocent. 'Qui liberos quos habent in potestate, iniuria prohibebunt ducere uxores vel nubere, in matrimonium eos collocare per praetorem urbanum coguntor[6].'

Cap. XXXVI. De poenis caelibatus. 'Caelibes, nisi intra centum dies huic legi paruerint, neque haereditatem, neque legatum ex testamento, nisi proximorum genere capiunto[7].'

Cap. XXXVII. De poenis orbitatis. 'Si qui coniugum masculus (ultra vicesimum quintum annum) femina (ultra vicesimum) orbi erunt, semissem relictorum tantum capiunto[8].'

Capp. XXXVIII–XLIV. De iure patronatus[9].

Lex Caducaria.

The second half of this law is thus entitled by Heineccius; who makes it consist of fifteen chapters. No fragments of them are preserved, and the restoration of this part of the law is much less certain in its details; but it is known generally to have dealt with the subject of lapsed inheritances, and the proportions and conditions under which they became public property. All that is known of their provisions is fully given and explained by Heineccius (pp. 357, foll.).

Such inheritances or legacies as could not be taken by the persons to whom they were devised accrued firstly to conjoint legatees of the same

[1] An oath not to marry, exacted by a patron, was not to be binding.

[2] Affinities, except between father-in-law and son-in-law, to be annulled by death or divorce.

[3] Those absent on the public service to be exempt from the penalties of the law.

[4] The senate might legalize an otherwise illegal marriage, as between a senator and freedwoman.

[5] This law fixed the share of dower to be returned to the wife on divorce, and was intended to discourage divorce by making it entail loss.

[6] Preserved by Marcianus.

[7] The text of this section is given as conceived by Heineccius from Ulp. Fr. Tit. xvii. 1, and other sources. 'Caelebs' is defined to be an unmarried man between twenty and sixty, or an unmarried woman between twenty and fifty (see above, cap. iii., and Poste, Gaius, p. 252). The exception, within which inheritances or legacies were allowed to accrue, extended to ascendants and descendants as far as the third degree.

[8] The text of this chapter is a restoration like the former. The pains and penalties of celibacy and childlessness were abolished by Constantine in A.D. 320 (see Poste on Gaius, p. 252).

[9] Cp. cap. xi. The general object of these seven chapters was to define the rights of the patronus over the person or property of his married freedman and freedwoman. Their provisions are explained by Heineccius (Comm. pp. 344–356): see also Poste, Gaius, p. 307, foll.

specific thing with children, in the second place to heirs with children, in the third to other legatees with children[1], failing all these, to the aerarium[2], or, in later times, to the fiscus.

This law, though having for its apparent object 'to add force to the penalties on celibacy and to enrich the treasury[3],' encountered no such vigorous opposition as that which had blunted the edge of the 'lex Iulia[4].' The senate had been schooled by twenty-five years of submission, and people had perhaps found out that it was easier to evade laws than to resist their enactment. The consuls from whom this law is named were both unmarried[5]; nor, according to Tacitus[6], did marriage or the rearing of children become more frequent.

In one respect the law was indeed most fruitful. By it was given the first general encouragement, on a large scale, and in a matter affecting private life, to systematic delation[7], and the first brood of professional informers was called into being; whose activity in respect to other laws, and especially that of 'maiestas,' forms so large a part of the domestic history of the age. When this activity was let loose upon a law whose vast and complicated network was such as to entangle every family in some or other of its meshes[8], we can easily see that its working must have caused intolerable annoyances unforeseen at its enactment, and can understand the outcry which in ten years was already demanding relaxation. The law itself thus marks the extreme limit of legislative interference with private life in this respect, and its subsequent history as known to us is that of its mitigation. 'Many of its entanglements were resolved' by the commission under Tiberius[9], another important provision was relaxed by Claudius[10], the rewards of informers were cut down by Nero[11], and princes often gave the 'ius liberorum' to those who had it not[12]. Thus the severity of many of its penalties became so far obsolete

[1] Hence Juvenal says (9, 87) to one who had attained the 'iura parentis,' 'scriberis heres, legatum omne capis necnon et dulce caducum.'

[2] Compare the language of Tacitus (3. 28, 4) 'velut parens omnium populus vacantia teneret.' The 'leges caducariae' were made more stringent by Caracalla, but practically abolished by Constantine, and formally by Justinian (see Poste, Gaius, p. 252; Marquardt, ii. pp. 291–293).

[3] Ann. 3. 25, 1 'incitandis caelibum poenis et augendo aerario.'

[4] Dio (56. 1, 2) mentions a complaint of the knights, apparently in anticipation of this law, and gives at length what purports to be the reply of Augustus in support of its principles.

[5] Dio, 56. 10, 3.

[6] L. l. 'nec ideo coniugia et educationes liberum frequentabantur.'

[7] 3. 28, 4 'inditi custodes et lege Papia Poppaea praemiis inducti.'

[8] L. l. 'altius penetrabant urbemque et Italiam et quod usquam civium corripuerant, multorumque excisi status.'

[9] L. l. 'exsoluti plerique legis nexus.'

[10] See above, cap. iii. and Suet. Cl. 23. The statement there by Suetonius, that Tiberius had added the provision which Claudius repealed, appears improbable.

[11] 'Praemia delatorum Papiae legis ad quartas redegit' Suet. Ner. 10.

[12] Pl. Epp. 2. 13, 8; 10. 2, 1, &c.: cp. Momms. Staatsr. ii. 888.

that Tertullian, writing under Septimius Severus, speaks of 'vanissimas Papias leges[1],' and Ammianus Marcellinus notes still the social tyranny of the bachelor and the childless[2].

But that the law as a whole was still active, is shown by its being repeated, cited, explained, or illustrated by Ulpian, Ter. Clemens, Gaius, Paullus, Marcellus, &c.; and by notices in the Institutes of Justinian, which could scarcely have been made to an obsolete law.

[1] Apol. 4. [2] 14, 19.

BOOK IV.

SUMMARY OF CONTENTS.

A. U. C. 776, A. D. 23. C. Asinius Pollio, C. Antistius Vetus, coss.

Ch. 1. Ascendency of Seianus; his origin and character. 2. Concentration of the praetorian guards in a camp; influence of Seianus with the soldiers and the senate. 3. His schemes against Drusus. 4. Drusus, son of Germanicus, enters public life; professed intention of Tiberius to visit the provinces. 5, 6. Review of the military and civil organization of the empire. 7–9. Hostility of Drusus and Seianus; the former poisoned; behaviour of Tiberius on his son's death; honours to his memory. 10, 11. A story, that Tiberius had himself caused the death of Drusus, rejected. 12. Designs of Seianus against the family of Germanicus. 13. Provincial grievances dealt with by Tiberius. 14. Further deputations on right of asylum; pantomime actors expelled from Italy. 15. Death of Lucilius Longus and of a son of Drusus; condemnation of Lucilius Capito; the Asiatic cities permitted to erect a temple to Tiberius, Augusta, and the senate. 16. Regulations respecting the flamen Dialis, and the Vestals.

A. U. C. 777, A. D. 24. Ser. Cornelius Cethegus, L. Visellius Varro, coss.

Ch. 17. Jealousy of Tiberius at mention of Nero and Drusus in the 'vota solemnia.' 18–20. Trial and death of C. Silius, and banishment of his wife Sosia; independence of character shown by M'. Lepidus. 21. L. Piso is accused, and dies before trial; Cassius Severus banished to Seriphos. 22. Plautius Silvanus convicted of the murder of his wife. 23–26. Tacfarinas finally defeated and killed by Dolabella; presents sent from the senate to Ptolemaeus, king of Mauretania. 27. An incipient servile insurrection crushed near Brundisium. 28–30. Vibius Serenus accused by his son; the extreme penalty modified. 31. Cominius pardoned for a libel; Suillius condemned for selling justice; Firmius Catus for false accusation. 32, 33. Apology of Tacitus for the monotony of his subject.

A. U. C. 778, A. D. 25. Cossus Cornelius Lentulus, M. Asinius Agrippa, coss.

Ch. 34, 35. Trial of Cremutius Cordus for praise of Brutus and Cassius; his defence and suicide. 36. Charges brought before young Drusus, praef. urbis; Cyzicus deprived of its freedom. 37, 38. Tiberius rejects the petition to allow a temple to himself in Spain. 39, 40. Seianus asks Livia in marriage; reply of Tiberius. 41. Seianus urges him to retire from Rome. 42. The trial of Votienus influences Tiberius in this direction; others severely sentenced. 43. Decision on a question of boundary between Messenia and Laconia, and on other provincial matters. 44. Deaths of Cn. Lentulus and L. Domitius at Rome, and of L. Antonius at Massilia. 45. Murder of L. Piso in Spain.

A. U. C. 779, A. D. 26. Cn. Cornelius Lentulus Gaetulicus, C. Calvisius Sabinus, coss.

Ch. 46-51. Triumphalia awarded to Poppaeus Sabinus, for the suppression of an insurrection in Thrace. 52–54. Agrippina, alarmed at the condemnation of her cousin Claudia Pulchra, remonstrates with Tiberius, and afterwards requests him to give her a husband; Seianus increases the enmity between them. 55, 56. Eleven Asiatic cities contend for the honour of possessing the temple to be erected to Tiberius; Sardes and Smyrna preferred and the latter selected. 57, 58. Tiberius permanently quits Rome; his reasons suggested, and predictions respecting him discussed. 59. His life saved by Seianus on the falling of a cave. 60. Schemes of Seianus against Nero. 61. Deaths of Asinius Agrippa and Q. Haterius.

A. U. C. 780, A. D. 27. M. Licinius Crassus Frugi, L. Calpurnius Piso, coss.

Ch. 62, 63. Disastrous loss of life from the fall of an amphitheatre at Fidenae. 64, 65. Destructive fire on the Mons Caelius; liberality of Tiberius, and compliment paid to him; origin of the name. 66. Quintilius Varus accused by Domitius Afer and P. Dolabella. 67. Retirement of Tiberius to Capreae; description of the island.

A. U. C. 781, A. D. 28. App. Junius Silanus, P. Silius Nerva, coss.

Ch. 68–70. Titius Sabinus, a friend of the family of Germanicus, who had been entrapped by disgraceful means, denounced and executed on the opening day of the year. 71. Hints of Tiberius against Agrippina and Nero; death of Julia, granddaughter of Augustus. 72, 73. Rising of the Frisii; want of energy shown by L. Apronius in dealing with it. 74. Visit of Tiberius and Seianus to Campania; concourse and servility of the senate and people. 75. Marriage of Agrippina, daughter of Germanicus, to Cn. Domitius.

P. CORNELII TACITI

ANNALIUM AB EXCESSU DIVI AUGUSTI

LIBER IV.

1. 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, sae-
2 vire 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
3 dominationem raptum ierit, expediam. genitus Vulsiniis patre Seio Strabone equite Romano, et prima iuventa Gaium Caesarem

2. AB EXCESSU DIUI AUGUSTI. text Pichena.

10. raptum perit: captaverit margin and B,

4. **C. Asinio C. Antistio.** Their full names given from Dio (Arg. B. 57) and Pliny (N. H. 33. 2, 8, 32) are C. Asinius C. f. Pollio and C. Antistius C. f. Vetus. Nipp. notes that the latter had been urban, the former peregrine, praetor, in 773, A. D. 20. Asinius is another son of Asinius Gallus (cp. 3. 75, 1, &c.), and was procos. of Asia, probably under Gaius (see Introd. vii. p. 113). Antistius is one of the 'consulares filii' of the Antistius (cos. 748, B. C. 6) of Vell. 2. 43, 3. On his son and nephew see 12. 25, 1; 13. 11, 1.

nonus. He had entered on his ninth year in the preceding August, but Tacitus seems to reckon from Jan. 1, 768, A. D. 15: see Staatsr. ii. 802.

6. **turbare:** cp. 3. 47, 2.

7. **penes,** of cause, as c. 16, 3.

8. **Aelium Seianum.** The form of the name suggests that he had been adopted by an Aelius, probably Aelius Gallus, praefect of Egypt in 730, B. C. 24 (see on 5. 8, 1). The praenomen, 'L.' is given by Dio (57. 19, 5) and in a Spanish coin dated in his consulship (see Orelli).

cohortibus . . . praefectum. He had been sole praefect since the appointment of his father, whose colleague he had previously been (1. 24, 3), to the praefecture of Egypt (Dio, 57. 19, 6).

9. **supra:** see 1. 24, 3; 69, 7; 3. 29, 5; 35, 2; 72, 5.

facinore, the murder of Drusus.

10. **raptum ierit.** This correction is suggested by H. 2. 6, 4; Sall. Jug. 85, 42, and many similar uses of 'ire' with a supine, as c. 66, 2; 73, 6, &c.

expediam; so used by Sallust and Vergil.

Vulsiniis, Bolsena. Juvenal (10, 74) hence calls him 'Tuscus.'

11. **Seio Strabone:** cp. 1. 7, 3; 24. 3. Velleius (2. 127, 3) calls him 'princeps equestris ordinis'; an expression justified

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 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.

2. Vim praefecturae modicam antea intendit, dispersas per urbem cohortes una in castra conducendo, ut simul imperia ac-

by the 'praefecturae' which he held. Also he speaks of Seianus as related to noble families through his mother (who, as sister of Blaesus, must have been a Junia), and adds that he had brothers (see on 2. 20, 2), cousins, and an uncle (3. 35, 2), of consular rank.

Gaium Caesarem: cp. 1. 3, 2; &c.

1. **Apicio.** Dio (57. 19, 5) gives the name as *Μάρκος Γάβιος Ἀπίκιος*. He is repeatedly mentioned in literature as the great epicure of his age; but as Athenaeus (1. 7, d; 4. 168, d) mentions two other gourmands of the name, of much earlier and later date respectively, it would seem that the name had passed on as a 'sobriquet' from the first of them. See Prof. Ramsay in Dict. of Biog.

2. **veno dedisse.** This construction, only found here, is analogous to 'dono dare.' The dative 'veno' appears to be peculiar to Tacitus (cp. 13. 51, 1; 14. 15, 3), as 'venui' to Apuleius.

3. **obscurum**, 'reserved': cp. Cic. Off. 3. 15, 5; Hor. Ep. 1. 18, 94, &c.

intectum: cp. 2. 59, 2: in this sense *ἅπ. εἰρ.*, but answering to a common use of 'tectus.'

4. **isdem artibus**, i. e. 'sollertia.' This shows that he could not have been more crafty than Tiberius; therefore his ascendency over him was due to a divine judgement against the state; in other words, was inexplicable (see on 3. 30, 7).

5. **pari exitio** (probably modal abl.), by the crimes which he prompted during his ascendency, and by the reign of terror, and utter shamelessness of Tiberius (6. 51, 6), following on his fall.

6. **corpus**: cp. the description of his 'physique' in Vell. 2. 127, 3 'sufficienti etiam vigori animi compage corporis.'

tolerans, with gen. only here and in Colum.; but the usage is analogous to many others (Introd. v. § 34 c). In the whole passage, Tacitus has in view Sallust's description of Catiline (Cat. 5).

7. **obtegens**: cp. 1. 76, 2; used with gen. here only, but analogously to the usage with other participles (Introd. v. § 33 d). Seianus himself is here supplied as subject.

criminator, a very rare word: cp. c. 12, 6, Plaut. Bacch. 4. 7, 28.

iuxta, 'were side by side'; so used of a plurality of objects, in Pl. N. H. 36. 15, 24, 117 'theatra duo iuxta fecit.'

8. **compositus.** Nipp. appears rightly to take this to mean 'tranquil,' noting that the sense of artificial assumption (cp. c. 31, 4, &c.) is here already given by the contrast 'palam' . . . 'intus.'

summa, probably neut. pl. as shown by 11. 26, 5 'summa adeptus.'

9. **industria ac vigilantia.** The glowing eulogy of Velleius (l. l.) is here confirmed in this respect.

11. **modicam antea.** The importance which Dio (52. 24) makes Maecenas ascribe to the office, belongs to a later date. On its subsequent history and conversion into a civil office see Gibbon, ch. 5, and 17; Staatsr. ii. 1058, foll.

dispersas per urbem. Augustus, according to Suetonius (Aug. 49), kept most of them in neighbouring towns, retaining only three in Rome, and those not concentrated. One 'cohors togata' (see on 3. 4, 2) was always on guard at the Palatium or in attendance on the emperor elsewhere (cp. 12. 69, 1, &c.).

12. **una in castra.** The site, clearly

ciperent, numeroque et robore et visu inter se fiducia ipsis, in
2 ceteros metus oreretur. praetendebat lascivire militem diductum; si quid subitum ingruat, maiore auxilio pariter subveniri; et severius acturos, si vallum statuatur procul urbis inlecebris.
3 ut perfecta sunt castra, inrepere paulatim militares animos 5
adeundo, appellando; simul centuriones ac tribunos ipse de-
4 ligere. neque senatorio ambitu abstinebat clientes suos honoribus aut provinciis ornandi, facili Tiberio atque ita prono, ut socium laborum non modo in sermonibus, sed apud patres et populum celebraret colique per theatra et fora effigies eius inter- 10
que principia legionum sineret.

3. Ceterum plena Caesarum domus, iuvenis filius, nepotes adulti moram cupitis adferebant; et quia vi tot simul corripere

2. credetur: crederetur B, oriretur Faem., text Haase.

marked by the prominent square excrescence in the present walls, was outside the Servian agger, between the Viminal and Colline gates.

1. **inter se**, taken with 'visu.'

in ceteros metus: cp. c. 59, 3; 6. 50, 8; 11. 8, 3. The prep. and accus. have nearly the force of a simple dat.: see Introd. v. § 60 b.

2. **oreretur**: the liability to confusion between 'or' and 'cr' is illustrated by the corruption of 'cremari' to 'ore mari' in 1. 49, 4. Another proposed correction, 'adderetur' (Anquetil), is supported by H. 2. 31, 2.

3. **maiore auxilio pariter subveniri**, 'their support in one body would give greater help': equivalent to 'maius auxilium foret si pariter subvenissent.' Cp. 'maiore praemio vulgaretur' (3. 49, 1), and other such condensed expressions. On this use of 'pariter' cp. 1. 32, 7, &c.

4. **procul**. The camp, as has been seen, was close outside the walls and within the inhabited area of the city; but 'procul' is used of any interval (cp. Verg. Ecl. 6, 16; Hor. Sat. 2. 6, 105; Ov. Met. 5, 114); and to live in camp at all was a separation.

5. **inrepere**, apparently not earlier used with accus. On other such usages of compound verbs see Introd. v. § 12 c.

6. **ipse deligere**. It is here implied, and on other grounds evident, that in this he went beyond his legitimate power: cp. Staatsr. ii. 869, 1119.

7. **senatorio ambitu**, i. e. he courted senators as well as soldiers.

8. **ornandi**, defining genitive (like 'cultus... venerandi' 3. 63, 6), showing wherein the 'ambitus' consisted, namely, in obtaining magistracies and provinces through his influence with Tiberius.

9. **socium laborum**: cp. Dio, 58. 4, 3 *κοινωνὸν τῶν φροντίδων ὠνόμαζε*, '*Σηιανός τε ὁ ἐμός*' *πολλάκις ἐπαναλαμβάνων ἔλεγε*.

apud patres et populum: cp. 'in senatu aut concione' (c. 40, 12); also H. 1. 90, 2. The people were usually addressed by published edicts.

10. **colique . . . effigies**; so Dio (l. l.) *καὶ τέλος καὶ ταῖς εἰκόσιν αὐτοῦ ὥσπερ καὶ ταῖς τοῦ Τιβερίου ἔθυον*.

per theatra: cp. 3. 72, 5.

interque principia legionum. Nipp. notes that this is added emphatically. On the 'principia' cp. 1. 61, 3, &c.; on the sanctity of the place see 1. 39, 7; also Staatsr. ii. 814. Suetonius (Tib. 48) states that all the legions but those of Syria thus honoured Seianus.

12. **filius**, Drusus.

nepotes adulti: cp. c. 4, 1; 3. 29, 1. There were three younger boys, Gaius, and the twin sons of Drusus (2. 84).

13. **et quia**, &c. This would mean that the realization of his aims was delayed by the number and position of the sons and grandsons, and by the fact that they could only gradually be got rid of with safety. In this sentence the opposition would be between 'simul corripere' and 'intervalla scelerum,' not between 'vis' and 'dolus'; 'vi corripere' being simply 'to assassinate,' or bring to a

intutum, dolus intervalla scelerum poscebat. placuit tamen occultior via et a Druso incipere, in quem recenti ira ferebatur. nam 2
Drusus inpatiens aemuli et animo commotior orto forte iurgio intenderat Seiano manus et contra tendentis os verberaverat.
5 igitur cuncta temptanti promptissimum visum ad uxorem eius 3
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 spem,
10 consortium regni et necem mariti impulit. atque illa, cui avun- 4
culus Augustus, socer Tiberius, ex Druso liberi, seque ac maiores et posteros municipali adultero foedabat, ut pro honestis et praesentibus flagitiosa et incerta exspectaret. sumitur in conscien- 5
tiam Eudemus, amicus ac medicus Liviae, specie artis frequens

10. consortio (dative) Momms. Staatsr. ii. 788, n. 2.

violent end, whether by poison or any other means. Nipp., who omits 'et,' makes the antithesis of 'vis' and 'dolus' prominent, but owns that in any case the crimes would require some 'vis dolosa.'

1. **tamen**, i.e. although it involved delay. He elected to proceed by degrees and to make Drusus the first victim. The variation from a noun to an infinitive resembles those noted in Introd. v. § 91; and there appears to be no reason for reading 'occultiore' with Ritter.

3. **animo commotior**: cp. 1. 33, 6, &c. On the character of Drusus cp. 1. 29, 4; 76, 5.

4. **contra tendentis**, 'when he offered resistance.' Dio (57. 22, 1) represents Seianus as having struck Drusus, not in self-defence, but out of wanton insolence.

5. **igitur**. This appears to explain, not the choice of Drusus as first victim, but the 'longior via' pursued.

promptissimum: cp. 2, 2, 6; 5, 4.

6. **Liviam**: cp. 2. 43, 7, &c.

7. **ut**, 'as if.'

8. **adulterio**. It seems on the whole best to explain this, with Walther and Nipp., as abl. instr., and to take 'pellexit' as = 'sibi devinxit,' as in 1. 2, 1; H. 4. 15, 1. Others take it as a dative like 'morti deposcit' (1. 23, 6).

9. **abnuerit**, aoristic perf. of potential subj.: cp. c. 32, 1; 67, 2, &c., Dräger, Synt. und Stil, § 28, Madv. § 350.

10. **consortium regni**. Apparently to avoid a double genitive, the mention of the hope is implied in that of the thing hoped for; as is elsewhere the thought in the mention of its object (see note on 1. 41, 3). Agrippina is thus said 'consortium imperii speravisse' (14. 11, 1), for which 'regni' is here rhetorically used: cp. 'domus regnatrix' 1. 4, 4.

avunculus: cp. 2. 43, 6.

11. **seque ac . . . et**. On such forms of coordination cp. Introd. v § 89.

12. **municipali**, of Vulsinii (c. 1, 3). The term implied now no inferiority of civic status, but that a person had not senatorial ancestors, who would have had to live in Rome. Thus Juvenal (8, 38) calls Cicero 'municipalis eques,' and Antonius sneers at the 'Aricina mater' of Octavius (Cic. Phil. 3. 6, 15). Tacitus thinks this almost as great an aggravation of the guilt of Livilla, as if it had been committed with a non-citizen or a slave.

praesentibus, 'already assured,' by the position of Drusus as heir.

13. **sumitur**. Nipp. reads 'assumitur,' from the similar passage in 13. 12, 1.

14. **Eudemus**. Probably, like most physicians at that time, he was a freedman. Pliny (N. H. 29. 1, 8, 20) represents him also as her adulterer.

frequens secretis: cp. 'frequens contionibus' (H. 4. 69, 4). Dräger takes these as datives, 'frequens' being equivalent to 'qui saepe aderat'; Nipp. as abl. of place, comparing 'frequens ubique'

secretis. pellit domo Seianus uxorem Apicatam, ex qua tres
6 liberos genuerat, ne paelici suspectaretur. sed magnitudo faci-
noris metum, prolationes, diversa interdum consilia adferebat.

4. Interim anni principio Drusus ex Germanici liberis togam
virilem sumpsit, quaeque fratri eius Neroni decreverat senatus 5
2 repetita. addidit orationem Caesar, multa cum laude filii sui,
3 quod patria benevolentia in fratris liberos foret. nam Drusus,
quamquam arduum sit eodem loci potentiam et concordiam esse,
4 aequus adulescentibus aut certe non adversus habebatur. exim
vetus et saepe simulatum proficiscendi in provincias consilium 10
refertur. multitudinem veteranorum praetexebat imperator et
dilectibus supplendos exercitus: nam voluntarium militem de-

2. paelici: so 6. 43, 1; 12. 46, 3; 14. 60, 2; pel- five times in Med. ii.

(i.e. 'omnibus locis') Agr. 37, 4. On the meaning of 'secreta' cp. 3. 8, 4.

1. **Apicatam.** The name can be shown to be Roman (C. I. L. vi. 12126), and need not be altered, with Borghesi, to 'Apicatia.' Cp. c. 11, 4, and Dio, 58. 11, 6.

tres liberos: see on 5. 8, 1; 3. 1.

2. **suspectaretur** = 'suspectus haberetur.' The passive is found only here and in Apuleius: on the active cp. 1. 5, 1.

4. **Drusus**: see Introd. ix. note 12.

5. **quaeque . . . repetita**: see 3. 29, 1. The inscriptions cited (Introd. l. l.) show some difference in his priesthoods.

6. **filii sui.** This distinguishes the Drusus below from the one above mentioned.

8. **eodem loci**: cp. Cic. Att. 1. 13, 5: so 'eo loci' (14. 61, 3; 15. 74, 1; Cic. pro Sest. 31, 68, &c.), 'quo locorum' (Hor. Od. 1. 38, 3), and (rarely in this sense) 'eo' alone, (as Cic. Ep. ad Brut. 1. 2, 1).

10. **saepe simulatum.** Two occasions have been mentioned (1. 47, 5; 3. 47, 3).

in provincias. It appears from the context (esp. § 5) that the recruiting for the legions, rather than for the auxiliaries, is spoken of; and this passage thus tends to modify Seeck's view (see on 3. 40, 5), that the legionaries were at this time almost all Italians. The only province at all prominent in early western legionary inscriptions is the thoroughly Romanized Gallia Narbonensis, which he perhaps professed to intend to visit, and possibly others from which the Eastern legions were recruited.

11. **refertur**, 'is repeated': cp. 1. 26, 4.

multitudinem veteranorum, i. e. of those who had a right to expect dismissal: see on 1. 36, 4; 78, 2; also Introd. vii. pp. 125, 127. He means that his presence was required to induce the veterans to be content with their reward on dismissal, and to enforce the conscription, which might be unpopular.

12. **dilectibus.** In Rome and Italy conscription was only resorted to in extreme emergencies (cp. 1. 31, 4; H. 3. 38, 3; Marquardt, ii. 539, n. 4), but it was frequent in the provinces. The presiding officers, 'dilectatores,' are of equestrian rank (Marquardt, l. l. 542). In the time of Trajan an 'inquisitio' was held for the conscriptions, and substitutes, if properly qualified, were allowed (Pl. Ep. ad Trai. 29, 30).

voluntarium militem deesse. Velleius (2. 130, 2) says in praise of Tiberius 'quanta cum quiete hominum . . . supplementum sine trepidatione delectus providet.' That voluntary enlistment continued generally to suffice is attested by Dig. 49. 16, 4, § 10 'plerumque voluntario milite numeri supplentur.' Seeck (l. l.) notes that an annual enlistment of about 7,000 would probably suffice to keep up the guards and legions, and that such a number should have been easily supplied by volunteers from Italy alone; but that, besides the depopulation of rural districts (Introd. vii. p. 108), the people were growing more and more unwarlike, and the old soldiers, whose children might have inherited a military spirit, were mostly childless (cp. 14. 27, 3).

esse, ac si suppeditet, non eadem virtute ac modestia agere, quia plerumque inopes ac vagi sponte militiam sumant. percensuit- 5
que cursim numerum legionum et quas provincias tutarentur. quod mihi quoque exsequendum reor, quae tunc Romana copia 6
in armis, qui socii reges, quanto sit angustius imperitatum.

5. Italiam utroque mari duae classes, Misenum apud et Ravennam, proximumque Galliae litus rostratae naves praesidebant, quas Actiaca victoria captas Augustus in oppidum Foroiuliense miserat valido cum remige. sed praecipuum robur Rhenum 2
iuxta, commune in Germanos Gallosque subsidium, octo legiones erant. Hispaniae recens perdomitae tribus habebantur. Mauros 3
Iuba rex acceperat donum populi Romani. cetera Africae per 4

1. **modestia**: cp. 1. 35, 1.

4. **quod**, explained by 'quae,' &c.

exsequendum: cp. 'exsequi sententias' 3. 65, 1.

copia, sing., as 2. 52, 4, &c.

5. **angustius**, as compared with the time of Trajan: see 2. 61, 2, and note.

6. On the whole subject of this chapter cp. Introd. vii. p. 121, foll.; Marquardt, ii. 443, foll.

7. **rostratae naves**, 'a fleet of warships' (cp. Hor. Epod. 4, 18). Nipp. thinks this not a sufficiently distinguishing epithet, and reads 'constratae' ('decked'); which might possibly not apply to all of them, as these fleets consisted of ships of various classes. Their real distinction from the provincial fleets consists in their (probably later) title 'classis praetoria'; and in their being, like the guard, under special command of Caesar and his 'praefecti' (Introd. vii. p. 127). The institution of a permanent naval force dates from the fleet organized by Agrippa against Sex. Pompeius and afterwards for Actium: see Marquardt, l. l. 501; Staatsr. ii. 862.

praesidebant, with accus.: cp. 3. 39, 1.

8. **Foroiuliense**, Frejus (cp. 2. 63, 6), called 'claustra maris' in H. 3. 43, 1.

10. **octo**: cp. 1. 31; 37, &c.

11. **Hispaniae**. The two Caesarian provinces are here meant, that of Hispania Tarraconensis or Citerior (cp. c. 45, 1), comprising all the eastern and northern portion, and having its seat of government at Colonia Tarraconensis (cp. 1. 78, 1), and Lusitania, extending from the Douro to the Guadiana (Anas), and including nearly all Portugal, with a part of Spain mainly answering to Salamanca and northern Estremadura, and having its seat of government at the Augustan colony of Emerita (Merida): see Marquardt, i. 252, foll. These two provinces had legati of the first and second rank respectively (Introd. vii. p. 116). On the third Spanish province see c. 13, 2.

recens perdomitae. Livy (28. 12, 12) speaks of Spain as the first transmarine province entered by the Romans and the last to be completely subjugated. Two centuries had passed from the first Roman occupation to the submission of the Asturians and Cantabrians to Agrippa in 735, B.C. 19 (Hor. Od. 3. 8, 21; Dio, 54. 11, 2).

Mauros. The kingdom of Mauretania appears at this time to have extended eastward to Saldae (see Introd. vii. p. 115), and thus to have included more than half of Algeria, besides Marocco. On its subsequent provincial organization see vol. ii. Introd. 30.

12. **Iuba rex**, the son of the king defeated at Thapsus in 708, B.C. 46. He had been restored after the Actian war to Numidia, and had received in marriage Selene daughter of Antonius and Cleopatra: in 729, B.C. 25, he was transferred by Augustus to Mauretania, here called 'the gift of the Roman people': see Dio, 53. 26, 2. He had lately been succeeded by his son Ptolemaeus (c. 23, 1). On the dates of their reigns see Marquardt, i. 482. Pliny (N. H. 5. 1, 1, 16, &c.) speaks of Juba as a man of letters and an author.

duas legiones parique numero Aegyptus, dehinc initio ab Suriae usque ad flumen Euphraten, quantum ingenti terrarum sinu ambitur, quattuor legionibus coercita, accolis Hibero Albanoque et aliis regibus, qui magnitudine nostra proteguntur adversum
5 externa imperia. et Thraeciam Rhoemetalces ac liberi Cotyis, ripamque Danuvii legionum duae in Pannonia, duae in Moesia attinebant, totidem apud Delmatiam locatis, quae positu regionis a tergo illis, ac si repentinum auxilium Italia posceret, haud procul accirentur, quamquam insideret urbem proprius miles, tres urbanae, novem praetoriae cohortes, Etruria ferme Umbriaque 10
6 delectae aut vetere Latio et coloniis antiquitus Romanis. at

1. suria: text Muretus. 11. colonis: text L.

1. **duas.** The second legion was only here for a time: cp. c. 23, 2.

parique numero. In Strabo's time (17. 1, 12, 797) Egypt had three legions and nine cohorts.

initio ab. On the anastrophe see Introd. v. § 77, 4.

2. **ingenti ... sinu,** 'the vast sweep of country.' 'Sinus' is used by Tacitus of a tract of land, sometimes without any reference to sea-coast (as G. 29, 4); so also Pliny (N. H. 6. 8, 8, 23) speaks of the 'ingens sinus' of interior Asia. The tract mentioned is the eastern frontier of the empire, on which see Introd. vii. p. 111.

3. **Hibero.** This people, connecting their origin with the Jasonian legend (6. 34, 3), lay south of the Caucasus and north of Armenia, between Albania and Colchis, in the upper part of the basin of the Kour (Cyrus), answering to the western part of Georgia: cp. Strab. 11. 2, 9, 499, 500. Its dynasty appears to be still traceable in the third century (see Orelli).

Albano: cp. 2. 68, 1.

4. **aliis,** such as those in Cilicia (2. 78, 3), Lesser Armenia (11. 9, 3), and Pontus Polemoniacus (Suet. Ner. 18). Romans might even speak of Armenia maior as protected against Parthia.

5. **Rhoemetalces:** cp. c. 47, 1; 2. 67, 4; 3. 38, 4.

6. **duae in Pannonia,** usually three (cp. 1. 16, 2), the third being here reckoned in Africa: see above.

7. **Delmatiam.** The name is perhaps antedated, the province being called at that time 'superior provincia Illyricum' (C. I. L. iii. 1741) or 'maritima pars Illyrici' (Vell. 2. 125, 5): see Marquardt, i. 299, n. 4. Its northern boundary towards Pannonia is not clearly marked (cp. 1. 16, 1); in other directions it extended to Moesia (see on 1. 80, 1) and Epirus (2. 53, 1), and thus included modern Dalmatia, Bosnia, Herzegovina, and Montenegro, its chief town being Salonae. The name 'Illyricum' in the widest sense (see on 1. 46, 1), included Pannonia and even Moesia (Suet. Tib. 16: see Marquardt, i. 295).

positu, in Tacitus only here and in 6. 21, 4; once in Sall. (Fr. H. 2. 1 D, 1 K, 8 G), and in several places in Ovid.

9. **tres urbanae, novem praetoriae.** On the variations in the number of these cohorts see Introd. vii. p. 126. On the fourth urban cohort at Lugdunum see 3. 41, 2. It is to be observed that in this survey Tacitus omits the 'cohortes civium Romanorum' (cp. 1. 8, 3), and the 'vigiles' at Rome, who were hardly regular soldiers and mostly freedmen.

10. **Etruria,** &c., abl. of place: cp. Introd. v. § 26.

11. **aut vetere Latio,** the towns which had the 'ius Latii' before 664, B. C. 90, when the 'lex Iulia' gave them the 'civitas': cp. Nipp. and Marquardt, i. 60. By 'aut,' these and the colonies are distinguished, as scattered towns, from the geographical districts above.

coloniis antiquitus Romanis, those in Italy, as distinct from the later transmarine colonies. Nipp. notes that the districts thus described as the recruiting ground of these corps would exclude the Transpadana, and the Greek cities of south Italy. All Italians became eligible in the time of Claudius; the corps being thus still called by Otho 'Italiae alumni et Romana vere iuventus' (H. 1. 84, 7):

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.

5 **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 2 primum publica negotia et privatorum maxima apud patres tractabantur, dabaturque primoribus disserere et in adulationem 10 lapsos cohibebat ipse; mandabatque honores, nobilitatem maiorum, claritudinem militiae, inlustres domi artes spectando, ut satis constaret non alios potiores fuisse. sua consulibus, sua 3

3. fuerit L. 6. quõ (= quoniam): quando B.

before the time of Septimius Severus even provincials have access to it: see Staatsr. i. 865; Marquardt, ii. 478.

1. **sociae triremes**: cp. Introd. vii. p. 128, n. 8.

alae . . . auxilia cohortium: cp. Introd. l. l. p. 125.

2. **secus**, sc. 'quam in legionibus.' The genit. seems unprecedented, and is perhaps best explained, with Forcell., by giving 'secus' a substantival force ('neque multa disparitas'): see Jacob's note. For an estimate of the whole force under arms see Introd. l. l. p. 128.

persequi, 'to trace them.'

incertum fuit. Nipp. explains the tenses as referring to this sketch as finished. 'It was uncertain, therefore I did not attempt it.' 'Fuerit' is adopted by Orelli and supported by the parallel passage in 15. 41, 1.

3. **ex usu temporis**, 'in accordance with temporary requirements': cp. 6. 42, 3; also 'ex usu praesenti' 11. 8, 5, 'ex rerum usu' 15. 6, 5.

5. **Congruens**, 'apposite'; so in the very similar passage 'congruens videtur' H. 5. 2, 1.

6. **partes**, 'departments.'

habitae, 'were administered': cp. 'opes . . . modeste habitae' c. 44, 1.

7. **ille annus.** Dio, who gives at considerable length a somewhat similar sketch of the best period of this principate (57. 7–13), dates a change from the death of Germanicus, and a further deterioration from the retirement to Capreae.

iam primum, 'to begin'; so 12. 68, 2; 14. 31, 2; Verg. Aen. 8, 190, &c.

8. **publica negotia.** On the senate at this time see Dio, 57. 7; Suet. Tib. 30; Introd. vi. pp. 92, foll.

privatorum, questions concerning individuals. The reference is especially to the trials, as still conducted before the senate, rather than 'apud principem.'

9. **primoribus**, perhaps used more widely than in 3. 65, 2.

10. **cohibebat ipse**: see 3. 47, 5; 59, 2, &c.

mandabatque honores. On the rights of 'commendatio' and 'nominatio' exercised by him, see Introd. vi. p. 94.

11. **inlustres domi artes**: see 3. 70, 4, and cp. 'studiis civilibus' 3. 75, 1. Here oratorical or literary, as well as juristic accomplishments, would be included in the expression.

12. **potiores fuisse.** This may be equivalent to 'plus potuisse,' 'that no other persons had more influence with him' (cp. 1. 69, 6), i.e. that the best qualified prevailed; but it is better to take 'potior' as equivalent to 'melior' = 'preferable' (cp. 'potiora instituta' 16. 22, 7); the meaning being that those chosen were plainly the most choiceworthy.

sua . . . species, 'retained their prestige': cp. Cic. in Pis. 11, 24 'magnum nomen est, magna species, magna dignitas, magna maiestas consulis.' On the position and functions of all magistrates of the state at this time, see Introd. vi. pp. 90, foll. Dio and Suetonius (l. l.) give several particulars of the outward respect shown by Tiberius to consuls and other magistrates, and to senators generally and other persons of note.

praetoribus species; minorum quoque magistratuum exercita potestas; legesque, si maiestatis quaestio eximeretur, bono in
4 usu. at frumenta et pecuniae vectigales, cetera publicorum fruc-
5 tuum societatibus equitum Romanorum agitabantur. res suas Caesar spectatissimo cuique, quibusdam ignotis ex fama mandabat, semelque adsumpti tenebantur prorsus sine modo, cum
6 plerique isdem negotiis insenescerent. plebes acri quidem annona fatigabatur, sed nulla in eo culpa ex principe: quin infecunditati terrarum aut asperis maris obviam iit, quantum impendio diligen-

7. agri: text R.

1. **exercita potestas**, 'had their office exercised': on 'exercitus' cp. 3. 67, 2.

2. **leges . . . bono in usu.** 'the enforcement of laws was salutary,' i. e. neither too lax nor too strict. Allusion seems intended to such discretion as had been shown in dealing with the lex Papia Poppaea (3. 28, 6), and with the sumptuary laws (3. 55, 1). On the important exception in respect of the laws of 'maiestas,' see Introd. viii. pp. 141, foll.

3. **frumenta**, 'the corn tribute.' The fullest information on this subject is contained in Cic. Verr. A. 2. Lib. 3; where the requisitions relating to corn are treated under three heads, 'frumentum decumanum' (c. 6, sqq.), 'emptum' (c. 70, sqq.), and 'aestimatum' (c. 81, sqq.). The first would be that here referred to as managed by publicani; the two latter kinds being rights of purchase at a fixed price for the soldiers or for Rome, and assessments for use of the governor.

pecuniae vectigales, indirect taxes, 'portoria,' 'scriptura,' &c. Cp. 13. 50.

cetera publicorum fructuum. Nipp. understands this not of the 'tributa,' which were directly collected by the state, but of other sources of indirect revenue, such as the dues from woodlands, saltworks, quarries, mines, &c. Mommsen (Staatsr. ii. 1017, 1) and Marquardt (Staatsv. ii. 312) both consider that the practice of farming the revenue must have extended much further at this period than subsequently. 'Publicorum' denotes such as were paid to the aerarium, in contrast with 'res suas' below.

4. **societatibus equitum Romanorum.** These associations of 'publicani' are called 'vectigalium societates' in 13. 50, 3; and apparently each province had one: thus the 'societas Bithyniae' is spoken of by Cicero (ad Fam. 13. 9, 1), and those of provinces generally by Caesar (B. C. 3. 3, 2). Each was presided over by a 'magister' (Cic. Pl. 13, 32). The 'publicani' at this date, though not necessarily 'equites Romani' in the strict sense (see Introd. vii. p. 102), were persons of equestrian census; such limitation being not so much a legal privilege as a necessity arising from the exclusion of senators by their rank and the lower classes by their poverty: see Staatsr. ii. 1019, iii. 509, foll. Several abuses of the system were dealt with in Nero's time (13. 50–51).

agitabantur, 'were managed'; so 'agitare saenus' 6. 16, 3; G. 26, 1, &c.: cp. also c. 41, 4; 12. 27, 3, &c.

res suas, the expression at this date for what would later be called 'res fisci' (see vol. ii. Introd. p. 28, and works there referred to). Besides the more important procuratorships in the Caesarian, and also in senatorial provinces (cp. c. 15, 3, Introd vii. pp. 112, 116, 118), inscriptions attest the existence of lower officers ('procuratores patrimonii'), usually freedmen, employed by the princeps, as by any private individual, to manage his private estates, whether in Italy or the provinces. See Marquardt, ii. 257.

6. **tenebantur . . . sine modo.** This was also the case with the 'legati,' cp. 1. 80, 2, Introd. vii. p. 118, &c.

7. **insenescerent**, in prose only here and in Quint., from Hor. and Ov.

acri . . . annona. On the use of such metaphors with 'annona,' see on 2. 87, 1.

9. **obviam iit.** For his own references to his labour in this department, cp. 3. 54, 8; 6. 13, 2. 'Annona' was also a special care of Augustus (see on 1. 2, 1).

tiaque poterat. et ne provinciae novis oneribus turbarentur 7
utque vetera sine avaritia aut crudelitate magistratuum tolerarent,
providebat: corporum verbera, ademptiones bonorum aberant.
rari per Italiam Caesaris agri, modesta servitia, intra paucos liber-
5 tos domus: ac si quando cum privatis disceptaret, forum et ius.

7. Quae cuncta non quidem comi via, sed horridus ac plerum-
que formidatus, retinebat tamen, donec morte Drusi verterentur;
nam dum superfuit, mansere, quia Seianus incipiente adhuc 2
potentia bonis consiliis notescere volebat, et ultor metuebatur
10 non occultus odii, set crebro querens incolumi filio adiutorem
imperii alium vocari. et quantum superesse ut collega dicatur?

10. odiis | et: odii et L, text Doed.

2. **sine avaritia . . . magistratuum.** Cp. the account of the republican provincial rule (1. 2, 2); also Introd. vii. p. 119.

3. **verbera, ademptiones bonorum aberant.** This can hardly mean more than that governors were generally brought to account for inflicting such punishments unjustly; it being evident that such outrages were committed (see Introd. l. l.).

4. **rari.** Lips. points out that a contrast is suggested to the vast estates afterwards acquired by confiscations. It appears to be also implied that he had larger estates in the provinces: cp. c. 15, 3; Marquardt, ii. 257, foll.; Hirschfeld, Untersuchungen, p. 23, foll.

modesta. Notwithstanding the apparent correspondence of 'rari' and 'paucos,' it does not seem possible to take this, with Orelli, to mean 'in moderate number.' It must refer to their demeanour, contrasted with the general insolence of such persons (e. g. c. 74, 6).

intra paucos libertos domus, 'his domestic staff limited to a few freedmen.' On the use of 'intra' cp. 3. 72, 5. The household of Caesar still so far resembled that of a private citizen that its posts of responsibility and confidence ('a libellis,' 'a rationibus,' &c.) were filled only by freedmen; and these in the time of Tiberius were few. There is however evidence (see Introd. vii. p 105, n. 7) that some of them were wealthy and influential. Vitellius had afterwards filled such posts with Roman knights (H. 1. 58, 1): sometimes the freedmen had themselves received equestrian or even quasi-senatorial distinctions (11. 38, 5; 12. 53, 2; H. 2. 57, 4).

5. **si . . . disceptaret,** i. e. all fiscal claims were prosecuted in the ordinary law-courts (cp. c. 15, 3; Dio, 57. 23, 5). In 2. 34, 5, his behaviour is described in a case where he was interested, not personally, but on behalf of a friend.

forum et ius. The idea of a verb of action is supplied: cp. Introd. v. § 38 b.

6. **via:** cp. 'morum via' 1. 54, 3. The use of 'via' with the force of 'ratio' (cp. 'alium alia via . . . demerebatur' Suet. Oth. 4, &c.) answers to that of *ὁδός* for *τρόπος* or *μέθοδος*.

horridus, 'rough,' or 'repulsive': cp. 'horrida antiquitas' c. 16, 4, 'horridi sermone' H. 2. 74, 3. Compare the description of his manner in 1. 75, 6.

8. **adhuc** = 'etiam tum'; so often in and after Livy, and esp. in Tacitus: cp. 15. 33, 1; 16. 32, 1, &c.; Gudeman on Dial. 25, 33.

9. **notescere:** cp. 1. 73, 3. Tacitus here meets the objection that the influence of Seianus did not always appear to prompt pernicious counsels.

10. **occultus,** with genit. only here and in 6. 36, 3: cp. Introd. v. § 33 e γ: so used of persons in H. 2. 38, 4, &c., and in Cicero and Livy.

incolumi, 'while he lived': cp. 3. 56, 5, &c.

adiutorem: cp. 3. 12, 2. It here appears to denote some participation in the 'imperium proconsulare,' but a lower rank than that of 'collega': cp. Introd. vi. p. 98.

11. **quantum superesse,** 'how slight a further step to be styled colleague!' He had already got the first, the most difficult step; at every further stage fresh support would gather round him.

primas dominandi spes in arduo: ubi sis ingressus, adesse studia
3 et ministros. exstructa iam sponte praefecti castra, datos in
manum milites; cerni effigiem eius in monimentis Cn. Pompei;
communes illi cum familia Drusorum fore nepotes: precandam
4 post haec modestiam, ut contentus esset. neque raro neque apud 5
paucos talia iaciebat, et secreta quoque eius corrupta uxore pro-
debantur.

8. Igitur Seianus maturandum ratus deligit venenum, quo pau-
latim inrepente fortuitus morbus adsimularetur. Id Druso datum
2 per Lygdum spadonem, ut octo post annos cognitum est. ceterum 10
Tiberius per omnis valetudinis eius dies, nullo metu an ut firmi-
tudinem animi ostentaret, etiam defuncto necdum sepulto, curiam
3 ingressus est. consulesque sede vulgari per speciem maestitiae
sedentes honoris locique admonuit, et effusum in lacrimas sena-
tum victo gemitu simul oratione continua erexit: non quidem 15
sibi ignarum posse argui, quod tam recenti dolore subierit oculos
senatus: vix propinquorum adloquia tolerari, vix diem aspici a
4 plerisque lugentium. neque illos inbecillitatis damnandos: se
5 tamen fortiora solacia e complexu rei publicae petivisse. misera-
tusque Augustae extremam senectam, rudem adhuc nepotum et 20

1. **in arduo**: cp. 12. 15, 3.

2. **sponte**, 'at his own will alone': cp. 'nec sua sponte, sed eorum auxilio' (Cic. Fam. 7. 2, 3), &c. Drusus may be supposed to exaggerate the facts. On the genit. cp. 2. 59, 3.

3. **effigiem**: cp. 3. 72, 5.

4. **communes . . . nepotes**, referring to the projected marriage of his daughter to the son of Claudius: see on 3. 29, 5.

precandam . . . modestiam, sc. 'ei': cp. c. 39, 3; 12. 65, 5; where, as here, the person on whose behalf prayer is to be made is indicated by the passage. The sense here is 'we can no longer resist him, and can only pray that he may use his power forbearingly.' Cp. 15. 17, 3; also Sen. Contr. 25, 2 'ut salva provincia sit, optemus meretrici bonam mentem.'

6. **et . . . quoque**, 'and besides': cp. 13. 55, 2; 56, 6, &c.; in Livy (30. 10, 15, &c.) and subsequent prose, but not common (Dräger, Synt. und Stil, § 121).

secreta: cp. c. 3, 5.

10. **Lygdum**, one of his most trusted servants (c. 10, 2), and probably his 'praegustator' (cp. 12. 66, 5).

octo post annos; on the information of Apicata (c. 11, 4), after the death of Seianus in 784, A. D. 31 (Dio, 58. 11, 6).

11. **nullo metu an**, &c. The construction is thus varied in 2. 38, 9; 3. 44, 4.

12. **defuncto**. He probably died on July 15: see Henzen, Insc. 5381.

13. **sede vulgari**, among the mass of senators. Properly they sat in their curule chairs on a tribunal (cp. 16. 30, 4; Ov. ex P. 4. 5, 18; Luc. 5, 16, &c.). In the mourning for Augustus, Dio (56. 3) describes them as sitting on the benches of lower magistrates.

per speciem. It is implied that the mourning was insincere: cp. c. 12, 1.

16. **posse argui**. The clause 'quod . . . senatus' is the subject. 'That he faced the eyes of the senate, &c, could be blamed.'

19. **complexu rei publicae**: cp. 'amplectitur rem publicam' (15. 59, 6), used similarly of energetic public action. Cp. 'negotia pro solaciis accipiens' c. 13, 1.

20. **extremam senectam**. She was eighty years old: see on 5. 1, 1.

rudem, 'inexperienced.' Two of them

vergentem aetatem suam, ut Germanici liberi, unica praesentium malorum levamenta, inducerentur petivit. egressi consules firma- 6
tos adloquio adulescentulos deductosque ante Caesarem statuunt. quibus adprensis 'patres conscripti, hos' inquit 'orbatos parente
5 tradidi patruo ipsorum precatusque sum, quamquam esset illi propria suboles, ne secus quam suum sanguinem foveret, attolleret, sibique et posteris conformaret. erepto Druso preces ad 7
vos converto disque et patria coram obtestor: Augusti pronepotes, clarissimis maioribus genitos, suscipite, regite, vestram meamque
10 vicem explete. hi vobis, Nero et Druse, parentum loco. ita 8
nati estis, ut bona malaque vestra ad rem publicam pertineant.'

9. Magno ea fletu et mox precationibus faustis audita; ac si modum orationi posuisset, misericordia sui gloriaque animos audientium impleverat: ad vana et totiens inrisa revolutus, de
15 reddenda re publica utque consules seu quis alius regimen susciperent, vero quoque et honesto fidem dempsit. memoriae Drusi 2
eadem quae in Germanicum decernuntur, plerisque additis, ut

4. parenti: 6. ac tolleret B. 7. confirmaret L.

were 'adulti' (c. 3, 1), but only about eighteen and fifteen years old respectively: Tiberius was himself sixty-five.

1. **Germanici liberi.** The context shows that Nero and Drusus alone are meant. In some Spanish coins belonging to this period their heads are represented with that of Tiberius on the reverse: see Cohen, i. p. 234.

3. **deductos,** 'escorted.'

6. **ne** = 'ut non': cp. the force of 'neque' 2. 34, 7, &c.

secus quam: cp. 6. 22, 5; frequent in Liv. e. g. 5. 36, 11; 8. 8, 10, &c.

attolleret, 'exalt them in the state,' i. e. in the career of honours; so 'attollere triumphi insignibus' 3. 72, 6, 'ordinibus... praemiis' H. 4. 59, 2. Tiberius delegates to Drusus what he could not himself expect to live long enough to do.

7. **sibique et posteris.** Dräger shows (Synt. und Stil, § 123, 2) that Tacitus often uses this formula for 'et... et' (e. g. 1. 4, 1; H. 4. 2, 4, &c.); 'que' is to be taken closely with 'et,' not as coupling 'attolleret' to 'conformaret.'

conformaret, taken strictly with 'sibi,' and by zeugma with 'posteris'; 'train them on his own model and for the good of posterity.'

8. **coram.** On the anastrophe cp. Introd. v. § 77, 6.

10. **ita nati,** &c., 'you are born in such a position that any good and evil in you must affect the state.' 'Bona' and 'mala' seem used rather of qualities (as in 6. 51, 6) than of fortunes, and the thought of the extreme importance of their careful training is carried on.

13. **gloria,** 'pride' (cp. 1. 43, 4), at the lofty picture drawn of their position towards the young princes.

14. **totiens inrisa.** Tacitus has mentioned no such offer since the original show of reluctance to assume power (1. 12, foll.).

de reddenda... utque: cp. Introd. v. § 91, 7.

16. **memoriae... decernuntur:** cp. 'honores memoriae eius decretos' 5. 2, 1. Fragments of this decree, as of that in honour of Germanicus (see on 2. 83), are preserved (see Henzen, Insc. 5381; C. I. L. vi. 912), but not sufficient for comparison. Borghesi thinks that in the mention of a 'clupeus argenteus,' one of the additions of later flattery may be detected (cp. 2. 83, 4).

17. **in Germanicum:** cp. Introd. v. § 60 b.

3 ferme amat posterior adulatio. funus imaginum pompa maxime
inlustre fuit cum origo Iuliae gentis Aeneas omnesque Albanorum
reges et conditor urbis Romulus, post Sabina nobilitas, Attus
Clausus ceteraeque Claudiorum effigies longo ordine specta-
rentur. 5

10. In tradenda morte Drusi quae plurimis maximaeque fidei
auctoribus memorata sunt rettuli: set non omiserim eorundem
2 temporum rumorem, validum adeo ut nondum exolescat. corrupta
ad scelus Livia Seianum Lygdi quoque spadonis animum stupro
vinxisse, quod is aetate atque forma carus domino interque pri- 10
mores ministros erat; deinde inter conscios ubi locus veneficii
tempusque conposita sint, eo audaciae provectum, ut verteret et
occulto indicio Drusum veneni in patrem arguens moneret
Tiberium, vitandam potionem quae prima ei apud filium epulanti
3 offerretur. ea fraude captum senem, postquam convivium inierat, 15
exceptum poculum Druso tradidisse; atque illo ignaro et iuveni-
liter hauriente auctam suspicionem, tamquam metu et pudore
sibimet inrogaret mortem quam patri struxerat.

6. maximeque fideis: maximeque fidis B, text Ritter. 10. is lygdus: is Ern. 14. et: ei R. 15. cū: tum B, text Mur., deceptum Heins., illectum Nipp.

plerisque additis, 'with many additions' (cp. 3. 1, 2).

ut . . . amat . . . adulatio, sc. 'pleraque addere.' The use of 'amare' in the sense of φιλεῖν (= 'solere'), with this construction, is not uncommon in Horace (e.g. Od. 2. 3, 10; 3. 16, 10) and in post-Augustan prose.

2. **origo**, 'the founder': cp. G. 2, 3. The application of this word to persons appears first in Vergil (Aen. 12, 166).

Albanorum reges: see Liv. 1. 3; Verg. Aen. 6, 760, sqq.

3. **Sabina nobilitas**, opposed to 'Iuliae gentis.' Tradition had always given a Sabine origin to the Claudian gens and tribe; the most generally received version being that which makes Attus (or Attius) Clausus and his followers migrate from Regillus to Rome, A. U. C. 249, B. C. 505 (Liv. 2. 16: cp. below, 11. 24, 1, also Suet. Tib. 1). Vergil (Aen. 7, 706, sqq.) follows a version making them part of the original 'Quirites' supposed to come from Cures.

8. **corrupta ad scelus**: cp. 2. 62, 3. On the specific use of 'scelus' see note on 1. 5, 1.

10. **vinxisse** 'bound to his service': so in 6. 45, 6. Elsewhere the word so used appears to be always 'devincire' (as c. 1, 3, &c.).

quod is. The repetition of 'Lygdus' after 'is' is generally taken to be a gloss. For a similar but less certain case see 12. 49, 2.

primores, adj. as in H. 1. 49, 1, &c.

11. **ubi**, put after its natural position, as is probably the case in 12. 51, 2.

12. **conposita**: cp. 'componunt' 3. 40, 3.

eo audaciae provectum: cp. similar expressions in 2. 55, 4; H 3. 17, 2.

ut verteret, sc. 'rem': the nature of the change is shown by the context.

13. **occulto indicio**. Orelli and Joh. Müller appear rightly to render this as 'an obscurely hinted information'; that the message was secretly conveyed would not be worth mentioning.

15. **captum**. Those who read 'tum' take 'ea fraude' as a causal abl.

inierat. On the indicative here, and in 'struxerat,' see Introd. v. § 49.

16. **iuveniliter** = νεανικῶς, i.e. 'eagerly.'

18. **inrogaret**, 'imposed'; so of penalties in 6. 7, 1, &c., Cicero and Livy.

11. Haec vulgo iactata, super id quod nullo auctore certo firmantur, prompte refutaveris. quis enim mediocri prudentia, 2 nedum Tiberius tantis rebus exercitus, inaudito filio exitium offerret, idque sua manu et nullo ad paenitendum regressu? quin 5 potius ministrum veneni excruciaret, auctorem exquireret, insita denique etiam in extraneos cunctatione et mora adversum unicum et nullius ante flagitii conpertum uteretur? sed quia Seianus 3 facinorum omnium repertor habebatur, ex nimia caritate in eum Caesaris et ceterorum in utrumque odio quamvis fabulosa et 10 immania credebantur, atrociore semper fama erga dominantium exitus. ordo alioqui sceleris per Apicatam Seiani proditus, tor- 4 mentis Eudemi ac Lygdi patefactus est. neque quisquam scriptor tam infensus extitit, ut Tiberio obiectaret, cum omnia alia conquirerent intenderentque. mihi tradendi arguendique 5 15 rumoris causa fuit, ut claro sub exemplo falsas auditiones depel-

1. **super id quod.** Dräger notes the use of this for 'praeterquam quod' as ἅπ. εἰρ., but as suggested by such expressions in Livy as 'super quam quod' (22. 3, 14, &c.), 'insuper quam' (23. 7, 3), &c.

nullo auctore certo. He does not mean that the story was a mere oral tradition, like that noted in 3. 16, 1. Though in no professed historian (see below), it must have had some root in literature, to be repeated without hesitation by Orosius (7, 3). It was perhaps suggested by the similar story about Agrippina (c. 54).

3. **inaudito:** cp. 2. 77, 5.

exitium offerret. Cp. 'mortem offerre' (Cic. Rosc. Am. 13, 37; 14, 40, &c.), and other similar expressions.

4. **nullo ad paenitendum regressu,** 'leaving himself no means of retreat to a change of purpose.' So Livy has 'neque locus paenitendi aut regressus ab ira relictus' 24. 26, 15, 'receptum ad paenitendum non haberent' 42. 13, 3.

5. **ministrum,** the slave who handed him the cup: cp. 3. 14, 3.

auctorem, 'the instigator'; i.e. he would not assume Drusus to be so, but try to find who was, by examining the slave.

6. **unicum,** sc. 'filium,' which Nipp. thinks may have dropped out.

7. **flagitii conpertum:** cp. 1. 3, 4.

8. **omnium,** 'of all kinds.'

repertor: cp. 2. 30, 3.

caritate. The subjective gen. with this word, used here alone in Tacitus, is rare, but in Cic. and Liv.: on the objective cp. c. 17, 1; 19, 1, &c.

10. **atrociore,** &c., 'report being always inclined to associate horrors with the death of princes.' On the sense of 'erga' cp. Introd. v. § 59.

11. **alioqui** = 'moreover.' For other senses of the word cp. c. 37, 2; 2. 38, 6; 3. 8, 4; 14. 61, 5. The sense here is that, besides the absurdity of the story, there is direct evidence against it.

Apicatam Seiani. 'Uxor' is not unfrequently omitted, especially in epistolary Latin (Cic. Att. 12. 20, 2; 21, 4; Plin. Epp. 2. 20, 2), also in poets (Verg. Aen. 3, 319; Luc. 2, 343), and constantly in inscriptions. Tacitus similarly omits 'filia' in 12. 1, 2. See Introd. v. § 80. For the facts see on c. 8, 1.

13. **scriptor,** 'historian,' as in 2. 88, 1, &c.

obiectaret, 'to charge him with it.' The object of the verb is gathered from the context.

14. **intenderent,** probably 'were exaggerating,' as in 2. 57, 3, &c. Nipp. understands it in the ordinary sense, 'were aiming at him.'

15. **sub exemplo:** cp. 3. 68, 1.

auditiones, 'rumours'; abstr. for concr., as in Cic. pro Planc. 23, 56; Caelius ap. Cic. ad Fam. 8. 1.

depellerem. Jacob compares the judicial phrases 'depellere crimen,' 'suspicionem,' 'to rebut.'

lerem peteremque ab iis, quorum in manus cura nostra venerit, *ne* divulgata atque incredibilia avide accepta veris neque in miraculum corruptis antehabeant.

12. Ceterum laudante filium pro rostris Tiberio senatus populusque habitum ac voces dolentum simulatione magis quam libens induebat, domumque Germanici revirescere occulti laetabantur. 2 quod principium favoris et mater Agrippina spem male tegens 3 perniciem adceleravere. nam Seianus ubi videt mortem Drusi inultam interfectoribus, sine maerore publico esse, ferox scelerum, et quia prima provenerant, volutare secum, quonam modo Ger- 10 4 manici liberos perverteret, quorum non dubia successio. neque spargi venenum in tres poterat, egregia custodum fide et pudicitia 5 Agrippinae inpenetrabili. igitur contumaciam eius insectari, vetus Augustae odium, recentem Liviae conscientiam exagitare, ut superbam fecunditate, subnixam popularibus studiis inhiare 15

2. ne ins. R. incredibili[a]: neque incredibilia Haase; incredibilia atque Onken. 15. superbiam: text Muretus.

1. **cura**: cp. 3. 24, 4.

venerit. The change of tense here and in 'antehabeant' appears, as Nipp. and Dräger note, to be due to this, that the writer, although he looks upon what he has written and his reason at the time of writing it as a fact of the past (cp. 'incertum fuit' c. 5, 6), regards his readers without any such relation. So Cicero (pro Balb. 27, 69), refering to a recommendation made the day before by Pompeius, says, 'erat aequa lex nobis atque omnibus... utilis, ut nostras inimicitias inter nos geramus'; the injunction being a past fact, but the utility for all time. On 'antehabeo' cp. 1. 58, 6.

2. **incredibilia**, such as would be so to reasonable people, tales unworthy of credit. He implies that this is but a sample of many such which he has rejected.

in miraculum corruptis: cp. 'nihil compositum miraculi causa' 11. 27, 2.

4. **laudante filium.** Seneca, who may have witnessed the scene as a young man, describes it graphically (Cons. ad Marc. 15), 'stetit in conspectu posito corpore, interiecto tantummodo velamento quod pontificis oculos a funere arceret, et flente populo non flexit voltum: experiundum se dedit Seiano ad latus stanti, quam patienter posset suos perdere.'

5. **habitum**, 'the bearing': cp. 1. 10, 7.

libens, 'voluntarily.' Nipp. compares the use of the word in 4. 58, 3; 14. 61, 6.

7. **mater... tegens**, i. e. 'the fact that she ill concealed her hope.' This mode of expression, so common with the past participle, is rare with the present (Introd. v. § 55 a).

9. **ferox scelerum**: cp. 1. 32, 5. This adj. seems here alone to take an objective genitive. To express a similar idea, Sallust (Jug. 14, 21) uses 'sceleribus ferox' ('emboldened by crime').

10. **provenerant**: cp. 1. 19, 4.

volutare secum: cp. 13. 15, 1; apparently from 'mecum ipse voluto' (Verg. Aen. 9, 37). Commonly 'animo' or 'in animo' is used.

12. **spargi venenum.** The phrase appears to be taken from Cic. Cat. 2. 10, 23 'spargere venena didicerant.' The verb has often the sense of 'to distribute' or 'extend': cp. 3. 21, 5.

14. **conscientiam**: cp. 1. 39, 3. Here the sense is as if the words had been 'Liviam recentis sceleris consciam.' The old animosity of Augusta has been mentioned in 1. 33, 6; 2. 43, 5, &c.

exagitare, here only in Tacitus, but used of exciting passions, by Cic. (Att. 3. 7, 2), &c., and of irritating a person, by Sall. (Cat. 38, 1; Jug. 73, 5).

dominationi apud Caesarem arguerent. atque haec callidis 6
criminatoribus, inter quos delegerat Iulium Postumum, per adulterium Mutiliae Priscae inter intimos aviae et consiliis suis peridoneum, quia Prisca in animo Augustae valida, anum suapte
5 natura potentiae anxiam insociabilem nurui efficiebat. Agrippinae 7
quoque proximi inliciebantur pravis sermonibus tumidos spiritus perstimulare.

13. At Tiberius nihil intermissa erum cura, negotia pro solaciis accipiens, ius civium, preces sociorum tractabat; factaque
10 auctore eo senatus consulta, ut civitati Cibyraticae apud Asiam, Aegiensi apud Achaiam, motu terrae labefactis, subveniretur

1. adque haec Acid., alitque haec Madvig, Halm.

1. **apud Caesarem**, taken with 'arguerent.'

atque haec. From 'arguerent' it is not difficult to supply the idea of such a verb as 'faciebat' (cp. c. 38, 5); but it seems better to take 'haec' as the subject of 'efficiebat,' and to refer it to Livia, who is the last mentioned of the two subjects of 'arguerent.' Granting that 'aviae,' below, might with some latitude designate the relationship of Augusta to Agrippina, as her husband's grandchild or as her grandson's wife, it would be used in the strictest sense relatively to Livia, who was her granddaughter by natural descent. For another view of the passage see Allen's note.

callidis criminatoribus. On this extension of the instrumental abl. see Introd. v. § 27.

2. **Iulium Postumum**, possibly the same who was praefect of Egypt in 800, A.D. 47 (C. I. L. vi. 918).

3. **Mutiliae Priscae**, probably the wife of Fufius Geminus: see on 5. 2, 3.

inter intimos aviae et. Nipp. brackets these words as an interpolation, on the ground that the context implies that Iulius Postumus had access to Augusta only through Prisca. If they are genuine, it must be understood that he was both directly and indirectly serviceable.

4. **in animo . . . valida.** This phrase appears only to occur here and in 14. 51, 6; 15. 50, 3: cp. also 6. 8, 4; 31, 3.

5. **potentiae anxiam**: cp. 2. 75, 1.

nurui: cp. Dig. 23. 2, 14, 4 'nurus appellatione non tantum filii uxor, sed et nepotis et pronepotis continetur, licet quidem has pronurus appellant.'

6. **inliciebantur**, with simple inf. only here and in 2. 37, 2.

pravis sermonibus: cp. c. 54, 1; 67, 6, &c.

tumidos, in this sense chiefly poetical, but in prose from Livy.

7. **perstimulare**, ἅπ. εἰρ. For similar forms cp. Introd. v. § 69, 3.

9. **ius civium**, the judicial proceedings mentioned below. 'Preces sociorum' include the complaints against officials, and petitions for relief under calamity.

10. **auctore eo.** The initiative of the princeps in such remissions from the aerarium is usual: see Introd. vi. p. 93, n. 12.

Cibyraticae. Cibyra was in the south-western extremity of Phrygia near the Indus, a branch or another name of the Calbis (Kengez); where its remains still exist, near a village called Horzoum. It is noted by Horace (Ep. 1. 6, 33) as a centre of trade, and by Pliny (N. H. 5. 28, 29, 105) as the 'conventus' for twenty-five cities. It had been at times within the province of Cilicia, but is reckoned in Asia from 705, B.C. 49: see Marquardt, i. 335. In the inscription mentioned in 2. 47, 1, it is joined with the cities which suffered earthquake at that date.

11. **Aegiensi**, Aegium (Vostitza) on the Corinthian gulf, the chief city of the ancient Achaia, and the regular place of meeting of the Achaean league (Liv. 38. 30, 12), which at a later date still went through the form of meeting there (Paus. 7. 24, 4). At this time it was probably overshadowed by the colonies of Patrae and Dyme (cp. Pl. N. H. 3. 4, 5, 11).

subveniretur, &c.: see on 2. 47.

2 remissione tributi in triennium. et Vibius Serenus pro consule
ulterioris Hispaniae, de vi publica damnatus, ob atrocitatem
3 morum in insulam Amorgum deportatur. Carsidius Sacerdos.
reus tamquam frumento hostem Tacfarinatem iuvisset, absolvitur,
4 eiusdemque criminis C. Gracchus. hunc comitem exilii admodum 5
infantem pater Sempronius in insulam Cercinam tulerat. illic
adultus inter extorres et liberalium artium nescios, mox per
Africam ac Siciliam mutando sordidas merces sustentabatur;
5 neque tamen effugit magnae fortunae pericula. ac ni Aelius Lamia
et L. Apronius, qui Africam obtinuerant, insontem protexissent, 10
claritudine infausti generis et paternis adversis foret abstractus.

3. temporum: morum L. carsius: text Reines; cp. 6. 48, 7. 11. claritudini: text B.

1. **Vibius Serenus**, one of the accusers of Libo Drusus (2. 30, 1): see c. 28–30.

2. **ulterioris Hispaniae.** This name formerly included Lusitania and Baetica, but since the division of those provinces by Augustus, or perhaps Tiberius (Momms. R. G. D. A. p. 120), is restricted to the latter, a senatorial province of the second rank, parted from Lusitania (see on c. 5, 2) by the Anas (Guadiana), and coinciding generally with southern Estremadura, Andalusia, and Granada. The seat of government was Corduba (Cordova): see Marquardt, i. 256.

de vi publica. This crime consisted in the execution, torture, scourging, or incarceration in a public prison of any Roman citizen who had appealed to Caesar: cp. Dig. 48. 6, 7; Paul. Sent. 5. 26, 1. A 'lex Iulia' of 746, B.C. 8, made it punishable by 'interdictio aqua et igni.'

ob atrocitatem morum. The MS. text apparently repeats the last syllable of the preceding word. 'Deportatio' (cp. Staatsr. iii. 140) to a particular island was an additional severity; those interdicted from fire and water being as a rule allowed to choose an island for their residence, if not less than four hundred stadia from the mainland (Dio, 56. 27, 2). At a later time deportation became the usual penalty for 'vis publica' in case of criminals of rank; and those of lower position were punished capitally (Paul. l. l.).

3. **Amorgum**, Amorgo, one of the Cyclades, S. E. of Naxos, contrasted as a place of residence with Gyaros or Donysa (c. 30, 2), and still a fertile island.

4. **tamquam iuvisset**, 'on the ground of having assisted': cp. 3. 72, 5, and note there; also 'laetis ... tamquam ducem ... bellum absumpsisset' 12. 39, 5, 'probro respersus est tamquam ... furatus' H. 1. 48, 5.

5. **C. Gracchus.** This person appears to have become an informer (6. 38, 4), and may have been the praetor of 786, A.D. 33 (6. 16, 5). Nipp. notes from Henzen (Scavi, p. 99) that a Gracchus was also praet. peregr. in 790, A.D. 37.

6. **pater Sempronius**: see on 1. 53, 4. On the variation to avoid repeating the same name, see Introd. v. § 86.

8. **sordidas merces.** Cicero (de Off. 1. 42, 150) applies this epithet to several kinds of trade, and to all 'mercatura tenuis,' as distinct from that which is 'magna et copiosa' and 'non admodum vituperanda.' To a Roman of senatorial rank all trade was sordid, but the large dealings of knights, e.g. in the corn trade, had a certain dignity.

9. **magnae fortunae**, 'belonging to high rank': cp. H. 1. 12, 5, &c.

Aelius Lamia: see 6. 27, 2. He had been consul in 756, A.D. 3, but may have been preceded in the lot for proconsulates of Asia and Africa by his juniors Messala Volesus (cp. 3. 68, 1) and L. Asprenas (cp. 1. 53, 9), and may thus have been nearer to the actual war with Tacfarinas (cp. 2. 52, 1). On the proconsulate of Apronius cp. 3. 21, 1.

11. **abstractus**; so used in H. 4. 2, 7. The full expression would probably be 'abstractus in perniciem,' a figure from such an expression as 'abstrahi ... ad capitale supplicium' (Curt. 3. 2, 17).

14. Is quoque annus legationes Graecarum civitatium habuit, Samiis Iunonis, Cois Aesculapii delubro vetustum asyli ius ut firmaretur petentibus. Samii decreto Amphictyonum nite- 2
bantur, quis praecipuum fuit rerum omnium iudicium, qua tem-
5 pestate Graeci conditis per Asiam urbibus ora maris potiebantur. neque dispar apud Coos antiquitas, et accedebat meritum ex 3
loco: nam cives Romanos templo Aesculapii induxerant, cum iussu regis Mithridatis apud cunctas Asiae insulas et urbes trucidarentur. variis dehinc et saepius inritis praetorum questibus, 4
10 postremo Caesar de inmodestia 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.

15 **15.** Idem annus alio quoque luctu Caesarem adfecit, alterum

4. ea qua: ea tempestate qua R, text L, ex qua Weissenb. 13. ut ins. margin. 15. adficit: so in 6. 45, 1 and Müller in both, text Ritter.

1. **Is quoque annus**, this year, like that preceding: cp. 3. 60–63: 'habuit' is so used in 13. 33, 1; 15. 32, 3.

2. **Samiis Iunonis.** Samos, made a free state by Augustus (Dio, 54. 9, 7), was included, like the other islands, in the province of Asia. Its Heraeum, spoken of by Herodotus (2. 148; 3. 60) as the greatest temple known to him, was destroyed by the Persians, and suffered in subsequent wars, but was still great and famous as late as the time of Pausanias (7. 4, 4). The temple was on the coast near the city, and some ruins of it appear to be found near the modern Chora.

Cois Aesculapii. Cos was one of the great centres of this worship, and of the caste or medical school of Asclepiadae. Hippocrates himself was born and resided here. For the reasons assigned by Claudius for conferring on it the privilege of immunity, see 12. 61, 1.

4. **qua tempestate.** It is implied that the decree was of this early date. This expression for 'quo tempore' (cp. 2. 60, 2; 6. 34, 3, &c.) is chiefly poetical, but found in Cicero, Sallust, and Livy.

6. **ex loco**, 'connected with the place.'

7. **induxerant.** This verb takes the dat. in 5. 1, 3, &c., also in Stat. and Suet.

cum . . . trucidarentur, in 666, B.C. 88: cp. Vell. 2. 18, 1. Appian records (Mithr. 23) that many famous sanctuaries were then violated.

9. **variis . . . questibus.** Riots had taken place in former years: cp. 1. 54, 3; 77, 1. On the 'ius ludorum' of the praetors cp. 1. 15, 5, &c.

11. **in publicum**: cp. 2. 48, 1.

seditiose, foeda: cp. Dio (57. 21, 3), *τάς τε γυναῖκας ἡσχύνον καὶ στάσεις ἤγειρον*. There is also abundant evidence (cp. Suet. Tib. 45; Cal. 27; Ner. 39; Galb. 13) that the 'exodia' often contained pasquinades on, or covert allusions to, the princeps.

Oscum quondam ludicrum, i.e. the 'Atellanae,' which, though not originally left to professional actors (Liv. 7. 2, 12), had now been taken up by the 'pantomimi'; for whom see on 1. 54, 3, and Suet. as above. Strabo (5. 3, 6, 233) refers to the survival of the Oscan dialect in the popular mimes.

12. **levissimae**, &c., 'belonging to the most trivial amusement of the vulgar.'

14. **pulsi tum histriones Italia.** Suetonius (Tib. 37) represents this punishment as falling only on some 'capita factionum et histriones propter quos dissidebatur.' Dio (l. l.) speaks as if it was a more general measure. One of the first acts of Gaius was to bring them back (Dio, 59. 2, 5); and Mnester was notorious in the time of Claudius (11. 4, 2, &c.). Another expulsion is recorded in the time of Nero (13. 25, 4).

15. **Idem annus . . . adfecit**, repeated

ex geminis Drusi liberis extinguendo, neque minus morte amici.
2 is fuit Lucilius Longus, omnium illi tristium laetorumque socius
3 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 5
tractabantur, adeo ut procurator Asiae Lucilius Capito accusante
provincia causam dixerit, magna cum adseveratione principis, non
se ius nisi in servitia et pecunias familiares dedisse: quod si vim
praetoris usurpasset manibusque militum usus foret, spreta in eo
4 mandata sua: audirent socios ita reus cognito negotio damnatur. 10

in 6. 45, 1: cp. Introd. v. § 75. The perfect is generally used in such places: cp. c. 14, 1; 16, 1.

alterum ex geminis: see on 2. 84, 1. The child was about four years old.

2. **Lucilius Longus.** An incidental notice in Kal. Amitern. (Orell. Insc. ii. p. 397) gives him as cos. suff. with Creticus Silanus (cp. 2. 43, 3) in 760, A. D. 7.

3. **unusque e senatoribus**, 'the only senator.' Two knights. who also accompanied Tiberius to Rhodes, are mentioned in 6. 10, 2.

4. **censorium funus.** The expression is repeated in 6. 27, 2; 13. 2, 6; H. 4. 47, 2. As public funerals were undertaken by contract (cp. on 3. 48, 1), and contracts in the name of the state were in republican times usually let by the censors, it has been thought that, though censors had ceased to exist, 'censorium funus' is still a synonym for 'funus publicum,' the one expression (in 6. 11, 7) being used under similar circumstances to the other (in 6. 27, 2). It seems better taken to mean a public funeral of the highest kind, such as would have been given to one who had filled the censorship, the highest magistracy: see Polyb. 6. 53, 7, Staatsr. i. 460, n. 2, iii. 1187. In this sense, the term could be used properly of the funeral of Claudius (13. 2, 6), who really had been censor.

forum Augusti, one of the series of imperial Fora north-east of the old Forum, between the Capitol and Quirinal. In its centre was the Temple of Mars Ultor (cp. 2. 64, 2), and many statues of great men stood in its porticoes (Suet. Aug. 31). Considerable remains of its circuit wall exist: see Middleton ii. 6-13.

5. **etiam tum.** A contrast is implied to the later prevalence of private trials (cp. 6. 10, 2; 11. 2, 1, &c.), and is illustrated by the extreme case of bringing a charge against Caesar's own procurator before the senate. That such persons were usually tried before the princeps, would appear from 13. 33, 1; Dial. 7, 1.

6. **procurator**: see note on c. 6, 5; 2. 47, 3, &c. This passage would be evidence of the existence of such imperial officers, at least in Asia (see also note on 2. 47, 3), before the time of Claudius, from which date they are fully attested by inscriptions in all senatorial provinces (see Marquardt, 1. 555, n. 5). On their limited powers at this time see next note. In 13. 1, 3, similar officers are described as 'rei familiari principis in Asia impositi.' An inscription of A. D. 105 (C. I. L. v. 875) shows a procurator of Asia appointed by the emperor (probably one of the Flavian Caesars) to take the place of a deceased proconsul.

7. **causam dixerit**, sc. 'apud eos,' supplied from 'apud quos.'

8. **servitia.** The force of 'familiares' extends also to this word; the 'pecuniae' are the *αὐτοκρατορικὰ χρήματα* of Dio (57. 23, 5), who states that procurators could then only prosecute their claims before the ordinary courts. A distinct jurisdiction is given to them under Claudius (see on 12. 60, 1), and they become quite independent of the proconsul: cp. Dig. 1. 16, 9 'si fiscalis pecuniaria causa sit, quae ad procuratorem principis respicit, melius fecerit (proconsul) si abstineat.'

9. **praetoris**, 'of a governor'; used here as a general term (cp. note on 1. 74, 1), though the proconsul of this province was always of consular rank.

militum: a few soldiers were kept as police, in the 'inermes provinciae': see Mr. Purser, D. of Ant. i. 796.

10. **damnatur.** Dio (l. l.) says that he was exiled.

ob quam ultionem, et quia priore anno in C. Silanum vindicatum
erat, decrevere Asiae urbes templum Tiberio matrique eius ac
senatui. et permissum statuere; egitque Nero grates ea causa 5
patribus atque avo, laetas inter audientium adfectiones, qui recenti
5 memoria Germanici illum aspici, illum audiri rebantur. aderant- 6
que iuveni modestia ac forma principe viro digna, notis in eum
Seiani odiis ob periculum gratiora.

16. Sub idem tempus de flamine Diali in locum Servi Malu-
ginensis defuncti legendo, simul roganda nova lege disseruit
10 Caesar. nam patricios confarreatis parentibus genitos tres simul 2
nominari, ex quis unus legeretur, vetusto more; neque adesse, ut
olim, eam copiam, omissa confarreandi adsuetudine aut inter
paucos retenta: (pluresque eius rei causas adferebat, potissimam 3
penes incuriam virorum feminarumque; accedere ipsius caeri-
15 moniae difficultates, quae consulto vitarentur) et quod exiret e

14. accederet: text B, accedere et Jac. Gron. 15. quŏ (= quoniam): quando B, quod R.

1. **in . . . vindicatum.** This impers. pass. with 'in' is found in Caes., Cic., and Sall., but is uncommon: cp. H. 4. 45, 2. For the case of Silanus see 3. 66, foll.

2. **decrevere . . . templum.** On this important expression of provincial gratitude see Introd. viii. p. 159: a rivalry between the cities may however have had its share in it (see Momms. Hist. v. 319, E. T. i. 346). The city in which the temple was to stand had yet to be determined (cp. c. 55–56).

ac senatui. This appears to be a recognition of the formal dyarchy (cp. c. 37, 4), which on another occasion (c. 37, 1) was omitted. For similar formulae cp. Staatsr. iii. 1261, n. 2.

3. **statuere.** The inf. is used with 'permissum (est)' in c. 4[8], 2; G. 7, 2, and in the best authors. Similar permission was refused to Spain (c. 37).

Nero. Youths of the imperial family often thus acted as 'patroni' of the provinces: cp. 12. 58, 1.

6. **principe viro:** cp. 3. 6, 5; 34, 11.

8. **Servi Maluginensis:** see 3. 58; 71.

10. **patricios.** This restriction applied to the 'rex sacrificulus' and the three 'flamines maiores.' The 'minores' were at this time mostly obsolete: cp. Marquardt, iii. 327, and, on 'confarreatio,' Id. Privatl. 33. Not only was the flamen required to be born of parents married by this form, but, as duties were assigned to the 'flaminica,' he was required to have a wife, and also to have been married to her by the same rite.

tres . . . nominari, &c. It appears clear that the final choice rested with the chief pontiff, who was said 'capere flaminem' (Liv. 27. 8, 5). The preliminary nomination of three may have been made by the senate (instead of the comitia) or by the college of the pontiffs.

13. **pluresque, &c.** Halm follows Madvig (Adv. Crit. ii. p. 546) in placing this sentence in a parenthesis, whereby the whole passage is to be taken as giving two reasons for the scarcity of candidates; the first being that few were born of 'confarreati parentes,' the second, that the loss of 'patria potestas' was objected to. The parenthetical sentence gives two explanations of the first cause, namely, natural negligence of a cumbrous ceremony, and deliberate avoidance of its accompanying impediments.

14. **penes incuriam.** Nipp. compares this use of 'penes' with Hor. A. P. 71 ('usus, quem penes,' &c.), where, as in H. 1. 57, 4, some personification seems implied, while here a quality belonging to persons is spoken of.

ipsius caerimoniae difficultates. Such a marriage could only be dissolved by the equally cumbrous process of 'diffarreatio,' and Romans now practised divorce with the utmost freedom.

15. **et quod.** This reading is sup-

iure patrio qui id flamonium apisceretur quaeque in manum
4 flaminis conveniret. ita medendum senatus decreto aut lege,
sicut Augustus quaedam ex horrida illa antiquitate ad praesen-
5 tem usum flexisset. igitur tractatis religionibus placitum instituto
flaminum nihil demutari: sed lata lex, qua flaminica Dialis 5
sacrorum causa in potestate viri, cetera promisco feminarum iure

ported by 'quo' being written for 'quod' in c. 39. 4. Nipp., who had formerly indicated a lacuna, now considers that the causal sentence 'quoniam' (or 'quod') &c. sufficiently answers to 'omissa.' It is to be supposed that parents would object to the loss of 'patria potestas,' and also that the office must have been in itself undesirable, owing to the severe rules imposed on its occupant: cp. 3. 71, and the long list enumerated in Gell. 10, 15. The passage in Livy (27. 8) would show the office to have been rather a burden than a privilege, as a person is 'taken' for it against his will.

1. **qui ... apisceretur.** Gaius (1, 130) says, 'exeunt liberi virilis sexus de patris potestate, si flamines Diales inaugurentur, et feminini sexus, si virgines Vestales capiantur.' This was without 'capitis diminutio,' such as would have been involved in adoption into another family. The ceremony of 'taking' was a kind of 'mancipatio,' by which the person came under the 'potestas' of the deity, represented by the chief pontiff: see Marquardt, iii. 314.

flamonium; so also in 13. 2, 6. Mommsen (Eph. Epig. i. 222) notes that the office of flamen is always in inscriptions 'flaminatus' or 'flamonium,' and that the latter form is preserved by the MSS. of Tacitus, of Cic. (Phil. 13. 19, 41), and of Livy (26. 23, 8).

quaeque .... conveniret. 'Conventio in manum,' whereby the husband acquired a power analogous to that of a father over his wife (Staatsr. iii. 35), though not essential to marriage as such, was involved in the ceremony of 'confarreatio' or 'coemptio,' or the fact of a year's unbroken 'usus.' A marriage of the latter kind would thus always be 'sine conventione' during the first year, and, even by old law, might thus continue indefinitely, by annual suspension of cohabitation for a 'trinoctium.' In this and other ways marriages 'sine conventione' had come to be the rule; the woman thus becoming 'uxor tantummodo,' not 'mater familias' (Cic. Top. 3, 14). By the old law she gained thereby no freedom, but remained in 'potestate patris'; latterly, however, the 'patria potestas' had become much relaxed, and women were enabled, by legal fictions, to control their own property through a 'procurator,' and acquire practical independence (see Marquardt, Privatleben 63, Maine, Anc. Law, p. 155). To this the marriage of the 'flaminica' would be an exception, being necessarily by 'confarreatio,' and so 'cum conventione.'

2. **senatus decreto aut lege.** Nipp. notes that 'leges' still continue to be distinctly mentioned (cp. 11. 13, 2; II. 3. 37, 3; 4. 47, 2), and that several distinct 'leges' of this and later date are specified by jurists (Staatsr. ii. 882, iii. 346, n. 1), but that their enactment by the comitia must have been a mere formality. It probably corresponded to the formal 'renuntiatio' of elections, or the formal plebiscite by which the tribunician power of the princeps was ratified (Introd. vi. p. 84). Legislative enactments by 'senatus consulta' are mentioned in 12. 7, 3; 60, 2; 13. 5, 1.

3. **quaedam ... flexisset**: see note below (§ 5). It would also appear from 3. 71, 3, that Augustus had relaxed the old rule precluding the flamen from a single night's absence: Gellius (l. l.) also alludes to some relaxations without specifying their date or nature.

5. **demutari**; apparently one of the words revived by Tacitus from Plautus.

6. **sacrorum causa, &c.** A defective passage in Gaius (1, 136; see Marquardt, iii. 333, n. 1), alluding to this enactment, appears to show that Augustus had already introduced this limitation of the legal effect of 'confarreatio' in respect of the 'flaminica Dialis' on his restoration of the 'flamonium' in 744, B.C. 10. Mr. Poste considers (Gaius, p. 90) that the relaxation thus introduced by him in that particular instance, was now extended to all cases. The fiction by which she was thus treated as in the power of her husband 'sacrorum causa' would involve her taking his domestic worship instead

ageret. et filius Maluginensis patri suffectus. utque glisceret 6
dignatio sacerdotum atque ipsis promptior animus foret ad capessendas caerimonias, decretum Corneliae virgini, quae in locum Scantiae capiebatur, sestertium viciens, et quotiens Augusta
5 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 iuvenum quam adulatione,
10 quae moribus corruptis perinde anceps, si nulla et ubi nimia est. nam Tiberius haud umquam domui Germanici mitis, tum vero 2
aequari adulescentes senectae suae inpatienter indoluit; accitosque pontifices percontatus est, num id precibus Agrippinae aut minis tribuissent. et illi quidem, quamquam abnuerent, modice 3

10. proinde: text R.

of that of her paternal house (Poste, l. l.), and would enable her to perform her public sacred duties as priestess of Juno (Plut. Quaest. Rom. 86), but would not affect her status in other respects.

promisco, 'open to all': cp. 14. 14, 4, &c.

1. **filius.** Nipp. notes that the son of a flamen would have already taken part in his duties as a 'camillus': see Marquardt, iii. 227.

3. **caerimonias**, 'the duties of a religious office': cp. 1. 54, 1.

4. **capiebatur**: cp. 2. 86, 1.

sestertium viciens, twice the gift given on a former occasion to a rejected candidate (2. 86, 2). The special encouragement lay in the amount of the gift; for some payment had always been given to the Vestals (Liv. 1. 20, 3), and perhaps to the 'flamines' (Marquardt, ii. 80). As a set-off, the Vestal could inherit nothing except by will, and her own property, if she died intestate, escheated to the state (Gell. 1. 12).

5. **sedes inter Vestalium.** Augustus (Suet. Aug. 44) 'solis virginibus Vestalibus locum in theatro, separatim et contra praetoris tribunal dedit.' Such a place as is here given to Augusta was assigned by Gaius to Antonia and to his sisters (Dio, 59. 3, 4), and by Claudius to Messalina (Id. 60. 22, 2). It was perhaps through this association that the Vestals were afterwards charged with the cultus of Augusta (Id. 60. 5, 2).

6. **Cornelio Cethego Visellio Varrone.** The praenomen of the former was 'Servius,' that of the latter 'Lucius' (Henzen 7419 d β). Varro was 'curator riparum et alvei Tiberis' (C. I. L. vi. 1237). On his father cp. 3. 41, 3.

7. **pro incolumitate principis vota.** These were offered on a fixed day, shown by later authorities (Gaius, Dig. 50. 16, 223; Plut. Cic. 2, &c.) to be Jan. 3, and are distinct from those offered for the state on Jan. 1 (c. 70, 1). The present year was a special occasion, as the 'decennium' of Tiberius (Dio. 57. 24, 1).

8. **Neronem ... et Drusum.** Tiberius allowed his mother's name to be included in 'vota' (see Act. Arv. A. U. C. 780, A.D. 27), and we often find women nearly related to the princeps thus associated with him, but rarely, if ever, male relatives: see Stantsr. ii. 825.

9. **caritate . . . adulatione**, causal abl.: cp. Introd. v. § 30.

10. **anceps**, 'perilous': cp. c. 59, 1; 73, 4; 1. 36, 3.

si . . . ubi. On this interchange cp. 1. 44, 8. The alliterative antithesis 'nimia . . nulla' is found in Sen. Ep. 89, 3.

12. **inpatienter**, 'uncontrollably': cp. G. 8, 1.

14. **quamquam abnuerent**, i. e. though they took the whole blame on themselves, they were not severely rebuked. The mildness of the censure is explained by the sentence 'etenim . . . erant.'

perstricti; etenim pars magna e propinquis ipsius aut primores civitatis erant: ceterum in senatu oratione monuit in posterum, ne quis mobiles adulescentium animos praematuris honoribus ad
4 superbiam extolleret. instabat quippe Seianus incusabatque diductam civitatem ut civili bello; esse qui se partium Agrip- 5
pinae vocent, ac ni resistatur, fore pluris; neque aliud gliscentis discordiae remedium quam si unus alterve maxime prompti subverterentur.

18. Qua causa C. Silium et Titium Sabinum adgreditur. amicitia Germanici perniciosa utrique, Silio et quod ingentis 10
exercitus septem per annos moderator partisque apud Germaniam triumphalibus Sacroviriani belli victor, quanto maiore mole pro-
2 cideret, plus formidinis in alios dispergebatur. credebant plerique auctam offensionem ipsius intemperantia, immodice iactantis suum militem in obsequio duravisse, cum alii ad seditiones 15
prolaberentur; neque mansurum Tiberio imperium, si iis quoque legionibus cupido novandi fuisset. destrui per haec fortunam
3 suam Caesar inparemque tanto merito rebatur. nam beneficia eo usque laeta sunt, dum videntur exsolvi posse: ubi multum antevenere, pro gratia odium redditur. 20

19. Erat uxor Silio Sosia Galla, caritate Agrippinae invisa

5. deductam. 12. procederet: text R. 18. inparemque se Pichena.

1. **pars magna**, &c. Young Drusus was himself a pontiff (Introd. ix. note 12), as was also L. Piso the 'praefectus urbis' (6. 10, 3).

4. **extolleret**, 'stimulate'; so 'extollit ira promptum . . . animum' 16. 22, 10.

incusabat diductam. This verb has often this construction in Livy.

7. **subverterentur.** The change of tense denotes a more remote contingency: see note on 1. 29, 1.

10. **et quod**, &c., 'it was also fatal that,' &c. The construction is equivalent to 'quod plus formidinis dispergebatur, quanto maiore mole prociderat ingentis exercitus moderator,' &c. Nipp. notes a similar apposition in 11. 21, 2. The seven years are reckoned from the first mention of Silius as legatus in Upper Germany (1. 31, 2) to the time of his victory over Sacrovir (3. 42–46). His triumphal distinction was mentioned in 1. 72, 1.

15. **suum militem . . . duravisse**: see 1. 31, 3; 37, 4; 40, 1.

16. **mansurum**, sc. 'fuisse': cp. Introd. v. § 39 c.

17. **destrui . . . fortunam suam**, 'his position was lowered.' On this sense of 'fortuna' cp. 2. 71, 6, &c. 'Destruere' is thus used with 'auctoritas' in 14. 43, 2, and of persons in H. 1. 6, 1.

18. **inparem** (sc. 'esse'), 'unable to discharge such an obligation.'

19. **exsolvi**: cp. 'initium exsolvendae culpae' H. 4. 62, 6. The sense of 'paying' belongs to this verb frequently in Tacitus, and occasionally in Cic., Liv., &c., but usually with an accus. of the debt or penalty which is paid.

20. **antevenere**, absol. = 'superavere.' The word (cp. 1. 63, 6, &c.) seems not elsewhere so used.

odium, &c. The sentiment is found in Seneca (Ep. 19, 11), 'quidam quo plus debent, magis oderunt: leve aes alienum debitorem facit, grave inimicum.'

21. **caritate Agrippinae.** Almost the same words are repeated in 16. 14, 3

principi. hos corripi dilato ad tempus Sabino placitum, inmissusque Varro consul, qui paternas inimicitias obtendens odiis Seiani per dedecus suum gratificabatur. precante reo brevem 2
moram, dum accusator consulatu abiret, adversatus est Caesar:
5 solitum quippe magistratibus diem privatis dicere; nec infringendum consulis ius, cuius vigiliis niteretur ne quod res publica detrimentum caperet. proprium id Tiberio fuit scelera nuper 3
reperta priscis verbis obtegere. igitur multa adseveratione, quasi aut legibus cum Silio ageretur aut Varro consul aut illud res
10 publica esset, coguntur patres. silente reo, vel si defensionem 4
coeptaret, non occultante cuius ira premeretur, conscientia belli Sacrovir diu dissimulatus, victoria per avaritiam foedata et uxor Sosia arguebantur. nec dubie repetundarum criminibus haere- 5
bant, sed cuncta quaestione maiestatis exercita, et Silius imminentem damnationem voluntario fine praevertit.
15

7. quo prium: proprium B. 13. socia.

'caritate Agrippinae invisum Neroni.' The genitive in each case is objective, as in c. 17, 1, &c., and as generally in classical usage.

1. **dilato**: cp. c. 68–70.

ad tempus, 'for the moment': cp. 'perturbatio . . . brevis et ad tempus' Cic. Off 1. 8, 27. The sense in 1. 1, 1 is not quite the same.

inmissus, 'was set on'; metaph. from 'inmittere equum': cp. c. 54, 1; 11. 1, 1.

2. **paternas inimicitias**, explained by 3. 43. 4.

8. **priscis verbis**. His answer alluded to the words of the old 'ultimum senatus consultum' ('darent operam consules ne quid respublica detrimenti caperet'), whereby, in a crisis, a kind of martial law was proclaimed: cp. Sall. Cat. 29, 2; Caes. B. C. 1. 5, 3. This is here assumed as tantamount to a standing order. 'Vigilia consularis' may also be an old phrase (see Cic. Phil. 1. 1, 1). For other such phrases used by Tiberius cp. 'exercendas leges esse' (1. 72, 4), 'infensus reipublicae' (c. 70, 7; 6. 24, 1).

adseveratione: cp. 2. 31, 4; here used with reference to the solemn expressions just mentioned.

quasi . . . aut Varro consul, &c., 'as if Varro were in any true sense a consul, or that state of things the Republic' (see on 1. 3, 7). As far as mere 'vocabula' went, both were formally such. On the neuter 'illud' cp. 1. 49, 4.

11. **non occultante**, &c., showing that he knew who his real enemy was. The allusion is probably to the resentment of Tiberius on the grounds mentioned in c. 18, 2. Also the 'odia Seiani,' mentioned above, were in the background.

conscientia . . . dissimulatus, 'that the doings of Sacrovir had been ignored through complicity in his rebellion': cp. 'conscientia rebellionis' 12. 31, 6, &c., 'Acilia . . . dissimulata' 15. 71, 12, 'consulatus dissimulatus' H. 2. 71, 3; 'dissimulata . . . mentione' Suet. Ner. 37. In 3. 41, 4 it is stated that the disaffection of Sacrovir was reported to Tiberius, who delayed to deal with it. Nipp. places a full stop before 'conscientia' and only a comma before 'silente.'

12. **per avaritiam**, apparently by extortions from those who had not joined the rebellion: cp. also note on 3. 46, 4.

uxor Sosia, sc. 'parum coercita.' For complaints on grounds of this kind see 3. 33. Pfitzner retains 'socia.'

13. **haerebant**, sc. 'Silius et Sosia,' 'could not clear themselves of the charges.' On the abl. cp. 1. 65, 4.

14. **cuncta . . . exercita**, 'the whole case was conducted on the charge of treason': cp. 'iudicium . . . exercuit' (1. 44, 3), 'contentiones' (13. 28, 5), &c.

15. **praevertit**, 'anticipated'; so 'praevertit tristia leto' Luc. 8, 30.

20. Saevitum tamen in bona, non ut stipendiariis pecuniae redderentur, quorum nemo repetebat, sed liberalitas Augusti
2 avulsa, conputatis singillatim quae fisco petebantur. ea prima Tiberio erga pecuniam alienam diligentia fuit. Sosia in exilium pellitur Asinii Galli sententia, qui partem bonorum publicandam, 5
3 pars ut liberis relinqueretur censuerat. contra M'. Lepidus quartam accusatoribus secundum necessitudinem legis, cetera
4 liberis concessit. hunc ego Lepidum temporibus illis gravem et sapientem virum fuisse comperior: nam pleraque ab saevis adulationibus aliorum in melius flexit. neque tamen tempera- 10 menti egebat, cum aequabili auctoritate et gratia apud Tiberium

1. **tamen**, i. e. though contrary to the custom where sentence was thus anticipated (see 6. 29, 2 and note). Similar exceptional confiscation took place in the case of Libo (2. 32, 1), and was proposed in that of Piso (3. 17, 8); the senate having power to increase the penalties prescribed by law, as even to substitute death for exile. We find also, from 11. 35. 2, that it was made illegal to preserve the effigy of Silius. 'Saevitum in bona,' repeated from H. 2. 62, 1.

stipendiariis, 'the provincial tribute payers.' Strictly the term is distinguished from 'vectigales' (those who paid in kind), as in Cic. Verr. 2. 4, 60, 134; but it is generally used in contrast to 'civitates liberae,' though the latter were not exempt from all payments (see Marquardt, i. 79).

2. **liberalitas**: cp. 2. 37, 2.

3. **singillatim**, i. e. gifts made at various times.

fisco: on the use of this term see note on 2. 47, 3; 48, 1, Vol. ii. Introd. p. 28, n. 6, and references there.

ea prima, &c.: cp. the character given to him in 3. 18, 2. 'Diligentia' is here equivalent to 'studium,' but used with some irony.

5. **pellitur**. This, and 'concessit' below, express the sentences advocated by these senators: cp. 3. 23, 2. &c.

partem: cp. 3. 17, 8. Nipp. is probably right in thinking that the property of Sosia alone is meant, that of Silius having been already disposed of.

6. **liberis**. One of them was the C. Silius of 11. 5, 3, &c.

M'. Lepidus: cp note on 3. 32, 2.

7. **quartam**. On such ellipses cp. Introd. v. § 80. 'Quarta' is thus used in Quint. 8. 5, 19; Dig. 5. 2, 8; 5. 4, 3.

legis. The law would be the 'lex Iulia de maiestate,' passed by Augustus. If the derivation most commonly assigned to 'quadruplator' is correct, one fourth would seem to be the usual reward of informers; but it is evidently here a legal 'minimum,' limiting the discretion (cp. 6. 47, 1) of the senate; and the 'lex Papia Poppaea' prescribed, till the time of Nero, a higher proportion (Suet. Ner. 10). The enormous sums sometimes given can be inferred from 16. 33. 4; H. 4. 42, 5.

9. **comperior**. The sentence is taken from Sallust (see Introd. v. § 97, 1), and the deponent form is elsewhere only found in Ter. And. 5. 3, 31; Sall. Jug. 108, 3, and in late prose.

nam pleraque . . . . flexit. This seems best taken, with Freinsh., to mean 'he modified many sentences in an opposite direction to the cruel servility of others.' Nipp. takes 'ab' to mean 'regardless of,' and compares 'a fortuitis vel naturalibus causis' (H. 1. 86, 4).

10. **neque tamen**, &c., 'nor yet (though apt to take an independent course) was he wanting in respect of discretion (cp. the similar senses in 3. 12, 1; 11. 4, 7), as is shown by his having uniformly enjoyed the respect and favour of Tiberius.' 'Aequabilis' appears to have this force in H. 4. 5, 4 ('cunctis vitae officiis aequabilis'), as also the adv. in 15. 21, 5 ('aequabilius atque constantius provinciae regentur'): cp. Cic. N. D. 2. 9, 23; Sall. Jug. 53, 1, &c. Nipp. would take 'egebat' as in 13. 3, 3, &c., but the meaning given above appears more suitable to this passage, and supported by 12. 66, 2 ('ministrorum egens'). Lepidus is similarly described in 6. 27, 4, and illustrations of his discretion will be found in 1. 13, 2; 3. 35, 2; 50.

viguerit. unde dubitare cogor, fato et sorte nascendi, ut cetera, 5
ita principum inclinatio in hos, offensio in illos, an sit aliquid in
nostris consiliis liceatque inter abruptam contumaciam et deforme
obsequium pergere iter ambitione ac periculis vacuum. at Mes- 6
salinus Cotta haud minus claris maioribus, sed animo diversus,
censuit cavendum senatus consulto, ut quamquam insontes
magistratus et culpae alienae nescii provincialibus uxorum crimi-
nibus proinde quam suis plecterentur.

21. Actum dehinc de Calpurnio Pisone, nobili ac feroci viro.
is namque, ut rettuli, cessurum se urbe ob factiones accusatorum
in senatu clamitaverat et spreta potentia Augustae trahere in
ius Urgulaniam domoque principis excire ausus erat. quae in 2
praesens Tiberius civiliter habuit: sed in animo revolvente iras,
etiam si impetus offensionis languerat, memoria valebat. Pisonem 3
Q. Granius secreti sermonis incusavit adversum maiestatem
habiti, adiecitque in domo eius venenum esse eumque gladio

8. perinde B. 14. pisonemque grauius: text L, Pisonemque Granius Baiter, Pisonemque . . . Granius Ritter.

1. **unde dubitare cogor**, &c., i. e. the success of such a man leads me to think that character, as well as destiny, has to do with the regard or aversion of princes. On the sentiment cp. Introd. iv. p. 31. A verb of some such sense as 'fiat' is supplied from 'sit.'

3. **abruptam contumaciam**, 'perilous defiance.' That this is the meaning of 'abruptus,' seems suggested by 'periculis' below, and by 'in abruptum tractus' (H. 1. 48, 7), 'per abrupta ambitiosa morte inclaruerunt' (Agr. 42, 5). The metaphor is suggested by such a sense as that in 2. 55, 3. On the sentiment cp. Introd. iv. p. 28.

4. **Messalinus Cotta**: cp. 2. 32, 2, &c. This decree was still in force in the time of Ulpian, who dates it (Dig. 1. 16, 4, 2) in the year of Cotta's consulship (see 3. 2, 5). Compare the debate bearing on this subject (3. 33–34).

8. **proinde quam**. Most edd. read 'perinde,' in accordance with the reading elsewhere in this MS. (2. 1, 2; 5, 3; 19, 1; 3. 31, 7; 6. 30, 4); but 'proinde quam' is read in several places in Med. ii (see note on 13. 21, 3) and in Plautus (Truc. 2. 3, 3), and such phrases as 'proinde ac' (Lucr. 3, 1035, 1053) are analogous. It seems therefore possible that Tacitus has used both forms.

9. **feroci**, in a good sense, as in 1. 2, 1, &c.

10. **ut rettuli**: see 2. 34.

factiones, 'the intrigues.'

13. **civiliter habuit**; so 'civiliter acceptum' 3. 76, 3: cp. the use of 'habere' in 12. 48, 2. where see note.

revolvente: cp. 3. 18, 6.

14. **memoria valebat**: see on 1. 7, 11.

Pisonem Q. Granius. The name 'Granius' would hardly stand alone (cp. 1. 74, 1; 6. 38, 4), unless with such a word as 'quidam' (13 23, 2). The conjunction, though rather near to another ('adiecitque'), might have been used to connect the new charge with the old grudge, so that Ritter may be right in retaining it, and in supposing a praenomen to have been lost after it.

15. **secreti sermonis**. The extension of 'maiestas' not only from written to spoken words, but to words spoken in private life, attempted earlier (1. 74, 3), appears now to be an established principle; we may note also that the mere possession of poison in his house is strained into a charge.

16. **gladio accinctum**: cp. 11. 22, 1, and the precautions taken at one time by Augustus (Suet. Aug. 35). It was unlawful for civilians to carry arms anywhere within the city, and even the praetorian guard were not fully armed (see on 3. 4, 2)

4 accinctum introire curiam. quod ut atrocius vero tramissum; ceterorum, quae multa cumulabantur, receptus est reus, neque 5 peractus ob mortem opportunam. relatum et de Cassio Severo exule, qui sordidae originis, maleficae vitae, sed orandi validus, per immodicas inimicitias ut iudicio iurati senatus Cretam amo- 5 veretur effecerat: atque illic eadem actitando recentia veteraque odia advertit, bonisque exutus, interdicto igni atque aqua, saxo Seripho consenuit.

22. Per idem tempus Plautius Silvanus praetor incertis causis Aproniam coniugem in praeceps iecit, tractusque ad Caesarem 10 ab L. Apronio socero turbata mente respondit, tamquam ipse somno gravis atque eo ignarus, et uxor sponte mortem sump-

1. **atrocius vero**, 'too atrocious to be true.' Nipp. notes from Müller that this use of the comparative, not strictly parallel to 'minora' and 'maiora vero' (H. 1. 29, 1; 2. 70, 4), answers more to those in which it denotes a disproportion, as 'onus . . . animis et . . . corpore maius' (Hor. Ep. 1. 17, 39), 'curatio altior fastigio suo' (Liv. 2. 27, 6), or to those in which the comparative is followed by 'quam,' with an ellipse of some such words as 'esse solet' (cp. H. 1. 22, 1; 3. 7, 2). The expression here might thus be taken as an abbreviation for 'atrocius quam quod verum esse solet.'

2. **neque peractus**, 'his trial was not carried out'; the strict sense of 'reum peragere' (Liv. 4. 42, 6, &c.), which sometimes merely means 'accusare.'

3. **opportunam**: cp. Liv. 6. 1, 7 'iudicio eum mors adeo opportuna ut voluntariam magna pars crederet, subtraxit.' This suggestion seems implied here.

4. **orandi validus**. This genit., found first in Tacitus, resembles those in Introd. v. 33 e γ. Severus is spoken of as the introducer of the new style of oratory (Dial. 19, 1, cp. Introd. v. p. 39), and as a speaker of much genius and elegance, but apt to sacrifice weight to virulence (Dial. 26, 4; Quint. 10. 1, 116). M. Seneca (Exc. Contr. 3, praef. 1-8) gives a full description of his style.

5. **per immodicas inimicitias**, 'by unrestrained aggressiveness': cp. 'facilis capessendis inimicitiis' 5. 11, 1.

iurati senatus: see on 1. 74, 5. Probably many senators and their families had suffered from him (cp. 1. 72, 4).

Cretam amoveretur. This was only a 'relegatio,' as he was not deprived of his property, the present sentence being one of full exile and deportation

7. **advertit**, 'drew on himself'; an analogous use to the personal accus. with this verb (1. 41, 1; 2. 17. 2; 6. 44, 1).

interdicto igni atque aqua: cp. 6. 30, 1. Nipp. takes the latter ablatives as depending on 'interdicto,' which is itself abl. abs., like 'libero' (3. 60, 6). But the simpler construction is possible and preferable: cp. 'interdicta voluptas' Hor. Ep. 1. 6, 64.

saxo Seripho. On the abl. cp. 'Delo' 3. 61, 1. On Seripho see 2. 85, 4: here it is contemptuously called a mere rock.

8. **consenuit**. According to Jerome on Eus. Chron. (Op. viii. p. 574, Migne), he died there in the utmost want in 787, A. D. 34. the twenty-fifth year of his exile. There is some doubt, however, of the correctness of the date (see on 1. 72, 4).

9. **praetor**. According to an inscription cited by Nipp. (Bull. Arch. 1869, p. 123) he was 'praetor urbanus'; his successor being M. Licinius Crassus Frugi (cp. c. 62, 1).

10. **in praeceps**, i. e. from the upper story, by the window or stairs: cp. 6. 49, 1. Quintilian (7. 2, 24) records a similar question in the trial of one Naevius, 'praecipitata esset ab eo uxor, an se ipsa sua sponte iecisset.'

ad Caesarem. Caesar appears to take a similar course to that in Piso's case (3. 10, 6), by 'remitting' the case to the senate, after preliminary investigation.

11. **L. Apronio**: cp. 1. 56, 1, &c.

tamquam ipse, sc. 'fuisset': cp. Introd. v. § 39 b.

12. **sumpsisset**: cp. 3. 7, 2.

sisset. non cunctanter Tiberius pergit in domum, visit cubiculum, 2
in quo reluctantis et impulsae vestigia cernebantur. refert ad 3
senatum, datisque iudicibus Urgulania Silvani avia pugionem
nepoti misit. quod perinde creditum quasi principis monitu ob
5 amicitiam Augustae cum Urgulania. reus frustra temptato ferro 4
venas praebuit exsolvendas. mox Numantina, prior uxor eius,
accusata iniecisse carminibus et veneficiis vaecordiam marito,
insons iudicatur.

23. Is demum annus pōpulum Romanum longo adversum
10 Numidam Tacfarinatem bello absolvit. nam priores duces ubi
impetrando triumphalium insigni sufficere res suas crediderant,
hostem omittebant; iamque tres laureatae in urbe statuae, et
adhuc raptabat Africam Tacfarinas, auctus Maurorum auxiliis,
qui, Ptolemaeo Iubae filio iuventa incurioso, libertos regios et

7. uecordiam: uecors c. 29, 2, and in five out of six instances in Med. ii, and so always Ritt. and Nipp.; uae- six times in this MS. 10. sub: ubi L.

2. **impulsae**, 'thrown by violence.'

3. **datis iudicibus.** Nipp. (on 2. 79, 2) takes this to mean that the senate appointed a judicial committee from its own members. But it may mean that they referred the case to the ordinary law-courts, which, as implied in 2. 79, 2; 3. 12, 10, had jurisdiction in such cases. Later, we find ordinary criminal offences of this kind tried before the full senate (13. 44, 9; H. 4. 44, 3).

Silvani avia. The relationship is fully discussed by Borghesi (Œuvres, v. 308) and Nipp. This Silvanus was probably eldest son of M. Plautius, M. f. A. n. Silvanus, cos. 752, B.C. 2, and subsequently 'triumphalis' (Dio, 56. 12, 2; C. I. L. xiv. 3606, Wilm. 1121); who might have been son, or his wife Lartia daughter, of Urgulania (inferred from her friendship with Augusta to have been of considerable age). It is also probable that P. Plautius Pulcher, quaestor in 784, A.D. 31 (C. I. L. xiv. 3607, Or. 723), A. Plautius (13. 32, 3), Q. Plautius (6. 40, 1), and Ti. Plautius Silvanus Aelianus (H. 4. 53, 3) were his brothers, and Plautia Urgulanilla (Suet. Cl. 26, 27) his sister.

4. **quasi principis monitu**, sc. 'factum.' 'Perinde quasi' is probably here alone in Tacitus. In 13. 47, 4, Med. ii has 'proinde.' Both are found elsewhere.

6. **Numantina.** Borghesi (Œuvres, v. 309) notes that she was daughter of Q. Fabius Numantinus, cos. 744, B.C. 10; and, after being divorced from Silvanus, had married Sex. Appuleius (1. 7, 1); as appears from the following inscription (Murat. 1133, 9), '[Sex.] Apuleio Sex. f. Gal(eria), Sex. n. Sex. pron., Fabia Numantina nato ultimo gentis suae.' The husband alluded to in the charge must, however, be Silvanus.

7. **accusata iniecisse**: cp. 'deferuntur consensisse' 13. 23, 1, and see Introd. v. § 45.

9. **longo.** It had lasted on and off for seven years: cp. 2. 52, 1.

11. **impetrando . . . sufficere**: cp. 3. 72, 4.

res = 'res gestas.'

12. **tres . . . statuae.** Express mention is made of an award of 'triumphalia' to Camillus (2. 52, 9) and Blaesus (3. 72, 6). Apronius, though not stated (3. 21) to have received them for this service, was already 'triumphalis' (1. 72, 1).

13. **raptabat**, 'was ravaging'; so in 12. 54, 4; elsewhere only in Stat. Th. 6, 115. 'Rapere' is also so used (13. 6, 1) after Vergil, &c. 'Et' has the force of 'cum,' as in H. 2. 95, 4, &c.: see on 1. 65, 5. The construction is Vergilian (Aen. 2, 692, &c.) and gives liveliness to the narrative.

14. **Ptolemaeo Iubae filio**: see on c. 5, 3. He was summoned to Rome and there put to death by Gaius in 793, A.D. 40 (Dio, 59. 25, 1).

2 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 maius audiebantur; ipsaque e provincia, ut quis fortuna inops, moribus turbidus, promptius ruebant, quia Caesar post res a Blaeso gestas, 5 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.

24. Igitur Tacfarinas disperso rumore rem Romanam aliis quoque ab nationibus lacerari eoque paulatim Africa decedere, 10 ac posse reliquos circumveniri, si cuncti quibus libertas servitio potior incubuissent, auget vires positisque castris Thubuscum 2 oppidum circumsidet. at Dolabella contracto quod erat militum, terrore nominis Romani et quia Numidae peditum aciem ferre nequeunt, primo sui incessu solvit obsidium locorumque oppor- 15 tuna permunivit; simul principes Musulamiorum defectionem

4. fortune: fortunae B, text Halm, Nipp.

incurioso, absol., as in 6. 17, 5; H. 1. 34, 2; more commonly with gen. as 2. 88, 4. The adj. is post-Augustan.

libertos, &c., 'hendiadys' for 'libertorum regiorum servilia imperia.'

2. **rex Garamantum**: see 3. 74, 2.

non ut, &c., 'not so far as to take the field.' The construction is changed in the next clause to abl. abs.

3. **in maius audiebantur**, 'which, as coming from afar, were magnified by rumour.' Nipp. has collected many instances in which 'audiri' means 'to be heard of' (as 2. 68, 2; 82, 4, &c.; and in Cic. and Liv.); but 'in maius audiri' appears to be ἅπ. εἰρ. For similar phrases see Introd. v. § 60 b.

5. **a Blaeso**: see 3. 73-74.

6. **nonam legionem**: see on c. 5, 4.

7. **P. Dolabella**: see on 3. 47, 4. Nipp. notes that the 'sors Asiae' had already fallen to two of his juniors (see Introd. vii. p. 113).

8. **metuens**, taken with 'iussa' by zeugma, in the sense of 'reverencing.'

9. **Igitur Tacfarinas**. For similar complicated periods see Introd. v. § 92.

disperso rumore: cp. H. 2. 42, 2; 96, 3; and 'dispergere,' with accus. and inf. 14. 38, 4; H. 2. 1, 3.

12. **incubuissent**, 'made an effort': cp. 'si simul incubuissent' c. 73, 3, &c.; more commonly with dative.

Thubuscum. Wilmanns (C. I. L. viii. p. 754) takes this place to be Tupusuctu (or Tubusuctu), the Tubusuptu of Pl. N. H. 5. 2, 1, 21 (cp. also Ptol. 4. 2, 31, who gives a similar name near to Auzea); which appears to have been at Tiklat, a little S. W. of Saldae (see Kiepert's map, in C. I. L. viii. 2), on the border, at that time, of Mauretania (Introd. vii. p. 115, n. 8). This would show the seat of war to have very considerably shifted since the last campaign (see note on 3. 74, 1).

15. **sui incessu**. No particular emphasis (as in 2. 13, 1; 6. 7, 4, &c.) seems to be here intended by the use of this form instead of the possessive pronoun: see Introd. v. § 33 a.

16. **simul**, &c. The term 'defectio' would imply that those who had made terms (3. 73, 5) are spoken of. It is possible (see note there) that they were settled in a different district from that of the tribe generally (see on 2. 52, 2), but in any case the locality is so far removed from that of Thubuscum, to which the narrative returns in c. 25, 1, that the account can only be intelligible by supposing this chastisement to have been inflicted by a separate force. The expressions 'dein' and 'nec multo post' suggest that the operations may have extended over some considerable time.

coeptantes securi percutit. dein quia pluribus adversum Tac- 3
farinatem expeditionibus cognitum, non gravi nec uno incursu consectandum hostem vagum, excito cum popularibus rege Ptolemaeo quattuor agmina parat, quae legatis aut tribunis data; et praedatorias manus delecti Maurorum duxere: ipse consultor aderat omnibus.

25. 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 2
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, 3
cuncta proelio provisa: hostibus contra omnium nesciis non arma, non ordo, non consilium, sed pecorum modo trahi, occidi, capi. infensus miles memoria laborum et adversum eludentis optatae 4
totiens pugnae se quisque ultione et sanguine explebant. differ- 5
tur per manipulos, Tacfarinatem omnes, notum tot proeliis, consectentur: non nisi duce interfecto requiem belli fore. at ille 6

3. recepto leameo (g traceable under c, Andresen p. 7): text B.

2. **non gravi nec uno**, 'not by a concentrated attack, nor one in heavy marching order.'

5. **consultor**; so used in 6. 10, 2, and often in Sallust, but by other writers (as Cicero) usually of one who asks advice.

7. **semirutum**, 'half-levelled': cp. 1. 61, 3.

8. **Auzea.** No other place of this name is identified but the later 'colonia Auziensis,' of which some ruins and inscriptions (cp. Insc. Orell. 529; C. I. L. viii. 2, p. 769) have been found at Sour-Guzlan or Hamza, at the north side of Jebel Deira near the source of the Adous, the site of the modern Aumale (see Marquardt, i. 488). Such a locality is well suited to that of Thubuscum (c. 24, 1).

positis mapalibus: cp. 3. 74, 5.

11. **simulque . . . et**: cp. 'simul haec, et' 1. 65, 5.

12. **aderant . . . in**; so 'adesse in senatum' Cic. Phil. 5. 7, 19, &c.; not elsewhere in Tacitus; who however has other analogous constructions (cp. c. 56, 2; Dräger, Synt. und Stil, § 80).

13. **praepeditis**, 'shackled' or 'hobbled,' πεποδισμένοι (Xen. Cyr. 3. 3, 27).

14. **ab Romanis**, 'on the side of' (cp. 11. 33, 1, and note): elsewhere, in this sense, Tacitus has 'apud,' as 1. 65, 1, &c.; but the use is analogous to 'a tergo,' 'a fronte,' &c.

dispositae, 'stationed at intervals.'

15. **provisa**: cp. 2. 14, 2.

16. **trahi, occidi, capi**, i. e. those who were dragged away were slain or made prisoners. Cp. a fuller similar description in Agr. 37, 2 'sequi, vulnerare, capere, atque eosdem oblatis aliis trucidare.'

17. **et adversum . . . pugnae.** This genitive is best taken, with Dräger, as depending on 'memoria'; the sense being that of 'memor quotiens pugnam adversus eludentes optasset.' 'Eludere' is used, as in 3. 74, 1; 13. 37, 1, for the fuller expression 'bellum eludere' (2. 52, 5).

18. **differtur**, 'the word is passed': cp. 3. 12, 7. This sense of 'differre' is not found in Caesar, Cicero, or Sallust.

deiectis circum stipatoribus vinctoque iam filio et effusis undique Romanis, ruendo in tela captivitatem haud inulta morte effugit isque finis armis impositus.

26. Dolabellae petenti abnuit triumphalia Tiberius, Seiano
2 tribuens, ne Blaesi avunculi eius laus obsolesceret. sed neque 5
Blaesus ideo inlustrior, et huic negatus honor gloriam intendit: quippe minore exercitu insignis captivos, caedem ducis bellique
3 confecti famam deportarat. sequebantur et Garamantum legati, raro in urbe visi, quos Tacfarinate caeso perculsa gens, set culpae
4 nescia, ad satis faciendum populo Romano miserat. cognitis 10
dehinc Ptolemaei per id bellum studiis repetitus ex vetusto more honos missusque e senatoribus qui scipionem eburnum, togam pictam, antiqua patrum munera, daret regemque et socium atque amicum appellaret.

27. Eadem aestate mota per Italiam servilis belli semina fors 15
oppressit. auctor tumultus T. Curtisius, quondam praetoriae cohortis miles, primo coetibus clandestinis apud Brundisium et

1. delectis (cp. 2. 60, 2; c. 51, 4): text J. F. Gron. 2. multa: text B. 9. et culpae: text Halm, ut culpae Müller, non (or nec) culpae nescia, et culpae conscia others. 11. more omissusque: mos missusque L, text Doed. 15. moti Pluygers. 16. Curtilius Reines.

1. **deiectis**, 'struck down.' That 'deiectus' and 'delectus' are liable to be confused in the MS., is shown by the former being written evidently for the latter in c. 44, 3; 48, 4: cp. 'prolectae' for 'proiectae' in 3. 65, 4.

effusis, 'opening out on all sides': cp. 2. 11, 3, &c.

3. **armis** = 'bello': cp. 3. 55, 1, &c.

5. **tribuens**, 'paying Seianus the compliment that his uncle's glory should not be effaced': cp. 3. 72–74. On this sense of 'tribuere' cp. c. 17, 2; 6. 50, 5, &c., and the use of 'dare' (1. 7, 10, &c.) and 'praestare' (3. 12, 10, &c.).

neque Blaesus . . . et. On this construction cp. 2. 34, 7.

7. **insignis captivos.** Among them was the son of Tacfarinas (c. 25, 6).

8. **deportarat**, used by zeugma with 'caedem ducis,' in the sense of 'had achieved.'

9. **set culpae nescia.** Both this and the MS. text (retained by Bait. and Ritt.) have been thought to give a statement contrary to fact (c. 23, 2) and have been altered accordingly. But the people, who are here stated to have sent the embassy, need not have been cognizant of the action of their king; and if they had been so, Halm rightly notes that 'perculsa gens' would have required no addition.

11. **repetitus**, 'was revived.'

ex vetusto more honos missusque. This reading is supported by Heraeus from c. 16, 2, and 'vetere ex more' (c. 27, 2), &c.

12. **togam pictam**, i. e. 'triumphalem' (Pl. N. H. 8. 48, 74, 195).

13. **antiqua . . . munera.** According to Livy (30. 15, 11), Masinissa received through Scipio the same gifts and a curule chair; which was also probably sent to Ptolemaeus, as it is represented, with the sceptre, on his coins (see Dict. of Biog.). Similar gifts were sent to Porsena (Dion. Hal. 5. 35), and probably to Ariovistus (Caes. B. G. 1. 43, 4).

15. **mota . . . semina**, 'the seeds already scattered': cp. 16. 7, 3.

16. **Curtisius**; not otherwise known as a Roman name. For 'Curtilius' cp. 13. 56, 5, &c.

circumiecta oppida, mox positis propalam libellis ad libertatem vocabat agrestia per longinquos saltus et ferocia servitia, cum velut munere deum tres biremes adpulere ad usus commeantium illo mari. et erat isdem regionibus Cutius Lupus quaestor, cui 2
5 provincia vetere ex more calles evenerant: is disposita classiariorum copia coeptantem cum maxime coniurationem disiecit. missusque a Caesare propere Staius tribunus cum valida manu 3 ducem ipsum et proximos audacia in urbem traxit, iam trepidam ob multitudinem familiarum, quae gliscebat inmensum, minore in
10 dies plebe ingenua.

28. Isdem consulibus miseriarum ac saevitiae exemplum atrox, reus pater, accusator filius (nomen utrique Vibius Serenus) in

4. cutius. 5. Cales L. euenerat: text Haase.

1. **positis**, 'published': cp. 1. 7, 5.

2. **longinquos**, probably best taken as 'remote'; referring to the Apennine forests as at some distance from any such town as Brundusium. The alternative translation 'extensive' may perhaps derive support from the meaning of 'longinquitas' in 3. 5, 4; 6. 44, 4.

3. **biremes**, 'Liburnae,' as distinct from triremes (App. Ill. 3; Luc. Phars. 3, 534), from the fleet of Ravenna: see Introd. vii. p. 128. These seem to have had a naval patrol in the Adriatic for the protection or assistance of traffic. For the use of 'adpellere' see on 2. 24, 3.

4. **Cutius**, a name shown by inscriptions (Wilm. 1178) to be Roman.

5. **provincia . . . calles evenerant.** The quaestorian 'provinciae' in Italy are called by Dio (55. 4, 4) an institution of Augustus, but are probably connected with the institution of four 'quaestores classici' on the conquest of Italy: see on 11. 22, 8; and Momms. Staatsr. ii. 571. One of these 'provinciae' is the well-known 'Ostiensis,' which had important duties connected with the corn supply of Rome (Cic. Mur. 8, 18; Sest. 17, 39; Vell. 2. 94, 1); another the 'Gallica,' with its station perhaps at Ariminum, and extending later over ἡ περὶ Πάδον Γαλατία (Plut. Sert. 4). A third was evidently placed in South Italy, probably for the supervision of the great public grazing lands (see Prof. Pelham, Class. Rev. x. 6), but its designation is uncertain. Cicero (Att. 2. 9, 1) speaks of a quaestor at Formiae, also (in Vatin. 5, 12) of assigning duties at Puteoli to one who had by lot an 'aquaria provincia' (see Momms. l. l.). The conjecture of Lipsius, designating this province from Cales, is supported by Mommsen (l. l.), who thinks that this, the oldest Latin colony in Campania, may have been, at the time of the conquest of Italy, sufficiently important to have been the headquarters of a district extending even to Brundisium. The MS. text has little to recommend it; for the passage in Suet. Jul. 19 ('provinciae minimi negotii, hoc est silvae callesque') has no reference to Italian quaestorial districts, or to any one definite locality; but no alternative reading is supported by positive evidence. Tacitus speaks of the institution as a thing of the past; the last remaining of these 'provinces,' the 'Ostiensis' and 'Gallica,' having been abolished by Claudius (Suet. Cl. 24; Dio, 60. 24, 3).

classiariorum, the marines (ἐπιβάται) from the three biremes.

6. **coeptantem cum maxime**, 'at its very outset': cp. 3. 59. 4.

7. **Staius.** The name 'M. Staius Flaccus' occurs in municipal Fasti of this date (Or. 4033).

tribunus, i.e. of the praetorian guard.

8. **proximos audacia**, 'the next in daring': 'audaciae' is read by error in old editions.

9. **multitudinem familiarum**: cp. 3. 53, 5.

inmensum, adverbial: cp. 3. 30, 2, &c.

12. **Vibius Serenus.** On the father see 2. 30, 1; on his banishment, c. 13, 2. The son is mentioned again in c. 36, 4.

2 senatum inducti sunt. ab exilio retractus inluvieque 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 5 pecuniam; qui taedio curarum, et quia periculum pro exitio 3 habebatur, mortem in se festinavit. at contra reus nihil infracto animo obversus in filium quatere vincla, vocare ultores deos, ut sibi quidem redderent exilium, ubi procul tali more ageret, filium 4 autem quandoque supplicia sequerentur. adseverabatque inno- 10 centem Cornutum et falso exterritum; idque facile intellectu, si proderentur alii: non enim se caedem principis et res novas uno socio cogitasse.

29. Tum accusator Cn. Lentulum et Seium Tuberonem nominat, magno pudore Caesaris, cum primores civitatis, intimi ipsius 15 amici, Lentulus senectutis extremae, Tubero defecto corpore, tumultus hostilis et turbandae rei publicae accerserentur. sed hi quidem statim exempti: in patrem ex servis quaesitum, et

2. uinctus peroranti filio praeparatur: text Halm (partly Madvig), pater orante filio: praeparatus Baiter. 11. falsa: text Orsini.

1. **inluvie . . . obsitus**: cp. 6. 43, 3; apparently suggested by the description in Liv. 29. 16, 6 'legati . . . obsiti squalore et sordibus.' 'Inluvies' is rarely found in prose before Tacitus.

2. **pater oranti filio comparatur**: see crit. note. 'Comparatur' would be a figure from gladiators matched for a duel (Cic., Liv., &c.): 'praeparatus' would be taken with 'munditiis.'

4. **in Galliam**. The elder Serenus was proconsul of Baetica about the time of the rebellion of Sacrovir.

5. **adnectebat**; absol., as in 2. 26, 5, where a jussive subjunct. follows.

Caecilium Cornutum, identified by Borghesi (1. 463) with M. Caecilius Cornutus, one of a board 'locorum publicorum iudicandorum' (C. I. L. vi. 1267 a, b), apparently before his praetorship: Nipp. thinks him probably also the M. Cornutus, one of the 'Arvales' in 767 and 774, A. D. 14 and 21 (Id. 2023 a, b).

6. **periculum pro exitio**. This, like the expressions in c. 33, 3, is an exaggeration of the facts at this period.

10. **quandoque**: cp. 1. 4. 5.

11. **falso**. This reading is supported by H. 2. 8, 1, and the analogy of other passages (3. 60, 5; 6. 8, 1; 11. 18, 5; G. 36, 1). 'Falsa' would be an accus. of the class noted in Introd. v. § 12 d.

si proderentur alii. Probably 'proderentur' is ironical. If the names of others were 'divulged,' they would clear themselves, and thus discredit the whole charge.

12. **non enim, &c.** This anticipates the objection that there might have been none to name but Cornutus.

14. **Cn. Lentulum**: c. 44, 1; 1. 27, 1.

Seium Tuberonem: see 2. 20, 2.

17. **accerserentur**. The MS. has this form here, and 'arcessebat' with the same construction in 2. 50, 1. The evidence of both the Med. MSS. supports both forms: see Gerber and Greef, Lex., and Prof. Wilkins in Journ. of Philol. vi. 278, foll. For the expression cp. 6. 10, 1.

18. **exempti**, 'were freed from the charge.' Tacitus elsewhere uses this verb, in this sense, with a dative, as in 2. 55, 3, &c. According to Dio (57. 24, 8), Lentulus laughed aloud at hearing the charge,

quaestio adversa accusatori fuit. qui scelere vaecors, simul vulgi 2
rumore territus, robur et saxum aut parricidarum poenas mini-
tantium, cessit urbe. ac retractus Ravenna exsequi accusatio- 3
nem adigitur, non occultante Tiberio vetus odium adversum
5 exulem Serenum. nam post damnatum Libonem missis ad 4
Caesarem litteris exprobraverat suum tantum studium sine fructu
fuisse, addideratque quaedam contumacius quam tutum apud
aures superbas et offensioni proniores. ea Caesar octo post annos 5
rettulit, medium tempus varie arguens, etiam si tormenta pervi-
10 cacia servorum contra evenissent.

30. Dictis dein sententiis ut Serenus more maiorum puniretur,
quo molliret invidiam, intercessit. Gallus Asinius *cum* Gyaro 2
aut Donusa claudendum censeret, id quoque aspernatus est,
egenam aquae utramque insulam referens dandosque vitae usus
15 cui vita concederetur. ita Serenus Amorgum reportatur. et 3

12. cum Nipp. ins. here, others before Gallus or censeret. 15. amor cum: Amorcum B, text R.

and Tiberius said, 'I deserve to live no longer, if even Lentulus hates me.' Dio places this case a year later.

ex servis, probably by the fiction mentioned in 2. 30, 3.

2. **rumore**: cp. 3. 29, 5, &c.

robur, the 'Tullianum' (cp. 3. 50, 1), called by this name in Lucr. (3, 1017), Hor. (Od. 2. 13, 19), Liv. (38. 59, 10), &c. The usual explanation given is that cited from Paullus (see Orelli and Nipp.), 'robus quoque in carcere dicitur is locus quo praecipitatur maleficorum genus, quod ante arcis robusteis includebatur.' Prof. Munro (on Lucr. l. l.) notes that some take it to be there the 'eculeus.'

saxum: cp. 2. 32, 5.

parricidarum poenas. These are partly described in a well-known passage of Cicero (pro Rosc. Amer. 25, 70), and more fully in Dig. 48 9, 9 'poena parricidii more maiorum haec instituta est, ut parricida virgis sanguineis verberatus, deinde culleo insuatur cum cane, gallo gallinaceo et vipera et simia: deinde in mare profundum culleus iactatur.' See also Juv. 8, 214, and Mayor's note there.

3. **ac**, often used at the beginning of a sentence, and sometimes where an adversative particle might have been expected: cp. 14. 64, 1, &c.

4. **adigitur.** Tacitus uses this verb with inf. only in Ann. (as c. 45, 3; 6. 27, 3; 41, 1, &c.), after poets: cp. Verg. Aen. 6, 696, &c.

6. **suum tantum studium**, 'that only his own zeal was unrewarded.' On the rewards then given see 2. 32, 1. That Vibius was praetor not later than 770, A.D. 17, would follow from his having been proconsul of Spain five years after that date; whence Nipp. suggests that he may have had nothing to gain by the decree made in favour of the other accusers.

7. **apud aures**: see note on 1. 31, 5.

9. **varie arguens**, 'bringing various charges respecting the interval.'

etiam si, &c., 'though, through the obstinacy of the slaves, the torture had ended in failure.'

11. **more maiorum**: cp. 'more prisco' 2. 32, 5.

12. **Gyaro aut Donusa.** On the former see 3. 68, 2. Donysa, either the modern Stenosa, east of Naxos, or Heraclia, between Naxos and Ios, is no larger than Gyaros, and is not apparently known as even inhabited, but is called 'viridis' by Vergil (Aen. 3, 125).

14. **vitae usus**, not here parallel to 'mortis usus' (1. 70, 6), but apparently for the concrete 'utensilia.'

15. **Amorgum reportatur.** He was evidently that enemy of Scianus who was pardoned and released just before the fall of the latter: see Dio, 58. 8, 3.

quia Cornutus sua manu ceciderat, actum de praemiis accusatorum abolendis, si quis maiestatis postulatus ante perfectum
4 iudicium se ipse vita privavisset. ibaturque in eam sententiam, ni durius contraque morem suum palam pro accusatoribus Caesar inritas leges, rem publicam in praecipiti conquestus esset: sub- 5
5 verterent potius iura quam custodes eorum amoverent. sic delatores, genus hominum publico exitio repertum et *ne* poenis quidem umquam satis coercitum, per praemia eliciebantur.

31. His tam adsiduis tamque maestis modica laetitia intercitur, quod C. Cominium equitem Romanum, probrosi in se 10 carminis convictum, Caesar precibus fratris, qui senator erat,
2 concessit. quo magis mirum habebatur gnarum meliorum, et
3 quae fama clementiam sequeretur, tristiora malle. neque enim socordia peccabat; nec occultum est, quando ex veritate, quando
4 adumbrata laetitia facta imperatorum celebrentur. quin ipse, 15 conpositus alias et velut eluctantium verborum, solutius promp-
5 tiusque eloquebatur, quotiens subveniret. at P. Suillium quaes-

7. ne ins. Bekker, poenis quidem numquam margin and B.

1. **de praemiis . . . . abolendis.** We gather that these were paid, though the whole property was usually in such cases not confiscated: cp. c. 20, 3; 6. 29, 2.

3. **ibatur**: cp. 'itum in sententiam' 3. 23, 2. The imperf. expresses what was on the point of happening.

4. **contraque . . . palam**, 'with unusual openness.'

5. **inritas.** sc. 'fore.'

in praecipiti, 'at the brink of a precipice': cp. 'praecipitia' 2. 39, 3.

6. **custodes.** The informers are called 'custodes' in 3. 28, 4, in a somewhat different sense.

7. **exitio**, generally taken as dat., but by Nipp. as modal abl.: cp. c. 1, 3.

ne poenis quidem. The sentiment is that of Domitian in his best period, 'princeps, qui delatores non castigat, irritat' (Suet. Dom. 9).

10. **probrosi...carminis**: cp. 14. 48, 1; 15. 49, 5; 16. 14, 1. Such attacks on Tiberius are mentioned in 1. 72, 5.

11. **fratris, qui senator erat.** Borghesi (ii. 153) shows that this is probably the T. Cominius, T. f., Po(llia), Proculus, who was under Claudius proconsul of Cyprus, where his name is recorded on coins (Mionn. iii. 671).

12. **concessit**: cp. 2. 55, 2. Probably he vetoed the sentence of condemnation.

gnarum, here constructed with a genitive and afterwards with a relative clause: cp. Introd. v. § 91, 8.

14. **socordia**, 'from thoughtlessness': cp. 'socors' c. 39, 1. The abl. is causal.

16. **conpositus**, 'artificial.' When used of persons and not, as more usually, of their look or manner (1. 7, 2, &c.), this word has generally an abl. of respect (as 2. 34, 6) or accus. with 'in' or 'ad' (as 3. 44, 4) to explain it.

velut eluctantium verborum, 'with words seeming to struggle for utterance'; genit. of quality.

solutius, 'with less restraint': cp. 'dicta factaque . . . solutiora' 16. 18, 2.

17. **P. Suillium**, surnamed Rufus. His mother Vistilia was also, by other husbands, mother of Corbulo and of Caesonia, wife of Gaius (Pl. N. H. 7. 5, 4; 39). Ovid addresses an Epistle (ex P. 4. 8) to Suillius, who had married his step-daughter (l. l. v. 11, 90). He may have been 'quaestor consulis' (see on 16. 34, 1) to Germanicus, or have accompanied him in his 'proconsulare imperium' (Staatsr. ii. 568, n. 3).

torem 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 6
5 vertit regresso Suillio; quem vidit sequens aetas praepotentem, venalem et Claudii principis amicitia diu prospere, numquam bene usum. eadem poena in Catum Firmium senatorem statuitur, 7 tamquam falsis maiestatis criminibus sororem petivisset. Catus, ut rettuli, Libonem inlexerat insidiis, deinde indicio perculerat.
10 eius operae memor Tiberius, sed alia praetendens, exilium depre- 8 catus est: quo minus senatu pelleretur non obstitit.

32. Pleraque eorum, quae rettuli quaeque referam, parva forsitan et levia memoratu videri non nescius sum: sed nemo annales nostros cum scriptura eorum contenderit, qui veteres
15 populi Romani res conposuere. ingentia illi bella, expugna- 2 tiones urbium, fusos captosque reges, aut si quando ad interna praeverterent, discordias consulum adversum tribunos, agrarias

3. uteiurando: ut et iurando margin and B, text Ritt., perhaps ut et iureiurando Halm. 9. iudicio: text Vertran. 14. veteris Freinsh. 15. cõpossiuere: text B. 17. perhaps praeverterentur Nipp.

1. **arceretur** = 'arcendus censeretur': cp. c. 20, 2; 3. 23, 2, &c. This would be far less severe than the 'deportatio in insulam.'

convictus . . . cepisse. This constr. is found in 13. 44, 7; Sall. Cat. 52, 36; Liv. 45, 10, 14, &c. (cp. Introd. v. § 45). 'Capere' is the regular term for receiving money as a bribe: cp. 3. 67, 2; 6. 30, 1; Cic., &c.

2. **ob rem iudicandam.** Cic. uses the same formula in describing this offence (Verr. 2. 2, 32, 78).

amovendum in insulam: cp. c. 13, 2.

3. **ut iure iurando obstringeret:** on the construction cp. 1. 14, 6; and on the practice of voting on oath, c. 21, 5; 1. 74, 5. It appears from Pl. Epp. 5. 13 (14), 4, that one senator could require another to swear 'e republica esse quod censuisset.'

4. **aspere acceptum,** 'received with indignation'; so H. 3. 56, 5, also 'accipere aliquid mollius' (2. 30, 2), 'excusatius' (3. 68, 1), 'laetius' (6. 10, 2), 'sinistre' (H. 1. 7, 3), 'atrocius' (H. 1. 23, 2), 'grate' (H. 1. 85, 1), &c.

5. **sequens aetas.** He was cos. suff. in or before 799, A. D. 46, and is further mentioned 11. 1; 4; 5; 13. 42–43.

8. **tamquam:** cp. c. 13, 3.

9. **ut rettuli:** 2. 27, 2.

11. **quo minus senatu pelleretur.** On the power of the senate, when acting judicially, to expel its own members, cp. 12. 59, 4; 13. 11, 2; 14. 59, 6; Staatsr. ii. 946. On expulsion by the princeps see 2. 48, 3, &c.

13. **levia memoratu;** so 'vix credibile memoratu' H. 2. 73, 1: cp. 'dignum memoratu' Liv. 4. 43, 1.

14. **annales nostros:** cp. 3. 65, 1. On the application of this title to this work of Tacitus, see Introd. i. p. 6.

scriptura: cp. 3. 3, 2.

contenderit = 'comparaverit'; so in 12. 1, 2; 13. 3, 3; and in Cic., &c. On the tense cp. Introd. v. § 51 c.

veteres p. R. res: cp. 1. 1, 4; from which it would appear that such an expression includes the whole period down to the time of Actium.

15. **conposuere:** cp. 'res . . . compositae' 1. 1, 5. The MS. seems to show trace of an archaic form 'conposivere.'

17. **praeverterent.** The deponent appears elsewhere to be always used in this phrase: cp. 2. 55, 6.

frumentariasque leges, plebis et optimatium certamina libero
3 egressu memorabant: nobis in arto et inglorius labor; immota
quippe aut modice lacessita pax, maestae urbis res et princeps
4 proferendi imperi incuriosus erat. non tamen sine usu fuerit
introspicere illa primo aspectu levia, ex quis magnarum saepe 5
rerum motus oriuntur.

33. 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
2 potest. igitur ut olim plebe valida, vel cum patres pollerent, 10
noscenda vulgi natura et quibus modis temperanter haberetur, senatusque et optimatium ingenia qui maxime perdidicerant, callidi temporum et sapientes credebantur, sic converso

8. consciata: constituta B, text Ern.

1. **libero egressu**, evidently in contrast to 'in arto,' and generally taken to mean 'with room to expatiate'; great events giving scope for grandeur of style. In Quint. 4. 3, 12, 'egressus' means 'digression,' and might have this meaning here, but perhaps the words are better taken in the sense of 'with freedom to escape.' Their main theme was the foreign history; to treat of domestic affairs occasionally was matter of choice; they were not tied to them, from having no other subject, like Tacitus.

2. **in arto**, 'in a restricted field.' In the similar expression 'in tenui labor' (Verg. G. 4, 6), the thought is rather of the thing on which the toil is spent. The sense in H. 3. 13, 2 is different.

4. **incuriosus**, with gen. in 2. 88, 4, and Gell. On the point of view from which this foreign policy is regarded, see Introd. viii. p. 138.

5. **magnarum ... rerum motus oriuntur**, 'great events are set in motion.' Compare the sentiment of Livy (27. 9, 1), 'ex parvis rebus saepe magnarum momenta pendent'; and that of Aristotle (Pol. 5. 4, 1), *γίγνονται αἱ στάσεις οὐ περὶ μικρῶν ἀλλ' ἐκ μικρῶν*. The expression used by Tacitus shows that this distinction had not escaped him.

7. **Nam**, &c. The thought is that, under whichever of the possible forms of government you live, political sagacity implies a study of the character of the sovereign power.

8. **delecta**, &c. Such a government was the ideal of Polybius (6. 3, 7), and of Cicero, who says 'quartum quoddam genus maxime probandum censeo quod ex his quae prima dixi moderatum et permixtum tribus' (de Rep. 1. 29, 45: cp. 35, 54; 45, 69; 2. 23, 41). Polybius further (6. 11, 6) finds the nearest realization of such an ideal in the Roman constitution at his time. Tacitus need not be supposed to deny that most stable constitutions have been more or less mixed; but only to assert that an ideal equilibrium is impossible. He would consider the Roman government to have been not so much at any one time a combination of all three forms, as at different times an exemplification of each.

9. **laudari**, sc. 'potest,' supplied from 'haud potest.'

11. **noscenda vulgi natura**. This is best taken as nom., with 'erat' supplied, and 'noscendum' again supplied with 'quibus ... haberetur': cp. 'decreta pecunia ... utque' 1. 15, 4.

temperanter haberetur, 'might be discreetly controlled.' On the adverb see on 15. 29, 2; on 'haberi' 1. 54, 4.

12. **senatusque**, &c. This sentence answers to 'cum patres pollerent,' as the one before it to 'plebe valida'; the form of expression being as if the former sentence had run 'qui ... cognoverant,' &c.

13. **callidi temporum**: such a construction, analogous to that of 'peritus,' occurs in H. 2. 32, 1; also in Colum. 2. 2, 1, &c.: cp. Introd. v. § 33 e, a.

statu neque alia re Romana quam si unus imperitet, haec conquiri tradique in rem fuerit, quia pauci prudentia honesta ab deterioribus, utilia ab noxiis discernunt, plures aliorum eventis docentur. ceterum ut profutura, ita minimum oblectationis 3
5 adferunt. nam situs gentium, varietates proeliorum, clari ducum exitus retinent ac redintegrant legentium animum · nos saeva iussa, continuas accusationes, fallaces amicitias, perniciem innocentium et easdem exitu causas coniungimus, obvia rerum similitudine et satietate. tum quod antiquis scriptoribus rarus obtrec- 4
10 tator, neque refert cuiusquam Punicas Romanasne acies laetius extuleris: at multorum, qui Tiberio regente poenam vel infamias

1. rerum: text L. 8. exitii Pich. 9. tumque Ritt. 10. Romanasue: so Halm, text Nipp.

1. **neque alia**, &c., 'being a virtual monarchy.' The constitution under the principate was not formally monarchical: see Introd. vi. pp. 95–98.

haec, i. e. 'quae rettuli quaeque referam'; such small occurrences, illustrating the character of the princeps and the senate.

2. **in rem fuerit**, 'may have been useful.' 'In rem' is thus used in H. 3. 8, 1, and often in Plaut, Sall, Liv., &c. The utility of history as a political guide is similarly described in Thuc. 1. 22, 4.

3. **eventis**, 'the experiences.' The word occurs here alone in Tacitus; but Cic. thus uses 'eventa nostra' (Fam. 1. 7, 9; 5. 12, 6) and 'alterius' (Tusc. 5. 12, 36): cp. 'ex aliorum eventis . . . providere' (Auct. ad Her. 4. 9, 13).

4. **ut . . . ita**: cp. 1. 12, 1 and note.

5. **situs**, the geography: cp. 'Britanniae situm' Agr. 10, 1.

varietates, 'vicissitudes'; so 'varietates annonae' (Liv. 7. 31, 1).

6. **exitus**, 'deaths'; as in 1. 10, 2, &c.

redintegrant, 'refresh': cp. 'columbae . . . aëre redintegrentur' (Varr. R. R. 3. 7, 6).

8. **easdem exitu causas**. This text must be taken to mean 'causas eundem exitum habentes,' i. e. 'always resulting in condemnation.' The statement, though an exaggeration of the facts, would agree with that in c. 28, 2; but the construction is harsh, and there is much to be said for the emendation 'easdem exitii causas.' The expression would be Tacitean (cp. c. 52, 5; 58, 2, &c.), and the sameness here referred to would be the constant jealousy, fear, or avarice of princes.

coniungimus, 'string together.' The verb is somewhat similarly used of narrating events continuously in 6. 38, 1; 12. 40, 8; 13. 9, 6.

obvia, 'forcing itself upon notice.' Nipp. compares 'obvia ostentatione' (Pl. Epp. 1. 8, 17).

9. **tum quod**. The explanation of this passage by Joh. Müller (Beitr. sect. 3, pp. 46–51) is now adopted by Nipp.; namely, that this clause must be referred back to the beginning of the digression in c. 32: one of the causes why this work is not to be compared to those of the old historians having there been given ('ingentia illi bella . . . incuriosus erat'); the second being here introduced, but with an anacoluthon, as if the former passage had begun 'primum quod ingentia,' &c. But it seems on the whole less difficult to understand 'tum quod' (='huc accedit quod') with Doed. as giving another reason for 'minimum oblectationis adferunt.' His book will not please; firstly, owing to the wearisome monotony of its subjects, secondly, because many readers will take personal offence at the mention of individuals, or of particular qualities.

10. **Romanasne**. This correction seems required, as it is a question between alternatives (in Hor. Sat. 1. 2, 63, 76, '-ne' appears to be now generally read). See note on 6. 23, 1; Dräger, Synt. u. Stil, § 131.

11. **regente**, used thus of a princeps in 13. 3, 1.

poenam vel infamias. Nipp. draws a distinction here between the singular and plural; but they are often inter-

5 subiere, posteri manent. utque familiae ipsae iam extinctae sint, reperies qui ob similitudinem morum aliena malefacta sibi obiec-
6 tari putent. etiam gloria ac virtus infensos habet, ut nimis ex propinquo diversa arguens. sed ad inceptum redeo.

34. Cornelio Cosso Asinio Agrippa consulibus Cremutius 5 Cordus postulatur, novo ac tunc primum audito crimine, quod editis annalibus laudatoque M. Bruto C. Cassium Romanorum
2 ultimum dixisset. accusabant Satrius Secundus et Pinarius

2. reperias Madv.: cp. 6. 22, 2. 3. animis: nimis Mur. 4. ancepto: ad incepta B, text Halm.

changed in Tacitus without apparent difference (cp. Introd. v. § 2; also 'visum . . . auditus' 13. 5, 2). The plural 'infamiae' occurs in Plaut. Pers. 3. 1, 19, and is used by Tacitus analogously to 'audaciae' (1. 74, 1), 'iracundias' (14. 4, 2), &c. A full list of his abstract plurals is given by Dräger (Synt. und Stil, § 2).

1. **utque**, 'and though': cp. 3. 40, 6, Gudeman on Dial. 9, 19.

2. **sibi obiectari**, i.e. will think the mention of another's crimes pointed at them.

3. **ut . . . arguens**, 'as convicting from too close a contrast the opposite qualities.' The same sense of shame is not felt at a picture of 'prisca virtus.'

4. **ad inceptum**. 'Inceptum' is thus used elsewhere by Tacitus (6. 22, 6), and in Sall. Cat. 7, 7; Jug. 4, 9; 42, 5. The two latter places have the same expression as that read here.

5. **Cornelio Cosso, &c.** The full names can be supplied from Dio (Argum. to B. 57) as 'Cossus Cornelius Cossi f. Lentulus' and 'M. Asinius M. f. (should be C. f.) Agrippa.' The former is an elder brother of Lentulus Gaetulicus (see on c. 42, 3), the latter (see on c. 61, 1) one of the sons of Asinius Gallus and Vipsania.

Cremutius Cordus. Dio (57. 24. 2) states that he was an old man and had lived a blameless life. The treatise ('de consolatione') addressed to his daughter Marcia by L. Seneca adds more particulars, and ascribes this prosecution to the offence of Seianus at his sharp sayings; for one of which see on 3. 72, 5.

6. **tunc primum audito.** He glances at similar charges entertained by Domitian, who put to death Arulenus Rusticus and Herennius Senecio for praise of Thrasea and Helvidius Priscus: see Agr. 2, 2.

7. **editis annalibus**: 'editis' and 'laudato' are aorists. Cordus had written the history of his own generation only, 'unius saeculi facta' (Sen. Cons. ad Marc. 26, 5), and had probably not carried it beyond the death of Augustus. It seems implied that it was only now published; whereas Dio (l. l.) and Suetonius (Tib. 61) assert that the work was read by or to Augustus without disapproval. Tacitus is not likely to have been ignorant of this statement, or to have omitted it, had he believed it; nor is it probable that such a passage as that referred to in Suet. Aug. 35 was read to Augustus; and to say that selections had been read to him would prove nothing. A few sentences are given by M. Seneca (Suas. 6, 19) from his laudation of Cicero, which is hardly considered worthy of him (Id. 28).

Romanorum ultimum. Cordus had doubtless quoted with approval the words used by Brutus himself upon the death of Cassius (Plut. Brut. 44, 1005; App. B. C. 4. 114). If he had spoken in his own person he would doubtless have also included Brutus himself in the expression, which Suetonius (l. l.) represents him as doing. Philopoemen has been thus called 'the last of the Greeks' (Plut. Philop. 1).

8. **Satrius Secundus**: cp. 6. 8, 10; 47, 2. Seneca says to Marcia (l. l. 22, 4) 'Seianus patrem tuum clienti suo Satrio Secundo congiarium dedit.'

Pinarius Natta, mentioned in Sen. Ep. 122, 11. The family was old and noble (Cic. de Div. 2. 21, 47, &c.), and several references to them are collected by Borghesi (v. 311: see Nipp. here). An inscription (C. I. L. x. 1129) mentions one L. Pinarius L. f. Natta, who had filled various offices and magistracies up to that of aedile, and who may be the person here mentioned.

Natta, Seiani clientes. id perniciabile reo, et Caesar truci vultu defensionem accipiens, quam Cremutius, relinquendae vitae certus, in hunc modum exorsus est: 'verba mea, patres conscripti, arguuntur: adeo factorum innocens sum. sed neque haec in princi- 3
5 pem aut principis parentem, quos lex maiestatis amplectitur: Brutum et Cassium laudavisse dicor, quorum res gestas cum plurimi composuerint, nemo sine honore memoravit. Titus 4
Livius, eloquentiae ac fidei praeclarus in primis, Cn. Pompeium tantis laudibus tulit, ut Pompeianum eum Augustus appellaret;
10 neque id amicitiae eorum offecit. Scipionem, Afranium, hunc 5
ipsum Cassium, hunc Brutum nusquam latrones et parricidas, quae nunc vocabula inponuntur, saepe ut insignis viros nominat. Asinii Pollionis scripta egregiam eorundem memoriam tradunt; 6
Messalla Corvinus imperatorem suum Cassium praedicabat: et

2. **accipiens**: cp. the use of 'tegens' (c. 12, 2).

certus, 'resolved upon.' Such an application of this word to persons, whether used (as here and in 12. 66, 2; H. 4. 14, 1) with the genit. or (as in c. 57, 1) with the inf., appears first in Vergil (e. g. Aen. 4, 554, 564).

4. **neque haec**: cp. c. 26, 2; 2. 34, 7.

in principem, &c., sc. 'dicta arguuntur.' 'Parentem' may mean Augustus, as would appear from 2. 50, 2; but that passage would also suggest that a libel on Augusta fell within the law, which probably extended to the family generally (see 6. 5, 1; 9, 3, &c.), the other members of which are perhaps here omitted from mention on account of their youth.

7. **composuerint**: cp. 1. 1, 5.

nemo .... memoravit. The object has to be supplied from 'quorum,' as if the sentence had run 'quos, quum eorum,' &c. It is noticed that even Velleius (2. 72, &c.) speaks of them with considerable respect.

8. **fidei.** Nipp. takes this here to mean 'impartiality' or 'candour.' M. Seneca (Suas. 6, 22) speaks of Livy as 'candidissimus omnium magnorum ingeniorum aestimator.' The genitive with 'praeclarus,' though not elsewhere found, is analogous to many others (Introd. v. § 34 e γ).

9. **Pompeianum.** On this name see 1. 10, 1, &c.

10. **Scipionem, Afranium.** Q. Caecilius Metellus Pius Scipio was father-in-law to Pompeius and his colleague in part of his third consulship in 702, B.C. 52. L. Afranius was cos. in 694, B.C. 60, and legatus of Pompeius in Spain. Scipio committed suicide and Afranius was killed, shortly after their defeat at Thapsus in 708, B.C. 46.

11. **parricidas.** Valerius Maximus uses this term of Brutus (1. 5, 7, &c). of Cassius (1. 8, 8), and of the conspirators in general (1. 6, 13, &c.): cp. Florus, 4. 7, 1.

12. **ut insignis viros**, 'as one would speak of distinguished men.'

13. **Pollionis scripta.** According to Suidas (s. v. 'Ασίνιος Πωλλίων) the history of Pollio consisted of seventeen books. It began from 694, B.C. 60 (Hor. Od. 2. 1, 1), and is cited by Priscian (see Nipp.) as mentioning an event as late as 742, B.C. 12, but the regular narrative is thought not to have gone down so far. A passage on the character of Cicero is preserved in M. Sen. Suas. 6, 24. See Suet. Caes. 30, 55, 56; de Gramm. 10; Val. Max. 8. 13, ext. 4; App. B. C. 2. 82; Plut. Caes. 46.

14. **Messalla Corvinus.** His history of the wars after Julius Caesar's death is cited by Plutarch (Brut. 40, 1004; 45, 1005, &c.) and by Suetonius (Aug. 74); but the tense of 'praedicabat' points rather to habitual expressions in conversation. He was next in command under Brutus and Cassius in the campaign of Philippi (Vell. 2. 71, 1).

7 uterque opibus atque honoribus perviguere. Marci Ciceronis libro, quo Catonem caelo aequavit, quid aliud dictator Caesar 8 quam rescripta oratione, velut apud iudices, respondit? Antonii epistulae, Bruti contiones falsa quidem in Augustum probra, set multa cum acerbitate habent; carmina Bibaculi et Catulli referta 5 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, adgnita videntur.'

35. 'Non attingo Graecos, quorum non modo libertas, etiam 10 2 libido impunita; aut si quis advertit, dictis dicta ultus est. sed maxime solutum et sine obtrectatore fuit prodere de iis, quos 3 mors odio aut gratiae exemisset. num enim armatis Cassio et Bruto ac Philippenses campos optinentibus belli civilis causa

1. opibusque atque: text Acid., opibus aeque atque Doed. 7. relinquere: text B. 13. eum: cum B, enim Halm.

1. **opibus atque.** Nipp. with some hesitation retains the MS. text. Such a combination of conjunctions is elsewhere found (cp. c. 3, 4); but the juxtaposition of three words ending in 'que,' with vowels following, would be most inharmonious.

perviguere, 'prospered to the end of life' (ἅπ. εἰρ.).

Ciceronis libro. To this treatise, entitled 'Cato' (Cic. Att. 13. 46, 2; Gell. 13. 19), Caesar replied in an 'Anticato' (Plut. Caes. 54, 733; Gell. 4. 16), consisting of two books (Suet. Jul. 56; Juv. 6, 338); which we here gather to have been in the form of speeches.

2. **quid aliud... quam.** Nipp. notes that 'nihil aliud quam' and similar expressions are used brachylogically, with such a meaning as 'only,' as in 13. 40, 6; H. 2. 91, 4: cp. also 'nihil amplius quam vendidit' M. Sen. Contr. 34, 4, 'nihil amplius quam monuit' Suet. Claud. 16.

dictator Caesar. Nipp. thinks this expression is chosen, rather than the more usual 'Divus Iulius,' to lay stress on Caesar's power at the time.

3. **Antonii epistulae.** Suetonius refers to these (Aug. 7, 63) and quotes from them (Id. 16, 69). A more public letter is preserved in Cic. Phil. 13. 10, 22, sqq.

4. **Bruti contiones.** It is implied that these were still before the public.

5. **habent,** 'contain': see Gudeman on Dial. 30, 13.

Bibaculi, M. Furius Bibaculus, born, according to Jerome, in 655, B.C. 99, but probably later, at Cremona. Quintilian (10. 1, 96) and Diomedes (see Nipp.) name him with such iambographers as Lucilius, Catullus, and Horace; but this estimate is hardly borne out by the few fragments preserved (Suet. de Gramm. 9, 11); and his heroics appear to have been turgid (Hor. Sat. 1. 10, 36; 2. 5, 41).

Catulli. The poems referred to are 29, 54, 57, 95. On the treatment of him by Caesar see Suet. Jul. 73.

6. **Caesarum,** 'Iulii et Augusti.' Catullus alludes only to the former, and probably died soon after 707, B.C. 47; Bibaculus may have libelled Augustus.

7. **reliquere,** 'left them alone.'

9. **adgnita,** 'admitted to be true': so 'adgnoscere crimen' 6. 8, 2; H. 3. 75, 4.

10. **Non attingo,** 'I do not mention': cp. 'seditionem attigit' 1. 35, 1.

etiam, without 'sed': cp. 3. 19, 2, and note on 1. 77, 1.

11. **advertit,** absol.; as in 3. 52, 2, &c.

12. **solutum.** The full expression 'solutum poena' is found in 14. 28, 2. The meaning resembles that in c. 31, 4.

13. **num . . . an.** The first alternative is assumed to be negatived and the latter affirmed: cp. 'numquid duas habetis patrias? an est una illa patria communis?' (Cic. Legg. 2, 2).

populum per contiones incendo? an illi quidem septuagensimum
ante annum peremti, quo modo imaginibus suis noscuntur, quas
ne victor quidem abolevit, sic partem memoriae apud scriptores
retinent? suum cuique decus posteritas rependit; nec deerunt, 4
5 si damnatio ingruit, qui non modo Cassii et Bruti set etiam mei
meminerint.' egressus dein senatu vitam abstinentia finivit. 5
libros per aediles cremandos censuere patres: set manserunt,
occultati et editi. quo magis socordiam eorum inridere libet, 6
qui praesenti potentia credunt extingui posse etiam sequentis
10 aevi memoriam. nam contra punitis ingeniis gliscit auctoritas, 7
neque aliud externi reges aut qui eadem saevitia usi sunt, nisi
dedecus sibi atque illis gloriam peperere.

36. Ceterum postulandis reis tam continuus annus fuit, ut
feriarum Latinarum diebus praefectum urbis Drusum, auspicandi

3. nec: ne J. F. Gron. 4. rependunt. 5. sedet etiam: sed etiam B, sed et [etiam] Ritt. 7. et: sed L.

1. **septuagensimum**, a round number for the sixty-sixth year.

2. **quo modo**, used by Tacitus in such clauses oftener than 'quem ad modum' (3. 54, 6): cp. c. 70, 6; 14. 54, 3, &c., Gudeman on Dial. 36, 32, Heräus on H. 3. 77, 22.

imaginibus suis. Besides their preservation in families (see on 3. 76, 5), we hear of a bronze statue of Brutus preserved at Mediolanum by order of Augustus (Plut. comp. Dionis cum Bruto, 5). A few busts, and several of his coins exist, some of which bear his head; others, as also those of Cassius, have such inscriptions as 'Libertas,' 'Eid. Mart,' and appropriate symbols: see Dio, 47. 25, 3; Cohen, i. pp. 26–29; Bernoulli, i. pl. xix, and Coins, pl. iii.

noscuntur = 'adgnoscuntur'; so 'nosco crines,' &c. (Verg. Aen. 6, 810): cp. 2. 28, 1.

3. **ne . . . quidem.** 'Nec . . . quidem' is generally rejected here and in 14. 35, 2; also, though with less certainty, in H. 4. 38, 2.

4. **rependit.** 'Rependunt' is probably an assimilation to 'deerunt'; 'posteritas,' however equivalent to 'posteri' (cp. 3. 19, 3; H. 1. 1, 2; Agr. 46, 4), not appearing to be anywhere used with a plural verb.

6. **vitam abstinentia finivit.** Seneca (Cons. ad Marc. 22, 6) gives a touching account of his concealment of his purpose from his daughter Marcia till the fourth day, and describes the disappointment of the accusers at finding their prey had escaped them.

7. **libros,** &c. M. Seneca (Praef. Controv. Lib. 10, 5) speaks of this penalty as first devised against T. Labienus, probably in 765, A.D. 12 (Dio, 56. 27. 1). This duty appears to have been considered to belong to the aediles in virtue of their 'cura urbis' (Introd. vi. p. 90), but to have been delegated by them to the 'tresviri capitales' (Agr. 2, 1).

8. **occultati,** &c. Their preservation was due to Marcia (Sen. l. l. 1, 3), and their publication, as also that of the works of T. Labienus and Cassius Severus (c. 21), permitted by Gaius (Suet. Cal. 16).

socordiam . . . inridere libet: the action of Nero (14. 50, 2) and of Domitian (Agr. 2, 1) is especially alluded to.

9. **qui** = 'qui alii,' especially Romans.

13. **postulandis reis . . . continuus,** 'incessantly occupied with accusations.' This expression is used of a person in 11. 5, 1, as here of a personification. The construction is not elsewhere found, but appears to be an abl. of respect, analogous to 'equis assignandis . . . diligentes' (Cic. Rep. 2. 20, 32), &c.

14. **feriarum Latinarum.** This feast was held for four days; the time of the year is variable: see Marquardt, iii. 296–298.

gratia tribunal ingressum, adierit Calpurnius Salvianus in Sextum Marium: quod a Caesare palam increpitum causa exilii
2 Salviano fuit. obiecta publice Cyzicenis incuria caerimoniarum divi Augusti, additis violentiae criminibus adversum cives Ro-
3 manos. et amisere libertatem, quam bello Mithridatis meru- 5
erant, circumsessi nec minus sua constantia quam praesidio
4 Luculli pulso rege. at Fonteius Capito, qui pro consule Asiam curaverat, absolvitur, conperto ficta in eum crimina per Vibium
5 Serenum. neque tamen id Sereno noxae fuit, quem odium publicum tutiorem faciebat. nam ut quis destrictior accusator, 10
velut sacrosanctus erat: leves, ignobiles poenis adficiebantur.

10. destrictior: districtior B, cp. 1. 32, 2.

praefectum urbis. This survival of the old representative of the magistrates during their absence ('praefectura urbis ob ferias Latinas') coexisted with the new and permanent office instituted by Augustus (see 6. 11), and probably existed till the 'feriae' themselves ceased to be held. It had been long the practice to give it by way of compliment to young men of rank; hence Gellius (14. 8) mentions the juristic question whether this 'praefectus urbis,' not being a senator, could convene the senate. Claudius would have had it but for his unfitness (Suet. Cl. 4); and Nero held it (Id. Ner. 7). This tenure of it by young Drusus is attested by an inscription (Introd. ii. p. 10).

auspicandi gratia, 'to inaugurate his office.'

1. **Calpurnius Salvianus.** Borghesi (v. 311) and Nipp. show that he was probably of Spanish origin; an earlier person of the name being mentioned at Corduba (Bell. Alex. 53, 55; Val. Max. 9. 4, 2), and the name being found in an inscription there (C. I. L. ii. 2265). Sex. Marius also was of Spain (6. 19, 1).

2. **increpitum.** It was contrary to the usual practice to bring before this praefectus other than 'tralaticiae et breves postulationes' (Suet. Ner. 7), and the introduction of a criminal charge would especially be 'mali ominis.'

causa exilii, i.e. 'prompted a decree of the senate to banish him.'

3. **publice Cyzicenis,** τῷ κοινῷ τῶν Κυζικηνῶν. This use of 'publice' is found in c. 43, 5; 3. 31, 7; H. 1. 51, 6; 66, 3, &c., and occasionally in other authors; the word being used, in opposition to 'privatim' or 'viritim,' to contrast communities with individuals, in Cic. Verr. 2. 3, 27, 66; Caes. B. C. 2. 21, 5; Bell. Alex. 65, 4: for other instances see Nipp.

incuria, &c. According to Dio (57. 24, 6) they had begun a temple to Augustus and not finished it. It is noted (Momms. Hist. v. 321, E. T. i. 348) that at least all the chief places of judicial circuit in Asia had their Caesareum and emperor's festival.

4. **additis violentiae criminibus.** For a similar offence, Augustus had already deprived them of autonomy in 734, B. C. 20 (Dio, 54. 7, 6), but had restored it five years later (Id. 23, 7). For other cases of such violence see Momms. Hist. v. 256, E. T. i. 279).

5. **et amisere,** &c.: cp. Suet. Tib. 37 'libertatem ademit quam Mithridatico bello meruerant.'

6. **circumsessi,** &c., in 680, 681, B. C. 74, 73: see App. Mithr. 72–76.

sua. The Cyziceni are in thought the subject of the sentence.

7. **Fonteius Capito,** C. Fonteius C. f. C. n. Capito, cos. 765, A. D. 12 (Fast. Cap.: see C. I. L. i. p. 550). His father was a follower of Antonius (Hor. Sat. 1. 5, 32) and cos. suff. in 721, B. C. 33 (C. I. L. i. p. 544); his son cos. in 812, A. D. 59 (14. 1, 1). On the date of this Capito's proconsulate of Asia see Introd. vii. p. 113.

8. **Vibium Serenum,** the son mentioned in c. 28, 1.

10. **destrictior.** The metaphor is taken from a sword ever drawn. We should rather speak figuratively of a person whose sword was always out, or who 'had

37. Per idem tempus Hispania ulterior missis ad senatum legatis oravit, ut exemplo Asiae delubrum Tiberio matrique eius exstrueret. qua occasione Caesar, validus alioqui sper- 2
nendis honoribus et respondendum ratus iis quorum rumore arguebatur in ambitionem flexisse, huiusce modi orationem coepit: 'scio, patres conscripti, constantiam meam a plerisque 3
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 4
sibi atque urbi Romae templum apud Pergamum 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 5
veniam habuerit, ita per omnes provincias effigie numinum sacrari ambitiosum, superbum; et vanescet Augusti honor, si promiscis adulationibus vulgatur.

38. Ego me, patres conscripti, mortalem esse et hominum officia fungi satisque habere, si locum principem impleam, et vos

14. p̄ omꝫ p̄: per omnes B, see note. 15. sacra | : text L.

thrown away the scabbard.' Nipp. gives instances of the word from Val. Max., who has 'destricta censura' (2. 9, 6), 'vindicta' (6. 3, 1), 'feneratrix' (8. 2, 2): cp. also 'destricte minatus' (Pl. Epp. 9. 21, 4).

leves, probably 'unstable,' as opposed to 'destrictus': cp. 11. 33, 1.

1. **Hispania ulterior**: see on c. 13, 2. This desire appears to arise from a similar motive to that of Asia (c. 15, 4), namely, their gratitude for the punishment of Serenus.

3. **validus... spernendis honoribus.** On the construction cp. 3. 10, 4; on the fact, 3. 47, 5, &c.

alioqui, 'besides,' i.e. 'without such special ground': cp. H. 2. 27, 2; 3. 32, 4, and the nearly similar sense in c. 11, 4.

5. **flexisse**: cp. c. 41, 2; 1. 34, 5.

huiusce modi. Similar terms are used in giving his speech in 3. 52, 4.

6. **constantiam**, &c., 'that many regretted my want of firmness'; i.e. that he had departed ('in ambitionem flexisse') from his general principle ('validum spernendis honoribus') on that occasion.

8. **silentii.** It is implied that he had only tacitly assented to the permissive decree (c. 15, 5).

10. **templum apud Pergamum**: cp. c. 55, 6, and note on 1. 10, 5. This temple dates from 725, B.C. 29 (Dio, 51. 20, 7), and is represented on coins (Eckh. vi. 100, 101).

sisti: cp. 2. 7, 3. On this constr. with 'prohibere' cp. 1. 69, 1.

11. **qui . . . observem**: see 1. 77, 4.

12. **placitum**: cp. 2. 66, 3.

13. **senatus**: see c. 15, 4. This was to Tiberius what the conjunction of Rome was to Augustus; yet even with this association such a precedent was not to be commonly followed.

ut, concessive.

14. **per omnes.** Andresen (de codd. Med. p. 13) shows by instances (1. 73, 2; 6. 25, 5; 11. 22, 3; 14, 64, 3, &c.) that Tacitus prefers this order to 'omnes per' (Halm, and formerly Nipp.).

effigie numinum: cp. 1. 10, 5.

15. **vanescet**: cp. 2. 40, 1.

16. **promiscis**, 'shared with others': cp. c. 16, 5; 13. 26, 3, &c.

17. **mortalem esse.** Pliny (Pan. 2) praises Trajan for so rejecting the extravagances of servility, 'nec minus hominem se quam hominibus praeesse meminit.'

18. **fungi**: on the constr. cp. 3. 2, 1.

satis habere, si: cp. 2. 37, 5.

testor et meminisse posteros volo; qui satis superque memoriae meae tribuent, ut maioribus mei dignum, rerum vestrarum providum, constantem in periculis, offensionum pro utilitate publica
2 non pavidum credant. haec mihi in animis vestris templa, hae pulcherrimae effigies et mansurae. nam quae saxo struuntur, si iudicium posterorum in odium vertit, pro sepulchris spernuntur.
3 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 prose-
4 quantur.' perstititque posthac secretis etiam sermonibus aspernari talem sui cultum. quod alii modestiam, multi, quia diffi-

6. posteriorum: text R. 7. et deos et deos ipsos: text Pichena.

2. **ut... credant**, 'supposing (or 'on condition') that they believe.' With 'ut,' in this sense, the addition of 'ita' is generally required, as in Cic. de Off. 1. 25, 88 ('ita probanda est mansuetudo . . . ut adhibeatur . . . severitas'), but is sometimes omitted, as in Cic. de Am. 15, 52 ('quis est qui velit, ut neque diligat . . . nec . . . diligatur, circumfluere omnibus copiis'), and Liv. 28. 13, 1. The nearest approach to it elsewhere in Tacitus is the use of 'ut' in the protasis, with the force of 'although,' followed by a negation (cp. c. 40, 6): cp. Dräger, Synt. und Stil, § 183, and Nipp. here.

3. **offensionum**: cp. 3. 54, 11. Such a genitive with 'pavidus' is found in H. 3. 41, 3; 5. 14, 4; Seneca (Trag.), and Lucan.

5. **mansurae**, 'permanent': cp. 14. 20, 2, &c., Gudeman on Dial. 9, 22. For the use of the participle cp. Introd. v. § 54 d.

6. **pro sepulchris spernuntur**, i.e. 'pro sepulchris accipiuntur et spernuntur': cp. 11. 24, 5, also 'pro nullo pondere verba cadunt' Ov. Her. 3. 98, 'pro vano verba benigna cadunt' Propert. 1. 10, 24. The comparison modifies the sense of 'spernuntur.' The temple of an unpopular prince has no more sanctity than a tomb; it is not desecrated, but neglected and unvisited by the public. For the sentiment cp. *ὡς δὲ τάφον νῦν σε παρερχόμεθα* Anth. Pal. 5. 21, 6.

7. **et deos.** It is possible that 'deos et deas,' though weakening the rhetorical climax, may be a formula used by Tiberius (cp. 6. 6, 1). An 'et' in the third place after asyndeta is common in Tacitus and Livy (Dräger, Synt. und Stil, § 106); and here 'socii' and 'cives' are referred to as one class (='homines') by 'illos.'

8. **humani divinique iuris**: cp. 3. 70, 4.

9. **duint.** The archaic form is suitable to the language of prayer, as in Cic. Cat. 1. 9, 22; Liv. 10. 19, 17, &c.

quandoque: cp. 1. 6, 2, &c.

concessero: see note on 2. 71, 2.

11. **perstitit . . . aspernari**: cp. 'si perstiteris . . . referre' Cic. Fin. 2. 33, 107. That his refusal was not so persistent as Tacitus supposed, would appear from an inscription recording the erection, in 782, A.D. 29, of a temple to Tiberius (apparently without the addition of Rome or the senate) in Cyprus (see Leutsch, in Philol. xxiii. 750); also from an inscription, whether of temple or altar, 'Romae et Imp. Ti. Caesari Augusto sacrum,' at Mograwa in Africa Byzacena (C. I. L. viii. 685). In Italy 'flamines Tiberii' are found in one or two places (Staatsr. ii. 758, n. 1).

12. **alii . . . interpretabantur**, 'some explained this as modesty, many, as caused by self-distrust, some, as a sign of mean-spiritedness.' The construction is varied in each clause, and is in each abbreviated. With 'modestiam' we should expect 'tamquam,' with 'degeneris animi,' 'signum'; in the second, 'quod' is lost sight of, and 'aspernari talem cultum' supplied, and 'diffideret' used absolutely, as in 13. 21, 9. The first view assumes the

deret, quidam ut degeneris animi interpretabantur. optumos 5
quippe mortalium altissima cupere: sic Herculem et Liberum
apud Graecos, Quirinum apud nos deum numero additos: melius
Augustum, qui speraverit. cetera principibus statim adesse: 6
unum insatiabiliter parandum, prosperam sui memoriam; nam
contemptu famae contemni virtutes.

39. 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 2
patris Augusti et mox plurimis Tiberii iudiciis ita insuevisse, ut
spes votaque sua non prius ad deos quam ad principum aures
conferret. neque fulgorem honorum umquam precatum: ex- 3
cubias ac labores, ut unum e militibus, pro incolumitate impera-
toris malle. ac tamen quod pulcherrimum adeptum, ut con- 4
iunctione Caesaris dignus crederetur: hinc initium spei. et 5
quoniam audiverit Augustum in conlocanda filia non nihil etiam

15. actamen quo: at tamen quod B.

sincerity of the reasons assigned by Tiberius himself; which, while declining the honour, are consistent with a belief that he has deserved well of posterity. The second view asserts that he had no such faith in the judgement of the future, and assigns as the motive not true modesty, but mere self-depreciation. The third affirms that he did not even care for fame, simply because he had no loftiness of soul; whereas the highest natures, whatever their confidence in themselves might be, have always aimed at the highest honours, and the highest that an autocrat can desire is posthumous renown.

1. **degeneris animi.** The expression is used in H. 3. 85, 2. The word is used of 'preces' and 'vultus' (12. 19, 1; H. 3. 65, 4): cp. 'degeneres animos timor arguit' Verg. Aen. 4, 13. 'Ut'='ita ut': cp. Gudeman on Dial. 33, 19.

3. **melius,** sc. 'egisse': cp. 1. 43, 1.

4. **qui speraverit.** He expresses this belief in a letter to Tiberius (Suet. Aug. 71) 'benignitas enim mea me ad caelestem gloriam efferet,' but the passage seems not seriously meant.

statim, i. e. 'simul cum principatu.'

5. **insatiabiliter;** in Lucr. 3, 907; Pl. Epp. 9. 6, 3.

6. **contemptu,** 'through despising.' Such an ablative appears to be intermediate between instrumental and causal: cp. 3. 54, 3; 6. 45, 3; H. 1. 6, 1.

7. **socors.** His success up to this point made him take a bold step too rashly.

8. **promissum:** see on c. 3, 3.

9. **moris . . . tum erat.** The custom had been introduced by Julius (Plut. Caes. 17, 716), and was adopted by Augustus for all important communications, even towards Livia (Suet. Aug. 84). Tacitus appears to imply that it no longer obtained in his time.

10. **eius,** sc. 'scripti,' substituted in thought for the preceding 'codicilli.' It is difficult to see what authentic record could have been known to Tacitus of this letter or the reply.

11. **iudiciis.** The special use of this word to denote tokens of favourable opinion is illustrated by Nipp. from Agr. 43, 4. also from Cic. ad Fam. 10. 1, 4 ('quidquid in eum iudicii officiique contuleris'), and 13, 46 ('patroni iudicio ornatus'); Plin. Epp. ad Trai. 4, 6 ('ut . . . gloriari iudiciis tuis possim').

15. **coniunctione Caesaris:** see on c. 7, 2; 3. 29, 5. The expression here used could be justified, even if the intention could no longer be carried out.

17. **in conlocanda filia.** Suetonius (Aug. 63) states that, after the death of

de equitibus Romanis consultavisse, ita, si maritus Liviae quaereretur, haberet in animo amicum sola necessitudinis gloria
6 usurum. non enim exuere inposita munia: satis aestimare firmari domum adversum iniquas Agrippinae offensiones, idque liberorum causa; nam sibi multum superque vitae fore, quod tali 5 cum principe explevisset.

40. 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 10
2 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 con-

Agrippa, several persons, including some knights, were thought of in choosing a husband for Julia. In c. 40, 8 C. Proculeius is instanced.

1. **ita**, 'after this example.'

2. **sola necessitudinis gloria usurum**, 'who would gain only honour by such an alliance': cp. 'tantum infamia usurus' 3. 57, 3. He would seek no political advancement, for he had no wish to give up his 'praefectura' (held only by knights) and to become a senator. He must have retained his command with senatorial rank when he became consul in 784, A. D. 31, and the office was afterwards sometimes held by senators (cp. H. 4. 68, 3; Suet. Tit. 6).

3. **satis aestimare.** Nipp. renders this 'he sufficiently appreciated (knew how to value rightly, and would therefore desire no more than) the protection afforded to his house,' &c., contending that 'aestimare' has never the force of 'existimare.' But the frequent use of simple verbs for compounds in Tacitus (Introd. v. § 40) must be borne in mind, and the meaning of 'existimare,' apparently most suitable here, is not impossible in 13. 42, 5 ('gravius aestimandum').

5. **liberorum causa**, i. e. to protect them after his death; for he himself could not be harmed while Tiberius lived, and had no wish to survive him.

multum superque, ἅπ. εἰρ. for 'satis superque' (Dräger).

7. **Ad ea**, &c. Tacitus has condensed the substance of two answers; the first, given at once, is briefly dismissed ('laudata pietate,' &c.); the second, delivered after an interval, begins with 'adiunxit.'

8. **tamquam ad integram consultationem**, 'as though to reflect upon it as an open question.' This motive may perhaps not have been stated, but left to be inferred. On 'tamquam' cp. Introd. v. § 67. For the sense of 'integram' cp. 3. 8, 2 ('integrum iudicium'), and Cic. Att. 16. 2, 4 ('integrum consilium').

9. **in eo stare**, 'took their stand on the question,' confined themselves to it.

11. **praecipua rerum**, 'the more important business': cp. c. 41, 4; 'prima rerum' H. 3. 46, 2.

ad famam derigenda, 'must be guided with a view to public opinion,' not by simple consideration of personal or family interest: cp. 'ad utilitatem . . . derigenda' Dial. 5, 3, and for the sentiment Sen. de Cl. 1. 15, 5 'principes multa debent famae dare.' On the form 'derigere' see note on 2. 31, 2.

ideo, &c., 'therefore he did not have recourse to that answer so ready to hand': namely, that Livia could decide for herself, or consult her more natural advisers. He felt that, for the reasons given above, he could not thus shift the responsibility.

12. **rescriptu.** Dräger notes this supine as ἅπ. εἰρ.: cp. 'promptum effectu' H. 2. 76, 2.

13. **post Drusum**: cp. 1. 68, 6.

14. **tolerandum**, 'that she should continue'; so 'longius tolerare posse' (of holding out in a siege) in Caes. B. G. 7. 71, 4. 'Habere' with gerund or gerundive is

silia. simplicius acturum, de inimicitiis primum Agrippinae, 3
quas longe acrius arsuras, si matrimonium Liviae velut in partes
domum Caesarum distraxisset. sic quoque erumpere aemula- 4
tionem feminarum, eaque discordia nepotes suos convelli: quid
5 si intendatur certamen tali coniugio? 'falleris enim, Seiane, si 5
te mansurum 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 6
fratrem eius, qui patrem maioresque nostros in summis imperiis
10 videre? vis tu quidem istum intra locum sistere: sed illi magis- 7
tratus et primores, qui te invitum perrumpunt omnibusque de
rebus consulunt, excessisse iam pridem equestre fastigium longe-

11. inuitu (see Andresen, p. 7): invito B, text Heins. 12. legeque: longeque R.

frequent in Tacitus: cp. 14. 44, 1, Gudeman on Dial. 8, 11.

matrem et aviam, Antonia and Augusta.

1. **simplicius acturum**, 'he would deal more frankly' (see on 1. 69, 4), i. e. he would not leave his disapprobation to be inferred from an evasive answer.

2. **longe** = 'multo': cp. 'longe antisse' (§ 7), &c., a sense chiefly poetical and in post-Augustan prose.

si matrimonium . . . distraxisset. Nipp. explains this to mean that, while Agrippina and Livia were widows, both were members of the 'domus Caesarum,' of which Tiberius was sole head. The marriage of either, besides giving her an advantage over her rival, would create another house within a house.

3. **sic quoque**, 'even as things were at present': cp. 15. 17, 3, and 'sic melius' 1. 34, 4.

4. **nepotes suos convelli.** This verb is used of a house or family (6. 40, 3; 12. 1, 1; 65, 3) in the sense of being shaken to its foundations by an attack or crisis; here it is used of several persons, probably in the sense of being 'torn asunder' (cp. c. 62, 3), no longer united as a family. Nipp. takes it in the sense in which it is used of Tiberius himself in 6. 48, 4 (where see note). It seems forgotten that the son of Drusus was but six years old, and that the others, though not without individual jealousies, were all of one house.

5. **intendatur**: cp. 2. 57, 3, &c.

falleris enim. On the sudden change to 'oratio recta' see Introd. v. § 94. The connexion of thought is, 'you cannot remain as you are; such a wife must force you into an ambitious position.' The whole passage to 'permixtos,' especially the portion 'vis tu . . . incusant,' contains a covert irony, in allusion to the assumed humility of c. 39. 5, 6.

6. **in eodem ordine**, explained by 'equite Romano' below.

Gaio Caesari . . . nupta. This marriage must have taken place before he was sent to the East in 753, B. C. 1, when she could hardly have been more than twelve years old. The date of her marriage with Drusus cannot be fixed.

8. **ego ut sinam**, 'though I were to permit it': see note on c. 38, 1.

9. **fratrem**, &c. Germanicus, the elder Drusus, and the Claudii and Drusi of former times.

10. **vis tu quidem**: see c. 39, 6.

sistere = 'stare': cp. H. 3. 21, 2: with the exception of Varr. L. L. 5. 53, this sense is previously wholly poetical (e. g. Verg. G. 1, 479; Aen. 3, 7, &c.).

magistratus, &c. ἐς τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ . . . οἱ ἐλλόγιμοι καὶ οἱ ὕπατοι αὐτοὶ ὑπὸ τὸν ὄρθρον συνεχῶς ἐφοίτων Dio, 57. 21, 4.

11. **te invitum perrumpunt**, 'break through your reserve against your will.' The sense, as perhaps in 3. 15, 4, is a metaphor from breaking into a fortress, and much the same as that of 'quietem inrumpere' (c. 67, 1). With the reading 'invito,' 'perrumpunt' would mean 'break through this barrier,' i. e. that interposed by the difference of rank between you and them.

que antisse patris mei amicitias non occulti ferunt perque in-
8 vidiam tui me quoque incusant. at enim Augustus filiam suam
equiti Romano tradere meditatus est. mirum hercule, si cum
in omnis curas distraheretur immensumque attolli provideret
quem coniunctione tali super alios extulisset, C. Proculeium 5
et quosdam in sermonibus habuit insigni tranquillitate vitae,
9 nullis rei publicae negotiis permixtos. sed si dubitatione Au-
gusti movemur, quanto validius est quod Marco Agrippae, mox
10 mihi conlocavit? atque ego haec pro amicitia non occultavi:
11 ceterum neque tuis neque Liviae destinatis adversabor. ipse 10
quid intra animum volutaverim, quibus adhuc necessitudinibus
12 inmiscere te mihi parem, omittam ad praesens referre: id tan-
tum aperiam, nihil esse tam excelsum, quod non virtutes istae
tuusque in me animus mereantur, datoque tempore vel in senatu
vel in contione non reticebo.' 15

41. Rursum Seianus, non iam de matrimonio, sed altius

16. tam: iam Muretus.

1. **antisse...amicitias.** The acc. with this verb is generally personal (cp. 3. 47, 4; 66, 5; 15. 50, 3; H. 1. 87, 4, &c.); so that probably 'amicitias' is best taken for the concrete 'amicos,' as in 2. 27, 2; 5. 2, 2, &c. The comparison intended is chiefly with the friends of Augustus of equestrian rank, as Maecenas, Crispus Sallustius, Proculeius, &c.

non occulti ferunt, 'openly maintain': cp. 'occulti' 3. 29, 2, and the use of 'ferre' in 6. 26, 3; 49, 3, &c.

2. **at enim** = ἀλλὰ γάρ, anticipating an objection, and referring to c. 39, 5.

4. **in omnis curas distraheretur,** 'had his attention distracted between all kinds of cares,' i. e. had to look at difficulties on every side. 'In' has the force of 'inter' in 2. 67, 4, &c.

immensum, adv. as in c. 27, 3, &c. He foresaw that his son-in-law would attain an enormous elevation, and might hence think that he had better not be already too great.

5. **C. Proculeium:** see Hor. Od. 2. 2, 5. Dio (54. 3, 5) states that he was brother of Varro Muraena (see on 1. 10, 3), and of Terentia, wife of Maecenas, but the relationship is not clear.

6. **quosdam,** sc. 'alios': Nipp. compares 'tecum et cum quibusdam' Cic. Fam. 4. 6, 2, also Caes. B. G. 6. 24, 2.

7. **negotiis permixtos:** cp. 'consiliis permixtum' 3. 38, 2.

8. **quanto validius,** &c., i. e. his ultimate decision is far more important than his previous thought. On these marriages cp. 1. 3, 1; 53, 2; Introd. viii. p. 133.

10. **ceterum:** he seems here to fall back on the evasive reply which he had taken credit for not making, 'posse ipsam Liviam statuere,' &c.

11. **quibus,** &c., 'by what ties I contemplate connecting you with me.' He is called 'gener' in 5. 6, 2; 6. 8, 6; and some member of the imperial house is called his μελλόνυμφος (Dio, 58. 7, 5). Zonaras, who otherwise closely follows Dio, states (11. 2) that it was Julia, the daughter of Drusus and Livia; others have thought that it was Livia herself who was ultimately betrothed to him. Neither can well be alluded to here, for the alliance with Livia is here to be understood as refused, and Julia was still the wife of Nero. Unless, therefore, Tacitus or his authority has here inserted these words by error, we must suppose that only some vague promise is held out in them. See note on 6. 27, 1.

15. **in contione,** i. e. in edict.

16. **altius metuens:** cp. 'altior pavor' (16. 29, 1), and note on 1. 32, 7. His

metuens, tacita suspicionum, vulgi rumorem, ingruentem invidiam deprecatur. ac ne adsiduos in domum coetus arcendo infrin- 2
geret potentiam aut receptando facultatem criminantibus praeberet, huc flexit, ut Tiberium ad vitam procul Roma amoenis
5 locis degendam impelleret. multa quippe providebat: sua in 3
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 in-
10 anibus veram potentiam augeri. igitur paulatim negotia urbis, 4
populi adcursus, multitudinem adfluentium increpat, extollens laudibus quietem et solitudinem, quis abesse taedia et offensiones ac praecipua rerum maxime agitari.

42. Ac forte habita per illos dies de Votieno Montano,
15 celebris ingenii viro, cognitio cunctantem iam Tiberium perpulit ut vitandos crederet patrum coetus vocesque, quae plerumque

10. uera potentia augere: vera potentia augeri R, veram potentiam augere Mur., text Marcilius.

reply shows that he understood the irony of c. 40, 7, &c.; and he beseeches Tiberius not to harbour suspicion against him, or listen to idle tales and malignant attacks on him. On 'tacita suspicionum' see Introd. v. § 32 b.

2. **in domum.** Nipp. rightly takes this closely with 'adsiduos,' 'streaming into his house.' Seneca, under similar circumstances, discontinued such receptions: see 14. 56, 6.

7. **per milites.** The 'speculatores,' among other duties, appear to have been the 'tabellarii' of the princeps (Suet. Cal. 44, Plut. Galb. 8).

commearent, sc. 'litterae.' The verb is generally used of persons, but also of 'sermones' (2. 28, 2), 'navis' (Cic. Verr. 2. 5, 18, 46), &c.

vergente . . . senecta. Nipp. shows that this is abl. abs. and not depending on 'mollitum.' The retirement would cooperate with the consciousness of failing power by enervating him. 'Vergens senecta' seems rightly taken like 'provecta senectus' (1. 4, 2), and as a stronger term than 'vergens aetas,' used by Tiberius of himself two years (c. 9, 5), and even eight years earlier (2. 43, 1).

8. **secreto,** 'seclusion'; as 'secretum Asiae' H. 1. 10, 2, &c. This substantive sense appears first in Vergil (e. g. G. 4, 403, &c.).

10. **veram potentiam augeri.** The intransitive use of 'augere' could be defended (cp. Cato, ap. Gell. 18. 12, 7; Sall. Fr. H. 1. 48 D, 51 K, G. p. 144, § 6); but it is awkward to supply 'se' as its subject, and Tacitus has elsewhere 'augere potentiam.' The text above answers best to 'minui . . . invidiam.'

13. **ac praecipua rerum maxime agitari** (sc. 'ac in quibus,' &c.), 'and where the most weighty affairs (cp. c. 40, 1) come in for the chief attention,' without the interruptions of smaller matters.

15. **celebris ingenii viro.** He is frequently mentioned as an orator and declaimer, by M. Seneca (see Controv. 20, 12; 28. 15, 17; Praef. Lib. 9), who states that he had before sustained an accusation at the hands of P. Vinicius (see 3. 11, 2), and that Scaurus (see 1. 13, 4, &c.) used to call him the Ovid of orators, for his tendency to repeat himself, and for other qualities. Julius Montanus, a poet (Ov. ex P. 4. 16, 11; M. Sen. Contr. 16, 27; L. Sen. Ep. 122, 11) is not, as Lips. had thought, the same person.

cunctantem iam, i. e. 'already beginning to think of it'; thus 'dubitaverat' ('had thought of') c. 57, 5.

2 verae et graves coram ingerebantur. nam postulato Votieno ob contumelias in Caesarem dictas, testis Aemilius e militaribus viris dum studio probandi cuncta refert et quamquam inter obstrepentes magna adseveratione nititur, audivit Tiberius probra quis per occultum lacerabatur, adeoque perculsus est, ut se vel 5 statim vel in cognitione purgaturum clamitaret precibusque 3 proximorum, adulatione omnium aegre componeret animum. et Votienus quidem maiestatis poenis 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, exilio 10 punivit Apidiumque Merulam, quod in acta divi Augusti non iuraverat, albo senatorio erasit.

43. Auditae dehinc Lacedaemoniorum et Messeniorum legationes de iure templi Dianae Limnatidis, quod suis a maiori- 15

15. liminatidis: text L.

1. **coram** (sc. 'ipso'): what had been said of him behind his back was now repeated as evidence before his face. For 'ingerebantur' cp. 1. 72, 2.

postulato. This process is distinguished below from the actual 'cognitio.' That a preliminary examination took place at this stage is seen from c. 21, 4, &c.

2. **Aemilius**: see on 2. 11, 2. 'Vir militaris,' a frequent expression in Tacitus (15. 10, 2, &c.) and Livy.

4. **obstrepentes**: cp. 'obturbabant... patres specie detestandi' 6. 24, 4.

6. **purgaturum.** Nipp. shows that 'probra' is to be supplied: cp. 3. 13, 2; 16. 24, 1; and 'purgare crimina' Cic. Clu. 1, 3, &c.

8. **maiestatis poenis.** Jerome on Eus. Chron. (Op. viii. 568, Migne) records, on 782, A.D. 29, 'Votienus Montanus, Narbonensis orator, in Balearibus insulis moritur, illuc a Tiberio relegatus.'

9. **amplexus**, 'accepting the imputation': cp. 6. 8, 1, &c.

10. **delatam.** For the genit. with this word cp. 6. 47, 2; 14. 48, 2, and 'furti delatus' in Cic.: see Introd. v. § 33 c.

Vario Ligure, mentioned again 6. 30, 1. The name 'P. Varius P. f. Aem. Ligus filius' is found on an inscription at Alba Pompeia in honour of young Tiberius Gemellus (C. I. L. v. 7598).

Lentulus Gaetulicus. Cn. Cornelius Lentulus Gaetulicus had been praet. peregr. in 776, A.D. 23 (see Nipp.), and is known as an epigrammatist (Mart. 1. praef. Pl. Epp. 5. 3, 5), and has been thought (Introd. iii. p. 17) to have written history. On his subsequent life see 6. 30; on his brother, c. 34, 1. The cognomen was acquired by his father Cn. Cornelius Lentulus Cossus (cos. 753, B.C. 1) for victories in Africa (Vell. 2. 116, 2). On 'damnasset' see on 3. 36, 3.

11. **exilio.** This involved loss of citizenship and property; the 'lex Iulia' (see on 2. 50, 2) partial loss of the latter only.

12. **in acta ... iuraverat**: see on 1. 72, 2.

13. **albo senatorio**: cp. 'album iudicum' (Suet. Cl. 16, &c.). This λεύκωμα was first posted up by Augustus in 745, B.C. 9 (Dio, 55. 3, 3). On the expulsion of senators by the princeps cp. 2. 48, 3.

14. **Lacedaemoniorum**, &c. Achaia, though under Caesar (1. 76, 4), seems here to be still treated as a senatorial province. Sparta was a free state within it, like Athens. On such boundary questions and the means taken to settle them see Staatsr. iii. 1200.

15. **iure**, 'the right over'; so 'iura libertorum' H. 2. 92, 4.

Limnatidis, situate in the place called Λίμναι (Paus. 4. 31, 3). Strabo says (8. 4, 9, 362) τὸ δ' ἐν Λίμναις τῆς

bus suaque in terra dicatum Lacedaemonii firmabant annalium memoria vatumque carminibus, sed Macedonis Philippi, cum quo bellassent, armis ademptum ac post C. Caesaris et M. Antonii sententia redditum. contra Messenii veterem inter Herculis 2
5 posteros divisionem Peloponnesi protulere, suoque regi Denthaliatem agrum, in quo id delubrum, cessisse; monimentaque eius rei sculpta saxis et aere prisco manere. quod si vatum, anna- 3
lium ad testimonia vocentur, plures sibi ac locupletiores esse; neque Philippum potentia sed ex vero statuisse: idem regis 4
10 Antigoni, idem imperatoris Mummii iudicium; sic Milesios 5
permisso publice arbitrio, postremo Atidium Geminum prae-

a

5. recident heliatem: text L and Nipp. 7. annaliumque Ern., aut annalium Heraeus. 9. inpotentia Madvig, pro potentia Ritter.

Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερὸν ἐν μεθορίοις ἐστὶ τῆς τε Λακωνικῆς καὶ τῆς Μεσσηνίας. He also states that an outrage committed there caused the first Messenian war. The site and remains of the temple are at Volimnos on the western slope of Taygetus: see the map in Dict. of Geog. ii. p. 343; also Grote, Hist. vol. ii. ch. 7, p. 572.

1. **annalium**, 'history': cp. 3. 65, 1.

2. **Philippi**, the father of Alexander the Great. He invaded Laconia in B.C. 337, after Chaeronea: see Strab. 8. 4, 8, 361; Grote, Hist. ch. 90 (vol. xi. p. 704).

3. **C. Caesaris**, the dictator.

4. **Herculis posteros**, Temenus, Kresphontes, and the sons of Aristodemus: see Grote, Part i. ch. 18 (vol. ii. p. 6).

5. **regi Denthaliatem**. Lipsius' reading 'regi Dentheliatem' is amended as above from the form in Steph. Byz. (p. 225, Mein.) Δενθάλιοι (vv. ll. Δελθάννοι, Δελθάνιοι) πόλις μία τῶν περιμαχήτων Μεσσηνίοις καὶ Λακεδαιμονίοις. For its situation see the map noted above.

6. **cessisse**, sc. 'dicebant'; supplied from 'protulere.'

7. **saxis et aere**. On such extensions of the local abl. see Introd. v. § 25.

vatum, annalium. The asyndeton suits the rhetorical character of the passage, and might be used to emphasize 'annalium' (cp. Introd. v. § 65), or somewhat contemptuously, to dismiss all such evidence as trivial (Pfitzner, p. 107). A long list of enumerative asyndeta from Tacitus is given here by Nipp.

8. **vocentur**, 'are challenged to'; like 'vocare in ius,' &c.

locupletiores, 'more trustworthy'; a frequent sense in Cic. with 'auctor' or 'testis.'

9. **potentia**, 'arbitrarily'; i. e. 'because he was master': cp. 'qui vi et potestate non iure et legibus cognoscunt' (Dial. 19, 5); where the abl. appears to partake both of instrumental and causal character.

ex vero, 'from the truth of the case.'

10. **Antigoni**. Antigonus Doson occupied Sparta after the victory of Sellasia in B.C. 222 (Polyb. 2. 70); Mummius had arranged the affairs of Achaia after the fall of Corinth in 608, B.C. 146.

11. **permisso publice arbitrio**; rightly explained by Nipp. to mean 'the arbitration having been entrusted to their state' (cp. 'publice' c 36, 2). Record of similar awards by an ἔκκλητος πόλις is often found; and this one was inscribed on the base of the statue of Nikè by Paeonios at Olympia, and is given and explained by Mr. Hicks (Manual of Greek Inscriptions, No. 200), to whom I am also indebted for its date as probably that of the consulship of Q. Calpurnius Piso (A. U. C. 619, B.C. 135). The awarding body was a panel of 600 dikasts; the majority (584 to 16) being such as to justify Mr. Hicks' inference that the case was clear, and that the subsequent counter-decision (see § 1) was probably an instance in which Antonius had traded on supposed memoranda of Caesar.

Atidium Geminum. Borghesi (v. 311) shows that, as the gens Atidia has no republican nobility, this person was probably praetorian proconsul (see on 1. 74, 1) at some time after 725, B.C. 29: see more fully in Nipp.'s note.

6 torem Achaiae decrevisse. ita secundum Messenios datum. et
Segestani aedem Veneris montem apud Erycum, vetustate di-
lapsam, restaurari postulavere, nota memorantes de origine eius
7 et laeta Tiberio. suscepit curam libens ut consanguineus. tunc
tractatae Massiliensium preces probatumque P. Rutilii exem- 5
plum; namque eum legibus pulsum civem sibi Zmyrnaei addi-
8 derant. quo iure Vulcatius Moschus exul in Massilienses recep-
tus bona sua rei publicae eorum ut patriae reliquerat.

44. Obiere eo anno viri nobiles Cn. Lentulus et L. Domitius.
Lentulo super consulatum et triumphalia de Getis gloriae fuerat 10

2. delapsam: text Ern.; cp. 1. 16, 5. 10. degetes: text margin and B.

1. **secundum Messenios datum**, sc. 'iudicium' or 'ius templi'; the question mooted at the beginning of the chapter: for the phrase cp. H. 3. 7, 1, Suet. Cl. 15, Cic. and Liv. Boundary stones in accordance with this award, and apparently belonging to this date, inscribed *Ὅρος Λακεδαίμονι πρὸς Μεσσήνην*, are still seen on the spot: see map above cited.

2. **Segestani ... montem apud Erycum.** Segesta (the Greek *Ἔγεστα*) and the mountain of Eryx were in the north-west corner of Sicily; the latter being identified with Monte S. Giuliano near Trapani (Drepanum), and the ruins of the former traceable north-west of Calatafimi, west of Alcamo. The city of Eryx on the slope of the mountain had been deserted (Strab. 6. 2, 6, 272), probably ever since its destruction by Hamilcar Barca (Diod. 23. 9; 24. 8), and we gather here that its territory had passed to the Segestans; but the temple on the summit had been of old (Thuc. 6. 46, 3), and continued to be, very famous; and the goddess had also under this title a temple in Rome. The form 'Erycus' is found in Cic. Verr. 2. 2, 8, 22; 47, 115.

vetustate dilapsam. The expression is used by Livy (4. 20, 7). The form 'dilapsam' is supported by H. 1. 68, 2; 86, 3: cp. also 'viam ... vetustate dilapsam' Insc. Henzen 5119. H. 4. 40, 3, is slightly different.

3. **de origine.** Both cities were inhabited by Elymi, who claimed a Trojan origin (Thuc. 6. 2, 3). Segesta (the Acesta of Verg. Aen. 5, 718) and the temple (Id. 759) boasted Aeneas as founder; the eponymus of Eryx was also called a son of the goddess (Id. 24 and 412); whence both are connected with the ancestry of the Iulii.

4. **suscepit curam.** According to Suetonius (Cl. 25) the actual work was carried out by Claudius, at the cost of the aerarium.

5. **preces**, i.e. that the will of Volcatius Moschus might be allowed.

P. Rutilii: see 3. 66, 2. Exiled by a judicial sentence ('legibus'), in 661 or 662, B.C. 93 or 92, on what is said to have been an unjust charge (Liv. Epit. 70, Vell. 2. 13. 2) of 'repetundae.' he received in place of his Roman citizenship that of Smyrna (Cic. Balb. 11, 28). Usually this 'ius exulandi' obtained only in relation to provincial states connected with Rome by a 'foedus,' which Smyrna was not but Massilia was (Staatsr. iii. 49, n. 2).

7. **quo iure**, taken with 'receptus.'

9. **Cn. Lentulus**: see 1. 27, 1, and note there. The date there given of his consulship is consistent with his being 'senectutis extremae' (c. 29, 1).

10. **de Getis.** The same people appear to have been known as Getae and Daci; Cotiso being called king of the former by Suetonius (Aug. 63), and of the latter by Horace (Od. 3. 8. 18), &c. Several petty wars against Dacians on the Danube are recorded in the time of Augustus (see Mon. Anc. v. 44, Gr. xvi. 11, and Mommsen there); and Florus (2, 28) mentions the name of a Lentulus in connexion with one of them, which Mommsen dates in 759, A.D. 6. The correction of Lips., 'Gaetulis,' would identify this Lentulus with the elder Gaetulicus (see on c. 42, 3); who is thought to have lived to a later date, and to have been the 'Cossus' who, according to Seneca (Ep. 83, 13), succeeded L. Piso (6. 10, 3) as praefectus urbis.

bene tolerata paupertas, dein magnae opes innocenter partae et
modeste habitae. Domitium decoravit pater civili bello maris 2
potens, donec Antonii partibus, mox Caesaris misceretur. avus
Pharsalica acie pro optumatibus ceciderat. ipse delectus cui 3
5 minor Antonia, Octavia genita, in matrimonium daretur, post
exercitu flumen Albim transcendit, longius penetrata Germania
quam quisquam priorum, easque ob res insignia triumphi adep-
tus est. obiit et L. Antonius, multa claritudine generis, sed 4
inprospera. nam patre eius Iullo Antonio ob adulterium Iuliae 5
10 morte punito hunc admodum adulescentulum, sororis nepotem,
seposuit Augustus in civitatem Massiliensem, ubi specie studi-
orum nomen exilii tegeretur. habitus tamen supremis honor, 6
ossaque tumulo Octaviorum inlata per decretum senatus.

1. paratae: text L. 4. deiectus: electus B, text Pich. 9. iulio.

1. **partae**, the usual word for 'acquired': cp. c. 51, 2; 66, 1; 1. 9, 2; 6. 18, 2; &c.

2. **pater**. On the family of the Domitii Ahenobarbi see Suet. Ner. 1–5. This one, who is there called the best of the race, delivered up to Antonius in 714, B.C. 40, the republican fleet under his command, and thus procured the reversal of the condemnation which he had incurred by the 'lex Pedia,' and subsequently attained a consulship in 722, B.C. 32. He deserted to Caesar shortly before Actium, and died a few days afterwards.

3. **avus**, L. Domitius, cos. 700, B.C. 54, one of the most energetic and uncompromising opponents of Caesar: see Suet. Ner. 3, &c. He was slain in the pursuit after Pharsalus (Caes. B. C. 3. 99, 4).

4. **ipse**: see Suet. Ner. 4, 5. L. Domitius, Cn. f. L. n. Ahenobarbus, cos. 738, B.C. 16, was procos. of Africa in 742, B.C. 12 (Insc. Or. 3693, Henzen 5369), one of the 'Arvales' (C. I. L. vi. 2023 a) and was honoured by a statue in the Acropolis of Athens (C. I. Att. iii. 1, 581). Suet. calls him haughty, cruel, and prodigal.

5. **minor Antonia**. Here, and in 12. 64, 4, Tacitus appears to confound the two sisters: see Introd. ix. note 20. Dio, in his mention of this marriage (48. 54, 4), confounds this Domitius with his father.

6. **Albim transcendit**. This took place in some year previous to his command in Lower Germany in 752, B.C. 2 (Dio, 55. 10 a, 2). He was then in command on the Danube, and probably started from Vindelicia (Momms. Hist. v. 28, E. T. 1. 31), and settled a horde of Hermunduri in the territory held afterwards by them (see on G. 41, 1), but which had belonged to the Marcomani. He crossed the Elbe without opposition, (Dio, l. l.), perhaps in or north of Bohemia (see 2. 46, 5). Dräger notes that this verb is nowhere else used of crossing a river.

7. **quam quisquam priorum**, sc. 'penetraverat.' The construction is apparently sacrificed to brevity of expression: cp. 13. 19, 3. For a full discussion of it see Joh. Müller, Beitr. sect. 3, pp. 51–53. Drusus had already reached, but not crossed, the Lower Elbe from the west (Dio, 55. 1, 2), and the fleet of Tiberius afterwards sailed up it (Vell. 2. 106); but in the time of Tacitus this 'flumen inclutum et notum olim, nunc tantum auditur' (G. 41, 2).

9. **Iullo Antonio**: see on 1. 10, 3. He had married Marcella, daughter of Octavia (Introd. ix. note 18).

11. **seposuit**, often used of a milti or virtual exile by Tacitus (as H. 1. 10, 2; 13, 9, &c.), and Suetonius (Oth. 3, &c.).

Massiliensem. Strabo (4. 1, 6, 181) describes Massilia as a school of Hellenic culture, frequented by provincials, and also by Roman nobles, who often preferred it to Athens. Agricola, who was born near it, studied there (Agr. 4, 3).

specie: cp. 'specie secessus' 1. 4, 4.

13. **tumulo Octaviorum**, i.e. that of his grandmother's family; not the same as the tomb of the Caesars (1. 8, 6, &c.).

45. Isdem consulibus facinus atrox in citeriore Hispania admissum a quodam agresti nationis Termestinae. is praetorem provinciae L. Pisonem, pace incuriosum, ex inproviso in itinere adortus uno vulnere in mortem adfecit; ac pernicitate equi profugus, postquam saltuosos locos attigerat, dimisso equo per 5
2 derupta et avia sequentis frustratus est. neque diu fefellit: nam prenso ductoque per proximos pagos equo, cuius foret cognitum.
3 et repertus cum tormentis edere conscios adigeretur, voce magna sermone patrio frustra se interrogari clamitavit: adsisterent socii ac spectarent; nullam vim tantam doloris fore, ut veritatem 10
4 eliceret. idemque cum postero ad quaestionem retraheretur, eo nisu proripuit se custodibus saxoque caput adflixit, ut statim
5 exanimaretur. sed Piso Termestinorum dolo caesus habetur; quippe pecunias e publico interceptas acrius quam ut tolerarent barbari cogebat. 15

46. Lentulo Gaetulico C. Calvisio consulibus decreta triumphi

2. ter maestina eis: text margin and B, below ter permestinorum. 11. quaesitionem: text Ritt., so written always elsewhere. 14. qui: quia Pich., text Bezzenberger.

1. **citeriore Hispania**, Hispania Tarraconensis: see on c. 5, 2.

2. **Termestinae.** These people are mentioned in Liv. Epit. 54, and the name is found on coins, also Τέρμες in Ptol. 2. 6, 56 (cp. Pl. N. H. 3. 3, 4, 27), Τερμαντία in App. Hisp. 76. The name is still traced in a locality suitable to these notices, at the sources of the Douro near Osma, not far from the site of Numantia.

praetorem, properly 'legatum Augusti propraetore.'

3. **L. Pisonem.** Borghesi (v. 312) thinks this Piso probably a son of the 'praefectus urbis' (6. 10, 3), and the 'maior iuvenum' (cp. note on c. 62, 1) addressed by Horace (A. P. 366) some thirty-five years before this date; also that he may have been cos. suff. in 760, A. D. 7. Some, as Michaelis (see Nipp.), place the Horatian Epistle and the persons addressed in it earlier: see Dean Wickham, Horace, ii. p. 332. One of the name is also recorded as a 'duumvir' at Pola (C. I. L. v. 54).

4. **in mortem**: see Introd. v. § 60 b; also c. 62, 4.

5. **saltuosos locos**, repeated in 6. 34, 2. On the plural 'loci' cp. 1. 61, 2.

6. **derupta et avia**: cp. 'avia ac derupta' 6. 21, 2.

8. **adigeretur**, with inf.: cp. c. 29, 3.

11. **postero**, sc. 'die.' In the similar passage in 15. 57, 3, and in Caes. B. G. 7. 11, 5, 'dies' is in the context: cp. 'in posterum' c. 73, 7, and on other such ellipses, Introd. v. § 80.

12. **proripuit.** This verb appears only here to take the construction of 'eripere.'

13. **habetur.** Nipp. notes that this verb in this sense is not often used with inf. or part.: cp. 12. 15, 2; also 'volentia plebi facturus habebatur,' Sall. H. 4, 31 D, 56 K, 33 G.

14. **e publico**, sc. 'Termestinorum'; frauds of its citizens or magistrates on their own community: for intervention of Roman magistrates in such cases see 2. 54, 2. 'Publicum' could hardly mean the Roman 'aerarium,' as the province was Caesarian.

16. **Lentulo ... Calvisio.** On the former see c. 42, 3. C. Calvisius Sabinus is mentioned again in 6. 9, 5; also as legatus of Pannonia under Gaius, when he was accused and committed suicide (Dio, 59. 18, 4; cp. H. 1. 48, 4). His father C. Calvisius C. f. Sabinus was consul in 750, B.C. 4 (C. I. L. i. p. 548).

insignia Poppaeo Sabino contusis Thraecum gentibus, qui montium editis sine cultu atque eo ferocius agitabant. causa motus 2
super hominum ingenium, quod pati dilectus et validissimum quemque militiae nostrae dare aspernabantur, ne regibus quidem
5 parere nisi ex libidine soliti, aut si mitterent auxilia, suos ductores praeficere nec nisi adversum accolas belligerare. ac tum 3
rumor incesserat fore ut disiecti aliisque nationibus permixti diversas in terras traherentur. sed antequam arma inciperent, 4
misere legatos amicitiam obsequiumque memoraturos, et man-
10 sura haec, si nullo novo onere temptarentur: sin ut victis servitium indiceretur, esse sibi ferrum et iuventutem et promptum libertati aut ad mortem animum. simul castella rupibus indita 5
conlatosque illuc parentes et coniuges ostentabant bellumque impeditum arduum cruentum minitabantur.

15 **47.** At Sabinus, donec exercitus in unum conduceret, datis mitibus responsis, postquam Pomponius Labeo e Moesia cum

2. incultu: inculti B, text Bezzenb. 16. quam . . . uenire: text Jac. Gron.

1. **Poppaeo Sabino**: see 1. 80, 1, and note there.

contusis: cp. 12. 31, 3; H. 4. 28, 4, &c.; a poetical expression (Verg., Hor., &c.), but used also by Cicero, Sallust, and Livy.

montium editis. On the genit. cp. Introd. v. § 32 b. Haemus is specified in c. 51, 6. The tribes are probably those which rose before (3. 38, 5).

2. **sine cultu**: Nipp. retains 'incultu' as a modal abl., like 'catervis' (c. 51, 1). The word is found in Sall. and Liv.; but so bare and harsh a construction as 'incultu agitare' is hardly justified by such uses as 'iniussu,' &c.; and 'incultu' could easily have arisen from 'sine cultu' by the absorption of 's' following 'editis,' and alteration of 'ine cultu' to 'incultu.' 'Cultus' is used of luxuries and refinements of life in 3. 30. 4; also in Caes. B. G. 1. 1, 3, &c. Another very probable correction, 'incultius,' is supported by the occurrence of 'incultius agitare' (or 'agere'), in this sense, twice in Sallust (Jug. 19, 6; 89, 7): see Bursian, Jahresberichte, iii. 786.

4. **militiae nostrae.** The context shows that this obligation had been hitherto only that incumbent on other vassal kingdoms (cp. c. 24. 3, &c.), to furnish troops under their own leaders (c. 47, 1) for occasional service; and that it was or was thought to be intended to levy a standing force, such as the Thracian cohorts and 'alae' of many later inscriptions, liable to serve anywhere, and under Roman officers. See on 6. 41, 1.

7. **disiecti.** 'broken up': cp. 1. 32, 7; 3. 2, 5. That the ordinary rule of employing these forces in their own country (Introd. vii. p. 126) had many exceptions, is abundantly shown by inscriptions and other evidence. Thus a Sygambrian cohort is employed here (c. 47, 5).

8. **diversas**: cp. 1. 17, 5, &c.

arma inciperent; a phrase formed on the analogy of 'bellum incipere.' On this use of 'arma' cp. 3. 55, 1, &c.

9. **misere . . . memoraturos**: cp. 2. 58, 1.

12. **libertati aut ad mortem**: cp. Introd. v. § 88; also 'vim oppidanis ac in mercatores' 12. 55, 1.

castella rupibus indita; so 'inditam monti . . . urbem' (Flor. 1. 36): cp. 'tecta imposita rupibus' Liv. 21. 32, 7, 'arces Alpibus impositas' Hor. Od. 4. 14, 12.

14. **impeditum arduum cruentum.** The asyndeta form a rhetorical climax: cp. c. 43, 3, &c.

16. **Pomponius Labeo**: see 6. 29, 1. Dio (58. 24, 3) describes him as *Μυσίας δικτὼ ἔτεσι μετὰ τὴν στρατηγίαν ἄρξας.*

legione, rex Rhoemetalces cum auxiliis popularium, qui fidem
non mutaverant, venere, addita praesenti copia ad hostem pergit
2 compositum iam per angustias saltuum. quidam audentius
apertis in collibus visebantur, quos dux Romanus acie suggressus
haud aegre pepulit, sanguine barbarorum modico ob propinqua 5
3 suffugia. mox castris in loco communitis valida manu montem
occupat, angustum et aequali dorso continuum usque ad proximum castellum, quod magna vis armata aut incondita tuebatur.
4 simul in ferocissimos, qui ante vallum more gentis cum carminibus
5 et tripudiis persultabant, mittit delectos sagittariorum. ii dum 10
eminus grassabantur, crebra et inulta vulnera fecere: propius
incedentes eruptione subita turbati sunt receptique subsidio
Sugambrae cohortis, quam Romanus promptam ad pericula nec
minus cantuum et armorum tumultu trucem haud procul instruxerat. 15

48. Translata dehinc castra hostem propter, relictis apud
priora munimenta Thraecibus, quos nobis adfuisse memoravi.
2 iisque permissum vastare, urere, trahere praedas, dum populatio
lucem intra sisteretur noctemque in castris tutam et vigilem

8. at R.

The legati of Moesia were, as a rule, consulars; so that Labeo, though generally styled ordinary governor of Moesia, may have been subordinate to Sabinus: see note on 1. 80, 1; Marquardt, i. 302, n. 7.

1. **Rhoemetalces**: see 2. 67, 4; 3. 38, 4; 4. 5, 5.

2. **praesenti copia.** Macedonia, though usually a senatorial province (see on 1. 76, 4), was evidently not wholly 'inermis.'

3. **compositum**, 'concentrated': cp. 3. 74, 5, &c.

audentius . . . visebantur, 'were more boldly showing themselves.'

4. **suggressus**: cp. 2. 12, 2.

6. **suffugia**: cp. 3. 74, 2.

in loco, 'where he was': cp. 1. 63, 7.

montem . . . angustum, &c., 'a narrow summit, extending in an unbroken ridge'; so Caes. B. G. 7. 44, 3 'dorsum . . . prope aequum, sed . . . angustum.'

8. **armata aut incondita.** 'Aut' is apparently to be taken as in 1. 55, 2, &c.; for, although there is no strict antithesis; even the 'inconditi' being defenders (not the same as the 'inbelles' of c. 49, 3), and even the 'armati' being 'inconditi' (cp. 2. 12, 2, &c.); an intelligible contrast can still be drawn between forces organized after their own fashion, and a mere rabble who could only throw stones, &c.

9. **more gentis.** Thucydides (4. 126, 5) makes Brasidas thus describe the warfare of these or similar races: *πλήθει ὕψεως δεινοὶ καὶ βοῆς μεγέθει ἀφύρητοι, ἥ τε διὰ κενῆς ἐπανάσεισις τῶν ὅπλων ἔχει τινὰ δήλωσιν ἀπειλῆς.* So Livy (38. 17, 4) makes Manlius speak of the 'cantus ineuntium proelium, et ululatus et tripudia,' &c., characteristic of the Gauls.

10. **persultabant**, in Lucr. 1. 14, and in prose from Livy; often in Tacitus, as 11. 9, 1; H. 5. 15, 1, &c.

12. **recepti**, 'rescued,' 'enabled to withdraw.'

13. **Sugambrae**: see on 2. 26, 3. Sygambrian cohorts are mentioned in inscriptions (Henzen 6704, Wilm. 1270). Nipp. shows from another, that, in 887, A. D. 134, one was still in Moesia.

16. **hostem propter**, 'near the enemy': 'propter' is used with anastrophe in 14. 9, 3; 15. 47, 3 (Introd. v. § 77).

17. **Thraecibus**, those under Rhoemetalces (c. 47, 1).

19. **lucem intra sisteretur**, 'should

capesserent. id primo servatum: mox versi in luxum et raptis 3
opulenti omittere stationes, lascivia epularum aut somno et vino
procumbere. igitur hostes incuria eorum conperta duo agmina 4
parant, quorum altero populatores invaderentur, alii castra
5 Romana adpugnarent, non spe capiendi, sed ut clamore, telis,
suo quisque periculo intentus sonorem alterius proelii non acci-
peret. tenebrae insuper delectae augendam ad formidinem. sed 5
qui vallum legionum temptabant, facile pelluntur; Thraecum
auxilia repentino incursu territa, cum pars munitionibus adiace-
10 rent, plures extra palarentur, tanto infensius caesi, quanto per-
fugae et proditores ferre arma ad suum patriaeque servitium
incusabantur.

49. Postera die Sabinus exercitum aequo loco ostendit, si
barbari successu noctis alacres proelium auderent. et postquam 2
15 castello aut coniunctis tumulis non degrediebantur, obsidium
coepit per praesidia, quae opportune iam muniebat; dein fossam
loricamque contexens quattuor milia passuum ambitu amplexus
est; tum paulatim, ut aquam pabulumque eriperet, contrahere
claustra artaque circumdare; et struebatur agger, unde saxa
20 hastae ignes propinquum iam in hostem iacerentur. sed nihil 3
aeque quam sitis fatigabat, cum ingens multitudo bellatorum inbel-

be checked before nightfall': cp. 'quem sisti ... posse speraverat' H. 2. 11, 5, &c.

noctemque ... capesserent; a brevity of expression for 'noctu in castris se tutarentur vigiliasque capesserent.' 'Capessere' is generally used of undertaking a duty, as in c. 16, 6; 3. 29, 1, &c., but is read with 'otium' in 14. 3, 1.

2. **somno et vino procumbere.** The expression seems a reminiscence of Verg. Aen. 9, 236 'somno vinoque soluti'; but the ablatives here appear to be those of manner (see Introd. v. § 28), equivalent to 'somnolenti et vinolenti.' They may also be causal, an explanation perhaps best suited to 'lascivia epularum.'

4. **alii.** This, following 'altero,' is explained by Nipp. to mean 'others,' not 'the others'; the passage being so far an anacoluthon that 'altero' has strictly no correlative to it.

5. **adpugnarent**: cp. 2. 81, 1.

clamore, telis. These may be taken as causal ablatives with 'intentus' (as in 16. 8, 1) or with 'non acciperet,' and 'suo periculo' may be a dative depending on 'intentus' (cp. 5. 10, 3; H. 1. 79, 1; 2. 41, 1); but, by making it a similar ablative, and by taking them all with 'intentus,' the rhetorical climax of the asyndeta (cp. c. 46, 5) is rendered more forcible.

6. **sonorem**: cp. 1. 65, 1.

9. **adiacerent**: cp. 1. 65, 1, 'lying along,' instead of standing on guard.

10. **quanto ... incusabantur**: cp. Introd. v. § 64, 2.

13. **si**, 'in case that': cp. 1. 48, 1.

15. **aut**: cp. 2. 30, 2, &c.

16. **praesidia**, 'fortified outposts.' These were ready to hand, and formed the supports of his circumvallation.

17. **loricam**, 'a breast-work': cp. H. 4. 37, 4; sometimes spoken of as a protection added to the 'vallum' (Caes. B. G. 7. 72, 4; Curt. 9, 18, &c.), at other times as a slighter protection instead of regular entrenchments, the meaning here. 'Contexens' is used by zeugma with 'fossam.'

19. **agger**: see 2. 81, 2.

21. **aeque quam**: cp. 2. 52, 5; H. 5. 3, 3.

bellatorum inbellium, an asyndeton pointing a contrast such as is frequent in rhetorical passages (cp. Introd. v.

4 lium uno reliquo fonte uterentur; simul equi armenta, ut mos barbaris, iuxta clausa, egestate pabuli exanimari; adiacere corpora hominum, quos vulnera, quos sitis peremerat; pollui cuncta sanie, odore, contactu.

50. Rebusque turbatis malum extremum discordia accessit, 5 his deditionem, aliis mortem et mutuos inter se ictus parantibus; et erant qui non inultum exitium, sed eruptionem suaderent. 2 neque ignobiles tantum his diversi sententiis, verum e ducibus Dinis, provectus senecta et longo usu vim atque clementiam Romanam edoctus, ponenda arma, unum adflictis id remedium 10 disserebat, primusque se cum coniuge et liberis victori permisit: secuti aetate aut sexu inbecilli et quibus maior vitae quam gloriae 3 cupido. at iuventus Tarsam inter et Turesim distrahebatur. 4 utrique destinatum cum libertate occidere, sed Tarsa properum finem, abrumpendas pariter spes ac metus clamitans, dedit exem- 15 plum demisso in pectus ferro; nec defuere qui eodem modo op- 5 peterent. Turesis sua cum manu noctem opperitur, haud nescio 6 duce nostro; igitur firmatae stationes densioribus globis. et ingruebat nox nimbo atrox, hostisque clamore turbido, modo per vastum silentium, incertos obsessores effecerat, cum Sabinus 20 circumire, hortari ne ad ambigua sonitus aut simulationem quietis

1. simuleque: simul aeque B, text L, simulque Orsini. 8. quamuis: tantum his Madvig, [neque . . . sententiis] Ritter. 14. properandum Ricklefs, properum per Haase, properus in Müller.

§ 65). Some have thought the insertion of 'que' necessary; others, as Dräger, take the words as an oxymoron.

8. **neque ignobiles**, &c. 'His sententiis' would refer to the two opinions held by the party of resistance, represented below by Tarsa and Turesis, and the 'ignobiles' are contrasted with 'e ducibus Dinis.' None of the explanations of the MS. text appear satisfactory, and those who retain it mostly bracket the words as a gloss.

10. **edoctus**, with accus., as in 13. 47, 2; H. 2. 90, 2.

14. **properum finem.** The suggested corrections appear needless and injurious to the force of the passage. The sense of such a verb as 'suadens' can easily be supplied from the gerundive and 'clamitans,' and such exclamatory sentences, expressive of the emotion of the speaker, are elsewhere used by Tacitus: see 1. 35, 2; 41, 2, &c.

16. **oppeterent**: cp. 2. 24, 3.

18. **stationes**: cp., 1. 28, 5; perhaps here 'out-posts,' as in 6. 34, 1.

globis: cp. 2. 11, 4.

19. **modo.** Nipp. compares the similar omission of 'modo' in the first clause in 6. 32, 2, and the parallel abbreviations 'his, rursus illis,' 'hos, rursus illos' (H. 3. 22, 3; 83, 1), and notes 'vastum silentium' (cp. H. 3. 13, 4; Agr. 38, 2) as taken from Liv. x. 34, 6. Cp. the expression in 3. 4, 1.

20. **cum . . . circumire**: cp. 2. 31, 1.

21. **ad ambigua sonitus**, sc. 'animum intendentes.' The expression resembles those in which 'ad' has the force of 'in answer to,' or a similar meaning, as 'ad ea' (1. 26, 2, &c.), 'ad omnis nuntios' (H. 3. 56, 2), &c.

casum insidiantibus aperirent, sed sua quisque munia servarent immoti telisque non in falsum iactis.

51. Interea barbari catervis decurrentes nunc in vallum manualia saxa, praeustas sudes, decisa robora iacere, nunc virgultis et cratibus et corporibus exanimis complere fossas, quidam pontis et scalas ante fabricati inferre propugnaculis eaque prensare, detrahere et adversum resistentis comminus niti. miles contra 2 deturbare telis, pellere umbonibus, muralia pila, congestas lapidum moles provolvere. his partae victoriae spes et, si cedant, insignitius flagitium, illis extrema iam salus et adsistentes plerisque matres et coniuges earumque lamenta addunt animos. nox 3 aliis in audaciam, aliis ad formidinem opportuna; incerti ictus, vulnera inprovisa; suorum atque hostium ignoratio et montis anfractu repercussae velut a tergo voces adeo cuncta miscuerant, ut quaedam munimenta Romani quasi perrupta omiserint. neque 4 tamen pervasere hostes nisi admodum pauci: ceteros, deiecto promptissimo quoque aut saucio, adpetente iam luce trusere in summa castelli, ubi tandem coacta deditio. et proxima sponte 5 incolarum recepta: reliquis, quo minus vi aut obsidio subigerentur, praematura montis Haemi et saeva hiems subvenit.

16. deleçto: deleto B, text Orelli; cp. c. 25, 6. 19. incorum: text B, ipsorum Haase.

1. **casum . . . aperirent**, 'give an opportunity,' i.e. of escape; like 'locum aperire' 13. 37, 4, &c.

3. **catervis.** This modal abl. (see Introd. v. § 28) is much used in describing military formations: cp. H. 2. 42, 4: 3. 29, 3; 5. 16, 1. In Caes. 'cuneatim,' and in Sall. and Liv. 'catervatim,' are found.

nunc . . . nunc, here alone in Tacitus, from poets and Livy.

manualia saxa; so 'manuales lapides' Sisenn. ap. Non. 449, 2; the χειροπληθεῖς λίθοι of Xen. An. 3. 3, 17, and (according to common derivation) the Homeric χερμάδια.

6. **propugnaculis**, 'turrets.' In this description throughout, Tacitus seems to imagine Roman works of a more substantial character than such as appear implied in c. 49, 2

prensare: cp. the similar description in 1. 68, 2.

8. **muralia pila**: cp. Caes. B. G. 5. 40, 6; 7. 82, 1; apparently longer than the 'pila' used in line of battle. 'Provolvere' is used here by zeugma.

9. **partae victoriae spes**, 'the hope that they had already won the victory.' Nipp. prefers to take 'partae victoriae' and 'flagitium' as nom., and 'spes' as depending, like 'animos,' on 'addunt;' but with this interpretation 'flagitium' would seem better taken as accus.

10. **insignitius**: cp. 3. 70, 4.

11. **matres et coniuges**: cp. c. 46, 5; the 'inbelles' of c. 49, 3.

12. **aliis . . . aliis.** The first are the barbarians, the second the Romans.

in . . . ad, interchanged, as in 1. 28, 7.

incerti ictus, 'the having to aim at random.'

14. **velut a tergo**, taken closely with 'voces'; 'cries seeming to come from the rear owing to the echo.'

16. **deiecto**: 'deleto' is used rather of bodies of men than individuals (H. 2. 14, 6; 4. 18, 2; 79, 4).

18. **coacta**, 'was enforced': cp. 13. 43, 4; 16. 19, 4; 'vis cogendae militiae' Liv. 4. 26, 3.

sponte, with genit. in 2. 59, 3, &c.; with 'incolarum' again 13. 39, 7.

52. At Romae commota principis domo, ut series futuri in
Agrippinam exitii inciperet, Claudia Pulchra sobrina eius postu-
2 latur accusante Domitio Afro. is recens praetura, modicus
dignationis et quoquo facinore properus clarescere, crimen inpudi-
citiae, adulterum Furnium, veneficia in principem et devotiones 5
3 obiectabat. Agrippina semper atrox, tum et periculo propinquae
accensa, pergit ad Tiberium ac forte sacrificantem patri repperit.
4 quo initio invidiae non eiusdem ait mactare divo Augusto victimas
et posteros eius insectari. non in effigies mutas divinum spiritum
transfusum: se imaginem veram, caelesti sanguine ortam, intelle- 10
5 gere discrimen, suscipere sordes. frustra Pulchram praescribi,
cui sola exitii causa sit quod Agrippinam stulte prorsus ad cultum
6 delegerit, oblita Sosiae ob eadem adflictae. audita haec raram

10. sed imaginem: sed imaginem B, text Muretus.

1. **commota** = 'concussa.' It had lost some of its stability by the death of Drusus, also by the intrigues already set in motion (c. 12, &c.) against Agrippina and her sons.

2. **sobrina eius.** On this relationship see Introd. ix. note 18, and Borghesi (i. 417). Her supposed father, adoptively named M. Valerius Messalla Barbatus Appianus, was cos. in 742, B. C. 12, and was son of App. Claudius Pulcher (cos. 716, B. C. 38). From the mention of her son (c. 66, 1) it would appear that she was wife of the unfortunate Quintilius Varus.

3. **Domitio Afro**: see c. 66, 1; Dial. 13. 3; 15, 3; Dio, 59 19; Pl. Epp. 2. 14, 10, &c. Quintilian often refers to him, and considered him the best orator he had ever heard (10. 1, 118). His death is noticed in 14. 19, 1.

recens praetura. On the abl. cp. 1. 41, 5. He was consul in 792, A. D. 39 (Dio, 59. 20, 1), and 'curator aquarum' from 802, A. D. 49, till his death (Frontin. de Aq. 102). He appears to have had sons in high rank under Domitian (see Insc. Orell. 773; Henzen, p. 75).

modicus dignationis. On the gen. cp. 2. 73, 3. As he had already been 'praetor,' 'dignatio' is here to be taken of his personal consideration or reputation, as in 6. 27, 2; H. 3. 80, 3, &c. It is seen from what follows that his fame as an orator had not yet been established.

4. **properus**, here alone with inf.: cp. Introd. v. § 47. For another Tacitean usage of this word cp. 11. 26, 4, &c.

5. **devotiones**: cp. 2. 27, 2; 69. 5.

6. **atrox**, perhaps here, like 'ferox,' in a good or neutral sense (cp. Hor. Od. 2. 1, 24). Tacitus however uses it generally in a bad sense, as in 12. 22, 1; 13. 13, 4, &c.

7. **sacrificantem patri**, as one of the 'sodales Augustales' (1. 54, 2).

8. **quo initio**, abl. abs.: cp. 'eo principio' 1. 16, 3.

invidiae: cp. c. 53. 1; 3. 67, 4. Many instances of a somewhat similar use of the word are collected by Mayor on Juv. 15, 123.

9. **effigies mutas.** She is supposed to point to some statue before which sacrifice was being offered.

10. **se imaginem.** In MSS. 'i' and 't' are constantly confused, hence 'se imaginem' may have been corrupted into 'setmaginem.'

intellegere, &c., 'saw that the danger was her own, took to herself the suppliant's garb': the latter expression is no doubt metaphorical. 'Sordes' is used of the general condition of an accused person (6. 8, 4; 12. 59, 3).

11. **praescribi**, 'is made the pretext'; so used only here and in 11. 16, 7, but Caesar thus uses 'honesta praescriptio' (B. C. 3. 32, 4).

12. **ad cultum delegerit**, = 'colendam delegerit.'

13. **Sosiae**: see c. 19, 1.

raram, taken closely with 'occulti pectoris': it was not his habit to speak out.

occulti pectoris vocem elicuere, correptamque Graeco versu admonuit non ideo laedi, quia non regnaret. Pulchra et Furnius damnantur. Afer primoribus oratorum additus, divulgato ingenio 7
et secuta adseveratione Caesaris, qua suo iure disertum eum
5 appellavit. mox capessendis accusationibus aut reos tutando 8
prosperiore eloquentiae quam morum fama fuit, nisi quod aetas extrema multum etiam eloquentiae dempsit, dum fessa mente retinet silentii inpatientiam.

53. At Agrippina pervicax irae et morbo corporis inplicata,
10 cum viseret eam Caesar, profusis diu ac per silentium lacrimis, mox invidiam et preces orditur: subveniret solitudini, daret maritum; habilem adhuc iuventam sibi, neque aliud probis quam ex matrimonio solacium; esse in civitate *qui* . . . Germanici coniugem ac liberos eius recipere dignarentur. sed Caesar non 2
15 ignarus, quantum ex republica peteretur, ne tamen offensionis aut metus manifestus foret, sine responso quamquam instantem reliquit. id ego, a scriptoribus annalium non traditum, repperi in 3

13. civitate: here Med. has a gap of about fourteen letters. 15. exre publica: ex se Wurm, ea re Madvig.

1. **correptam**: this appears to express the action described by Suetonius, who says (Tib. 53) 'manu apprehendit.'

Graeco versu. Suetonius (l. l.) appears to translate the line, 'si non dominaris, filiola, iniuriam te accipere existimas'; whence some have exercised their ingenuity in an attempt to restore the Greek original. Its sentiment resembles the dictum of Jason of Pherae, πείνην ὅτε μὴ τυραννοῖ (Ar. Pol. 3. 4, 9).

3. **primoribus oratorum**: see on § 1.

4. **suo iure disertum**, 'one who could claim the title of orator by right.' So Cicero (Arch. 8, 18) appears to quote Ennius as calling poets 'iure suo sancti.'

6. **nisi quod.** This qualifies the praise of his eloquence. He was less high-principled than eloquent, and even the latter gift at last forsook him. On 'nisi quod' cp. 1. 33, 6. Quintilian describes (12. 11, 3) this failing of Afer in old age, and records that it was said 'malle eum deficere quam desinere.'

9. **pervicax**, with genit. in H. 4. 5, 5; elsewhere, according to Dräger, only in Apul.; so used after the analogy of 'tenax' and many other words.

inplicata; so 'implicitus morbo' Lucr. 6, 1232; Caes. B. C. 3. 18, 1, &c.

11. **invidiam et preces**: cp. 3. 67, 4.

12. **habilem**, sc. 'matrimonio.' She must have been about thirty-nine or forty years old (Introd. ix. note 8).

probis = 'pudicis'; so used of women in Ter. Ad. 5. 8, 7; Sall. Cat. 25, 2, &c.

13. **esse in civitate.** 'Qui' and some other word or words have been lost.

15. **ex republica peteretur**, 'how important, viewed politically, was her request' (cp. c. 31, 5, &c.). With this or other readings the substantial meaning is the same, that to give a new husband to the granddaughter of Augustus and mother of the natural heirs to the principate was a very grave matter.

16. **manifestus**, with gen.: cp. 2. 85, 3.

17. **scriptoribus annalium**, i. e. professed historians, such as he usually follows. Their works are here contrasted with a more private or family memoir.

in commentariis Agrippinae filiae. The only other express mention of these is in Plin. N. H. 7. 8, 6, 46 'Neronem . . . pedibus genitum scribit parens eius Agrippina.' On their probable indirect influence on the narrative of Tacitus, see Introd. iii. p. 14. That the elder Agrippina was also in some way a writer appears from Suet. Aug. 86.

commentariis Agrippinae filiae, quae Neronis principis mater vitam suam et casus suorum posteris memoravit.

54. Ceterum Seianus maerentem et inprovidam altius perculit, immissis qui per speciem amicitiae monerent paratum ei venenum,
2 vitandas soceri epulas. atque illa simulationum nescia, cum 5 propter discumberet, non vultu aut sermone flecti, nullos attingere cibos, donec advertit Tiberius, forte an quia audiverat; idque quo acrius experiretur, poma, ut erant adposita, laudans
3 nurui sua manu tradidit. aucta ex eo suspicio Agrippinae, et intacta ore servis tramisit. nec tamen Tiberii vox coram secuta, 10 sed obversus ad matrem non mirum ait, si quid severius in eam
4 statuisset, a qua veneficii insimularetur. inde rumor parari exitium, neque id imperatorem palam audere, secretum ad perpetrandum quaeri.

55. Sed Caesar quo famam averteret, adesse frequens senatui 15 legatosque Asiae, ambigentes quanam in civitate templum

9. suae: sua R.

1. **quae . . . memoravit.** The addition of these words seems to imply that the book was no longer well known in the time of Tacitus. It is not easy to see why Tacitus should have inserted 'Neronis principis mater,' unless he meant thus to give the date, i. e. that she wrote them when she was mother of Nero, and when he was princeps. This would fix the date within five years, and make it probable that she wrote them during the retirement preceding her death (13. 19, 1).

3. **inprovidam,** referring to her general character.

4. **immissis:** cp. c. 19, 1.

5. **soceri,** used of Tiberius as the adoptive father of her husband.

nescia: cp. 3. 1, 1.

6. **propter,** 'next to him.' The pronominal accusative is constantly omitted by Tacitus (Introd. v, § 8). On 'discumbere' as used of a single person cp. 3. 14, 2.

non vultu aut sermone flecti, 'never changed expression or spoke'; abl. of respect, as 'sermone ac vultu intentus' 6. 50, 1. Nipp. shows that these words are often coupled. 'Flecti' is used by zeugma with 'sermone.'

7. **advertit,** 'noticed it': cp. 6. 40, 1; 12. 51, 5, &c.

audiverat, had heard of her suspicion.

8. **quo acrius experiretur,** 'for a more testing experiment.' The sense is analogous to the frequent one of activity in research, &c.

ut erant adposita, 'as soon as they had been placed on the table,' i. e. before he or others tasted them (Doed.).

10. **coram.** Nipp. takes this to mean 'personally addressed to her,' noting that 'coram' acquires the sense of 'personally' in c. 75, 1; 14. 13, 1: cp. 'testimonia . . . coram et praesentes dicere' Dial. 36, 5, 'si . . . coram potius, me praesente, dixissent' Cic. Leg. Agr. 3. 1, 1. The sense of 'openly' (cp. 6. 8, 8; 13. 25, 4) is also applicable in this, and in most of these passages.

11. **obversus ad matrem:** she is to be understood as placed on the other side of him.

si quid severius . . . statuisset. Suetonius says (Tib. 53) that he never again invited Agrippina; and his words at this time may have expressed no more than this intention.

13. **secretum:** for the absence of any adversative particle cp. 5. 3, 3; Nipp. on c. 35.

15. **famam,** the 'rumor' of c. 54, 4. He wished to seem wholly occupied in public business.

16. **ambigentes,** 'disputing': cp. 3. 43, 4, &c.

templum: see c. 15, 5.

statueretur, pluris per dies audivit. undecim urbes certabant, 2
pari ambitione, viribus diversae. neque multum distantia inter
se memorabant de vetustate generis, studio in populum Roma-
num per bella Persi et Aristonici aliorumque regum. verum 3
5 Hypaepeni Trallianique Laodicenis ac Magnetibus simul tramissi
ut parum validi; ne Ilienses quidem, cum parentem urbis Romae 4
Troiam referrent, nisi antiquitatis gloria pollebant. paulum 5
addubitatum, quod Halicarnasii mille et ducentos per annos nullo
motu terrae nutavisse sedes suas vivoque in saxo fundamenta
10 templi adseveraverant. Pergamenos (eo ipso nitebantur) aede 6

5. hypae penitrali tanique: text B. 6. nellienses: text B. 8. alicarnasii: Halicarnassii B, text Halm. 10. aedē . . . sitam: text L.

4. **bella**: during the war with Perseus, 583-586, B.C. 171–168, these cities formed part of the dominion of Eumenes II., king of Pergamum, who assisted the Romans, though with some suspicion of duplicity. The gen. 'Persi,' formed from 'Perses,' like 'Achilli, &c., is found also in Sall. (H. 1, 6 D, 7 K, 8 G), but is an archaism (see on 12. 13, 3). The war with Aristonicus, who claimed the kingdom of Pergamum after the death of Attalus, was in 623–625, B.C. 131–129 (Liv. Epit. 59; Vell. 2. 4, &c.). By 'aliorum regum' are meant Mithridates, Pharnaces, and the Parthians.

5. **Hypaepeni.** Hypaepa (τὰ Ὑπαιπα) was on the southern slope of Tmolus, whence its name (Steph. Byz.). It appears to have been still existing in the time of that author; its site and remains are identified by Leake (Asia Minor, p. 256) with a place called Beréki or Birghe.

Tralliani. Tralles, on the southern slope of Messogis, at the site of the present Aidin Guzelhissar, is very often mentioned in ancient authors, and generally as an important and wealthy city; but at this time may have been still affected by the consequences of an earthquake, after which it had received bounty from Augustus (Strab. 12. 8, 18, 579).

Laodicenis. Laodiceia ad Lycum, on the borders of Phrygia and Caria, near the Lycus, a tributary of the Maeander, is also very often mentioned, and generally as an important commercial city (14. 27, 1, and 'celeberrima' in Pl. N. H. 5. 28, 29, 105): considerable ruins still exist at Eskihissar. It had suffered a similar disaster to that of Tralles (Strab. l. l.).

Magnetibus: probably, as in 3. 62, 1, Magnesia on the Maeander is meant.

simul: cp. 3. 64, 3.

6. **parum validi**, sc. 'opibus'; not important enough to be selected for such prominence.

Ilienses: see 2. 54, 3. Here, as there, the name is restored from the context.

8. **Halicarnasii**; so read with MSS. of Cic. and Plin. N. H. This once famous Carian city, on the site of Budrum, appears never to have completely recovered its destruction by Alexander (see Grote, Hist. vol. xii. pp. 127–133), and in later times to have retained celebrity only through its Mausoleum. An inscription, however, has been found there, dating as late as the time of Diocletian (C. I. L. iii. 1, 449).

mille et ducentos per annos, i.e. during their whole history: the number is a round one, reckoned from the supposed date of their foundation (see Nipp.'s note). They were a colony from Troezen (Hdt. 7. 99, 4), or, according to a later version (Mela, 1. 16, 85), from Argos.

9. **vivo in saxo**, 'in natural rock'; so as to avoid the necessity of laying concrete: this expression appears to be from Verg. Aen. 1, 167: cp. Ov. F. 5, 661. The chief buildings of the city were on a rocky hill (Newton, Travels and Discoveries, ii. 205).

fundamenta templi, sc. 'fore': cp. Introd. v. § 39 c.

10. **Pergamenos**: cp. c. 37, 4; 3. 63, 3.

eo ipso nitebantur, i.e. the fact by which they supported their claim was considered even to make against it. It was not thought well that two temples to

Augusto ibi sita satis adeptos creditum. Ephesii Milesiique, hi
Apollinis, illi Dianae caerimonia occupavisse civitates visi. ita
7 Sardianos inter Zmyrnaeosque deliberatum. Sardiani decretum
Etruriae recitavere ut consanguinei: nam Tyrrhenum Lydum-
que Atye rege genitos ob multitudinem divisisse gentem; Ly- 5
dum patriis in terris resedisse, Tyrrheno datum novas ut conderet
sedes; et ducum e nominibus indita vocabula illis per Asiam,
his in Italia; auctamque adhuc Lydorum opulentiam missis in
8 Graeciam populis, cui mox a Pelope nomen. simul litteras
imperatorum et icta nobiscum foedera bello Macedonum uberta- 10
temque fluminum suorum, temperiem caeli ac dites circum terras
memorabant.

56. At Zmyrnaei repetita vetustate, seu Tantalus Iove ortus
illos, sive Theseus divina et ipse stirpe, sive una Amazonum con-

10. dicta: icta R, perhaps pacta Nipp.

Caesars should be in the same city. On such parentheses see Introd. v. § 82.

aede Augusto ibi sita. The MS. text could be taken as part of the parenthesis and explanatory of 'eo ipso,' which Haase further alters to 'quo ipso'; but most editors have followed Lipsius.

1. **Ephesii Milesiique**: see 3. 61, 1: 63, 5. The temple of Caesar was not to be placed in a city where any other and more popular worship would eclipse it.

2. **caerimonia**, 'the rites' or 'worship'; so more commonly in plur. as 'incuria caerimoniarum . . . Augusti' c. 36, 2. For a different use of the singular see 3. 61, 3, &c.

3. **Sardianos.** It is to be inferred that they had recovered from the disaster caused by the earthquake (2. 47, 3).

Zmyrnaeos: see 3. 63, 4.

decretum Etruriae, i. e. of the old league of the twelve cities (Liv. 5. 1, 8; 33, 9, &c.) before the Roman conquest of Etruria.

4. **Tyrrhenum Lydumque.** This legend is found first in Hdt. 1. 94, and, with some differences, in Dion. Hal. 1, 27; Strab. 5. 2, 2, 4, 219, 222.

5. **Atye**, according to Hdt. (l. l.) son of Manes: Strabo (l. l.) gives another form of the pedigree, and also a version making him son of Heracles and Omphale.

7. **vocabula**='nomina': cp. 1. 3, 7.

per . . . in: see Introd. v. § 62.

8. **adhuc**: cp. 1. 17, 5.

in Graeciam. It has been thought that Tacitus would have more correctly specified the part of Greece, and may have written 'in insulam' (so Urlichs), for which 'in Graeciam' was perhaps originally a marginal gloss.

9. **a Pelope.** Pelops is a Phrygian in Hdt. (7. 8, 11, &c.) and others, a Lydian in Pindar (Ol. 1, 37, &c.) and Pausanias (5. 1, 6).

litteras, 'documents,' from former Roman generals.

10. **bello Macedonum**, that with Perseus mentioned above.

ubertatem fluminum. Strictly, the river of Sardes is the Pactolus, which had lost its fame in the time of Strabo; but the Hermus, and its other tributaries, are probably here included in the description.

11. **dites . . . terras.** Strabo (13. 4, 5, 626) speaks most strongly of the fertility of the Σαρδιανὸν πεδίον and of those adjoining it, the districts watered by the Hermus and Cayster.

13. **repetita vetustate**, 'having retraced their antiquity,' or rather that of the old deserted city (see on 3. 63, 4). Nothing is here said of their Aeolic colonization (Hdt. 1. 149, 1). Both Smyrna and Sardes had an ancient worship (3. 63, 4).

14. **Theseus.** An epigram (Anth. Pal. ii. 442) refers to such a belief—εἴπερ Ἀθηναῖοι Σμύρναν ἀπῳκίσαμεν. Theseus, according to some legends (Plut. Thes. 6;

didisset, transcendere ad ea quis maxime fidebant in populum Romanum officiis, missa navali copia non modo externa ad bella, sed quae in Italia tolerabantur; seque primos templum urbis Romae statuisse, M. Porcio consule, magnis quidem iam populi
5 Romani rebus, nondum tamen ad summum elatis, stante adhuc Punica urbe et validis per Asiam regibus. simul L. Sullam 2
testem adferebant, gravissimo in discrimine exercitus ob asperitatem hiemis et penuriam vestis, cum id Zmyrnam in contionem nuntiatum foret. omnes qui adstabant detraxisse corpori tegmina
10 nostrisque legionibus misisse. ita rogati sententiam patres 3
Zmyrnaeos 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 4
abnuebat, Valerius Naso e praetoriis sorte missus est.

15 **57.** Inter quae diu meditato prolatoque saepius consilio

11. marcus: text R.

Diod. 4. 59; Paus. 1. 17, 3), was son not of Aegeus, but of Poseidon.

et ipse = *καὶ αὐτός*, a common phrase in Tacitus (2. 2, 5; 12. 15, 2, &c.) and Livy: see Gudeman on Dial. 30, 1.

una Amazonum, an eponymous *Σμύρνα*, who, according to Strabo (14. 1, 4, 633), founded Smyrna, afterwards called Ephesus, from which Smyrna proper was a daughter city. Pliny (N. H. 5. 29, 31, 118) makes an Amazon the direct foundress of Smyrna. The subjunct. 'condidisset' belongs to the or. obl.

1. **transcendere**, 'passed on'; so in Vell. 2. 130, 3, and Quintilian.

ad ea quis . . . officiis. Nipp. gives several instances in which the substantive, belonging to the demonstrative, is attracted to the relative (cp. Madv. § 319, obs.). It is here also to be noted that the sentence is not in meaning strictly equivalent to 'ea, quis maxime fidebant, officia' (as if some services to Rome were relied on rather than others); but 'officia' is rather to be understood as in apposition with 'ea,' 'what they most relied on, namely, their services': cp. 'nec ulla . . . quam illa colluvies' 14. 15, 4.

2. **externa ad bella**, the war with Antiochus, 563–566, B.C. 191–188; in which their services are mentioned by Livy (37. 16, 1; 54, 1; 38. 39, 11) and Appian (Syr. 2, &c.).

3. **in Italia.** The Social war of 664—667, B.C. 90–87, must be meant.

4. **M. Porcio.** Cato the Censor was consul in 559, B.C. 195.

6. **validis . . . regibus**; e.g. before Antiochus had been weakened by the war above mentioned.

7. **gravissimo in discrimine**: in the first Mithridatic war, in 670, B.C. 84..

8. **in contionem nuntiatum**, a Greek constr. like *εἰσήγγελλον εἰς τὴν βουλήν* (Isoc. de Big. 6, 348).

9. **qui adstabant**: cp. Introd. v. § 49.

10. **ita**, 'on these grounds': cp. c. 43, 6.

11. **Zmyrnaeos praetulere.** A Smyrnaean coin is extant, bearing on the obverse the figure of Tiberius in the centre of a temple, and the inscription *Σεβαστὸς Τιβέριος*, on the reverse *Σεβαστή* and *Σύνκλητος*: see Eckh. ii. 547.

Vibius Marsus: cp. 2. 74, 1.

M' Lepido: cp. 3. 32, 2. His proconsulate is attested by an inscription at Pergamum 'praef. fabr. M'. Lepidi procos.' (C. I. L. iii. 398). That 'ea provincia' is Asia, is implied in 'Zmyrnaeos.'

12. **super numerum legaretur**, 'a supernumerary legate should be appointed': cp. 2. 47, 5. According to Dio (53. 14, 7) the legati of a consular proconsul were three in number; but Nipp. notes that his statement that they also were always consulars is not borne out by inscriptions.

15. **meditato**, passive, as in 3. 5, 6,

tandem Caesar in Campaniam *abscessit*, specie dedicandi templa
apud Capuam Iovi, apud Nolam Augusto, sed certus procul urbe
2 degere. causam abscessus quamquam secutus plurimos auc-
torum ad Seiani artes rettuli, quia tamen caede eius patrata sex
postea annos pari secreto coniunxit, plerumque permoveor, num 5
ad ipsum referri verius sit, saevitiam ac libidinem cum factis
3 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 ple-
rumque medicaminibus interstincta; et Rhodi secreto vitare 10
4 coetus, recondere voluptates insuerat. traditur etiam matris

1. abscessit Halm, secessit Ritt., concessit Otto.
7. occultantis: text R.
10. et . . . insuerat placed by H. Cron after occultantem.

&c.; not here apparently in the same sense as 'meditans' in 3. 31, 2.

1. **abscessit.** Many retain the MS. text, supplying the idea of a verb of motion from the sense (see Introd. v. § 38 b). The remedies are violent, but on the other hand the passages cited by Nipp. seem hardly parallel. Such omissions are suitable to epistolary style, or to rapid narrative, as in 14. 8, 4; Liv. 41. 3, 5; 44. 24, 1: in Cic. Acad. Pr. 1. 1 the verb can be supplied from a sentence above: in Sall. Jug. 100, 1 the soundness of the text is not unquestioned: in none of these instances is the idea of the verb, as here, the prominent thought of the whole passage; which is therefore more likely to have run here as in 3. 31, 2.

2. **apud Capuam Iovi.** This temple, placed on a Capitol at Capua resembling that of Rome, is called 'Capitolium' in Suet. Tib. 40.

apud Nolam Augusto, on the spot where Augustus had died (cp. 1. 9, 1). Dio says (56. 46, 3) *ἡ ἐν τῇ Νώλῃ οἰκία, ἐν ᾗ μετήλλαξεν, ἐτεμενίσθη.* In personally consecrating these, Tiberius probably acted as 'pontifex maximus': see note on 2. 49, 2.

certus: this use with the inf. is poetical (Verg. Aen. 4, 564, &c.): see note on c. 34, 2.

3. **causam . . . rettuli,** 'I have referred the cause'; so in 6. 49, 2. The suggestions of Seianus have been mentioned in c. 41, 2. On the reasoning of Tacitus see Introd. iv. p. 35; viii. p. 148. He here overlooks the probability that the original retirement may have been due to one cause, its continuance to another.

5. **coniunxit.** The expression is probably equivalent to 'sex annos continuos mansit in secreto' (Gerber and Greef, Lex.), and akin to 6. 26, 3, not to c. 33, 3. 'Secreto' could be taken as abl. of quality.

plerumque permoveor, 'I often hesitate': cp. 14. 53, 5. Dräger notes a similar brachylogy in Cic. Clu. 37, 104 'adducti iudices sunt ('were induced to believe') non modo potuisse,' &c.: cp. Att. 11. 16, 2.

8. **habitum:** cp. on 1. 10, 7. His personal appearance is described by Suetonius (Tib. 68) without reference to any particular time of life. His bearing is there recorded as stiff and erect; his countenance as liable to 'crebri et subiti tumores,' mentioned as a specific disease by Galen (*περὶ συνθέσεως φαρμ.* 5, 12). That his features were otherwise handsome and distinguished, is stated by Suetonius, and evidenced by his coins and other representations (see Bernoulli), especially the two famous sitting statues in the Vatican: see Mus. Chiar. 400, 494.

10. **medicaminibus interstincta,** 'with patches of plaster': cp. 'candore interstincto . . . coloribus' Pl. N. H. 37. 10, 54, 143.

Rhodi; depending on 'secreto.' On his retirement there cp. Introd. viii. 134. For 'secreto' cp. 14. 53, 2; H. 1. 10, 2.

11. **recondere voluptates,** 'to conceal his self-indulgence.' On the assumption of fact here see on 1. 4, 4.

traditur. On the constr. cp. Introd. v. § 45.

inpotentia extrusum, quam dominationis sociam aspernabatur
neque depellere poterat cum dominationem ipsam donum eius
accepisset. nam dubitaverat Augustus Germanicum, sororis 5
nepotem et cunctis laudatum, rei Romanae imponere, sed pre-
5 cibus uxoris evictus Tiberio Germanicum, sibi Tiberium adscivit.
idque Augusta exprobrabat, reposcebat.

58. Profectio arto comitatu fuit: unus senator consulatu
functus, Cocceius Nerva, cui legum peritia, eques Romanus praeter Seianum ex inlustribus Curtius Atticus, ceteri liberalibus
10 studiis praediti, ferme Graeci, quorum sermonibus levaretur.
ferebant periti caelestium iis motibus siderum excessisse Roma 2
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
15 libens patria careret. mox patuit breve confinium artis et falsi, 3

1. **inpotentia**: see 1. 4, 5. This reason for his retirement is also given by Suet. (Tib. 51) and Dio (57. 12), in both of whom stories of their quarrels may be found. The memoirs of Agrippina (see on c. 53, 3) were doubtless full of such material.

2. **depellere**, sc. 'a dominationis societate.' Dio (l. l.) says καὶ τέλος τῶν μὲν δημοσίων παντάπασιν αὐτὴν ἀπήλλαξεν; but Tacitus makes her influence paramount to the end of her life: cp. 5. 3, 1.

3. **dubitaverat**, 'had thought about'; so Cic. (Att. 12. 49, 1) 'cum dubitet Curtius consulatum petere'; and Verg. (Aen. 9. 191) 'percipe porro, quid dubitem': cp. 'cunctantem' c. 42, 1, &c.

5. **evictus**; often used in this sense by Tacitus (e.g. 12. 25, 3; 49, 2; 68, 2) apparently after Vergil (Aen. 4, 474, &c.).

6. **exprobrabat**, 'was taunting him with it'; so 'exprobrare beneficium' (13. 21, 9, &c.), 'officium' (Cic. Lael. 20, 71).

reposcebat, 'was demanding its return'; so used of demanding account for a thing, 'reposcentibus prospera aut adversa' H. 3. 13. 6.

7. **arto comitatu**, abl. of quality. This scanty retinue still exemplified the classes of which the 'comitatus principis' was usually composed; namely, of 'amici' of the first and second grade, represented by the senator and the knights; and of a third rank of 'grati' (Suet. Tib. 46), 'convictores,' or συμβιωταί, who might be called 'amici' in a less strict sense. See Friedländer, i. pp. 119, 131. Lucilius Longus (c. 15, 2), Vescularius Flaccus (2. 28, 1; 6. 10, 2), and Thrasyllus (6. 20, 3) represent the same classes in the Rhodian retirement of Tiberius.

8. **Cocceius Nerva**: cp. 6. 26, 1. Borghesi (i. 434) shows him to have been cos. suff. in some year before 777, A.D. 24. From that year to his death he was 'curator aquarum' (Frontin. de Aq. 102). As a jurist he was the successor of Labeo, as was Masurius Sabinus of Capito (3. 75, 1). His grandson was the emperor Nerva.

9. **ex inlustribus**: cp. 2. 59, 4.

Curtius Atticus, afterwards put to death through Seianus (6. 10, 2), the Atticus addressed by Ovid (ex P. 2. 4; 7), who speaks of his taste as a literary critic.

10. **Graeci**. Suetonius (Tib. 56, 70) mentions his fondness for the society of 'convictores Graeculi,' especially 'grammatici'; with whom he would argue 'who was Hecuba's mother,' &c. Suetonius names Xeno and Seleucus, both of whom afterwards fell under the displeasure of Tiberius.

levaretur, 'he might find relaxation': cp. 'levamentum' 3. 34. 4.

11. **periti caelestium**: see on 2. 27, 2.

iis motibus siderum, 'under such planetary conjunctions'; abl. abs.

15. **libens**, 'by choice': cp. c. 12, 1.

breve confinium artis et falsi. The expression resembles that of Vell. 2. 124,

4 veraque quam obscuris tegerentur. nam in urbem non regressurum haud forte dictum: ceterorum nescii egere, cum propinquo rure aut litore et saepe moenia urbis adsidens extremam senectam compleverit.

59. Ac forte illis diebus oblatum Caesari anceps periculum 5 auxit vana rumoris praebuitque ipsi materiem cur amicitiae con-
2 stantiaeque Seiani magis fideret. vescebantur in villa cui vocabulum Speluncae, mare Amunclanum inter *et* Fundanos montes,
3 nativo in specu. eius os lapsis repente saxis obruit quosdam ministros: hinc metus in omnes et fuga eorum qui convivium 10
4 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

8. Amuclanum B. et ins. Bezzenb., Fundanosque B.

1 ('in arto salutis exitique ... confinio'); where the idea is not so much that of the frontier line between things (as in G. 3, 3, &c.) as of their proximity to each other: cp. also Pl. Pan. 4 'virtutes nullo vitiorum confinio laederentur.' Tacitus says that the events showed how closely imposture borders upon science, and how truth is surrounded by mystery. That Tiberius would never return, was no mere guess ('haud forte dictum'), but a genuine prediction; but the stars only so far revealed the mystery: that he would die soon was an impostor's inference from conjecture. On this sense of 'breve' cp. 'angustis et brevibus terminis cluditur' Dial. 30, 5. On the astrological beliefs of Tacitus see Introd. iv. p. 30.

falsi = 'fraudis,' as in 12. 26, 3.

2. **egere**, 'they lived on': cp. 2. 73, 3; 3. 19, 2, &c.

3. **adsidens.** The accus. with this verb (as in 6. 43, 1) appears to be chiefly poetical (Verg. Aen. 11, 304; Val. Fl.; Sil.); but is also found in Sall. H. 4. 42 D, 1 K, 44 G (see note on 3. 34, 2). Stress is laid on his frequent proximity to the city as making the fulfilment of the genuine prediction more striking, and on his attainment of extreme age, as signally falsifying the impostor's inference.

6. **vana rumoris** = 'vanum rumorem.' The idea that he was soon to die, gained strength from having been so near its fulfilment: cp. Suet. Tib. 39.

7. **cui vocabulum Speluncae.** Here, as in 15. 37, 8, the case is doubtful; but as the dative in this construction is elsewhere in Tacitus restricted to that of adjectives (cp. Introd. v. § 16), Nipp. rightly takes these as genitives; that case being certainly so used in 14. 50, 1; H. 4. 18, 6. The place is mentioned in Plin. N. H. 3. 5, 9, 59, and caves of great size by Strabo (5. 3, 6, 233); and the name is still preserved in the modern village Sperlonga, half-way between Terracina and Gaeta, where a cave showing traces of adaptation and decoration can still be seen (see Dict. of Geog.).

8. **Amunclanum.** The same form (or 'Amynclae') is read in Plin. (l. l. &c.). In Pliny's time the town was deserted, having been, according to popular belief, 'a serpentibus deletae' (cp. Serv. on Verg. Aen. 10, 564), but with him also gives its name to the bay (14. 6, 8, 61). Its site was at or close to Sperlonga.

et Fundanos. The copula may have dropped out by resemblance to the end of the preceding word, and 'et' thus follows 'inter' in 6. 33, 5. 'Fundanosque' is supported by H. 2. 78, 5.

9. **quosdam ministros.** Suet. (Tib. 39) seems to exaggerate the loss of life, and says nothing of the action of Seianus.

10. **metus in omnes**: cp. c. 2, 1.

11. **genu vultuque et manibus**, i.e. protecting Tiberius with his body, on his hands and knees, and with his face to his. Nipp. thinks the use of 'vultu' instead of 'ore' indicates that he had an expression of anxiety and devotion.

12. **habitu**, 'attitude': cp. c. 57, 3, &c.

exitiosa suaderet, ut non sui anxius, cum fide audiebatur. ad- 5
simulabatque iudicis partes adversum Germanici stirpem, subditis qui accusatorum nomina sustinerent maximeque insectarentur Neronem proximum successioni et, quamquam modesta
5 iuventa, plerumque tamen quid in praesentiarum conduceret oblitum, dum a libertis et clientibus, apiscendae potentiae properis, exstimulatur ut erectum et fidentem animi ostenderet: velle id populum Romanum, cupere exercitus, neque ausurum contra Seianum, qui nunc patientiam senis et segnitiam iuvenis
10 iuxta insultet.

60. Haec atque talia audienti nihil quidem pravae cogitationis, sed interdum voces procedebant contumaces et inconsultae, quas adpositi custodes exceptas auctasque cum deferrent neque Neroni defendere daretur, diversae insuper sollicitudinum formae
15 oriebantur. nam alius occursum eius vitare, quidam salutatione 2
reddita statim averti, plerique inceptum sermonem abrumpere, insistentibus contra inridentibusque qui Seiano fautores aderant.

5. in presentia | rum. 7. animum Pich., Halm, animi se Ritt. 12. procidebant Haase.

1. **sui anxius**: cp. 2. 75, 1.

adsimulabat iudicis partes, i.e. he was himself the real author of the charges, but set up nominal accusers, and himself affected a judicial or impartial attitude: cp. 'speciem iudicis induere' 15. 69, 1. 'Adsimulo' is often thus used in poetry, as in Verg. Aen. 10, 639.

5. **in praesentiarum.** This form, though found as early as Cato, appears to have but slowly made its way from common language into literature, and is most frequent in Apuleius. Petronius (c. 58, 70) has invented or taken up another form 'depraesentiarum.' Hand (Turs. iii. 235) doubts the genuineness of the word both in Cato and in Tacitus; but it may in the latter be an instance of his fondness for unusual words.

6. **apiscendae potentiae properis.** 'Properus' is used with 'irae' (11. 26, 4), 'vindictae' (14. 7, 2), 'oblatae occasionis' (12. 66, 2). All seem best taken as genitives of relation (cp. those with 'praecipuus' and 'primus' in 6. 4, 1).

7. **ut . . . ostenderet.** The sentence could be taken, with Jacob, to mean 'ut virum erectum, &c., ageret'; or the omission of 'se' can be justified on the same ground as in 2. 71, 8; 83, 4, &c., namely, that the person intended cannot be mistaken. For 'fidens animi' cp. Verg. Aen. 2, 61.

8. **ausurum contra**; so 'audere adversus' H. 2. 71, 4; 'longius' H. 5. 11, 1. The idea of a verb in the inf. is implied in the expression.

10. **insultet**; so with simple accus. probably in 11. 28, 1; also in Ter. Eun. 2. 2, 54; Sall. Inc. 83 D, 50 K, 1, 50 G.

11. **nihil . . . cogitationis**, sc. 'procedebat'; 'no treasonable thought was issuing from his lips,' a sense of 'procedere' found only in the Vulgate.

13. **adpositi custodes**: cp. 'custodiae adpositus' 1. 6, 2; 2. 68, 3, 'inditi custodes' 3. 28, 4; and the similar use of 'additus' c. 67, 6, &c.

14. **daretur**, with inf. as in 3. 67, 2.

15. **salutatione reddita.** Two persons meeting are said 'mutuam salutem reddere' (Liv. 10. 18, 11): here the words may mean 'after returning Nero's salutation,' or 'after formal salutation made'; which latter Nipp. prefers, thinking it unlikely that Nero spoke first. Men paid him a bare act of courtesy, without stopping to converse.

17. **insistentibus**, &c., 'while any

3 enimvero Tiberius torvus aut falsum renidens vultu: seu loque-
4 retur seu taceret iuvenis, 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 aetate 5
5 et iam labefactum demovisset. atrox Drusi ingenium super cupidinem potentiae et solita fratribus odia accendebatur invidia,
6 quod mater Agrippina promptior Neroni erat. neque tamen Seianus ita Drusum fovebat, ut non in eum quoque semina futuri exitii meditaretur, gnarus praeferocem et insidiis magis oppor- 10 tunum.

61. Fine anni excessere insignes viri Asinius Agrippa, claris maioribus quam vetustis vitaque non degener, et Q. Haterius, familia senatoria, eloquentiae, quoad vixit, celebratae: moni-

8. pronior Ern. 14. quo ad: cp. 6. 51, 5.

partisans of Seianus who were there stood their ground and made jests'; i. e. scornfully called his attention to the behaviour of his friends. 'Insistere' has the sense of 'standing still' or 'halting' (cp. 'ut non referat pedem insistet certe' Cic. Phil. 12. 3, 8), and is here in contrast to 'vitare' and 'averti.' 'Seiano' is taken closely with 'fautores': cp. 12. 1, 3.

1. **enimvero**: see on 2. 64, 6.

falsum renidens vultu, 'wearing a false smile.' 'Renideo' is thus used in 15. 66, 2; H. 4. 43, 2, and by Catullus and Livy: 'rideo' takes a similar adverbial adj. in Hor. Od. 1. 22, 23; 3. 27, 67.

loqueretur . . . . taceret, subjunct. of frequent action; so in Liv. 21. 36, 7 'seu manibus . . . seu genu se adiuvissent.'

3. **uxor**, Julia (3. 29, 4). Nipp. notes that we are not given to suppose that her confidences to her mother Livia were otherwise than innocently made.

vigilias somnos, i. e. 'verba vigilantis aut somniantis.'

5. **in partes**, sc. 'suas': cp. 'habebat in partibus Pallantem' 13. 2, 3.

obiecta = 'oblata'; so 'spes obiecta est' Liv. 6. 14, 12.

7. **solita fratribus odia**. Forms of this maxim reappear in 13. 17, 2; 15. 2, 2; H. 4. 70, 3.

8. **promptior**, 'inclined to favour.' The dat. with this word is generally that of the thing (cp. 1. 2, 1); the accus. with prep. (cp. 6. 48, 7; 13. 8, 3) being generally used when persons are spoken of; but the expression here resembles that in 2. 76, 1; 12. 1, 4.

10. **praeferocem**: cp. 15. 27, 3; H. 4. 23, 4; 32, 3; also Liv. 5. 36, 1.

opportunum, 'liable': cp. H. 3. 20, 2. The word is also so used in Liv. 6. 24, 3, and the elder Pliny.

12. **Asinius Agrippa**: see on c. 34, 1.

claris . . . . quam vetustis. His grandfathers, Agrippa and Pollio, were both famous 'novi homines.' The novel use of two positives here appears due to the desire to avoid the juxtaposition of 'magis,' or a comparative, with 'maioribus' (Wölfflin, Philol. xxv. 118).

13. **Q. Haterius**: see on 1. 13, 4. According to Jerome on Eus. Chron. (Op. viii. p. 567, Migne), he had lived nearly to his ninetieth year.

14. **familia senatoria.** His family connexions are not known, but a jurist of the name is alluded to by Cicero (ad Fam. 9. 18, 5), and a Haterius was proscribed by the triumvirs (App. B. C. 4. 29).

eloquentiae . . . celebratae. M. Seneca (Exc. Contr. B. 4, Praef. § 7) describes him as the only orator known to him who had introduced Greek fluency into Latin rhetoric; adding that his rapidity amounted to a defect, so that Augustus used to say that he needed a drag-chain. L. Seneca (Ep. 40, 10)

menta ingeni eius haud perinde retinentur. scilicet impetu magis 2
quam cura vigebat; utque aliorum meditatio et labor in posterum valescit, sic Haterii canorum illud et profluens cum ipso simul extinctum est.

5 **62.** M. Licinio L. Calpurnio consulibus ingentium bellorum cladem aequavit malum inprovisum: eius initium simul et finis exstitit. nam coepto apud Fidenam amphitheatro Atilius qui- 2
dam libertini generis, quo spectaculum gladiatorum celebraret, neque fundamenta per solidum subdidit, neque firmis nexibus
10 ligneam compagem superstruxit, ut qui non abundantia pecuniae

contrasts his vicious fluency with the deliberation of P. Vinicius.

quoad, in Tacitus only here and in 6. 51, 5; in both of which places Baiter retains 'quaad,' which is not without recognition in Latin, and may have been adopted by Tacitus as more unusual (cp. Introd. v. § 69).

monimenta, the memorials, or specimens preserved: cp. 'monimenta ingeniorum' 15. 41, 2.

1. **haud perinde retinentur**, 'are not commensurately sustained in estimation.' For the use of 'perinde,' cp. 2. 88, 4, &c.

3. **valescit**: cp. 2. 39, 5.

canorum . . . et profluens, 'modulation and fluency.' The words seem taken from Cicero's description (de Or. 3. 7, 28) of the oratory of C. Carbo.

5. **M. Licinio L. Calpurnio.** From inscriptions (Orell. 156, 3056, see also Klein) the full names, M. Licinius M. f. Crassus Frugi, and L. Calpurnius Cn. f. Piso, can be supplied. The latter is supposed to be the Cn. Piso who had to take a new praenomen (see 3. 17, 8). Nipp. (on l. l.) shows evidence that he was praef. urb. in the last year of Tiberius, and procos. of Africa under Gaius. The other consul also bears a cognomen of the Pisones, and is shown by Nipp. to have been praetor in 777, A. D. 24, and probably to have been the younger of the sons of the 'praefectus urbis,' addressed by Horace in the Ars Poetica (see on c. 45, 1), who retained his cognomen after adoption by M. Licinius Crassus, cos. 740, B.C. 14. He and his wife Scribonia were put to death by Claudius (Sen. Lud. 11, 5): on his sons, one of whom was the Piso Licinianus adopted by Galba, see 13. 28, 3; 15. 33, 1; H. 1. 14, 2; 48, 1. An Attic inscription (C. I. Att. iii. 1, 601, 602) in honour of Cn. Calpurnius L. f. Piso Frugi and Cn. Calpurnius Piso, appears to preserve the earlier name of each (see Nipp.): see also Mommsen (Eph. Epig. i. pp. 143–150).

6. **eius initium . . . exstitit**, 'it began and ended in a moment.' Ritter thinks this a gloss inconsistent with the narrative, but it is obvious that the actual crash alone is spoken of.

7. **coepto**, probably best taken as a dative depending on 'subdidit.'

Fidenam. The name is generally plural, as in H. 3. 79, 3, but the singular form is found in Vergil (Aen. 6, 773), Pl. N. H., and Sil., also Φιδήνη in Dion. Hal. (2. 53. &c.). It had become a mere village (Hor. Ep. 1. 11, 8), but had still municipal rank (Juv. 10, 100). It was five miles from Rome on the Via Salaria, on the site of the modern Castel Giubileo.

8. **libertini generis** = 'libertinus,' as in 2. 85, 5. It has been thought from Suet. Cl. 28 that such persons could not exhibit shows at Rome without special permission.

celebraret. Ern. and Orelli take this to mean 'frequentiorem redderet,' supposing that the structure was made slight so as to be larger in proportion to its cost; but the word has clearly the simple meaning of 'edere' in 11. 22, 3, 'censuit spectaculum gladiatorum . . . celebrandum.'

9. **per solidum**, 'through,' i. e. 'resting on firm ground'; apparently here a pregnant construction.

10. **abundantia**, probably a causal abl. like 'ambitione.'

nec municipali ambitione, sed in sordidam mercedem id negotium
3 quaesivisset. adfluxere avidi talium, imperitante Tiberio procul
voluptatibus habiti, virile ac muliebre secus, omnis aetas, ob pro-
pinquitatem loci effusius; unde gravior pestis fuit, conferta mole,
dein convulsa, dum ruit intus aut in exteriora effunditur inmen- 5
samque vim mortalium, spectaculo intentos aut qui circum
4 adstabant, praeceps trahit atque operit. et illi quidem, quos
principium stragis in mortem adflixerat, ut tali sorte, cruciatum
5 effugere: miserandi magis quos abrupta parte corporis nondum
vita deseruerat; qui per diem visu, per noctem ululatibus et 10
6 gemitu coniuges aut liberos noscebant. iam ceteri fama ex-

1. sordida mercede: text Pichena. 3. virilis ac muliebris sexus margin and B. 4. effusus: text L. 10. aut qui Playgers.

1. **municipali ambitione**, 'from a desire to court his townsmen': cp. 'senatorio ambitu' c. 2, 4, 'ambitio militaris' 3. 14, 1. The advertisements of such shows found at Pompeii are generally of this character, being in the names of persons known as the principal inhabitants: see C. I. L. iv. pp. 70, foll.

in sordidam mercedem, 'with a view to paltry gain'; so read, on the analogy of 11. 6, 3; G. 24, 2; Agr. 19, 4. The MS. text might be taken, with Ritter, to express the general condition of the man. Such persons often exhibited gladiators (Juv. 3, 35; Mart. 3. 16, 59), and no doubt, in many cases, as a mere speculation. Marquardt (Staatsv. iii. p. 492) gives evidence (e. g. Henzen, Inscr. 7419 a) to show that even more *bonâ fide* donors often made profit by letting some of the seats.

2. **adfluxere**: cp. 2. 35, 3; 76, 1. It is implied in the context that they came chiefly from Rome.

imperitante Tiberio, &c. Suetonius (Tib. 47) states that he never himself gave 'spectacula,' and was very rarely present at those given by others: see notes on 1. 54, 3; 76, 6; Sen. de Prov. 4, 4.

3. **virile ac muliebre secus**. In H. 5. 13, 3 this is clearly an acc. of description, as also in all earlier instances: cp. 'concurrentium undique virile et muliebre secus' (Sall. H. 2. 23, 1 D, 29, 1 K, 54 G), 'in muro virile ac muliebre secus . . . multitudine omni conlocata' (Sisenn. ap. Non. p. 222 M), 'liberorum capitum virile secus ad decem millia capta' (Liv. 26. 47, 1): see Roby, 1104. It can also be so taken here, and the only instances of 'secus' as a nominative appear much later (e. g. Aus. Idyll. 11, 8): the difficulty may have led to the marginal correction.

4. **gravior pestis**: cp. 2. 47, 1.

conferta mole, 'the building being closely packed': cp. 'turba . . . conferta . . . templa' Liv. 45. 2, 7. 'Moles' is thus used by itself of a building in Hor. Od. 3. 29, 10.

5. **convulsa**, 'bursting asunder,' explained by 'dum . . . effunditur,' i. e. partly falling inwards, partly outwards; 'aut' being used as in 1. 55, 2, &c.

7. **praeceps**, adverbial, as in 6. 17, 4, and in Sen. Nat. Qu. 1. 15, 2 'ex his fulgoribus quaedam praeceps eunt.' Nipp. gives instances from later writers. Elsewhere 'in praeceps' is used, as in c. 22, 1.

8. **in mortem**. On the constr. cp. c. 45, 1, &c.

ut tali sorte, 'considering that their lot was such,' i. e. 'so far as might be in such a lot.' 'Ut' is thus used with a qualifying clause in G. 30, 2; Dial. 1, 2, also in Cic. (Brut. 26, 102, &c.), Caes. (B. G. 4. 3, 3), and very often in Liv. (e. g. 1. 3, 3). Ritt. inserts 'in,' but 'tali sorte' can be taken as abl. abs.

11. **noscebant**, 'were recognizing': on this sense of the word cp. 1. 39, 8. They were unable to move, but conscious of the presence of friends in similar condition near them. Compare the description of Pliny (Epp. 6. 20, 14) in the narrative of the great eruption, 'alii parentes, alii liberos, alii coniuges vocibus requirebant, vocibus noscitabant.'

citi, hic fratrem, propinquum ille, alius parentes lamentari. etiam 7
quorum diversa de causa amici aut necessarii aberant, pavere
tamen; nequedum comperto quos illa vis perculisset, latior ex
incerto metus.

5 **63.** Ut coepere dimoveri obruta, concursus ad exanimos com-
plectentium, osculantium; et saepe certamen, si confusior facies,
sed par forma aut aetas errorem adgnoscentibus fecerat. quin- 2
quaginta hominum milia eo casu debilitata vel obtrita sunt; cau-
tumque in posterum senatus consulto, ne quis gladiatorium
10 munus ederet, cui minor quadringentorum milium res, neve amphi-
theatrum imponeretur nisi solo firmitatis spectatae. Atilius in 3
exilium actus est. ceterum sub recentem cladem patuere pro-
cerum domus, fomenta et medici passim praebiti, fuitque urbs
per illos dies quamquam maesta facie veterum institutis similis,
15 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

3. periculis sed: text B. 7. et par B. 14. instituti: text B.

2. **diversa**, unconnected with the games.

3. **vis**; so used of fire in 3. 72, 5.

latior, 'more widespread'; so used of fear in 12. 43, 1; H. 4. 33, 4; of glory in Pl. Epp. 4. 12, 7, &c.

5. **obruta**. This must evidently here mean 'the fallen materials' or 'debris,' but no other instance of such meaning appears to be given.

6. **confusior facies, sed par forma**. With either reading the whole is taken together as subject of 'fecerat': 'if, in spite of a face which baffled recognition, likeness of shape or age had deceived those who sought to identify them.' Nipp. notes 'confuderat oris notas pallor' in Curt. 8. 3, 13.

8. **debilitata vel obtrita**, 'maimed or crushed to pieces.' Suet. (Tib. 40), who speaks of the killed alone, puts the number at 20,000.

9. **ne quis**, &c. These rules would apply mainly to speculators, as those who gave such entertainments at their own expense could rarely have been men of less than equestrian means.

10. **minor quadringentorum**, &c. A similar genitive is 'maiores annorum quinque et triginta' (Suet. Aug. 38), and either would be abbreviations of such an expression as 'minor quam viginti quinque annorum natu' (Dig. 4. 4, 1). Dräger notes that later writers, as Apuleius, use the genitive of comparison just as in Greek, e.g. 'deus deum magnorum potior' Met. 11. 30, 816 (cp. Hildebrand on Met. 3. 11, 193).

12. **sub**, 'just after.'

13. **medici**. These were usually Greek slaves or freedmen, and thus belonged to particular houses.

14. **veterum institutis**. For the old custom see Liv. 2. 47, 12; for the practice on distant service see on 1. 71, 5.

16. **Nondum... exoleverat**; so 'nondum is dolor exoleverat' 6. 25, 1.

17. **ultra solitum**. The constant occurrence of fires was the main cause for establishing the corps of vigiles in 759, A.D. 6 (Dio, 55. 26, 4). Another great fire is mentioned in 6. 45, 1. For others see Friedländer, i. p. 25, foll.

deusto; so 'deusta parte Circi' 6. 45, 1. On these aoristic uses of participles see Introd. v. § 54 b.

feralem = 'funestum'; so 'bellum ... ferale' H. 5. 25, 5.

ferebant et ominibus adversis susceptum principi consilium absentiae, qui mos vulgo, fortuita ad culpam trahentes, ni Caesar
2 obviam isset tribuendo pecunias ex modo detrimenti. actaeque ei grates apud senatum ab inlustribus famaque apud populum, quia sine ambitione aut proximorum precibus ignotos etiam et 5
3 ultro accitos munificentia iuverat. adduntur sententiae ut mons Caelius in posterum Augustus appellaretur, quando cunctis circum flagrantibus sola Tiberii effigies, sita in domo Iunii
4 senatoris, inviolata mansisset. evenisse id olim Claudiae Quintae, eiusque statuam vim ignium bis elapsam maiores apud aedem 10
5 matris deum consecravisse. sanctos acceptosque numinibus Claudios et augendam caerimoniam loco, in quo tantum in principem honorem di ostenderint.

65. Haud fuerit absurdum tradere montem eum antiquitus Querquetulanum cognomento fuisse, quod talis silvae frequens 15 fecundusque erat, mox Caelium appellitatum a Caele Vibenna,

1. omnibus: text B. 13. ostenderent: text L.

2. **trahentes**: cp. 3. 22, 6; 37, 2, &c.

ni Caesar, &c. This munificence is lauded by Velleius (2. 130, 2). Suetonius (Tib. 48), with much injustice, ignores the similar act in a later year (see 6. 45, 1), and makes him 'command' that the hill be called 'Augustus' in future.

4. **fama**. This appears contrasted to 'ab inlustribus,' as 'apud populum' to 'apud senatum.'

5. **sine ambitione**, &c., 'without respect of persons (cp. 'nulla ambitione' 1. 67, 4), and without the intercession of relatives.' The following words specify extreme cases of the above, 'even persons unknown and invited to apply.' Nipp. notes a similar stress on the last clause in 6. 7, 4 'in foro, in convivio, quaqua de re locuti.'

7. **Augustus appellaretur**. There is no evidence that this was carried out.

9. **Claudiae Quintae**. Her name would imply that she was a fifth daughter, but she seems to belong to a later generation than the five daughters of App. Claudius Caecus. Her statue was placed in the temple of the Mater Deum to commemorate the story told of her drawing the ship off a sandbank, when the goddess was brought to Rome in 550, B.C. 204 (Ov. Fast. 4. 305, foll.). The ship appears to have been called 'Salvia,' and the juxtaposition of the names 'Matri Deum et Navi Salviae' (see C. I. L. vi. 492-4), which has been taken by some to imply a deification of Claudia under the title of 'Navisalvia,' may perhaps suggest an origin for the story.

10. **bis elapsam**. The temple in which it stood, dedicated in 563, B.C. 191 (Liv. 36. 36, 3), on the Palatine, had been burned in 643 and 756, B.C. 111, A.D. 3, and the flames are said on each occasion to have stopped short of the statue (Val. Max. 1. 8, 11). The sentence would more naturally have run 'statuam apud aedem . . . consecratam, vim ignium bis elapsam.' Borghesi (ii. 183) notes that the statue is represented upon coins.

12. **caerimoniam**: cp. 3. 61, 3. The sanctity of the 'Caelius mons' would be increased by calling it 'Augustus.'

14. **Haud fuerit absurdum**. For similar expressions of apology, introducing an antiquarian note or digression, see 12. 24, 1, and note.

15. **cognomento** = 'nomine': see note on 1. 23, 6; 2. 6, 5, &c.; so also 'vocabulo' below (cp. 1. 23, 4). No other mention appears of this old name of the Caelian.

frequens, nowhere else with genitive, but here accommodated to the construction of 'fecundus' (Dräger).

16. **appellitatum**. This verb is found here only in Tacitus, who seems to take

qui dux gentis Etruscae cum auxilium portavisset, sedem eam acceperat a Tarquinio Prisco, seu quis alius regum dedit: nam scriptores in eo dissentiunt. cetera non ambigua sunt, magnas 2
eas copias per plana etiam ac foro propinqua habitavisse, unde
5 Tuscum vicum e vocabulo advenarum dictum.

66. Sed ut studia procerum et largitio principis adversum casus solacium tulerant, ita accusatorum maior in dies et infestior vis sine levamento grassabatur: corripueratque Varum Quintilium, divitem et Caesari propinquum, Domitius Afer, Claudiae
10 Pulchrae matris eius condemnator, nullo mirante quod diu egens et parto nuper praemio male usus plura ad flagitia accingeretur. P. Dolabellam socium delationis extitisse miraculo erat, quia 2
claris maioribus et Varo conexus suam ipse nobilitatem, suum

1. appellatum tauisset: tulisset L, portavisset Doed., postulatum tulisset Ritt. 7. casum: text Heins. 13. conixius: text L.

it from the speech of Claudius (col. i. 22), which his version of the story partly follows.

Caele Vibenna. Varro (L. L. 5. 46) and Dion. Hal. (2. 36) represent this person (with some differences of orthography) as an ally of Romulus against Tatius. In the speech of Claudius (i. 17: see App. to B. xi.), Servius Tullius or Mastarna is spoken of as migrating from Etruria and settling on this hill, and naming it after Caelius Vivenna, his old captain in arms. Livy, who says nothing of this legend, states that the Caelian was assigned by Tullus Hostilius to the people transported from Alba (1. 30, 1).

1. **portavisset.** None of the corrections are wholly satisfactory, and perhaps Baiter is right in retaining the MS. text obelized. With the reading above, 'appellatum' is supposed to be a mere repetition of the previous 'appellitatum,' and the apparent tense ending taken to be that of 'portavisset,' from 'auxilia portabant' (Sall. Cat. 6, 5).

3. **scriptores dissentiunt.** The king who first included the Caelian mount is also made to have been Romulus (Varro, l. l.), Tullus Hostilius (Livy, l. l., and Dion. Hal. 3. 1), and Ancus Marcius (Cic. Rep. 2. 18; Strab. 5. 3, 7, 234): these writers also differ as to the circumstances under which this hill was added.

4. **eas,** i. e. 'Tuscas.'

5. **Tuscum vicum,** a locality well known in Roman topography as that of a street extending from the Forum to or through the Velabrum. The name is very variously explained. Livy (2. 14, 9) makes it occupied by fugitives from the army of Porsena, after his defeat at Aricia; Varro (l. l.) states that the Tuscans were brought down from the Caelian to a less strong position.

6. **studia procerum,** referring to c. 63, 3.

8. **Varum Quintilium.** M. Seneca (Contr. 3, 10) mentions apparently the same person as having been twitted by Cestius (cp. 6. 7, 3) in a declamation with being son of the Varus slain in Germany. He is there called 'Germanici gener et praetextatus'; but it is not known to what daughter of Germanicus he was betrothed.

9. **Caesari propinquum.** The relationship through his mother Claudia Pulchra (see c. 52, 1) would be but distant; yet no other appears to be known.

Domitius Afer: see c. 52, 1.

10. **condemnator,** i. e. who had procured her condemnation (cp. 'damnasset' 3. 36, 3). The word occurs only here and in Tert. adv. Marc. 2, 9.

11. **praemio,** the accuser's usual reward: cp. c. 20, 3.

12. **Publium Dolabellam:** see on 3. 47, 4. His relationship to Varus has not been traced.

13. **claris maioribus,** abl. of quality.

3 sanguinem perditum ibat. restitit tamen senatus et opperiendum imperatorem censuit, quod unum urguentium malorum suffugium in tempus erat.

67. At Caesar dedicatis per Campaniam templis, quamquam edicto monuisset ne quis quietem eius inrumperet, concursusque 5 oppidanorum disposito milite prohiberentur, perosus tamen municipia et colonias omniaque in continenti sita, Capreas se in insulam abdidit, trium milium freto ab extremis Surrentini pro-
2 munturii diiunctam. solitudinem eius placuisse maxime credideri m, quoniam inportuosum circa mare et vix modicis navigiis 10 pauca subsidia; neque adpulerit quisquam nisi gnaro custode.
3 caeli temperies hieme mitis obiectu montis, quo saeva ventorum

8. addidit : text B. promuntirii (promuntorium Med. ii. in 14. 4, 3) : cp. 2. 39, 3. 11. grano : text B.

1. **perditum ibat**; a phrase taken from Plaut. (Aul. 4. 10, 10, &c.), Sall. (Cat. 36, 4, &c.), and others. Tacitus uses other similar constructions, as 'raptum,' 'ultum ire' (c. 1, 2; 73, 6, &c.).

2. **suffugium**, as giving a pretext for delay.

3. **in tempus**, 'temporarily': cp. 6. 11, 1. For slightly different uses of the phrase cp. 1. 1, 1, &c.

4. **dedicatis . . . templis**: cp. c. 57, 1. On the force of 'per' see Introd. v. § 62.

5. **eius**. In classical usage 'suam' would be expected (cp. 'edicto vetuit ne quis se praeter Apellem pingeret' Hor. Ep. 2. 1, 239): Nipp. compares 'ut eum . . . sisterent orabat' H. 2. 9, 2.

inrumperet, 'break in upon': see note on 2. 11, 4. In H. 5. 22, 5 Tacitus has 'ne quietem eius turbarent,' and it has been thought that this or 'interrumperet' (Ritt., after Her.) should be read here. It is not impossible, as Pfitzner (p. 64) suggests, that the words are quoted from the edict; nor, if they are those of Tacitus, are they unsupported by parallels (cp. H. 1. 82, 1; 4. 50, 2).

6. **municipia et colonias**: see 1. 79, 1.

7. **Capreas . . . in insulam**: cp. 'Hiberos ad patrium regnum' 12. 51, 4 (where see note), 'Geldubam in castra' H. 4. 32, 2. Tacitus correctly gives the distance of Capri from the nearest point of land; Pliny states it at eight miles from Surrentum itself, and estimates the circumference of the island at eleven miles. Augustus had made it his property in 725, B.C. 29 (Strab. 5. 4, 8, 248; Dio, 52. 43, 2; Suet. Aug. 92), by giving to the community of Neapolis in exchange the more important island Aenaria (Ischia), and had taken a fancy to it and erected a villa, where he spent some days shortly before his death (Suet. 98). The island is now well known to most travellers. A careful, but not critical investigation of its topography, with a good map, will be found in the 'Ricerche' of Rosario Mangoni (Napoli, 1834), and a very graphic description of its present state in Mr. J. R. Green's 'Stray Studies from England and Italy,' London, 1876.

10 **inportuosum . . . mare**, apparently from Sall. Jug. 17, 5; used also of 'litora' (Liv. 10. 2, 4), 'litus' (Pl. Epp. 6. 31, 17), 'insula' (Pl. N. H. 4. 12, 23, 73).

11. **subsidia**, 'places of refuge': cp. 2. 63, 1; 3. 36, 2; 60, 2, &c. Two small coves exist on the north and south, on either side of the modern town of Capri, which lies in the depression between the eastern and western precipices. The southern, or 'piccola marina,' shows traces of having been the ancient port.

adpulerit, potential subjunctive.

nisi gnaro custode, 'without knowledge of the sentinel.' The point of outlook would probably be on the eastern precipice, facing the mainland, where the remains of the Pharos, mentioned by Suet. (Tib. 74) and Statius (Silv. 4. 5, 100), still exist.

12. **obiectu montis**: cp. H. 3. 9, 2,

arcentur; aestas in favonium obversa et aperto circum pelago peramoena; prospectabatque pulcherrimum sinum, antequam Vesuvius mons ardescens faciem loci verteret. Graecos ea te- 4
nuisse Capreasque Telebois habitatas fama tradit. sed tum 5
5 Tiberius duodecim villarum nominibus et molibus insederat, quanto intentus olim publicas ad curas, tanto occultiores in luxus

6. occultior : occultos J. F. Gron., text Weissenborn.

&c., and 'obiectu laterum' (Verg. Aen. 1, 160). The mountains in the island can hardly be said to shelter it, as their principal elevation is at the west; so that the mainland range terminating in the promontory of Minerva appears to be meant, which keeps off the wind in the most inclement quarters.

1. **aestas in favonium obversa**, &c. The meaning is clear, but the expression harsh from its brevity: 'its summer climate, as it faces the west and has open sea around, is lovely.' Favonius denotes the westerly wind beginning to blow early in February (Plin. N. H. 2. 47, 119, 122, &c.). The high position of Ana Capri, towering above the depression in which the town lies, occupies the western portion, with the highest point (Monte Solar) immediately above it.

2. **peramoena**, ἅπ. εἰρ.: see Introd. v. § 69, 3.

pulcherrimum sinum: cp. 'beatos Campaniae sinus' H. 3. 66, 3. The district round Vesuvius was renowned before the eruption for fertility as well as beauty: cp. Verg. G. 2. 224 'talem dives arat Capua et vicina Vesevo ora iugo.' Strabo, however (5. 4, 8, 247), noticed traces of its former volcanic action.

antequam Vesuvius . . . verteret, 'before the fires of Vesuvius began to ruin the landscape.' Mr. Dallin rightly points out that the tense appears to allude to continued volcanic activity after the great eruption of 832, A.D. 79. Such is distinctly attested by Statius (Silv. 4. 4, 80) 'aemula Trinacriis volvens incendia flammis,' and (85) 'necdum letale minari cessat apex'; though no great eruption is again recorded till 956, A.D. 203 (Dio, 76. 2, 1).

3. **Graecos ea tenuisse**, 'that Greeks had possessed those spots': cp. 'Evandrum qui . . . tenuerit loca' Liv. 1. 5, 1, 'tenuisse . . . Lirim' Hor. Od. 3. 17, 8. Nipp., less well, takes it to mean 'these qualities (i.e. the situation and climate) captivated the Greeks.' Tacitus is hardly here speaking of the Greek settlements in South Italy as a whole, which were too well known to need mention, but of the old dwellers in Capri and its immediate neighbourhood.

4. **Telebois**, identified by Strabo (10. 2. 20, 459) with the Homeric Taphians of the islands off the coast of Acarnania: cp. Plin. N. H. 4. 12, 19, 53. The name is found as early as Hes. (Sc. 19), also in Hdt. 5. 59, 2. Their tenure of Capri is alluded to by Vergil (Aen. 7, 735), who perhaps mentions the island out of compliment to Augustus.

sed tum . . . insederat. This is generally taken to mean that Tiberius 'had settled upon (or wholly occupied) the island with the titles and buildings of twelve villas': the verb takes an accus. in 2. 16, 4; H. 3. 69, 4; 4. 73, 4, &c. We know of one villa called 'villa Iovis' (Suet. Tib 65), apparently the stronghold or 'arx Tiberii' of Plin. N. H. 3. 6, 12, 82, near the Pharos on the eastern height. From its name Lips. infers that all the twelve were named after the greater gods; but the great improbability, that a person described as 'antiquae parsimoniae' (3. 52, 2) and 'modicus privatis aedificationibus' (6. 45, 2), should have erected or even occupied twelve distinct villas in one small island, lends some colour to Bötticher's ingenious interpretation, that he 'had taken up his position on the names and ruins of twelve villas,' i.e. those of former owners, now absorbed into his own grounds. It must however be admitted that the existing remains, if there were evidence to assign them to this date, would go far to make up such a number of residences; the principal ruins, next to the 'arx' above mentioned, being those of a marine villa and baths near the usual landing-place.

6. **intentus . . . ad curas**, repeated from H. 2. 67, 2; 4. 2, 1.

occultiores. The MS. text might be defended from c. 12, 1, &c.: the reading of J. F. Gron. takes the compara-

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
6 Neronem insidiis. quis additus miles nuntios, introitus, aperta
secreta velut in annales referebat, ultroque struebantur qui mone- 5
rent perfugere ad Germaniae exercitus vel celeberrimo fori
effigiem divi Augusti amplecti populumque ac senatum auxilio
vocare. eaque spreta ab illis, velut pararent, obiciebantur.

68. Iunio Silano et Silio Nerva consulibus foedum anni principium incessit tracto in carcerem inlustri equite Romano, Titio 10
Sabino, ob amicitiam Germanici: neque enim omiserat coniugem
liberosque eius percolere, sectator domi, comes in publico, post
tot clientes unus eoque apud bonos laudatus et gravis iniquis.
2 hunc Latinius Latiaris, Porcius Cato, Petilius Rufus, M. Opsius

14. petitius: text L.

tive as an error arising out of 'tanto,' and supposes the common ellipse of 'magis.' 'Solutus in luxum' occurs in H. 2. 99. 3 (cp. H. 3. 38, 3), and it is perhaps possible (see Wölfflin, Phil. xxvii. 147) that 'resolutus' here points to the former demoralization of Rhodes.

1. **quippe**, explaining 'malum.'

2. **quam**, to be taken only with 'augere'; 'eum' being rather supplied as object of 'turbabat.'

3. **non iam occultis**, in contrast with his conduct as described in c. 59, 5.

4. **additus**: see on c. 60, 1; 6. 14, 3; also 'Teucris addita Iuno' (Verg. Aen. 6, 90).

introitus, 'visits paid to them.'

5. **struebantur**, 'people were instructed.' Such a verb is elsewhere used of persons rather in the form of zeugma, as 'crimina et accusatores struere' (11. 12, 1), like 'moliri' (12. 22, 1).

6. **celeberrimo fori**: probably 'tempore' is to be supplied, and the expression taken as equivalent to ἐν ἀγορᾷ πληθούσῃ, i.e. the latter part of the forenoon.

7. **effigiem . . . amplecti**. On this mode of claiming privilege of sanctuary see note on 3. 36. 1.

8. **velut pararent, obiciebantur**, 'such measures, though rejected by them, were laid to their charge as if they were contemplating them.' Suet. states (Tib. 53) that these charges were brought against Agrippina at her condemnation. He also calls them false.

9. **Iunio Silano et Silio Nerva**. The insertion of 'et,' not classically usual in this formula unless consuls are mentioned by one name only, may be intended here, and in 14. 29, 1, to separate names that begin with the same letter, but cannot always be so explained (cp. 15. 23, 1). The full names are App. Iunius Silanus, and P. Silius Nerva (C. I. L. x. 1196; Henzen, 6135). The former (on whom see note on 3. 68, 3) had a narrow escape afterwards (6. 9, 5), and perished under Claudius (see on 11. 29, 1). He was flamen Arvalis (C. I. L. vi. 2028 d). The other is perhaps son of the cos. of 760, A. D. 7, and probably the father of the cos. of 818, A. D. 65 (see 15. 48, 1).

10. **inlustri equite**: see on 2. 59, 4.

Titio Sabino. His destruction is represented as resolved upon four years earlier, but postponed (see c. 18, 1; 19, 1); so that the matters related in this ch. and in c. 69 may have spread over a considerable part of the intervening time.

12. **percolere**: cp. H. 2. 82, 2; Agr. 10, 1; apparently adopted by Tacitus in this sense from Plautus (Trin. 2. 2, 4).

14. **Porcius Cato**; probably the same who, in 791, A. D. 38, was 'curator aquarum' for one month only (according to Nipp.'s reading of Frontin. Aq. 102), having been previously cos. suff, also legatus of Achaia (C. I. Att. iii. 1, 651): see further particulars in Nipp. on c. 71.

Petilius Rufus. 'Petitius' is not known as a Roman name. Borghesi (see

praetura functi adgrediuntur, cupidine consulatus, ad quem non nisi per Seianum aditus; neque Seiani voluntas nisi scelere quaerebatur. compositum inter ipsos ut Latiaris, qui modico usu 3
Sabinum contingebat, strueret dolum, ceteri testes adessent, deinde accusationem inciperent. igitur Latiaris iacere fortuitos 4
primum sermones, mox laudare constantiam. quod non, ut ceteri, florentis domus amicus adflictam deseruisset; simul honora de Germanico, Agrippinam miserans, disserebat. et postquam Sabi- 5
nus, ut sunt molles in calamitate mortalium animi, effudit lacrimas, iunxit questus, audentius iam onerat Seianum, saevitiam, superbiam, spes eius. ne in Tiberium quidem convicio abstinet; 6
iique sermones, tamquam vetita miscuissent, speciem artae amicitiae fecere. ac iam ultro Sabinus quaerere Latiarem, venti- 7
tare domum, dolores suos quasi ad fidissimum deferre.

69. Consultant quos memoravi, quonam modo ea plurium auditu acciperentur. nam loco in quem coibatur servanda soli- 2
tudinis facies; et si pone fores adsisterent, metus visus, sonitus aut forte ortae suspicionis erat. tectum inter et laquearia tres 3
senatores, haud minus turpi latebra quam detestanda fraude, sese abstrudunt, foraminibus et rimis aurem admovent. interea 4
Latiaris repertum in publico Sabinum, velut recens cognita narraturus, domum et in cubiculum trahit; praeteritaque et instantia,

13. facere: text Mur. and Faern. 17. metu (metui) . . . suspiciones erant Ern. 18. erant: erat R.

Nipp.) thinks this person probably the father or grandfather of Q. Petilius Rufus, cos. ii. in 836, A.D. 83 (C. I. G. 3173), and perhaps also father of Petilius Cerialis (14. 32, 6, &c.).

M. Opsius. Borghesi thinks him the M. Opsius Navius Annianus recorded in an inscription at Naples (C. I. G. 5793) to have been praetor, and to have filled various lower magistracies and offices.

3. **usu**, 'acquaintance,' as 2. 28. 1.

7. **florentis . . . adflictam.** This contrast is repeated in c. 71, 7, and apparently taken from Cic. pro Quint. 30, 93 ('ab adflicta amicitia transfugere atque ad florentem aliam devolare').

honora: cp. 1. 10, 7.

10. **onerat.** This word seems to be only here thus used absolutely without such a word as 'contumeliis.' The return to the historical present marks the change of subject again to Latiaris.

12. **vetita miscuissent**, 'had exchanged confidences on forbidden subjects'; analogous to 'miscere consilia' (cp. H. 2. 7, 3, &c.).

15. **quos memoravi**, c. 68, 2.

16. **acciperentur** = 'audirentur,' as in 1. 67, 1, &c.

17. **metus . . . erat.** With this reading 'visus' and 'sonitus' are genitives; with 'erant,' 'metus' could stand as nom. pl.

18. **forte ortae**, i. e. of suspicion arising even without sight or hearing.

tectum inter et laquearia, 'between roof and ceiling.' Thus we hear of a person hidden 'inter cameram et tectum' (Val. Max. 6. 7, 2), ἐπὶ διπλῆς ὀροφῆς μεταξύ (App. B. C. 4. 44). The open work of the ceiling gives the 'foramina' mentioned below.

19. **latebra . . . fraude**, abl. abs.

22. **instantia**, 'present': cp. 'praeterita instantia futura' H. 3. 36, 1, and

quorum adfatim copia, ac novos terrores cumulat. eadem ille et
diutius, quanto maesta, ubi semel prorupere, difficilius reticentur.
5 properata inde accusatio, missisque ad Caesarem litteris ordinem
6 fraudis suumque ipsi dedecus narravere. non alias magis anxia
et pavens civitas, reticens adversum proximos; congressus, con- 5
loquia, notae ignotaeque aures vitari; etiam muta atque inanima,
tectum et parietes circumspectabantur.

70. Sed Caesar sollemnia incipientis anni kalendis Ianuariis
epistula precatus, vertit in Sabinum, corruptos quosdam liber-
torum et petitum se arguens, ultionemque haud obscure poscebat. 10
2 nec mora quin decerneretur; et trahebatur damnatus, quantum
obducta veste et adstrictis faucibus niti poterat, clamitans sic
3 inchoari annum, has Seiano victimas cadere. quo intendisset
oculos, quo verba acciderent, fuga vastitas, deseri itinera fora.
4 et quidam regrediebantur ostentabantque se rursum, id ipsum 15

5. egens: tegens L, se tegens Vertran., sui tegens Müll., reticens Weissenb. 14. acciperent: text R.

a similar distinction in Auct. ad Her. 2. 5, 8; Cic. de Or. 2. 25, 106; Tusc. 4. 6, 11.

1. **adfatim**, only here in Tacitus. It is used as an adj. in Plaut. Trin. 5. 3, 10 ('miseria una uni . . . est adfatim').

2. **diutius**, 'more fully': cp. 6. 27, 5; H. 1. 16, 9, and 'diu' in 6. 49, 2; 12. 6, 2, &c., a rare use, but in Cic.: see Gudeman on Dial. 11, 3.

5. **reticens**: none of the corrections are quite satisfactory, and perhaps one or more words depending on 'egens' are lost. 'Tegens,' with or without 'se,' would mean 'guarding itself,' 'sui tegens' would be analogous to c. 1, 4.

8. **sollemnia . . . precatus**. On this day the new magistrates entered office, and vows were offered 'pro incolumitate reipublicae,' according to old republican custom: see Liv. 21. 63, 7; Ov. Fast. 1, 79, sqq; also Marquardt, iii. 266: cp. note on c. 17, 1.

9. **corruptos**, &c. We should naturally infer from the last two chapters that Sabinus was charged merely with language abusive of Tiberius. But these words imply some further charge, amounting to one of alleged treasonable design. Also, we should here gather that he was at once condemned without trial, as is also stated by Dio (58. 1, 3); but it would appear from Pliny (N. H. 8. 40, 61, 145) that an execution, and probably some examination, of his slaves took place. The words of Pliny, 'cum animadverteretur ex causa Neronis Germanici filii in Titium Sabinum et servitia eius,' show that these proceedings, though correctly dated by him, are mixed up in his mind with the charges against Nero in the following year (cp. 5. 3, 2). Possibly Nero may have been now implicated by name (see below, § 7), or the treason of Sabinus may have been brought up again next year and laid to his charge.

11. **quantum . . . poterat**, qualifying 'clamitans.'

12. **obducta veste**, &c. He is dragged off to the dungeon, his face muffled in his toga, with the noose already round his neck, and bound hand and foot: cp. below, 'vincla et laqueus.' The story in Dio (l. l.) of the dog of Sabinus clinging to his master's corpse, appears to be an inaccurate version of that of Pliny (l. l.).

13. **Seiano victimas**, alluding to the offerings on the new year: 'Seianus is our god, and this is the sacrifice to him.'

quo intendisset. On the subjunct. see Introd. v. § 52.

14. **acciderent**, 'reached the ear'; so 'unde clamor acciderat' H. 4. 29, 2.

15. **id ipsum**, &c., 'trembling at their very betrayal of fear.'

paventes, quod timuissent. quem enim diem vacuum poena, ubi 5
inter sacra et vota, quo tempore verbis etiam profanis abstineri
mos esset, vincla et laqueus inducantur? non inprudentem 6
Tiberium tantam invidiam adisse, set quaesitum meditatumque,
5 ne quid impedire credatur quo minus novi magistratus, quo
modo delubra et altaria, sic carcerem recludant. secutae insuper 7
litterae grates agentis, quod hominem infensum rei publicae puni-
vissent, adiecto trepidam sibi vitam, suspectas inimicorum insidias,
nullo nominatim conpellato; neque tamen dubitabatur in Ne-
10 ronem et Agrippinam intendi.

71. Ni mihi destinatum foret suum quaeque in annum referre,
avebat animus antire statimque memorare exitus, quod Latinius
atque Opsius ceterique flagitii eius repertores habuere, non modo
postquam Gaius Caesar rerum potitus est, sed incolumi Tiberio,
15 qui scelerum ministros ut perverti ab aliis nolebat, ita plerumque

3. prudentem: text R. 4. adisset: adisse B, adisse set Wurm.

1. **quem enim**, supplying the thought that had led to the panic.

2. **verbis etiam.** The formula 'favete linguis' is well known: see the many passages illustrating this custom collected in Marquardt, iii. 176, n. 2. The action of Marius in having caused a man to be thrown from the rock on the first day of the year is noted by Plutarch (Mar. 45, 432).

3. **inducantur.** Perhaps 'in senatum' is supplied, as in 6. 7, 2; 16. 8, 2, &c. Nipp. takes it, as in H. 5. 5, 1, to mean 'introduced as novelties.'

non inprudentem. The MS. text could be taken (as by Walther) as a question (with 'adisse'), to which 'quaesitum,' &c. (without 'set') is the answer: the correction however is generally adopted.

5. **ne quid, &c.** Nipp. takes these words as the subject to 'quaesitum meditatumque': 'prearranged and studied was the demonstration that no scruple was to prevent the new magistrates from opening the prisons as solemnly as the temples and altars.' It is, however, perhaps better to supply from the sense some such words as 'facinus fuisse' (cp. 'meditatum scelus' 14. 1, 1): the prison is imagined as opened or inaugurated by the death of the first criminal, as by an act of sacrifice. It is to be noted that Suetonius (Tib. 61) generalizes 'more suo' from this instance, 'animadversum in quosdam ineunte anno novo.'

7. **infensum rei publicae.** The expression, repeated in 6. 24, 1, appears to be one of the phrases of Tiberius (cp. c. 19, 3), and to resemble the 'hostis publicus' of old phraseology (cp. Introd. vi. p. 99).

8. **trepidam**, 'full of anxiety'; so again in 14. 59, 2, and in such phrases as in 're trepida,' &c.

suspectas: cp. 3. 52, 1.

10. **intendi.** On this use of the accus. and inf. cp. Introd. v. § 44. It has been noted (see above) that Nero's name may have been mentioned in the trial.

11. **Ni... foret, &c.** For the chief instances of departure from the annalistic method see Introd. iv. p. 27, n. 1.

12. **avebat animus.** Dräger compares a similar use of the imperf. ind. in Cic. de Off. 2. 19, 67 'admonebat me res ut... deplorarem, ni vererer'; where, as here, what is spoken of was not merely on the point of occurring, but did and still does occur to the mind: cp. Madv. § 348 b.

14. **postquam Gaius Caesar, &c.** Latiaris alone suffered under Tiberius (6. 4, 1). The date of Cato's condemnation may be inferred from the speedy end of his curatorship (see on c. 68, 2); respecting the others, all information is lost.

satiatus et oblatis in eandem operam recentibus veteres et prae-
2 graves adflixit: verum has atque alias sontium poenas in tem-
3 pore trademus. tum censuit Asinius Gallus, cuius liberorum
Agrippina matertera erat, petendum a principe ut metus suos
4 senatui fateretur amoverique sineret. nullam aeque Tiberius, ut 5
rebatur, ex virtutibus suis quam dissimulationem diligebat: eo
5 aegrius accepit recludi quae premeret. sed mitigavit Seianus,
non Galli amore, verum ut cunctationes principis opperiretur,
gnarus lentum in meditando, ubi prorupisset, tristibus dictis
atrocia facta coniungere. 10

6 Per idem tempus Iulia mortem obiit, quam neptem Augustus
convictam adulterii damnaverat, proieceratque in insulam Tri-
7 merum, haud procul Apulis litoribus. illic viginti annis exilium
toleravit Augustae ope sustentata, quae florentes privignos cum
per occultum subvertisset, misericordiam erga adflictos palam 15
ostentabat.

8. aperirentur: opperirentur Mur., text J. F. Gron.

1. **praegraves**, 'burdensome (as having too many claims on him)'; so 11. 19, 6; 14. 3, 2; H. 1. 21, 2; 3. 66, 4; generally with a dative added. This sense of the word, as applied to persons, appears to be peculiar to Tacitus.

2. **adflixit**. Besides the case of Latiaris, others are mentioned in 6. 10, 2; 29, 4; 30, 1; 38. 2.

in tempore: cp. 1. 58. 9; 6. 22, 6.

4. **matertera**, i. e. as half-sister of their mother Vipsania (Introd. ix. note 27). The relationship is added to aggravate the baseness of his conduct.

5. **ut rebatur**, taken closely with 'virtutibus'; 'his good qualities, as he considered them.'

8. **opperiretur**. This verb would be used as in 2. 69, 4; 3. 45, 2, &c. Seianus desired to bide the time of the prince's hesitation, knowing that the result would be the more complete for the delay. Those who (as Halm and Allen) retain 'aperirentur' extract a somewhat similar meaning from a rather forced interpretation, 'that the prince's hesitation should be left to disclose itself,' i. e. to take its natural course in due time; or 'that his hesitation should show itself to be hesitation only'; on the supposition that a peremptory rebuke of Gallus would have blinded the eyes of the senate as to the real mind of Tiberius respecting Agrippina and Nero. But this appears to make the following sentence less apposite.

9. **gnarus**, &c. On this trait in Tiberius see 1. 7, 11, &c.

10. **coniungere**, i. e. made the act follow closely on the word.

11. **Iulia**: see Introd. ix. note 7.

12. **Trimerum**, one of the Diomedean group, off Apulia, north of Garganus. Strabo speaks of only one as inhabited (6. 3, 9, 284), which must be the Diomedia of Pliny (3. 26, 30, 151, &c.), the modern S. Domenico, in which the supposed tomb of Diomed was shown. 'Trimerum' may be a vernacular name, and should perhaps be written 'Tremetum' or 'Tremitum,' the modern name of the group being 'Isole di Tremiti.'

13. **viginti annis**. On the abl. see Introd. v. § 26. The date thus furnished makes her exile coincident with that of Ovid, which has been thought to be connected with it.

14. **Augustae ope**. On this view of her character see Introd. viii. p. 149.

privignos; used by syllepsis of both sexes: cp. Introd. v. § 83.

15. **per occultum**: cp. 5. 4, 4; 6. 7, 4; Introd. v. § 62. 'Subvertisset' is probably subjunct. of repeated action.

72. Eodem anno Frisii, transrhenanus populus, pacem exuere,
nostra magis avaritia quam obsequii inpatientes. tributum iis 2
Drusus iusserat modicum pro angustia rerum, ut in usus militares
coria boum penderent, non intenta cuiusquam cura quae firmi-
5 tudo, quae mensura, donec Olennius e primipilaribus regendis
Frisiis inpositus terga urorum delegit, quorum ad formam acci-
perentur. id aliis quoque nationibus arduum apud Germanos 3
difficilius tolerabatur, quis ingentium beluarum feraces saltus,
modica domi armenta sunt. ac primo boves ipsos, mox agros, 4
10 postremo corpora coniugum aut liberorum servitio tradebant.
hinc ira et questus, et postquam non subveniebatur, remedium 5
ex bello. rapti qui tributo aderant milites et patibulo adfixi:

11. subueniebat: text R.

1. **Frisii**: see on 1. 60, 3.

pacem exuere. On the metaphorical uses of this verb in Tacitus see on 1. 69, 2.

2. **tributum iis . . . iusserat.** Such a constr. of 'iubeo' with dat. pers., and accus., or subjunct., or infin., of the thing or act, is found in 13. 15, 3; 40, 3, also in Statius, Theb. 7, 32 ('pacemque iubebo omnibus'), &c.; Curt. 5. 6, 8, &c.: see other instances in Nipp. The construction is analogous to that of 'impero,' and akin to the earlier usage of 'iubeo' with the sense of 'appointing' or 'assigning,' as 'iubere aliquem regem,' &c. (Liv. 1. 22, 1, &c.), 'ei provinciam Numidiam . . . iussit' (Sall. Jug. 84, 1).

3. **Drusus**, the brother of Tiberius, who, in 742, B.C. 12, *τοὺς Φρισίους ᾠκειώσατο*, and was saved by them from a disaster (Dio, 54. 32, 2). On his subjection of this people see Momms. Hist. v. 25, E. T. i. 27.

angustia. The sing. is found in Cic. N. D. 2. 7, 20 ('angustia orationis'); also in Sall., Pl. N. H., Apul., and in the Vulgate. Gudeman reads 'angustia rerum' in Dial. 8, 12.

ut . . . penderent. For other cases of tribute paid in kind, besides the well-known instance of corn, see Marquardt, ii. 232. The hides would be for tents, shields, &c. That they also had to furnish troops is implied in c. 73, 7.

5. **e primipilaribus**: see on 2. 11, 2. Olennius may have had the equestrian position of a 'procurator fisci'; but such subordinate governors of minor districts are generally styled 'praefecti' (cp. H. 4. 14, 4; 55, 2). Several such are mentioned in Inscr.: see Henzen, Ind. p. 108, and especially two such recorded as 'primi pili,' 6938 (C. I. L. v. 1838), 6939. The construction here taken by 'impositus' would be more usual with 'praefectus.'

6. **terga**, 'hides'; as in 15. 44, 6; H. 2. 88, 5; after Vergil (Aen 1, 368) and Ovid; used also of anything made of leather, by Sall. (H. inc. 48 D, 14 K, 32 G), and poets.

urorum. Caesar, in a passage evidently founded on hearsay and mixed with fable (B. G. 6. 28), speaks of the 'urus' of the Hercynian forest as almost of the size of an elephant. Pliny also (N. H. 8. 15, 38) mentions the wild cattle of Germany 'iubatos bisontes, excellentique et vi et velocitate uros.' Vergil uses 'uri' of the Italian buffaloes (G. 2, 374; 3, 532), whose hides were perhaps taken as the standard. In the context, 'ingentium beluarum feraces saltus' is thrown in by way of contrast, as if preceded by 'quamquam'; the real stress being laid on 'modica domi armenta.' The Frisii were far from the great forests, and domestic herds must in any case mainly supply a tribute; Germany being 'pecorum fecunda sed plerumque improcera' (G. 5, 1).

10. **corpora . . . tradebant.** On this German custom, see G. 24, 4. The periphrasis 'corpora' is so used in speaking of slaves in Verg. Aen. 9, 273: cp. 'liberis corporibus' 12. 17, 1.

11. **subveniebatur**: 'subveniebat' can have no subject but Olennius, who has not been recently mentioned.

12. **qui tributo aderant**: cp. 'cohor-

6 Olennius infensos fuga praevenit, receptus castello, cui nomen Flevum; et haud spernenda illic civium sociorumque manus litora Oceani praesidebat.

73. Quod ubi L. Apronio inferioris Germaniae pro praetore cognitum, vexilla legionum e superiore provincia peditumque et 5 equitum auxiliarium delectos accivit ac simul utrumque exercitum Rheno devectum Frisiis intulit, soluto iam castelli obsidio 2 et ad sua tutanda degressis rebellibus. igitur proxima aestuaria aggeribus et pontibus traducendo graviori agmini firmat. atque interim repertis vadis alam Canninefatem et quod peditum 10 Germanorum inter nostros merebat circumgredi terga hostium iubet, qui iam acie compositi pellunt turmas sociales equitesque 3 legionum subsidio missos. tum tres leves cohortes ac rursum duae, dein tempore interiecto alarius eques inmissus: satis validi, si simul incubuissent, per intervallum adventantes neque con- 15 stantiam addiderant turbatis et pavore fugientium auferebantur.

8. digressis B. 10. Canninefatium Asbach (see Halm). 12. pelluntur: text R. 14. acrius: alarius Freinsh.

tem quae . . . excubiis adest' 12. 69, 1. This dative expresses purpose, and appears to be shortened from the gerundive (i.e. 'tributo exigendo'), and to follow its construction. Cp. Introd. v. § 22 b.

patibulo: cp. 1. 61, 6.

2. **Flevum**, also the name of a lake and island (Mela, 3. 2, 24), and of a mouth of the Rhine (Plin. N. H. 4. 15, 29, 101), apparently confounded with the canal of Drusus (2. 8, 1). The name appears in the modern Vlieland, but the geography is much altered by the present Zuydersee: cp. 1. 60, 3, &c.

3. **praesidebat**, with accus.: cp. 3. 39, 1.

4. **L. Apronio**, already mentioned as legatus of Germanicus (1. 56, 1, &c.), and as proconsul of Africa (3. 21, 1). He would appear to have succeeded C. Visellius Varro (3. 41, 3).

pro praetore, i.e. 'legato Augusti propraetore,' as in 2. 66, 1.

5. **vexilla**, probably 'detachments'; not specially 'veterani sub vexillo' (see on 1. 17, 4).

6. **utrumque**, i.e. his own force of Lower Germany, as well as the troops from the Upper army. To the former belong the 'legiones' mentioned, especially the Fifth legion (cp. 1. 31, 3).

7. **castelli**, i.e. 'Flevi' (c. 72, 6).

8. **ad sua tutanda**. On the error into which Ptolemy appears to have been led by this expression, see Introd. ii. p. 11.

degressis. The reading is here still in dispute: the passages in c. 74, 4, and 2. 69, 4, are hardly parallel; but in several instances the two verbs approach each other in meaning, and it is difficult to determine which should be read: see Gerber and Greef, Lex. s. v.

aestuaria: cp. 2. 8, 3.

9. **aggeribus**, 'causeways'; thus coupled with 'pontes' in 1. 61, 2.

10. **Canninefatem**. This people lived in the 'insula' of the Rhine adjoining the Batavi, and are often mentioned during the rising of Civilis (H. 4. 15, 1, &c.). The orthography of the name varies much in MSS. and Inscrr.: see Baiter here.

12. **turmas sociales**, the 'ala' mentioned above.

equites legionum: cp. H. 1. 57, 2: Introd. vii. p. 123. Those of the four legions of the Lower army appear to be meant, who would be in all but sixteen 'turmae,' or 480 men.

13. **leves cohortes**; part of the auxiliary foot.

14. **alarius eques**; the main body of auxiliary horse, as distinct from the single 'ala' mentioned above.

Cethego Labeoni legato quintae legionis quod reliquum auxi- 4
liorum tradit. atque ille dubia suorum re in anceps tractus
missis nuntiis vim legionum inplorabat. prorumpunt quintani 5
ante alios et acri pugna hoste pulso recipiunt cohortis alasque
5 fessas vulneribus. neque dux Romanus ultum iit aut corpora 6
humavit, quamquam multi tribunorum praefectorumque et insig-
nes centuriones cecidissent. mox compertum a transfugis non- 7
gentos Romanorum apud lucum quem Baduhennae vocant
pugna in posterum extracta confectos, et aliam quadringentorum
10 manum occupata Cruptorigis quondam stipendiarii villa, postquam
proditio metuebatur, mutuis ictibus procubuisse.

74. Clarum inde inter Germanos Frisium nomen, dissimulante
Tiberio damna, ne cui bellum permitteret. neque senatus in eo 2
cura, an imperii extrema dehonestarentur: pavor internus occu-
15 paverat animos, cui remedium adulatione quaerebatur. ita 3
quamquam diversis super rebus consulerentur, aram clementiae,

1. cethecio: text L. 10. cruptoricis: text Otto. 14. internos: text R.

1. **legato . . . legionis**: cp. 1. 44, 3, &c.

5. **dux Romanus.** The words apparently emphasize his unworthy negligence.

ultum iit: cp. 6. 36, 1; 12. 45, 2; 15. 1, 1; 49, 6, &c.; with accus. of the wrong avenged in Sall. Jug. 68, 1, &c.

6. **praefectorum**, commanders of auxiliary cohorts and 'alae.'

insignes, 'of high rank.' On the gradations of rank among centurions see on 1. 29, 2, also Introd. vii. p. 123.

8. **Baduhennae.** The name appears to be that of a goddess (cp. 'Tamfana' 1. 51, 2) of whom nothing is known except that philologists, as Müllenhoff (Zeitsch. f. deutsch. Alt. ix. 1853, p. 240), take the two first syllables to mean war or battle, and the name has been explained as 'kampfwütige.'

9. **in posterum**, sc. 'diem': cp. c. 45, 4.

10. **stipendiarii**; not here in the usual sense (c. 20, 1), but = 'qui stipendia meruerat': cp. '(Romani) postquam stipendiarii facti sunt' Liv. 8. 8, 3, 'cohortes stipendiariae' Bell. Afr. 43, 1. A 'cohors i. Frisiavonum' (see note on 13. 54, 2) was serving in Britain in the time of Trajan and Hadrian (C. I. L. vii. 1194, 1195).

villa. For this term in relation to Germans cp. H. 4. 34, 4; 5. 23, 4, and the distinction 'villas arva vicos' in Ann. 13. 57, 5. Here it probably means the mansion of a proprietor surrounded by outbuildings and cottages of serfs (see note on G. 25, 1); the whole being shown to be of considerable extent by the number here occupying it.

12. **Clarum inde**, &c.: see 11. 19, 2, where Corbulo is said in 800, A D. 47, to have first brought them to terms after the 'clades Apronii.' Their submission was still imperfect (see 13. 54, 2).

13. **ne . . . permitteret**, i. e. lest any one entrusted with power to make war on a larger scale should be dangerous. It is at least equally probable that Tiberius did not think the territory worth the pains of such reconquest; still more so that this is merely an instance of the disinclination to effort which marks his later years (see Introd. viii. p. 154). It would appear from 6. 30, 3, that Apronius, in spite of his incompetence, was still 'legatus,' but that the general condition of the 'Germaniae' was peaceful.

14. **an**, depending on 'in eo.'

16. **quamquam . . . consulerentur**: see on 2. 33, 2.

aram clementiae . . . . amicitiae. On such commemorative altars cp. 1. 14, 3; 3. 18, 3. Eckhel (vi. p. 187) mentions

aram amicitiae effigiesque circum Caesaris ac Seiani censuere,
crebrisque precibus efflagitabant visendi sui copiam facerent.
4 non illi tamen in urbem aut propinqua urbi degressi sunt: satis
5 visum omittere insulam et in proximo Campaniae aspici. eo
venire patres, eques, magna pars plebis, anxii erga Seianum, 5
cuius durior congressus, atque eo per ambitum et societate con-
6 siliorum parabatur. satis constabat auctam ei adrogantiam
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 10
noctem ac diem iuxta gratiam aut fastus ianitorum perpetiebantur,
7 donec id quoque vetitum: et revenere in urbem trepidi, quos
non sermone, non visu dignatus erat, quidam male alacres, quibus
infaustae amicitiae gravis exitus inminebat.

75. Ceterum Tiberius neptem Agrippinam Germanico ortam 15

9. magnitudini: text R. 12. idque: text Mur.

a medal of Tiberius, struck in or before 771, A.D. 18, bearing on the reverse 'Clementiae' S. C.

1. **circum**, 'on either side' (i.e. of the altar of 'amicitia'). The word has this force in 14. 34, 3; H. 2. 89, 2.

3. **degressi**. Here the MS. text has been generally retained, as also in 11. 21, 3 ('degressusque in urbem'), where 'ex Africa' is implied. Here it probably signifies taking a course from Capreae; rather than, as in 6. 1, 2, disembarkation from shipboard: see note on 2. 69, 4.

4. **omittere**; so 'omissa Armenia' 6. 36, 2; 'Achaia' 15. 36, 1, &c.

in proximo Campaniae: cp. 'in prominenti litoris' 1. 53, 7; Introd. v. § 32 a.

5. **patres, eques**: cp. 1. 7, 1.

magna pars plebis, probably the better sort, who could afford the journey, and had hope of a rise in rank. The attachment of the 'plebs sordida' to Caesar (see H. 1. 4, 3) seems of later date.

6. **durior** = 'difficilior'; so 'durum et arduum opus' H. 2. 4, 5, 'duris subvectionibus' Caes. B. G. 7. 10, 1. Nipp. takes it to mean that Seianus was more unapproachable than Tiberius; but it seems more probable that the contrast was with his former habit (cp. c. 40, 7); he had grown harder of access, and only those who made interest to get at him and shared his plans could see him. The 'ambitus' would be exercised on the 'ianitores,' &c. (§ 6). Nipp. understands by 'societate consiliorum,' that men took each other into council and helped each other to get audience; but we should rather find in Tacitus 'sociare consilia cum aliquo,' than 'inter se' (cp. H. 2. 74, 2; 4. 15, 1).

9. **sueti discursus**, 'to see people running to and fro was usual'; so 'in discursu' H. 1. 84, 1: cp. Hirt. B. G. 8. 29, 2; Liv. 25. 25, 9, &c.

10. **campo aut litore**. On the abl. cp. Introd. v. § 23.

11. **noctem ac diem iuxta**, 'alike by night and by day': 'iuxta,' in the sense of 'aeque,' generally follows the words coupled by it (1. 48, 2; 2. 72, 3; 12. 10, 1, &c.)

perpetiebantur: the condescension of such persons was as odious as their insolence. On the court paid to them cp. 6. 8, 10.

12. **id quoque**. Ritter notes (on c. 21) that in all cases where 'que' (as read here in the MS.) has the force of 'quoque' (as in 1. 65, 2; 2. 37, 1; 57, 1, &c.), it follows the first word in a sentence.

13. **male**, 'with bad reason'; explained by the following words.

14. **gravis exitus**: cp. Verg. Aen. 10, 630 'manet insontem gravis exitus.'

15. **Agrippinam**: see Introd. ix. note 14. She would appear to have been now barely thirteen years old. From this

cum coram Cn. Domitio tradidisset, in urbe celebrari nuptias iussit. in Domitio super vetustatem generis propinquum Caesar- 2
ibus sanguinem delegerat; nam is aviam Octaviam et per eam Augustum avunculum praeferebat.

4. FINIT LIBER IIII. INCIPIT LIBER V.

marriage L. Domitius, afterwards the emperor Nero, was born nine years later, and her husband died about three years after that date (Suet. Ner. 6). Many representations of her on coins exist (see Cohen, i. pp. 271–276, Bernoulli ii. coins, pl. xxxv), and several statues are ascribed to her; but the difficulties of identification (see Bernoulli) are great.

1. **coram**: cp. c. 54, 3; probably during this visit to Campania.

Domitio, Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, cos. 785, A.D. 32 (6. 1, 1). Suetonius (Ner. 5) speaks of him as 'omni parte vitae detestabilis.' For further mention of him in Tacitus see 6. 45, 4; 47, 2; 12. 3, 2; 13. 10, 1. He is also often mentioned as one of the 'Arvales' from 780 to 792, A.D. 27–39 (C. I. L. vi. 1, 2024–2029). Nipp. also refers to him the inscr. C. I. Att. iii. 1, 604. On his father, and on the relationship to Augustus, see c. 44, 2, 3.

4. **avunculum**, 'great-uncle'; as in 2. 43, 6, &c.

praeferebat, 'had to show'; so 'longa decora praeferentes' 14. 53, 5. The sense is almost the same as in 2. 53, 4, &c.

BOOK V.

SUMMARY OF CONTENTS.

A. U. C. 782, A. D. 29. C. Fufius Geminus, L. Rubellius Geminus, coss.

Ch. 1–5. Death of Julia Augusta, and immediate attack on Agrippina and Nero.
1. Death and character of Augusta. 2. Behaviour of Tiberius; his animosity towards Fufius the consul. 3. Letters of indictment against Agrippina and Nero sent to the senate. 4. Junius Rusticus advises delay; manifestations of popular feeling. 5. Second letter of Tiberius, who still reserves the sentence in his own hands.

P. CORNELII TACITI

ANNALIUM AB EXCESSU DIVI AUGUSTI

LIBER V. FRAGMENTUM.

1. RUBELLIO et Fufio consulibus, quorum utrique Geminus cognomentum erat, Iulia Augusta mortem obiit, aetate extrema, 5 nobilitatis per Claudiam familiam et adoptione Liviorum Iulio-
2 rumque clarissimae. primum ei matrimonium et liberi fuere cum Tiberio Nerone, qui bello Perusino profugus, pace inter Sex.
3 Pompeium ac triumviros pacta in urbem rediit. exim Caesar cupidine formae aufert marito, incertum an invitam, adeo pro- 10 perus ut ne spatio quidem ad enitendum dato penatibus suis

2. ab excessu diui Augusti.

8. perusinio (or pusinio): text B.

4. **Rubellio et Fufio**, C. Fufius Geminus and L. Rubellius Geminus (Insc. Henz. 6854, and others cited by Nipp.). On Fufius see c. 2, 2: his father was a legatus of Caesar in Pannonia in 720, B.C. 34 (Dio, 49. 38, 1); his mother's name is given as Vitia (6. 10, 1).

5. **aetate extrema.** As her son was in his seventieth year, her age can hardly be less than eighty-six, as given by Dio (58. 2, 1); and that she was but eighty-two (Plin. N. H. 14. 6, 8, 60), must be impossible.

6. **nobilitatis . . . clarissimae**: see Introd. ix. note 26. Borghesi (v. 314) shows that her father, M. Livius Drusus Claudianus, must have been son either of App. Claudius, trib. mil. in 667, B.C. 87 (App. B. C. 1. 68), killed in repelling Telesinus from the Colline gate in 672, B.C. 82 (Plut. Sull. 29, 470), or of Claudius Pulcher, legatus (Liv. Epit. 95) or praetor (Plut. Crass. 9) in 681, B.C. 73; both of whom were probably sons of C. Claudius, cos. in 624, B.C. 130: also that the adoptive father of Drusus Claudianus must have been Livius Drusus, the famous tribune of 663, B.C. 91. Claudianus was proscribed, and killed himself after Philippi (Dio, 48. 44, 1). e

8. **Tiberio Nerone**: s e Introd. (l.l.); also 6. 51, 2; Suet. Tib. 4. His service as quaestor is also recorded in Bell. Al. 25, 3. His praetorship would appear from Suetonius to have been in 713, B.C. 41, but may have been a year earlier. In 714, B.C. 40, on the surrender of Perusia, he escaped thence to Praeneste and Neapolis, tried to organize a slave-rising, and took refuge in Sicily with Pompeius, from whom he passed to Antonius (Suet. l. l.).

pace, at Misenum in 715, B.C. 39.

10. **cupidine**, causal abl. Her beauty is shown by many representations of her in coins, gems, and sculpture: see Bernoulli.

aufert marito: see 1. 10, 4.

incertum an, here apparently 'perhaps not,' as in H. 1. 23, 1. The opposite meaning (see on 15. 64, 1) is more usual.

11. **enitendum**, absol. as Verg. Aen. 3, 327; Quint. 5. 13, 9; Suet. Cal. 25.

gravidam induxerit. nullam posthac subolem edidit, sed sanguini 4
Augusti per coniunctionem Agrippinae et Germanici adnexa
communes pronepotes habuit. sanctitate domus priscum ad 5
morem, comis ultra quam antiquis feminis probatum, mater
inpotens, uxor facilis et cum artibus mariti, simulatione filii bene
composita. funus eius modicum, testamentum diu inritum fuit. 6
laudata est pro rostris a Gaio Caesare pronepote, qui mox rerum
potitus est.

2. 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 maluisse.
quin et parte eiusdem epistulae increpuit amicitias muliebres, 2

3. **pronepotes**: cp. 'privignos' 4. 71, 7.

priscum ad morem. The notion of a verb denoting approximation is supplied from the sense.

4. **comis**, 'affable.'

mater inpotens, 'as a mother, imperious': cp. 1. 4, 5; 4. 57, 4; also the use of 'inpotentia' in 12. 57, 5; 14. 31, 5; G. 35, 3; and of 'inpotens' in G. 36, 1. From denoting absence of self-control, the word in such places takes the more special sense of violent assertion of self-will. Others, after J. F. Gron., take it less well to denote her extravagant furtherance of her son's interests.

5. **uxor facilis**, 'as a wife, compliant.' Special allusion seems intended to her connivance at her husband's laxity in private life (Suet. Aug. 71; Dio, 58. 2, 5): cp. 4. 2, 4; and 'facilitas' 2. 65, 3; 6. 15, 3, &c.

artibus, 'subtilty.' His many-sided genius for intrigue and diplomacy is contrasted with the mere reserve and hypocrisy attributed to Tiberius.

bene composita, 'well matched,' a metaphor from the arena: cp. 15. 51, 7; 16. 10, 3, and notes, also 'vir fortis cum mala fortuna compositus' (Sen. Prov. 2, 9); 'uti non compositum melius cum Bitho Bacchius' (Hor. Sat. 1. 7, 19); also the use of 'comparatur' in 4. 28, 2. 'Ulixes stolatus' is the name given to her by her great-grandson Gaius (Suet. Cal. 23). On the estimate of her character by Tacitus see Introd. viii. p. 149.

6. **diu**; until the accession of Gaius, who paid all legacies under her will, 'quod Tiberius suppresserat' (Suet. Cal. 16).

10. **amoenitate**. Tacitus elsewhere uses this word only of places (as 14. 31, 7; 52, 2, &c.), but has 'amoena vita' (15. 55, 5) to denote a lax, self-indulgent life.

11. **excusavit**, 'pleaded in excuse'; as in 3. 11, 2, &c. It is stated by Suetonius (Tib. 51) that he had only seen her once for a few hours during the last three years, and never during her last illness; and that her funeral was improperly delayed in expectation of his coming.

honores... imminuit. He had acted similarly towards her after the death of Augustus (1. 14, 1).

12. **paucis ... receptis.** Dio states (58. 2, 1) that he accepted no more than a public funeral, and the erection of a few statues and other trifling memorials; but that the senate, out of genuine gratitude for her protection and liberality, went further, and prescribed a year's mourning and other honours. Her birthday continued to be honoured (6. 5, 1).

13. **ne ... decerneretur.** On her subsequent deification see Introd. ix. note 26. The inscription 'Liviae Augusti Deae' (Orell. 614) belongs to the lifetime of Augustus and to Sicily.

14. **amicitias**: cp. 4. 40, 7. Suetonius states (Tib. 51) that he soon struck down all her friends, even those to whom she had given charge of her funeral.

3 Fufium consulem oblique perstringens. is gratia Augustae floruerat, aptus adliciendis feminarum animis, dicax idem et Tiberium acerbis facetiis inridere solitus, quarum apud praepotentes in longum memoria est.

3. Ceterum ex eo praerupta iam et urguens dominatio; nam incolumi Augusta erat adhuc perfugium, quia Tiberio inveteratum erga matrem obsequium, neque Seianus audebat auctoritati par-
2 entis antire: tunc velut frenis exsoluti proruperunt, missaeque in Agrippinam ac Neronem litterae, quas pridem adlatas et cohibitas ab Augusta credidit vulgus; haud enim multo post mortem
3 eius recitatae sunt. verba inerant quaesita asperitate; sed non arma, non rerum novarum studium, amores iuvenum et inpudici-
4 tiam nepoti obiectabat. in nurum ne id quidem confingere ausus, adrogantiam 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
5 atroci sententia. sed aliis a primoribus maximeque a magistratibus trepidabatur: quippe Tiberius etsi infense invectus cetera ambigua reliquerat.

4. Fuit in senatu Iunius Rusticus, conponendis patrum actis

10. multum: text Heins. 13. confringere: text B.

1. **Fufium**: see c. 1, 1. His death appears to be that recorded in Dio, 58. 4, 5; where the name is read as Γάϊος Ῥοῦφος Γεμίνιος. Nipp. considers that his wife, who is there called Πουπλία Πρίσκα, is the Mutilia Prisca of 4. 12. 6.

3. **in longum**: cp. 1. 69, 7. The general sentiment is nearly repeated in 15. 68, 4.

5. **praerupta**, 'stern': the metaphor is taken from an inaccessible rock: cp. 16. 7, 4; and 'praerupta audacia' (Cic. pro Rosc. Amer. 24, 68), 'praeruptum . . . periculum' (Vell. 2. 2, 2).

urguens, 'crushing'; so used of pressing evils in 4. 66, 3; Cic. Tusc. 3. 25, 61.

8. **antire**, here alone in Tacitus with dat.; so in Cicero, &c.

9. **adlatas**, sc. 'ad consules.'

10. **multo**. Here and in 12. 4, 1, Halm adopts this correction in accordance with the usage of Tacitus (shown in some forty instances: see Gerber and Greef) and of other authors. Nipp. retains the MS. text with an expression of doubt.

11. **quaesita**: cp. 3. 57, 1.

14. **oris**, 'of speech': cp. 'ora sono discordia signant' (Verg. Aen. 2, 423).

16. **et publica**, &c.: for similar parentheses with 'et' cp. H. 4. 14, 2; 5. 8, 3.

occasionem gratiae. A gerundive notion, such as that of 'captandae,' is implied, as in 'occasio odii' 15. 73, 4, &c.

17. **ut referretur postulavere**, 'demanded that the question be put': cp. 13. 49, 2; and note on 2. 38, 3.

promptissimo, sc. 'ad postulandum.'

cum atroci sententia, 'prepared with a severe proposal' (cp. 6. 2, 1; H. 3. 37. 1; Liv. 2. 35, 1), when it should come to his turn. On this character of Cotta Messalinus cp. 2. 32, 2; 6. 5, 1.

18. **magistratibus**. The responsibility of the 'relatio' rested with them.

19. **cetera**, i.e. what he wanted to have done.

21. **Iunius Rusticus**; probably father

delectus a Caesare, eoque meditationes eius introspicere creditus.
is fatali quodam motu (neque enim ante specimen constantiae 2
dederat) seu prava sollertia, dum imminentium oblitus incerta
pavet, inserere se dubitantibus ac monere consules ne relationem
5 inciperent; disserebatque brevibus momentis summa verti; posse
quandoque *domus* Germanici exitium paenitentiae *esse* seni.
simul populus effigies Agrippinae ac Neronis gerens circumsistit 3
curiam faustisque in Caesarem ominibus falsas litteras et principe
invito exitium domui eius intendi clamitat. ita nihil triste illo 4

1. meditationis: text R. 6. germanicis titium paenitentiae senis: Germanici exitium paenitentiae esse seni Rup., domus ins. Halm. 8. festisque: text Mur. omnibus: text B.

of the well-known Arulenus Rusticus (16. 26, 6, &c.), who is called 'Iunius Rusticus' in Suet. Dom. 10.

conponendis patrum actis. On the 'acta senatus' see Introd. iii. p. 18. We have no earlier record of the office here mentioned, which is taken to be the same as that of 'curator actorum senatus' (Inscr. Henzen 5447 = C. I. L. ix. 2456), or 'ab actis senatus' (Henzen 5478 = Wilmanns 636, &c.). It is not certain that at this date the officer was himself a member of the senate; later, the post was a stepping-stone to the aedileship; see Staatsr. ii. p. 901.

1. **eoque ... creditus.** These minutes were sent to Caesar in his absence (Suet. Tib. 73), and their compiler must have been so far in his confidence as to receive instructions to suppress record of anything obnoxious. On the construction of 'creditus' see Introd. v. § 45.

2. **fatali quodam motu,** 'impelled somehow by his destiny'; i.e. by some inexplicable motive: see on 3. 30, 7.

constantiae, 'courage,' as 1. 32, 1; 15. 55, 7, &c.

3. **prava,** 'misguided'; i.e. mistaking his true interest. It is explained by the following words: he overlooked the present danger of thwarting Caesar, on the uncertain chance that he might change his mind and punish their zeal.

4. **pavet.** The accus. with this verb is poetical, but found in Sall. Cat. 31, 3, Liv. and Pl. Mai.: cp. 15. 11, 2; H. 3. 56, 3, and the use of 'pavescere' (1. 4, 2, &c.), and 'expavescere' (H. 2. 76, 3).

inserere se; so in H. 2. 19, 3: cp. 6. 2, 1; Ovid, &c.

relationem inciperent. The same phrase is used in 13. 26, 2, where see note.

5. **brevibus momentis summa verti,** 'small things turn the scale in great events'; i.e. some influence too slight now to be foreseen may change Caesar's whole purpose. The sentiment is that of Cicero (Phil. 5. 10, 26), 'minimis momentis maximae inclinationes temporum fiunt': cp. 'momenta deficientis' Agr. 43, 3, 'momentumque fuit mutatus Curio rerum' Luc. 4, 819; and note on 4. 32, 4. For this sense of 'brevis,' Orelli compares 'breve pondus' Hor. Sat. 2. 2, 37.

posse ... seni. The corrupt MS. text has exercised the ingenuity of all commentators. Walther has collected some fourteen suggestions which had found more or less favour down to his own time. For others see Halm (Comm. Crit.); Pfitzner (p. 100); Ritter (Rhein. Mus. xvii. p. 130). The above reading would express what must have been the sense of the original text; and the absorption of 'esse,' between 'ae' and 's,' as well as the addition of 's' to 'seni,' from 'simul,' can be supposed without difficulty; but 'domus,' though required by the sense, cannot have dropped out so easily; and possibly some words amounting to a whole line in an original MS. may have been lost.

7. **effigies ... gerens:** compare the similar mode of showing attachment to Octavia (14. 61, 1).

8. **faustis ... ominibus:** cp. 1. 35, 3. Walther's defence of 'festis' by reference to 12. 69, 1, &c., is insufficient: any festal expressions would have been wholly out of place; yet men desired to profess due loyalty to Caesar, and to regard him as the dupe of Seianus.

die patratum. ferebantur etiam sub nominibus consularium fictae in Seianum sententiae, exercentibus plerisque per occultum atque
5 eo procacius libidinem ingeniorum. unde illi ira violentior et materies criminandi: spretum dolorem principis ab senatu, descivisse populum; audiri iam et legi novas contiones, nova patrum 5 consulta: quid reliquum nisi ut caperent ferrum et, quorum imagines pro vexillis secuti forent, duces imperatoresque deligerent?

5. Igitur Caesar repetitis adversum nepotem et nurum probris increpitaque per edictum plebe, questus apud patres quod fraude 10 unius senatoris imperatoria maiestas elusa publice foret, integra
2 tamen sibi cuncta postulavit. nec ultra deliberatum quo minus non quidem extrema decernerent (id enim vetitum), sed paratos ad ultionem vi principis impediri testarentur.

1. **ferebantur**, 'were reported outside the senate house.'

3. **libidinem ingeniorum**, 'their licence of imagination'; i.e. as to the author to whom they assigned this or that 'sententia.'

5. **novas**, 'seditions,' a similar meaning to that of 'novae res.' The addition of 'legi' would appear to imply that these imaginary 'sententiae,' and the speeches assigned to their proposers, had found place in the 'acta populi.'

11. **imperatoria maiestas**. This expression is used with reference to soldiers in 1. 46, 2; but here more arrogantly in relation to the senate. Tiberius was generally particular in his use of the title 'imperator': cp. Dio, 57. 8, 1.

elusa, 'turned into ridicule': cp. 6. 46, 9; 16. 3, 2, &c.

integra; i.e. that all should be left to his decision: cp. 'integra causa' 3. 10, 6, &c.

12. **quo minus** = 'quin': cp. 1. 21, 4.

13. **paratos**, sc. se: cp. 4. 59, 5, &c.; Introd. v. § 8.

9. **testarentur**. The MS. here shows only a vacant place of three or four letters, beginning another line with 'quattuor'; so that the great gap at this point must have existed in the MS. from which it was copied. A summary of the chief events of this lost period, as recorded in Dio, Suetonius, and other authors, is given in Appendix IV. below.

APPENDIX IV.

SUMMARY OF EVENTS DURING THE INTERVAL FOR WHICH THE HISTORY OF TACITUS IS HERE LOST.

SENTENCE soon followed against Agrippina and Nero [1]. The latter was then or afterwards declared by the senate a public enemy [2], and both were hurried into banishment, chained and in closed litters, with strict orders to the escort to allow none whom they met so much as to stand and look back at them [3]. Nero was sent to Pontia (Ponza), Agrippina to Pandateria, the old prison-house of Julia [4]; where she is said to have been treated with such violence as to have lost an eye by a blow from the centurion, and to have had food forced into her mouth when she attempted to starve herself [5]. Drusus, who had been used as a tool by Seianus against his brother [6], was for the present left unattacked, and probably during this year received Aemilia Lepida in marriage [7].

A. U. C. 783, A. D. 30. M. Vinicius, L. Cassius Longinus, coss. [8]. Asinius Gallus, while on a visit to Tiberius at Capreae, was denounced by a secret missive, and condemned in absence by the senate, yet not put to death or permitted to despatch himself, but sent to Rome and detained there in custody in the house of a magistrate, with just food enough forced upon him to support life [9]. His friend Vallius Syriacus the rhetorician was put to death for no other cause than his friendship [10]. Seianus had now prepared his attack on Drusus by the seduction of his wife, and made some representation to Tiberius, who sent the young

[1] That some trial took place would appear from Pliny's inaccurate reference to the 'causa Neronis' (see on 4. 70, 1), also from Suet. Tib. 53 (see on 4. 67, 6), and from Philo's statement (in Flacc. 3, 966) that the notorious praefect of Egypt, Avillius Flaccus, was one of Agrippina's accusers: *τῶν συνεπιθεμένων τῇ Γαίου μητέρι, καθ' ὃν χρόνον εἶχε τὰς αἰτίας ἐφ' αἷς ἀνηρέθη, γεγονώς.* It would seem as if this great praefecture was his reward for this service. He is stated to have governed well while Tiberius lived.

[2] Suet. Tib. 54; Cal. 7.

[3] Suet. Tib. 64.

[4] Cp. 1. 53, 1.

[5] Suet. Tib. 53.

[6] 4. 60, 4.

[7] See on 6. 40, 4.

[8] Insc. Orell. 4033.

[9] Dio, 58. 3. In another instance, Tiberius is said to have answered, to those who pressed for speedy execution of a condemned person, *οὐδέπω αὐτῷ διήλλαγμαι* (Dio, l. l.). The death of Gallus is mentioned three years later (6. 23, 1).

[10] Dio, l. l. Seneca (Ep. 55, 3) seems to allude to others also.

man back from Capreae to Rome[1], where a more formal charge, preferred through the agency of Cassius Severus[2], caused him also to be pronounced a public enemy[3] and imprisoned in a chamber in the Palatium[4].

Seianus had apparently reached the height of influence. Every order in Rome eagerly set up his statues and sent deputations to him, and paid to his name almost the same honour as to that of the prince; while Tiberius constantly called him 'Seianus meus' and spoke of him as his 'particeps consiliorum[5],' and had apparently affianced him to his house by a betrothal[6]; but was perhaps already secretly meditating his destruction.

A. U. C. 784, A. D. 31. Ti. Caesar Augustus v, L. Aelius Seianus coss.
: Suff. May 9, Faustus Cornelius Sulla, Sex. Teidius Catullus.
: Suff. July 1, L. Fulcinius Trio.
: Suff. Oct. 1, P. Memmius Regulus[7].

The consulship removed Seianus to Rome, and it does not appear that he ever again saw his master, who declined his visits on various pretexts[8]. Outwardly he appears to have allowed him to receive more marks of honour than ever, to have admitted him to a priesthood and to a share of the 'proconsulare imperium[9],' and even to have permitted the passing of a futile decree, appointing him with himself to be joint consuls for five years[10] Curtius Atticus, one of the 'cohors amicorum' at Capreae[11], was struck down at the favourite's instigation[12]; while other men of rank, among them Fufius Geminus the friend of Augusta, met a similar fate[13]. Though he was not himself permitted to retain the consulship, his position seemed further secured by the substitution soon afterwards of Fulcinius Trio, one of his creatures; and, later on, the death of Nero[14] seemed to show that the hesitation of Tiberius in dealing with this family was at length overcome.

But the position of Gaius, who had been raised with Seianus to the pontificate, and was generally looked on as the heir, still seemed unassailable[15]; and several small indications of coldness or displeasure

[1] Suetonius may be taken to imply that he was removed in strict custody like his mother and brother (Tib. 64).
[2] Dio, 58. 3, 8.
[3] Suet. Tib. 54; Cal. 7.
[4] See 6. 23, 5. [5] Dio, 58. 4, 3.
[6] See note on 4. 40, 11.
[7] These 'suffecti' and their dates are given in a kalendar (C. I. L. x. 1233). The name 'L. Aelius Seianus' is erased on all records, but Eckhel (i. 36) notes its preservation on a Spanish coin.
[8] Dio, 58. 7, 5.
[9] Id. 58. 7, 4: see note on 4. 7, 2.
[10] Dio, 58. 4, 4.
[11] 4. 58, 1. [12] 6. 10, 2.
[13] See 5. 2, 3; Dio, 58. 4, 5.
[14] Dio (58. 8, 4) seems to bear out the statement of Suet. (Tib. 61) that this death took place when Seianus was already suspected. On the circumstances see Suet. Tib. 54.
[15] Dio, 58. 8, 1.

caused additional alarm[1]. Becoming desperate, Seianus formed a conspiracy[2], in which many of all ranks joined, to assassinate Tiberius on his return to Rome, and to contrive a similar fate for Gaius[3]. This appears to have been revealed by Satrius Secundus to Antonia, and by her, through the agency of her freedman, Pallas, to Tiberius[4]; who was nevertheless obliged to proceed with the utmost caution, as he was unable to reckon on the fidelity of the praetorians. A man of determined loyalty was secured for the consulship in the person of Memmius Regulus[5], and almost immediately afterwards the blow was struck.

The 18th of October[6] is marked as the day on which the famous meeting of the senate took place in the Palatine Temple, at which the 'long wordy letter from Capreae' was read. Naevius Sertorius Macro had brought with him, together with this missive, his own appointment to the command of the praetorians, in which the soldiers were induced by a liberal bribe to acquiesce. The 'vigiles,' over whom Seianus had no influence, guarded the senate under their praefect Graecinus Laco, and led Seianus to the dungeon where he was on the same day executed[7]. By subsequent sentences perished his eldest son[8], his uncle Junius Blaesus[9], and others[10]; while many more were thrown into prison to await trial.

Tiberius, who had awaited news of these proceedings in extreme anxiety[11], was soon afterwards filled with horror and indignation, on a statement being made by Apicata, the divorced wife of Seianus, respecting the murder of Drusus, with the connivance of his adulterous wife, eight years previously[12]. Livilla was put to death, or more probably compelled to commit suicide[13]; and further investigations, conducted with the utmost atrocities of torture, took place before Tiberius himself[14].

[1] Dio, 58. 6, 4; 8, 3, &c.

[2] See Jos. Ant. 18. 6, 6. On the doubts resting on this conspiracy see Introd. viii. p. 151. The general invective of Val. Max. 9. 11, ext. 4, proves nothing; but some definite treasonable act seems alleged in an obscure inscription (C. I. L. vi. 10213) addressed some years later to his tribesmen by a person who seems to have been implicated: 'Seiani sce[lerati inci]tatio et inprobae comitiae [ill]ae fuerunt in Aventino ubi [Sei anus cos. factus est': see Staatsr. iii. 348, n. 2.

[3] 6. 3, 4.

[4] We can thus reconcile 6. 47, 2 with Josephus (l. l.).

[5] On the date of his appointment see above: the whole action in the senate was conducted by him (see Dio, 58. 9).

[6] See 6. 25, 5.

[7] For the whole scene see Dio, 58. 9–13; Juv. 10. 56–89.

[8] See on 5. 8, 1.

[9] See 5. 7, 2.

[10] Among them was probably Bruttedius Niger (see on 3. 66, 5), perhaps also T. Ollius the father of Poppaea (13. 45, 1), Carnulus and Paconius (Suet. Tib. 61).

[11] Suet. Tib. 65.

[12] The circumstances are given in 4. 8, 1, &c. Dio (58. 11, 6) represents the statement of Apicata as made after the execution of her children, which Tacitus places later (5. 9, 1).

[13] Dio, 58. 11, 7.

[14] Suet. Tib. 62.

BOOK VI.

SUMMARY OF CONTENTS.

A. U. C. 784, A. D. 31 (Nov. and Dec.). L. Fulcinus Trio, P. Memmius Regulus, coss. suff.

B. V. Ch. 6-9. Punishment of persons connected with Seianus. 6. Address of a friend of Seianus to his friends. 7. His suicide before condemnation. 8. Death of P. Vitellius; peril of Pomponius Secundus. 9. Execution of the two younger children of Seianus.

Ch. 10. Appearance of a false Drusus in Asia and Achaia. 11. Charges brought against each other by the two consuls.

A. U. C. 785, A. D. 32. Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, M. Furius Camillus Arruntius Scribonianus, coss.

B. VI. 1. Tiberius visits the suburbs of Rome, and abandons himself to profligacy at Capreae. 2. His reply to the absurd proposal of Togonius Gallus. 3. His resentment at a proposal by Junius Gallio respecting the praetorians. 4. Latinius Latiaris punished on the information of Paconianus; the quarrel between Trio and Regulus suppressed. 5. Cotta Messalinus acquitted at the request of Tiberius. 6. Mental agony betrayed in his letter on the subject. 7. Several persons condemned. 8, 9. Spirited speech and acquittal of M. Terentius; several of the highest rank attacked. 10. Others put to death at Capreae; L. Piso the praefectus urbis dies a natural death. 11. Origin and history of this 'praefectura.' 12. Question respecting an alleged Sibylline book. 13. Dangerous discontent at the high price of corn. 14. Certain Roman knights condemned for conspiracy; Fabatus put in custody for leaving Italy.

A. U. C. 786, A. D. 33. Ser. Sulpicius Galba, L. Cornelius Sulla Felix, coss.

Ch. 15. Marriage of two daughters of Germanicus to L. Cassius and M. Vinicius. 16, 17. Financial crisis arising out of an attempt to enforce strictly the laws of usury; history of the subject. 18. Several persons condemned, especially the descendants of Theophanes of Mitylene. 19. Sex. Marius put to death; general execution of all those detained in prison on the charge of conspiracy. 20. Gaius Caesar married to the daughter of M. Silanus; his servile demeanour; prediction of Tiberius respecting Galba. 21. Instruction received by him in astrology from Thrasyllus at Rhodes. 22. Exposition of the prevalent theories respecting chance and fate. 23, 24. Deaths of Asinius Gallus, and of Drusus son of Germanicus; insincere statement of Tiberius respecting the former, and brutality shown towards the

latter. 25. Death of Agrippina, and imputations cast upon her by Tiberius. 26. Suicide of Cocceius Nerva, and of Plancina, widow of Cn. Piso. 27. Julia, daughter of Drusus, married to Rubellius Blandus; death of Aelius Lamia, Pomponius Flaccus, M'. Lepidus.

A. U. C. 787, A. D. 34. Paullus Fabius Persicus, L. Vitellius, coss.

Ch. 28. Alleged appearance of the phoenix in Egypt; narrative of legends respecting it. 29. Suicide of Pomponius Labeo and Mamercus Scaurus, and of their wives Paxaea and Sextia. 30. Some accusers punished; bold line taken by Lentulus Gaetulicus.

A. U. C. 788, A. D. 35. C. Cestius Gallus, M. Servilius Nonianus, coss.

Ch. 31–37. Disturbances in the East.

31. Parthian embassy to Rome to complain of Artabanus, who had set his son on the throne of Armenia. 32. Tiberius sends out Phraates, brother of Vonones, and, after his death, Tiridates, as a claimant to the throne of Parthia, and instigates Mithridates to occupy that of Armenia; Vitellius made legatus of Syria. 33. Mithridates seizes Armenia; Orodes son of Artabanus sent against him. 34, 35. Battle, and defeat of Orodes. 36. Artabanus fails to recover Armenia and is himself driven out of Parthia, and forced to take refuge with the Scythians. 37. Advance of Tiridates, supported by Vitellius, into Mesopotamia.

Ch. 38. Death of Fulcinius Trio and other persons. 39. Tiberius near Rome; death and character of Poppaeus Sabinus.

A. U. C. 789, A. D. 36. Q. Plautius, Sex. Papinius Allenius, coss.

40. Death of Tigranes, once king of Armenia, Aemilia Lepida, wife of Drusus, and others. 41. Suppression of a rising of the Cietae in Cappadocia.

Ch. 42–44. Further account of affairs in the East.

42. Tiridates received at Seleuceia, and crowned king at Ctesiphon by the Surena. 43. Some of the nobles form a new plot to restore Artabanus. 44. Artabanus collects troops and advances rapidly; retreat of Tiridates, who is deserted by all, and takes refuge in Syria.

45. Great loss by fire in Rome; munificence of Tiberius.

A. U. C. 790, A. D. 37. Cn. Acerronius Proculus, C. Petronius Pontius Nigrinus, coss.

Ch. 46. Tiberius aware of the court paid by Macro to Gaius; his hesitation to name an heir, and prediction to Gaius. 47. Albucilla charged with crimes in which Domitius, Vibius Marsus, and Arruntius are involved. 48. Suicide of Arruntius; Albucilla imprisoned. 49. Suicide of Sex. Papinius.

Ch. 50, 51. Last moments and death of Tiberius.

50. His failing health and last journey to Misenum; advice of Charicles, and measures taken by Gaius and Macro; circumstances of his death (March 16) in the seventy-eighth year of his age. 51. Vicissitudes of his life; his character at various periods.

P. CORNELII TACITI

ANNALIUM AB EXCESSU DIVI AUGUSTI

LIBER VI.

V. 6 (VI. 1). . . . . Quattuor et quadraginta orationes super
ea re habitae, ex quis ob metum paucae, plures adsuetudine . . . 5
2 'mihi pudorem aut Seiano invidiam adlaturum censui. versa est
fortuna, et ille quidem, qui collegam et generum adsciverat, sibi
ignoscit: ceteri, quem per dedecora fovere, cum scelere insec-
3 tantur. miserius sit ob amicitiam accusari an amicum accusare,

5 adsuetudine. mihi (without lacuna).

3. The MS. indicates the beginning of no fresh Book, and until Lipsius, editors had printed the whole as Book V. He saw that the whole period must have taken two Books and placed the division at the beginning of 785, A.D. 32. The absence of any division in the MS. has led most editors to follow Haase in considering that the beginning of the Sixth, as well as the end of the Fifth Book are lost, and that the latter ended with the death of Seianus. The old numbering of the chapters is, however, generally retained for convenience of reference.

4. **super ea re.** The subject is supposed to be that of the punishment of Livia for the murder of Drusus (see 4. 3, 3, foll.). Very few senators could have had to fear any charge of complicity; so that most of these denunciatory speeches are spoken of as prompted by the mere habit of servility.

6. **mihi pudorem, &c.** We have here another fragment, from an address made to his friends by an attacked, but uncondemned friend of Seianus. No light has been thrown on the speaker's identity. The sentiments are much the same as those of M. Terentius (6. 8).

7. **collegam.** This may refer only to his association in the consulship; but as Seianus is styled 'adiutor imperii' some years earlier, it is thought that he may have been latterly 'collega imperii,' filling almost if not quite such a position as that of Tiberius under Augustus: see on 1. 3, 3; 4. 7, 2; 6. 8, 6; Introd. vi. p. 98; Staatsr. ii. 1152, n. 1. Some more definite title seems implied than that of 'socius laborum' (4. 2, 4) or *κοινωνὸς τῶν φροντίδων* (Dio, 58. 4, 3); and Dio (58. 7, 4) affirms that he had *ἀνθυπατικὴ ἐξουσία* in some form.

generum: cp. 6. 8, 6. Suetonius also (Tib. 65) speaks of Seianus as 'spe adfinitatis deceptus.' For possible explanations see note on 4. 40, 11. Such a term as 'gener' can well be used of connexion through mere betrothal, and many analogies would justify its use for 'progener' (e.g. 4. 12, 6, &c.).

sibi ignoscit, 'pardons his own error': cp. Hor. Sat. 1. 3, 23.

8. **cum scelere,** i.e. by now fastening charges of complicity on the innocent.

9. **amicum accusare;** perhaps alluding to Satrius Secundus, the follower (4. 34, 2; 6. 8, 10) and subsequent accuser (6. 47, 2) of Seianus.

haud discreverim. non crudelitatem, non clementiam cuiusquam 4
experiar, sed liber et mihi ipsi probatus antibo periculum. vos 5
obtes or ne memoriam nostri per maerorem quam laeti retineatis, adiciendo me quoque iis qui fine egregio publica mala
5 effugerunt.'

V. 7 (VI. 2). Tunc singulos, ut cuique adsistere, adloqui animus erat, retinens aut dimittens partem diei absumpsit, multoque adhuc coetu et cunctis intrepidum vultum eius spectantibus, cum superesse tempus novissimis crederent, gladio quem sinu ab-
10 diderat incubuit. neque Caesar ullis criminibus aut probris 2
defunctum insectatus est, cum in Blaesum multa foedaque incusavisset.

V. 8 (VI. 3). Relatum inde de P. Vitellio et Pomponio Secundo. illum indices arguebant claustra aerarii, cui praefectus erat, et
15 militarem pecuniam rebus novis obtulisse; huic a Considio praetura functo obiectabatur Aelii Galli amicitia, qui punito Seiano in hortos Pomponii quasi fidissimum ad subsidium per-

1. dementiam (by junction of cl): text B. 7. adsumpsit: text B. 15. C. Considio Wurm. 16. uelii: text L.

1. **haud discreverim**, repeated from H. 3. 28, 1: cp. Introd. v. § 51 c.

2. **antibo**, 'will anticipate'; so 'damnationem anteiit' 6. 29, 7; 13. 30, 2.

3. **per maerorem**: see Introd. v. § 62; for the ellipse of potius, Id. § 64.

6. **ut cuique adsistere**, &c. It is perhaps best, with Walther, to make this answer to 'retinens aut dimittens.' by understanding 'aut non erat' after 'animus erat.' Pfitzner and Dräger think that 'adsistere' is an error for 'absistere,' as in the next line 'adsumpsit' for 'absumpsit,' and probably 'adstitit' for 'abstitit' in 2. 31, 3.

9. **superesse tempus novissimis**, 'that there was time yet to spare for the last extremity'; i.e. 'that his end would not come just yet.' 'Novissima' is used of death, as the extreme penalty, in 6. 50, 8. &c.

11. **Blaesum**, the well-known uncle of Seianus (3. 35, 2, &c.) and 'imperator' (3. 74, 6), who must have fallen amongst the first victims. The fate of his two sons is mentioned in 6. 40, 3.

12. **incusavisset**. This verb has nowhere else this construction; but Dräger notes from Livy the analogies 'increpare in' (1. 51, 1), 'exsecrari in' (30. 20, 7), 'detestari in' (39. 10, 2).

13. **P. Vitellio**, &c. On Vitellius see on 1. 70, 1. P. Pomponius Secundus is further described below (§ 4).

14. **indices**. Many accomplices in the conspiracy of Seianus had saved themselves by turning informers: see 6. 3, 5; 7, 5; 9, 6; 47, 2.

aerarii. The context, and the mention of 'praefecti,' show that the 'aerarium militare' is meant, on which see 1. 78, 2. The 'aerarium populi' was in charge of praetors (1. 75, 4).

15. **obtulisse**, taken figuratively with 'claustra': 'had offered the keys of the treasury and its funds.'

Considio. Nipp. gives here several instances to show that even persons of rank are frequently mentioned by one name, when a title of dignity is added, as 'augur Lentulus' (3. 59, 1), &c.

16. **Aelii Galli**. This is believed to be the name of the eldest son of Seianus. Borghesi (iv. 444) suggests that the adoptive father from whom Seianus derived his gentile name was probably the knight Aelius Gallus (see on 4. 1, 2); as Velleius (2. 127, 3) assigns to him no nobility through this source, and the other families of the Aelii were consular.

17. **fidissimum ad subsidium**. The metaphor is from a harbour: cp. 3. 1, 2; 4. 67, 2.

2 fugisset. neque aliud periclitantibus auxilii quam in fratrum
3 constantia fuit, qui vades exstitere. mox crebris prolationibus spem ac metum iuxta gravatus Vitellius petito per speciem studiorum scalpro levem ictum venis intulit vitamque aegritudine
4 animi finivit. at Pomponius multa morum elegantia et ingenio 5 inlustri, dum adversam fortunam aequus tolerat, Tiberio superstes fuit.

V. 9 (VI. 4). Placitum posthac ut in reliquos Seiani liberos adverteretur, vanescente quamquam plebis ira ac plerisque per
2 priora supplicia lenitis. igitur portantur in carcerem, filius immi- 10 nentium intellegens, puella adeo nescia, ut crebro interrogaret, quod ob delictum et quo traheretur; neque facturam ultra, et
3 posse se puerili verbere moneri. tradunt temporis eius auctores,

13. puerilimo | (Baiter suggests puerili modo): text B.

1. **fratrum.** On Quintus, brother of this Pomponius, see 6. 18, 2. Vitellius had three brothers, of whom the best known is Lucius (6. 28, 1, &c.); another, Quintus, had been expelled from the senate (2. 48, 3); a third, Aulus, probably the one here meant, was cos. suff. in the year after this (C. I. L. x. 1233 = Orelli 4033), and died in office (Suet. Vit. 2).

2. **vades exstitere.** These brothers undertook their custody, till their appeal should be heard by Caesar. Delivery into the charge of 'fideiussores' or 'vades' is one of the recognized kinds of 'custodia' (see on 6. 3, 3).

3. **gravatus,** with accus., as 3. 59, 6.

per speciem studiorum. He is thought to have been the author of certain 'Vitellii commentarii,' cited by Tert. de An. c. 46. According to Suetonius (Vit. 2) he allowed his self-inflicted wounds to be bound up, and afterwards died of disease, while still in custody. The words of Tacitus are not inconsistent with this account.

5. **morum elegantia,** 'refinement of character': cp. H. 3. 39, 3, and 'elegantia vitae' (14. 19).

ingenio inlustri. He is frequently mentioned as a poet and especially as a tragedian (11. 13, 1; 12. 28, 2; Dial. 13, 3; Pl. Epp. 7. 17, 11), and his excellence in this line is fully attested by Quintilian (10. 1, 98), 'eorum, quos viderim, longe princeps Pomponius Secundus, quem senes parum tragicum putabant, eruditione ac nitore praestare confitebantur. The elder Pliny, who speaks of him as 'vatem civemque clarissimum' (N. H. 13. 12, 26, 83), was also his personal friend and biographer (Pl. Epp. 3. 5, 3).

6. **Tiberio superstes fuit.** Dio (59. 6, 2), who confuses him with his brother, states that Gaius released him from a custody which had lasted seven years. His consulship, also placed wrongly by Dio (l. l.), appears to belong to 797, A. D. 44 (Kal. Ant, C. I. L. x. 6638, Henzen 6445). In 803, A. D. 50, he gained 'triumphalia' as legatus of the army of Upper Germany (12. 28, 2).

8. **placitum.** The expression shows the sentence to have been passed by the senate.

reliquos. There were three (4. 3, 5), of whom the eldest (c. 8, 1) appears to have perished with his father.

9. **adverteretur**: cp. 2. 32, 5.

quamquam, in anastrophe, as in 6. 30, 7; 14. 21, 7; also in Cicero, Vergil, and the elder Pliny.

plebis ira. The populace at the fall of Seianus massacred any of his creatures whom they saw in the streets (Dio, 58. 12, 1). Compare the description of their temper in Juv. 10, 73.

11. **intellegens,** with genit., 12. 26, 3; Cic. Fin. 2. 20, 63.

puella, &c. She can hardly have been less than eleven or twelve years old (see note on 3. 29, 5): possibly her tender age may have been exaggerated by writers to add to the pathos of her fate.

12. **neque facturam ultra,** 'she would not do so any more.'

13. **verbere.** Tacitus has this poetical singular only here and in 6. 24, 4; G. 19,

quia triumvirali supplicio adfici virginem inauditum habebatur, a carnifice laqueum iuxta conpressam; exim oblisis faucibus id aetatis corpora in Gemonias abiecta.

V. 10 (VI. 5). Per idem tempus Asia atque Achaia exterritae
5 sunt acri magis quam diuturno rumore, Drusum Germanici filium
apud Cycladas insulas, mox in continenti visum. et erat iuvenis 2
haud dispari aetate, quibusdam Caesaris libertis velut adgnitus;
per dolumque comitantibus adliciebantur ignari fama nominis et
promptis Graecorum animis ad nova et mira. quippe elapsum
10 custodiae pergere ad paternos exercitus, Aegyptum aut Suriam
invasurum, fingebant simul credebantque. iam iuventutis con- 3

8. dolum qui: agnitus per dolum, quis Haase. 9. lapsum: text R.

2: the only other instance in prose appears to be Pl. N. H. 2. 8, 6, 33.

moneri, 'chastised.' The word appears nowhere else to bear quite this meaning. Orelli cites 'fustium admonitio' (Ulp. Fr. 7; de Poen. 48, 19).

temporis eius auctores, apparently thrown in, as in 13. 17, 3, to show that this additional horror is at least no subsequent invention.

1. **triumvirali supplicio**, 'capital punishment,' inflicted under the superintendence of the 'triumviri capitales,' who now formed part of the collective 'vigintivirate' (3. 29, 1): cp. 'flagellis triumviralibus' (Hor. Epod. 4, 11).

2. **conpressam** = 'violatam.' Suetonius (Tib. 61), as in other cases, exaggerates this single instance into a general practice. Dio (47. 6, 6) gives an instance in which a youth was made to assume the toga virilis before being executed.

oblisis; so 'obliso gutture' Apul. Met. 4. 12, 263. Cicero has 'collum digitulis oblideret' (p. Scaur. 6, 10).

id aetatis, a classical use (Madv. 238) extended by Tacitus to analogous phrases: cp. 12. 18, 1; 13. 16, 1.

3. **in Gemonias**: cp. 3. 14, 6, &c. According to the order of events followed by Dio (58. 11, 6), this execution is made to precede the revelation made by Apicata respecting the murder of Drusus and guilt of Livia.

5. **acri**, 'active'; so used of 'causae' (1. 33, 3), 'initia' (6. 17, 5, &c.), 'gloria' and 'paenitentia' (H. 3. 51, 4), &c.

Drusum. The true Drusus was a prisoner in the Palatium: see 6. 23, 5.

7. **velut adgnitus**, &c. With Haase's reading 'per dolum' would be surplusage, as 'velut' of itself implies that the recognition was only pretended. For the position of 'que' Nipp. compares 'ab oratoribusque' (16. 2, 3), and cites also many instances in which, as here, a pronominal ablative is supplied from a foregoing noun, with the abl. abs. following (see Introd. v. § 31 c, and note on 6. 47, 4). The freedmen pretended to recognize him, and as they dishonestly followed him those who knew nothing were attracted.

9. **promptis ... animis**, another abl. abs., assigning a ground for their readiness to receive him. This characteristic of the Greek mind is noted in the Athenians of that time (Acts 17, 21). On the estimate generally formed of Greeks by Romans see Friedl. i. p. 74: cp. 2. 53, 4; 55, 1; 6. 18, 5.

elapsum custodiae. Elsewhere Tacitus has the accus. with 'elabi' (as 1. 61, 6, &c.); but Seneca has 'vitae elapsus' (Ep. 77, 10), and what are taken to be simple ablatives in other authors might often be datives, as 'telis' (Verg. Aen. 2, 318), &c. 'Custodia' is read by some, after Lips.; 'custodias' might be suggested by the example of H. 3. 59. 4.

10. **paternos**, the armies of the East, commanded by Germanicus in his last years.

11. **fingebant ... credebantque**. This, as well as other expressions here, appear to be repeated from the similar account of the false Nero (H. 2. 8, 1).

cursu, iam publicis studiis frequentabatur, laetus praesentibus et inanium spe, cum auditum id Poppaeo Sabino: is Macedoniae
4 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 5 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
5 peteret. scripsitque haec Tiberio, neque nos originem finemve 10 eius rei ultra comperimus.

V. 11 (VI. 6). Exitu anni diu aucta discordia consulum erupit.

2. pompeio: text R. 6. alio: text Barthold (Rh. Mus. xxii. 644); cp. 2. 53, 1.

1. **publicis**, i.e. of provincial communities: cp. the use of 'publice' (4. 36, 2), &c.

frequentabatur, 'was thronged'; so 'celebrabant,' in speaking of the false Agrippa (2. 40, 1).

2. **inanium spe.** Nipp. thinks the correction 'inani' necessary, as it was his hope, not its objects, that was visionary; but 'inania' appears to be naturally contrasted with 'praesentia': cp. 'inania famae' (2. 76, 2). Joh. Müller (Beitr. sect. 3. p. 54) prefers 'inani in spe,' noting the frequent use of 'in spe esse' in Cic. and Liv. Heins. reads 'inanium specie.'

Poppaeo Sabino: see on 1. 80, 1; 4. 46, 1.

3. **tum**, &c., explaining where he was when the news reached him, and the fact that Achaia, the headquarters of the plot, was within his jurisdiction.

quo . . . antiret: cp. c. 6, 4: here it means 'to get before the story whether true or false,' i.e. to nip the plot in the bud, before it spread further.

4. **Toronaeum Thermaeumque**, the gulfs of Kassandra and Saloniki. He may probably have set out from Philippi, the chief colony in the province.

praefestinans, 'hastening past': in this sense, the verb is ἅπ. εἰρ. For similar uses of verbs compounded with 'prae' see on 2. 6, 5. It is apparently best to take this participle also with 'Euboeam' and 'Piraeum,' rather than to supply a verb for them from 'evadit.'

5. **Aegaei maris insulam.** This description, as also 'Atticae orae' below, cannot be supposed to be inserted to inform his readers of the situation of these places. It is only a concise mode of saying that he passed through the Aegean, touching at Euboea, and along Attica, touching at Piraeus. A similar explanation may be given of 'Corinthi, Achaiae urbe,' in H. 2. 1, 5.

6. **evadit**; so used of passing out of a forest (1. 51, 8) or river (12. 35, 3).

marique Ionio. On such ablatives of direction see Introd. v. § 25. This sea is so named in 2. 53, 1; and 'alio' seems too vague where the other names are all definite.

7. **Nicopolim**: see 2. 53, 1. It was not really a colony, but founded as a Greek city on a large scale, autonomous like Athens and Sparta: see Momms. Hist. v. 271; E. T. i. 295, foll.

8. **sollertius interrogatum**, 'on being more shrewdly questioned.'

M. Silano, probably the one mentioned in 3. 24, 5 (Nipp.).

10. **neque nos**, &c. Dio (58. 25, 1) preserves a version of the story, stating that the impostor was arrested and sent to Tiberius. He places the event at the close of 787, A.D. 34.

12. **consulum.** On the succession of consuls during this year see above, Appendix iv. p. 587. Of those now in office, Fulcinius Trio is known from 2. 28, 3, &c. The other, P. Memmius Regulus, succeeded in 788, A.D. 35, to the governments held by Poppaeus Sabinus (see on 6. 39, 3), and died in 814, A.D. 61, with the highest reputation of his time. For his character, and for further particulars,